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LITHUANIAN ANNUAL STRATEGIC REVIEW 2004

Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review 2004, Vilnius: Lithuanian Military Academy, 2005

The main objective of this publication is to provide the readers with a wide-scale analysis and generalization of the changes, essential and significant, for the national security of Lithuania at international–systemic, regional and national levels. The book also aims to give maximum emphasis to the specificity of Lithuanian national security issues and comprehensively presenting them to a widely interested and concerned audience.

Content

Preface

Volume 3 of the Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review 2004 (further - the Review), a publication of the Strategic Research Center of the Kithuanian Military Academy and the Institute of International Relations and Political Science of Vilnius University, has come out one year after Lithuania started its membership in the EU and NATO. When this strategic objective of foreign and security policy was achieved, a division between the two periods – "before the membership" and "after the membership" – naturally appeared. On the one hand, Lithuania must meet membership requirements in both organizations and establish itself as an active and equal participant of NATO and EU policy. On the other hand, it has faced tasks of reconsidering and conceptualizing perspectives of foreign and security policy. This, of course, does not mean that the situation of the country or security policy have undergone radical changes. Both seeking NATO and EU membership as well as enjoying it, Lithuania as one of the states of the dynamically changing world must take on the challenges that the alliances and other actors of international relations face. However, new tendencies related to the problems of foreign and security policies as well as many questions that after the dual enlargement still remain unanswered have, to some extent, influenced the content of the presented volume.

The Review, similarly to the two volumes published previously, focuses mainly on the estimation of the possibilities and perspectives of Lithuania's foreign and security policy on the international – systemic, regional and national levels. Therefore, the analysis of the national security environment and contribution of Lithuania itself to undoubtedly one of the most important elements international security – fight against terrorism – is becoming of utmost significance.

On the other hand, the new status of Lithuania and the successful implementation of one of the foreign policy objectives prompted the editors of the publication to pay more attention to two other directions of Lithuanian foreign policy, i.e. regional security and relations with neighbors. In this respect, unlike in the previous publications, greater attention is paid to the investigation of the position of Lithuania in the Baltic Sea region and its relations with the biggest neighbor – Russia. Worthy of note is the pleasant fact that for the first time not only familiar to the reader and new Lithuanian authors, but also researches of other countries contributed to the publication.

In the first part of the book "Global Tendencies of the International System Development" *Egdūnas Račius*, in his article "Globality of Terrorism: A View from Lithuania", analyzes the problem of present-day terrorism which is important both on a global scale and to Lithuania. His work attracts interest due to an extensive survey of terrorism as a phenomenon and its origins and also due to the great deal of attention devoted to the analysis of jihad terrorism and the analysis of the evolution of its most evident example al Qaeda. At the same time, by his publication Račius is starting the analysis of Lithuania's participation in anti-terrorist activities.

In their article "Global Geopolitical Developments and Opportunities for Lithuania's Foreign Policy", *Egidijus Motieka, Nortautas Statkus* and *Jonas Daniliauskas* systemically look into geo-strategic plans and perspectives of the key geopo-

litical actors – the big states of the EU (the United Kingdom, France and Germany), the USA, Russia and China – as well as into the possibilities of Lithuanian foreign policy in the context of the interaction of these states. The article consists of two parts. In the first part, the analysis of the interests of the great states and their intersection is carried out, possible interrelations are modeled, geo-strategy of the investigated countries in Euro-Asia in the short, medium and long periods is presented. The second part deals with Lithuania's, as a member of NATO and the EU, situation and its place in the strategic plans of each great state and provides an anatomy of the growth of the possibilities and influence of its foreign policy.

The main emphasis of the second part of the Review, "Changing European Security Space", is placed on the problems related to the Baltic Sea region. In her article "Search for Identity in Modern Foreign Policy of Lithuania: between the Northern and Eastern dimensions?" *Gražina Miniotaitė*, is analyzing the changes of foreign policy in the light of identity construction and space conceptualization from the standpoint of social constructivism, presents a detailed investigation of the situation of Lithuania in the Baltic Sea region and its "new" foreign policy after joining NATO and the EU. The author is attempting to answer the question to what extent Lithuanian foreign policy is changing and how active it can be in the conditions of the new status.

The issue of the identity of the states of the Baltic Sea region and their regional cooperation is further developed by a rather critical and even sceptical article of *Christopher S. Browning* "Exporting Idealism? The Prospects of Baltic Sea Region Cooperation after Enlargement". Although the author presents a historical background of the multilayered nature of the interests of the countries of the region and the frequent lack of their concurrence, likewise *Miniotaitė*, he also emphasizes the importance of identity to regional cooperation as well as the indefinite nature of the current period in foreign and security policy not only in Lithuania but also in other states of the region.

In the last article of this part "The Baltic States, Arms Brokers and Diversions of Arms" *Paul Holtom* researches into a somewhat narrower though very important and completely new issue of "soft" security which so far has not been discussed in "the Review". The author analyses certain cases of trading arms in the Baltic States which relate to far wider issues of corruption, law and order and control. In his opinion, the Baltic States should become active participants in arms trading control processes.

The third part of the volume "Lithuania's Eastern Neighbours" is this time exclusively devoted to the analysis of the situation of Russia and its problems. In his article "The Russia-USA-EU "triangle" and Smaller States in 2003-2004" *Gediminas Vitkus* discusses the development of the relations of Russia with the EU and the USA and gives a generalized estimation of the foreign policy of the Russian President Putin from the standpoint of smaller countries of the region of Central and Eastern Europe.

In his article "Power Vertical" in Russia: 2003-2004 Election Cycle Peripeteia" *Virgilijus Pugačiauskas* not only analyses the 2003 and 2004 elections, but also attempts to find an answer to a more comprehensive question referring to the quality of Russia's democracy and the actual location of the centre of power.

In the article "Review of the Russian Military Policy: Old Mythology, Today's Threats, Future Prospects" *Darius Jakulevičius* and *Kazimieras Gediminas Bučiūnas* focus on the topic which so far has not been sufficiently investigated in the Lithuanian academic literature, i.e. Russia's military doctrine and the situation in the armed forces and their reform, providing an extensive and informative view of the Russian defence policy.

The fourth part of the Review "National Security Issues in Lithuania" begins with the article of *Jūratė Novagrockienė* "Armed Forces Transformation in the 21st Century: a Case of Lithuania" where the author introduces theoretical viewpoints on the transformation of the army from modern to post-modern and in the context of the new concepts analyzes the reform of the Lithuanian army and the challenges it faces after having become a member of the EU and NATO.

The article of *Žaneta Ulozevičiūtė* "Lithuania's Participation in International Peace Operations: Challenges of the NATO and EU Memberships" deals with one of the military aspects of national security. Lithuania's participation in international missions and the perspectives of its further military participation in the context of NATO and EU peacekeeping operations are discussed.

In his article "Contribution of Lithuania to the International Community Fight against Terrorism: Overview of the Official Position" *Feliksas Žigaras* continues the topic of the threat of terrorism and Lithuania's participation in international operations and presents the official position of Lithuania on the fight against terrorism. He also discusses the main acts of law and decisions of the Government and other bodies of the state of the Republic of Lithuania.

The article of *Remigijus Šimašius and Ramūnas Vilpišauskas* "The Concept of Economic Security and the Principles of Economic Security Policy in Lithuania" concludes the Review. The issue of economic security of Lithuania has become a traditional topic of the Review which in one or another aspect has also been analysed in previous volumes of the publication. This time, however, the authors' aim is to reveal the basics of interstate economic relations and formation of economic strategy through a theoretical discussion about the interaction of state and individual security.

The editorial board hopes that the variety of topics presented in the publication will draw the attention of different groups of readers who are interested in Lithuanian foreign, security and defence policy and will receive a positive and critical evaluation.

Vilnius, June 2005
Editorial Board

Global
International
System
and Lithuania

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The Globality of Terrorism:
a View from Lithuania

Although Lithuania by now has been a member of the international antiterrorist coalition with all the issuing consequences (including its international commitments and new threats for its safety) for more than three years, studies of and research on terrorism in it remain in the embryonic phase. There are practically no contributors writing about the terrorism phenomenon in the Lithuanian language. As a result, there is no discourse about this sphere of studies. This means that so far no well defined terminology and standing conventions of academic parlance have been introduced, which would enable to go deeper into not only the nature of terrorism as a phenomenon (this is being done for at least forty years in the world) but also the perception of terrorism here, in Lithuania.

Reasons which stimulate terrorism, the motivation and goals of terrorists, the perception of the reality of threats as well as readiness to deal with them on both political and social levels – these are the subjects of this article. Though the objective of this article is not to carry out a comparable analysis with the situation and practice of other states, the particular case of Lithuania is conceptualized in the perspective of the international terrorism and global antiterrorist drive.

A peculiar pattern for this article was a recent (published in the spring of 2004) study "International Terrorism and Finland" by Toby Archer, where the threats of terrorism to Finland are analyzed.

Introduction: the International Terrorism
and the Struggle against it in the Perspective
of the Global Binary Opposition

Until today, there is no universally accepted definition of terrorism in the world (this, first of all, applies to the United Nations System), though there are more than a hundred definitions proposed by separate states, international organizations and independent institutes. It happened to be so that the definition of terrorismas

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well as terrorism itself became an instrument of political manipulations.[1] Consequently, no official definition of terrorism will be followed in this article. However, talking about threats of terrorism and readiness to deal with them without any working definition might be deliberately or unwillingly interpreted incorrectly. Seeking to avoid such possible sequence of events, the author's formulated definition of the terrorism is given below.

Thus, terrorism is a politically motivated, premeditated and continual illegal practice of violence or threatening to employ such violence against civilians, who do not belong to any state military or paramilitary structures, or against nonmilitary installations, and which is committed by antisystemic non-state actors, who, through bullying society as a whole or its separate segments, seek to change the existing socio-political situation.

It has become classical to distinguish between terrorist groups that vend religious motivation and ideals and those, which do not give prominence to any religious aspects. The latter are divided into two types – ethnic/ nationalist and ideological. These are not necessarily antireligious (though Marxist groups that acted actively in the 1970's and 80's of previous century were underlyingly hostile in respect to religion), but they do not use religious terminology in their rhetoric, there are practically no religious symbols in their symbolism. Quite contrary, the whole activities of the groups that are ascribable to religious terrorism are permeated by religious spirit – armed combat is justified through religious texts, the goals are coated with religious imperatives. It has to be admitted that terrorist groups of a nationalist nature sometimes use religious symbolism that is correspondent to their ethnic group, this way virtually erasing the line between nationalist and religious terrorism.

While the religious (Muslim) terrorism is ever intensifying, the response of the international community to its threats intensifies likewise. Although the antiterrorist measures around the globe have been employed already for more than three decades, the antiterrorist drive, which started in the autumn of 2001, has no analogical predecessor. The world entered a new era of international terrorism and global struggle against it.

In the today's constellation of international relations, it is possible to talk about emergence of a particular binary opposition which, of course, only as a far cry resembles the one that had existed during the Cold War.[2] The denominator of the newly born contemporary opposition is the complex fusion of the threats stemming

[1] The best example of this is the decades old disagreement regarding the concept of "state terrorism" and the distinction between "terrorists" and "freedom fighters". For example, the Organization of the Islamic Conference in the Annex to its Resolution Nr. 59/26-P of 1999 confirms "the legitimacy of the right of peoples to struggle against foreign occupation and colonialist and racist regimes by all means, including armed struggle to liberate their territories and attain their rights to self-determination and independence in compliance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. In the Article 2 of the same Annex, it is stated that "Peoples' struggle including armed struggle against foreign occupation, aggression, colonialism, and hegemony, aimed at liberation and self-determination in accordance with the principles of international law shall not be considered a terrorist crime." http://www.oic-un.org/26icfm/c.html, November 11, 2004.

[2] This is sometimes mentioned by the experts analyzing the international anti-terrorist drive. See, for example, Aliboni R. *Current Issues on Terrorism: Global vs. National Terrorism, State- vs. Terrorism-Violence*, Instituto Affari Internationali, 2002.

from the international terrorism and weapons of mass effect. In this way, on one side, there are the countries which are subsumed to be 'exporters' of terrorism (firstly, Arab and also some other Muslim states, which in the American but occasionally also in the European political discourse are referred to as 'rough' and/ or 'failed' states) while on the other side, there are those countries which (of course, not of their own will) have become 'importers' of terrorism and whose societies and governments are determined to use all resources and means available to them to prevent the import of this undesirable product. 'Export' and 'import' here however should not be understood in a strictly geographical sense because the so-called 'terrorism exporting countries' also suffer from terrorism on their own soil – Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Palestine, Iraq – in all these countries terrorist attacks swooped away tens and sometimes even hundreds of lives.

In the autumn of 2001, the President of the USA, simplifying and vulgarizing this binary opposition, defined it in this way: a particular state is either on the side of the fighters against the import of terrorism or on the side of the terrorism exporters.[3] The head of the U.S. administration did not foresee any third option. By the way, the same binary opposition has been confirmed by Antanas Valionis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania (during the International conference 'International terrorism – a challenge to contemporary world', which took place on April 18, 2004, in Vilnius). In his speech the Minister speculated that "in the fight against terrorism there can be no half allies, no half enemies and no half measures."[4] However, the reduced system of ideal types in reality often becomes a much more complex formation, where political and social actors have features, which are characteristic to at least several types, and, at the same time, filled to capacity with features that are found in none of those types. Therefore, it would be appropriate to talk about 'in-between' positions between the ideal types. In this particular case, we can talk about countries, which are neither exporters of terrorism, nor its importers. Doubtlessly, potentially every country can become an importer. One can also talk about 'transit' countries, through the territories of which terrorism is exported or can potentially be exported, even though their governments can identify themselves as fighting against terrorism.

Today, terrorism has become global as well as international.[5] 'Global', because the geography of terrorist attacks during the last decade or so (approximately from the end of the Cold War) spread in the way that there are more states, which have suffered from terrorism than those which have not yet. 'International', because terrorist acts are organized by groups of people, whose homelands might be thousands of miles away from the place of the terrorist attack and also from each other. As it is

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[3] President George W. Bush, in his speech on October 7, 2001, said the following: "Every nation has a choice to make. In this conflict, there is no neutral ground. If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers, themselves. And they will take that lonely path at their own peril." http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011007-8.html, November 11, 2004.

[4] Valionis, A. "International Response to Terrorist Threat: no Half Allies", *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review*, 2002, vol. 1 (9), p. 18.

[5] For the discussion on distinction between international/ global and nationalistic/ regional terrorism, see Aliboni R. *Current Issues on Terrorism: Global vs. National Terrorism, State- vs. Terrorism- Violence*, Instituto Affari Internationali, 2002.

argued in the *Report of the Policy Working Group on the United Nations and Terrorism*, "terrorism in a single country can readily become a threat to regional peace and security owing to spill-over effects, such as cross-border violence and the creation of refugee populations. It is therefore difficult to draw sharp distinctions between domestic and international terrorism."[6]

However, the process of 'globalization' and 'internationalization' of terrorism started at least a few decades earlier. The 1960's could be considered to be the beginning of the 'globalization' of terrorism, when, *inter alia*, civilian airliners with passengers onboard started being hijacked.[7] It was then that the international community for the first time took a serious look at the threats of terrorism – during one and a half decades (between 1963 and 1980) the UN alone passed six international conventions aimed at curbing terrorism. During this same period, two regional conventions were also adopted – the Organization of the American States in 1971 passed the 'Convention to Prevent and Punish Acts of Terrorism Taking the Form of Crimes against Persons and Related Extortion that are of International Significance' and the European 'Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism' was adopted in 1977.[8] Unfortunately, neither conventions nor the measures, which had since been employed, could reduce the threat of terrorism. On the contrary, terrorism gradually intensified, when it peeked with an unprecedented number of victims in the Fall of 2001.

Lithuania and terrorism: preparedness to deal with the threats of the international terrorism

The then Minister of Defense of Lithuania Linas Linkevicius compared the threats of contemporary terrorism to Europe with the threats of Fascism before the World War II. He also warned that some European states still do not fully realize the extent of the threats of terrorism.[9] Therefore, seeking to evaluate the perception of the threats of terrorism in Lithuania, it is necessary to identify those threats. In Lithuania, threats stemming from terrorism are identified in at least several documents authored by the Seimas, the Government and other commissioned public institutions.

The most important publicly available document of this type seems to be the "National Security Strategy of the Republic of Lithuania" (NSS), passed in May of 2002. In the article 1.5, it states that "the agenda for the security policy of the Repub-

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[6] *Report of the Policy Working Group on the United Nations and Terrorism*, 2002, http://www.un.dk/doc/A.57.0273_S.2002.875.pdf, http://www.globalsecurity.org/security/library/report/2002/un-wrkng-grp-terrorism.htm, November 11, 2004.

[7] B. Raman in his "Plane hijacking: in perspective" provides data of the dramatic increase in plane hijacking in the end of the 1960's: if between 1948 and 1957 only 15 plane hijackings were reported in the whole world, and some 48 between 1958 and 1967, in the year 1968 alone there were 38 plane hijacking, and in 1969 even 82 – the highest hijacking rate per year. In the ten years between 1968 and 1977, 414 planes were hijacked. *South Asia Analysis Group*, http://www.saag.org/papers2/paper103.html, November 11, 2004.

[8] The latter was partially changed by the Protocol of May 15, 2004. The Protocol was signed by 41 member states of the Council of Europe, and 7 have already ratified it.

[9] Linkevicius, L. *A Broader Concept of Security for the 21st Century*, speech delivered at the "21st International Seminar of Global Security" in Berlin, on May 8, 2004.

lic of Lithuania until the next review of the National Security Strategy will be determined by the following distinguishing features of the current security environment:

- Final preparations for entry into NATO and the EU,
- Addressing the challenge of international terrorism."[10]

Next to this, among the major factors to influence Lithuania's international situation in the period of the coming fifteen years, indicated in the Seimas "Decision on the long-term strategy for development of the state", of November 12, 2002, international terrorism is not even mentioned while the Decision only refers to the factors influencing the world security and stability as well as non-traditional threats.[11]

It should be noted that the spread of transnational terrorism in the NSS is directly coupled with globalization (Paragraph 4.1), and the terrorism itself "poses a serious security threat to the global community, and therefore to Lithuania as well. However, this threat is largely external to the Republic of Lithuania. The internal situation and the historical heritage of Lithuania do not provide conditions for the formation of a broad domestic network of terrorism. This danger stems primarily from abroad." (Paragraph 4.1.1). Nonetheless, it is recognized that the infrastructures of Lithuania, strategic and objects of foreign countries 'may become a potential target of international terrorism.' (Paragraph 4.1.1) Globalization is ambiguously evaluated also in the "Strategic plan of action for the years 2004-2006" of the Ministry of Interior, where it is stated that 'globalization brings not only positive changes to the social live. It also causes threats of international terrorism and international crime.'[12] Another document, foreseeing the negative effect of globalization, is the Lithuania's Military Strategy (renewed in October of 2004), which says that 'there are no states that are immune against international terrorism' adding that 'chances of nontraditional threats are growing.' (Paragraph 2.3).[13]

These (main) antiterrorist documents that have been passed in Lithuania and are publicly accessible give an impression that the perception of globality of terrorism (or, to be more precise, of the international terrorism as an effect of globalization) is comprehended on the highest political level. However, a deeper and more

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[10] National Security Strategy of the Republic of Lithuania, adopted on May 28, 2002, http://www.kam.lt/EasyAdmin/sys/files/NSS.doc (English), http://www.kam.lt/EasyAdmin/sys/files/Nacionalinio_saugumo_strategija_06_05.doc (original Lithuanian), November 15, 2004.
As the final provisions (Paragraph 7.5) of the Strategy state, "The procedures for preparation, adoption, implementation and review of the National Security Strategy are established by the Law on the Basics of National Security of the Republic of Lithuania", which was adopted back in 1996 and has since been numerous times amended. Although the Law on the Basics of National Security pays some attention to the threats of terrorism, it is not elaborate on the issue. (http://www3.lrs.lt/cgibin/getfmt?C1=w&C2=228593, original Lithuanian, http://copyright.iile.ru/law/indexlit.html, English, November 15, 2004.

[11] Seimas' "Decision on the long-term strategy for development of the state", Nr. IX-1187, November 12, 2002, p. 7, http://www.lrv.lt/strateginis/igal_strat.pdf (original Lithuanian), November 11, 2004.

[12] Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Lithuania, *Strategic plan of action for the years 2004-2006*, http://www.vrm.lt/index.php?id=360 (original Lithuanian), November 15, 2004.

[13] *Military Strategy of the Republic of Lithuania*, http://www.kam.lt/EasyAdmin/sys/files/strategija.doc (original Lithuanian), November 15, 2004.

comprehensive analysis of these and other documents as well as the official antiterrorist rhetoric allows to differentiate between the official naming of this complex phenomenon called terrorism and the real perception of its essence and structure as well as readiness to deal with its threats.

Threats, which are associated with terrorism and are identified in various political documents, are distinguished into those related to terrorist attacks on the territory of Lithuania and the ones which are 'transit' in respect to Lithuania. 'Transit' threats are those that can eventuate a terrorist attack outside of Lithuania. This is residence in or transit of terrorists across Lithuania, founding of a terrorist group or planning of a terrorist attack in Lithuania, illegal acquisition of weapons and substances needed for attack, opening and keeping of bank accounts in Lithuanian banks, performance of other financial operations through Lithuanian finance institutions. This distinction is stated in both the NSS (Paragraph 4.1.1) and the Military strategy. The State Security Department (SSD) – the main acting organization in the prevention of terrorism – also distinguishes between the aspects of the place of terror and the corridor of terrorists' transit.[14]

Officially declared real threats for Lithuania that are associated with terrorism are ascribable to the illegal usage of deadly (radioactive, biological and chemical) substances and threats caused by immigration (both legal and illegal).

1. Lithuania in the World: International Cooperation

In the autumn of 2001 it appeared as if Europe awoke when it became apparent that the net of terrorists in the Old Continent is not only extremely dense, but also extremely sophisticated and refined. Massive surveillance and arrests started[15] (almost every week in one or another state of Europe persons who are directly involved in terrorist activity are being arrested, police often detects caches of guns and explosive), which were followed by trials and banishments, dispersals of religious and charity organizations, freezing of financial resources, etc. All this was crowned by a series of antiterrorist laws, which were passed within concrete states as well as on an international level. These measures in one or another way have affected (and still are affecting) practically all estimated 23 million Muslims who live in Europe.

To use the above mentioned metaphor, Lithuania apparently does not belong to the camp of 'deliberate exporters' of terrorism. On the contrary, it with the whole its political body and heart swears its loyalty and support for the camp, which fights against the import (e.g. international terrorism), and in particular its flagman – USA, and demonstrates that devotion constantly. The NSS unambiguously states that as

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[14] Official website of the Lithuanian State Security Department, http://www.vsd.lt/default.asp?page=91, November 14, 2004.

[15] Roland Jacquard, the president of the Paris-based International Observatory on Terrorism, estimates that more than 200 people accused of involvement with terrorism have been arrested in several European countries, including Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Spain, in less than a year from the September 11, 2001 tragedy. Walt, V. "Terrorists 'spread all over Europe'", *USA Today*, July 21, 2002, http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2002-07-21-alqaeda_x.htm, November 8, 2004.

well: "The Republic of Lithuania continues to provide political and practical support for the antiterrorist campaign of the United States, after they became the targets of terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001." (Paragraph 6.1.1). However, due to limited resources and capabilities, on the international level, this is realized more in rhetorical and formal (diplomatic) way.[16]

The NSS presupposes (particularly in Paragraph 4.1.1) that Lithuania can not become a member of terrorism exporters' camp, meaning that from the point of terrorism ideology, individual terrorists and their organizations, Lithuania does not pose any potential threat to the world. Nevertheless, as shown above, Lithuania theoretically can become a target and a victim of terrorism, that is, an importer of international terrorism. For this reason, the preparedness to deal with threats associated with terrorism should be one of the priorities in ensuring stability and security in the state.

Lithuania has declared its determination to fight against international terrorism on repeated occasions. One of the expressions of this determination is the ratification of all 12 UN antiterrorist conventions. The 'International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombing' was the last to be ratified by the Seimas in December of 2003.

Obviously, one of the best-seen and emphasized expressions of practical cooperation in the fight against terrorism is the participation of Lithuanian soldiers in international missions in Afghanistan and Iraq, which are commonly considered to be as antiterrorist operations. The Military Strategy of Lithuania approves the determination and commitment to adhere to 'the international NATO, EU, UN, OESC and also *ad hoc* coalitions which implement the objectives of these organizations (…) Lithuanian military will participate in the actions to prevent sources of terrorism, seeking to stop the spread of terrorism.' (Paragraph 4.4) This is also stated in the "Decision on the long-term strategy for development of the state": 'Lithuania will participate actively in NATO peace missions according to its resources, firstly in better known regions, where Lithuania already has experience'[17], passed a couple of years ago by the Seimas.

After repeated discussions in the beginning of autumn of 2004, the term of Lithuanian troops' participation in international missions was eventually extended. The total number of troops to participate in international missions is 330 (70 of them in Afghanistan, 120 in Iraq). The Ministry of Defense seems to be one of the most determined political institutions, seeking for a long-term Lithuanian troops' participation in international operations. The then Minister of Defense Linkevicius has

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[16] See speeches by President Valdas Adamkus, officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense, Lithuanian representatives at international organizations and joint communiqués signed by Lithuanian officials. (http://www.lt-mission-eu.be/MissionNATO/current/lithuania_reacts_to_the_september_11_terror_acts.html, November 15, 2004. On the practical level, Lithuania's input is rather modest: next to opening its air and land space for transit of allied troops and sharing intelligence information, t could offer only several hundred troops and a dozen medical personnel to take part in the so-called anti-terrorist operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. In addition, Lithuanian Government contributed several hundred thousand Litas for rebuilding works in the regions of operations.

[17] Seimas' "Decision on the long-term strategy for development of the state", Nr. IX-1187, November 12, 2002, p. 21, http://www.lrv.lt/strateginis/igal_strat.pdf (original Lithuanian), November 11, 2004.

labeled almost all ongoing operations as antiterrorist and has constantly reasoned the necessity of Lithuania's participation in them firstly out of its commitments to take an active part in the antiterrorist drive headed by the USA. However, the Ministry has so far failed to come up with a definition of terrorism that it adheres to; so, the perception of terrorism in the Defense system remains somewhat vague and flexible, moreover, it is clearly dependent on the U.S. foreign policy. This causes several problems. For instance, should an armed resistance against occupying forces be regarded as terrorism? For example, is the fight of Afghans and Iraqis against the U.S. and the allied military stationed in those countries terrorism? The answer to this question in the Lithuanian Defense system is straight forward – yes. However, in definitions of terrorism and in the international law, used worldwide, partisan (resistance to occupation or liberation) war is dissociated from terrorism. Unfortunately, in the Lithuanian Defense system, there is a lack of critical assessment of terrorism as a phenomenon, and the functional attitude, which prioritizes international commitments of the country as well as political mimicry in the fight against terrorism, dominates the scene.

2. Internal measures

The NSS covers a set of measures of terrorism prevention on the territory of Lithuania: "developing general anti-terrorist legislation; protecting potential targets against terrorist attack – including critical infrastructure; identifying individuals involved in ordering and executing possible terrorist acts; identifying and removing potential sources of terrorist funding; establishing clearly defined procedures for investigating acts of terrorism; systematic preparation for eliminating crisis situations caused by acts of terrorism; reinforcing counter-terrorist intelligence capability." (Paragraph 6.1.5). These and other measures are reinforced by documents, which regulate the antiterrorist activities of respective governmental agencies around the country.

It would be expected that having such a perception of global terrorism threats that is stated in aforementioned documents, the Lithuanian Government should have already assumed certain measures in order to form responsible structures and units staffed with specialists, who have studied and gained practical expertise abroad and are able to promptly figure out ideological orientations, relations and activities of single individuals as well as groups, and capable of both preventing and liquidating the damage caused by terrorist acts. Unfortunately, after going deeper into the structure and functions of public institutions, which should be responsible for fight against terrorism, it appears that there either are no separate structural units or their functions do not include the sphere of terrorism prevention and fight against it.

For example, the Migration department at the Ministry of Interior is a mere bureaucratic unit, which carries on only formal procedures and has no measures or commissions to exercise prevention of terrorism. The State Border Guard Service at the same ministry does not either speak about any specific terrorism prevention measures except the regular routine, though this institution is the most important in filtering potential incoming terrorists. Ministry of Defense generally does not officially consider terrorism prevention to be one of its spheres of activities, though enormous finances for the fight against terrorism come into disposition of this parti-

cular institution. And in the Ministry of Justice, there is also no unit, the personnel of which would be charged with supervising this sphere.

The State Security Department is about the only governmental agency to declare on its website that antiterrorist activities are part of its daily schedule.[18] But even in this case, concrete forms of these activities and their fruitfulness depend on specialists who are working on them.[19] In October of 2004, the SSD presented its action strategy for the years 2005-2008, in which it is intended 'to develop a system of international terrorism prevention'.[20]

The antiterrorist operations squad of the Lithuanian police 'Aras' is the unit charged with implementing concrete antiterrorist activities. The former rapid deployment squad of the Lithuanian police 'Aras' was renamed as 'antiterrorist operations squad' in November of 2004. This squad according to its set regulations has to 'carry out special antiterrorist, hostage freeing, and operations to arrest dangerous criminals; to neutralize self-made and military explosions, which are used for terrorist or criminal purposes.' (Paragraphs 8.1, 8.2)

2.1. The definition of terrorism: criminalization of the phenomenon

In order to prepare for the fight against terrorism effectively, there must be a clear (and stated in laws) perception of the phenomenon of terrorism. Trying to find out if there is any such perception, the definition of terrorism could be a starting point. Unfortunately, none of the antiterrorist documents mentioned above define what is to be considered terrorism.[21] This allows for a danger that the actual efforts of terrorism prevention undertaken by state agencies become at times suspicious and even pointless and obsolete without at least a publicly available working definition, for there seems to be no real ground against which the undertaken activities could be judged.

The only publicly available definition of terrorism is to be found in the Article 250 of the Criminal Code (under the heading 'Act of terror'), where it is set forth

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[18] On the official website of the State Security Department, (http://www.vsd.lt/default.asp?page=91, November 13, 2004), it says: "Antiterrorist Activities: As Lithuania is increasingly integrating into the world community, the necessity is arising to take measures so that the country does not become a target for terrorist acts or a transit state for terrorists. To this end, the State Security Department works to prevent terrorist actions and fights causes facilitating the spread of terrorism. The Department gathers and analyses information, and identifies persons who belong to terrorist groups, support them, or have extremist tendencies. In fighting terrorism, the SSD cooperates actively with foreign services and law enforcement agencies of the Republic of Lithuania. The Department also submits proposals to the Government on how to improve the existing laws, and on how to coordinate the activities of law enforcement agencies in order to make the prevention of terrorism more effective."

[19] According to Roland Jacquard, one of the main factors, hampering effective antiterrorist activities is shortage of secret agents versed in 'terrorist' languages. Walt, V. Terrorists 'spread all over Europe', *USA Today*, July 21, 2002, http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2002-07-21-alqaeda_x.htm, November 8, 2004. Lithuanian State Security Department, as far as the author is aware has not a single employ with fare knowledge of either Urdu, Pashto, Farsi or Arabic.

[20] BNS, October 14, 2004.

[21] The only document, which contains a definition of terrorism, is the Program against Terrorism, which unfortunately is out of the reach of the public. Accidentally, the only official definition of terrorism is made classified. This is at the same time pathetic and sad.

through the definition of an act of terror. According to the Criminal Code, the act of terror is placement of explosives in order to trigger explosion, blasting or setting the fire in human settled, working, gathering or public places. The same article also talks about terrorist group, defining its aims as attempt to employ previously mentioned 'actions to frighten people or to demand illegally from the state or its institutions or international organizations to perform or to suspend particular actions.'

However, the definition of terrorism used in the Criminal Code is a problematic one. Government of a particular state can use terror against its own citizens or inhabitants of occupied territories. As E. V. Walter has forcibly shown, it is necessary to distinguish between terror that is invoked by state and non-state actors.[22] The government pursued terror can be called 'reign of terror' or 'reigning by terror' and terror of non-state actors is called 'siege of terror'. The latter terror is synonymous to terrorism. Unfortunately, the Criminal Code of Lithuania does not take into account such distinctions.

To make matters worse, the provided definition considers neither motivation nor aims. It is true that talking about terrorist groups, their aims are loosely indicated, however they not necessarily have to be political. According to the article of the Criminal Code, the frightening of people or illegal demands from the state, its institutions or international organizations to perform or to forgo various tasks can be exercised seeking economical benefits without any political motivation or aims behind.

The provided definition of an act of terror does not foresee terror to be not just a mere single accident but continuous – e.g. 'process of terror' (as formulated by Walter). But it is precisely the feature of continuity which makes illegal coercion and violence terrorism. Threatening to use illegal coercion or violence is not mentioned in the definition altogether, though most of definitions include it into the notion of terrorism. Moreover, the definition of an act of terror is especially problematic because it includes only a few actions – blowing up and arson while the list of terrorist actions in the world is much longer. And finally, the Article 250 of the Criminal Code does not distinguish between targets – state security and military structures (uniformed officers serving in them, their objects as well as other movable and immovable property) and civilians, nonmilitary objects and private property. It causes some difficulties in classifying sallies against police officers as an act of terror.

But that is exactly what happened in the autumn of 2004, when a stationary police office was set on fire in the Vilnius Roma tabor in the Kirtimai district on October 6. During the press conference, the head of Vilnius Police Department Erikas Kaliacius evaluated this action as an act of terror. The Organized Crime Investigation Service of the Vilnius PD started pretrial investigation in this incident (which is officially regarded as an act of terror).[23] According to the Criminal Code, the custodial sentence for this kind of crime ranges from five to fifteen years. As it turned out it was two young junkies who had been working as day laborers in the tabor who caused the arson. According to information that is available publicly, this arson was not premeditated or systemically planned. Presumably, it was an irascible reaction of

[22] Walter, E. V. "Violence and the Process of Terror", *American Sociological Review*, vol. 29, issue 2, 1964.
[23] BNS, October 6, 2004.

the local Roma towards the attempts by the Vilnius municipality and police to re-strain drug dealing in the tabor. It is impossible to find any political motivation in this ruffian action. Unfortunately, thanks to the Criminal Code even such a trivial crime can be treated as a manifestation of terrorism.

Several articles of the Criminal Code discuss other features typical of terro-rism. For instance, Article 145 ('Threatening to Kill, Heavily Damage Person's He-alth or Terrorizing of People') speaks about threatening to kill a person or to damage his/her health seriously. The article also mentions terrorizing of a person threatening to blow up, to arson or to perform other actions that are dangerous to human live, health or property as well as systematical terrorizing using psychological coercion. Article 251 ('Seizure of Aircraft, Vessel or Stationary Platform in the Continental Shelf') criminalizes particular actions that are stated in international agreements: seizure of aircraft, vessel or stationary platform in continental shelf using or threate-ning with physical violence. Kidnapping of human person (Article 252, "Kidnapping of Human Person") (both having or not having political aims) also is regarded as a crime to be punished according to the criminal Code: 'The one, who kidnapped or kept imprisoned a person and demanded from international public organization, state or its institution to perform or to restrain any action and also the one, who threatened to kill the kidnapped person insisting on facilitating his escape from ar-rest, is to be punished…'

The recent Supplement to the Criminal Code (initiated by the Chairman of the Seimas National Security and Defense Committee Alvydas Sadeckas) should be seen as additional efforts to criminalize not only terrorist actions, but also public approval of them. In the *Law of the Supplement*, passed by Seimas on November 8, 2004, a punishment is designed for dispersal of information (in written, orally, or in any other way), which encourages, supports, or justifies terrorist activity, terrorist group, a person who performs terrorist acts as well as despises victims of terror.[24] In the words of Sadeckas: 'the propagation of terrorism endangers the security of the state and society; therefore, it should be criminalized.'[25] This step of the Seimas Committee was a direct reaction to the case of the *Kavkaz Center* Internet site, which has reached the Constitutional Court and awaits its ruling. However, the initial move came out of the SSD, which is the plaintiff in this lawsuit. This was indirectly confir-med by Sadeckas himself.[26]

Terrorism is being criminalized in Lithuania in agreement with the world practice. For example, in the UN General Assembly Resolution (1994), 'the States Members of the United Nations solemnly reaffirm their unequivocal condemnation of all acts, methods and practices of terrorism, as criminal and unjustifiable, where-ver and by whoever committed.'[27] In the report (2002) of the UN Policy Working

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[24] Supplement to the Criminal Code (addition of the Article 250(1), http://www3.lrs.lt/cgi-bin/preps2?Condition1=244809&Condition2 (original Lithuanian), November 15, 2004.
[25] BNS, October 6, 2004.
[26] BNS, October 6, 2004.
[27] UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/49/60 *Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism*, 1994, http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/49/a49r060.htm, November 11, 2004.

Group, it is stated that 'terrorism is a criminal act' adding long-sightedly that 'it is more than mere criminality'.[28] The European Parliamentary Assembly, in its recent (2004) Recommendation No. 1644, among other things maintains that 'the motive behind an act of terrorism does not change the nature of that act. Terrorism has no justification and it must be considered illegal, abhorrent, unacceptable and a crime against humanity'.[29] The Organization of the Islamic Conference similarly states in its resolution that '"Terrorism" means any act of violence or threat thereof notwithstanding its motives or intentions perpetrated to carry out an individual or collective criminal plan with the aim of terrorizing people or threatening to harm them or imperiling their lives, honour, freedoms, security or rights or exposing the environment or any facility or public or private property to hazards or occupying or seizing them, or endangering a national resource, or international facilities, or threatening the stability, territorial integrity, political unity or sovereignty of independent States'.[30] Moreover, the Organization of the Islamic Conference does not subsume politically motivated murders and assassinations under 'political crimes'.[31] The Commonwealth of Independent States in its antiterrorist treaty places terrorism within the confines of the Criminal law: 'Terrorism' – an illegal act punishable under criminal law committed for the purpose of undermining public safety, influencing decision-making by the authorities or terrorizing the population.'[32]

Nevertheless, assigning of terrorism exclusively to the realm of the criminal justice is doubtful. The criminal justice examines only the substance of the offense while the motives or objectives are regarded only as extenuating or aggravating circumstances not to be examined in detail or sought to eliminate. Leaving terrorism for the criminal justice, the roots (social, economic, and the most important – political) of this complex phenomenon remain unaccounted for and therefore not analyzed. Thus, the criminalization of terrorism, which enables to cope with the consequences of terrorism (to prosecute terrorists, who actively prepare for or have already made a sortie, and their collaborators), does not at all cover reasons for the fight against terrorism.

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[28] *Report of the Policy Working Group on the United Nations and Terrorism*, 2002, http://www.un.dk/doc/A.57.0273_S.2002.875.pdf, http://www.globalsecurity.org/security/library/report/2002/un-wrkng-grp-terrorism.htm, November 11, 2004.

[29] *Terrorism: a threat to democracies*, EU Parliamentary Assembly, Recommendation No. 1644, 2004, http://assembly.coe.int/Documents/AdoptedText/ta04/EREC1644.htm#_ftnref1, November 14, 2004.

[30] *Annex to the Resolution 59/26-P, Convention of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on Combating International Terrorism*, 1999, Article 1, Point 2, http://www.oic-un.org/26icfm/c.html, November 11, 2004.

[31] *Annex to the Resolution 59/26-P, Convention of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on Combating International Terrorism*, 1999, Article 2, Point c, http://www.oic-un.org/26icfm/c.html, November 11, 2004.

[32] *Treaty on Cooperation among the States Members of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Combating Terrorism*, Article 1, 1999, http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism/csi_e.pdf, November 11, 2004.

2.2. Readiness of state institutions

The Civil Protection Department (CPD) started orienting its work towards liquidation of consequences of possible terrorist attacks after the September 2001 attacks in the USA. As it is said on the Internet site of the CPD, 'in Lithuania, there are lot of sources of extreme situations, which can cause effects on peoples' lives and health. They are nuclear power plant at Ignalina, more than 250 of chemically dangerous objects, transportation of dangerous chemical substances, the communication system, oil industry, nets of gas pipes and pipelines. The possibility of terror or sabotage acts can not be rejected.'[33] Lithuania has already prepared a program how to liquidate ravage of extreme situations caused by terror acts. The measures are to be implemented till the year 2010.[34] The CPD organizes interdepartmental meetings for the effective implementation of provided measures. In addition to this, the international practice how to liquidate the oil spillage, caused by a terror act, had been arranged in June of 2004.[35] In its website, the CPD advises, how to deal with chemical terrorism. Incidentally, particularly a senior specialist of the CPD Arvydas Paršaitis is the only state clerk to have publicly used a sort of definition of terrorism: 'Terrorism is a deliberate, mostly politically motivated violent activity, which targets civilized states and their citizens and is counter to universally recognized rules of law – the fundament of contemporary civilization.'[36] This perception of terrorism is questionable, however, efforts of this clerk to define the phenomenon itself, ravage of which is to be dealt with by his institution in the case of terrorist attack, should be commended.

Another institution charged with dealing with possible terrorism ravage, the Fire and Rescue Department (FRD) in its 'Program for the implementation of the Strategy for the development of public security till 2010 in the fire and rescue system' stated that 'FRD-governed institutions are neither prepared enough nor materially equipped with special personal and work tools. Moreover, it lacks in legal acts, which would regulate the organization of rescue works.'[37] This is recognized in a broader manner in the 'Program for the elimination of the ravage of extreme situations caused by terror acts' (original Lithuanian 'Teroro aktu sukeliamu kriziniu situaciju padariniu likvidavimo programa', passed on June 26, 2003; No. 850): 'preparedness to liquidate ravage of weapons of massive destruction is not yet satisfactory.' Thus, despite a clear understanding of this kind of threat, explicitly stated in a range of

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[33] The official website of the Civil Protection Department, http://www.csd.lt/csg/ekst_situac.php, November 15, 2004.

[34] Paršaitis, A. *Civilines saugos departamentas apie terorizmo gresme* (the Civil Protection Department on the threat of terrorism), http://195.182.90.36/news/naujienos_det.asp?id=178&menuo=Bir•elis, (original Lithuanian), November 15, 2004.

[35] *Gyventoju veiksmai teroristams panaudojus chemini masinio naikinimo ginkla*, (Actions of the population in case of terrorists' usage of WMD), official website of the Civil Protection Department, http://www.csd.lt/patarimai/p.php?n=16 (original Lithuanian), November 15, 2004.

[36] Paršaitis, A. *Civilines saugos departamentas apie terorizmo gresme* (the Civil Protection Department on the threat of terrorism), http://195.182.90.36/news/naujienos_det.asp?id=178&menuo=Bir•elis (original Lithuanian), November 15, 2004.

[37] „Viešojo saugumo pletros iki 2010 metu strategijos igyvendinimo programa valstybineje priešgaisrineje gelbejimo tarnyboje" (Program for the implementation of the Strategy for the development of public security till 2010 in the fire and rescue system), Fire and Rescue Department Director's order nr. 217, November 7, 2002.

documents and statements made by the highest state officials, and efforts that are being put, the Lithuanian Government admits that the situation is not yet satisfactory.

As the Press release of the Press Office of the Lithuanian Government states, seeking to coordinate effectively antiterrorist activity, 'the Government decided to found a joint committee against terrorism', which is to be headed by the Director general of the SSD. Furthermore, the same release says that 'the committee will consider strategic and immediate questions relating to the fight against terrorism and terrorism prevention, will control the implementation of the Program against terrorism. Joint committee will offer suggestions for State Defense Council, the Seimas National Security and Defense Committee and for other public institutions and agencies. Sessions of the Joint Committee are to be held at least once in three months.'[38] The Committee consists of high ranking officials from almost two thirds of ministries (Interior, Foreign Affairs, National Defense, Transportation, Environment, Economy, Finances and Health), officials from the SSD and the General prosecutor's office. However, the usefulness of this committee is not perceptible due to the secrecy of information.

The drawbacks and limitations of the Program against terrorism can be certified by the proposal of the Seimas to renew it. In July of 2004, these proposals were favored and a plan to prepare long-term consolidation of security programs was approved. Among the suggestions was one 'to frame projects of laws defining the list of objects that are vulnerable to terrorism and measures to consolidate their safety; to consider a possibility to move the Refugees Reception Center out of Rukla; to tighten air traffic control at small airports', and most importantly, to charge the SSD 'with preparation of the project of the Law for fight against terrorism.'[39]

Conclusions

The contemporary terrorism is both a consequence and a reaction to the continuous disbalance of powers as well as international relationships based on principals of hegemony. Therefore, only after critical analysis of the policies of the European empires and their descendant the USA vis-ą-vis the Asian countries, not only roots of the latter-day terrorism can be traced, but also evaluation of adequacy and efficiency of the current antiterrorist measures can be made.

Lithuania so far is neither an exporter nor an importer of terrorism. Being not influential in world processes and in decisions made by the great powers, it is not really regarded (although it thinks of itself) as a potential partner by terrorism-fighting states or as a potential enemy by terrorism exporters. Such an impotent status can

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[38] Press release of the Press Office of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, February 13, 2002, http://buves.lrv.lt/aktualij/pran_sp/2002vasaris/terorizmas_komisija05.html (original Lithuanian), November 15, 2004.

[39] LR Seimo Nacionalinio saugumo ir gynybos komiteto Sprendimas del Programos prieš terorizma igyvendinimo (Decision of the Seimas National Security and Defense Committee on implementation of the Program against terrorism), March 31, 2004, nr.1, http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter/w3_viewer.ViewDoc?p_int_tekst_id=32670&p_int_tv_id=409&p_org=0 (original Lithuanian), November 12, 2004. Itself, the 'Program against terrorism' is a classified document unavailable to the general public.

misleadingly appear to be beneficial – terrorism might miss us. It is highly likely to be so for a while. However, in a long perspective, this situation will become dangerous.

The problem is complex and its solution demands more than just good political will from the Government's side. Formal statements that Lithuania is on the side of the fighters against terrorism exporters does not make by itself Lithuania strong and resistant to terrorism. The first steps undoubtedly have been taken on the political level, however. The Lithuanian Government swore to cope with terrorism in its 'Program against terrorism' (passed on October 22, 2002) and allocated some 7,000,000 Litas for this purpose.[40] Moreover, structural units in public institutions are being created and the Joint Committee, which coordinates proceeding of various institutions, has been found.

Nonetheless, though the enactment of laws and other documents and creation of various structures are implemented without difficulty, to fill them with real specialists seems to be not such an easy task. Specialists here mean professionals having appropriate education as well as practice. Unfortunately, Lithuania lacks such specialists chronically. In the sense of education, the situation is pitiable because there are not only no academic programs but also no separate courses on terrorism at the Lithuanian establishments of higher education. Accordingly, no surveys are being carried out in this sphere. Academic programs and research in studies of security regrettably do not pay enough attention to the analysis and studies of the phenomenon of international terrorism. On the level of practical skills, clerks of respective Lithuanian public institutions should have to have possibilities to work in institutions of states dealing with and fighting against terrorism.

Thus, the essential task for Lithuania in the context of the current antiterrorist drive is not an automatic justification of antiterrorist measures that are underway in the name of peacefulness in a not defined future, but formation of critical attitude both on political and social levels. Only after formation of versatile realization of terrorism as a phenomenon (its sources, nature of its threats and methods) and formulation of a viable and publicly available definition of terrorism, Lithuania can attain adequacy of its antiterrorist programs and measures implementing them in a long-term prospect. In turn, it would be crowned with the success of antiterrorist activities and avoidance of loss of life and property.

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[40] In the 2003 budget financial assignations for fight against terrorism were even increased, allocating to the State Security Department 2,904,000 Litas, to the Police Department – 6,100,000 Litas. (source: Seimas Budget and economic affairs committee)

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Global Geopolitical Developments and Opportunities for Lithuania's Foreign Policy

The changes in geostrategy of the United States have become clear after the events of September 11. These changes have encouraged the reformation and adaptation process of the geopolitical codes of the other main geopolitical actors. Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Russia and China are facing the necessity either to adapt to the transformed US geostrategy or to project and implement alternative geopolitical combinations striving for its neutralisation. The change of the geopolitical codes of the main geopolitical actors (including various alternatives variants) would shape the main tendencies of global geopolitical development at the beginning of the 21st century. It is necessary to evaluate the action scenarios of the main geopolitical actors in order to identify the opportunities of Lithuania's geopolitical code and also Lithuania's foreign policy transformation in the global geopolitical environment since the possibilities of Lithuania's foreign policy directly depend on the changes of the global geopolitical situation. The analysis of global geopolitical development and the identification of opportunities of Lithuania's foreign policy are based both on static and dynamic approaches. This study identifies the interests of the US, Russia, major powers of the European Union (EU) and China in the global geopolitical environment. Such identification sets the conditions for Lithuania's possible location in the geostrategic plans of the great powers and that is the static part of the analysis. The dynamic part of the analysis relies on the model of the strategic choice and presents the main geostrategic alternatives of the most important geopolitical actors. They depend on the changes of interaction among the geopolitical subjects. The models of this interaction allow identifying possible global geopolitical scenarios and evaluating Lithuania's eventual geopolitical role in the changing geopolitical space.

Introduction

Lithuania's geopolitical situation determines the dependence of its international environment on the interrelations among Russia, the US, and the major powers the EU. Lithuania's possibilities to achieve own geopolitical vision and implement specific functions in international relations mainly depend on its place and level of attention to it in the geostrategic plans of the major geopolitical actors mentioned above.

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The interrelations among the US, Europe, Russia and China as it historically has arisen will determine the transformation opportunities of all the international system and the character of the geopolitical structure in the 21st century. The possibilities of Russia to get stronger or the US possibilities to dominate the world depends on the situation in Europe, which is one of the main clash zones of the geopolitical interests (who will be the dominating power in Europe), Europe's position (whose side Europe will support) and also on the global politics of China.

France, Germany and the United Kingdom are regional powers in Europe. They lost the status of independent geopolitical actors during the Cold War. They face the dilemma of choice now: either to permanently become geopolitical allies of the US or by mobilising their own capabilities through common European defence and security institutions to create a federal EU and convert it into a global geopolitical actor.

1. The Interests of the Global Geopolitical Actors in Eurasia

The global geopolitical development is an interrelation determined by the strategic choices (and implementation of strategies) of geopolitical subjects. The consequences of this development are the variations of the subjects' power spread in the space. The analysis of geopolitical processes is based on the approach of strategic choice in the discipline of international relations. It is one of the approaches of the paradigm of rational choice. The proponents of the approach of the strategic choice suggest that actors (geopolitical subjects in this case) have goals (interests), prioritise them and seek to implement them by the best means in their own consideration. The actors create strategies for achieving their goals. The implementation of the actor's strategies create the interaction with other subjects and strategic choices of these subjects (the actor's environment) determining the goal achievement of the actor in the international system[1].

While researching the interests of the geopolitical actor, objective and subjective levels must be distinguished. It is possible to identify the optimal conditions and circumstances of existence (so-called objective interests) of state (or other subject) and to create the strategies adequate to reality, which would form or secure these conditions and prevent the emergency of new threats. The comprehension of state (and other actors) interests depend on the internal structure of political and economic powers and also on the presumption and definition of the interests of other subject and the threats arising from them (so-called subjective interests). Of course, this does not mean that the interests of geopolitical subjects (including geopolitical codes) are only totally subjective social constructs. The interests of the actor are the inter-subjective social construct, which forms and is formed through the interaction among political coalitions in the state (or an other international actor) and through the interaction among states (or other actors). The particular formula of interest of a

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[1] Lake D.A., Powell R., "International Relations: A Strategic-Choice", in Lake D.A., Powell R., eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999, p. 3-38.

particular actor is determined by the power relations of internal groups and their coalitions and the bargaining process of these coalitions, by the international environment and by the state's situation in the structure of the global geopolitical system[2].

The interests of geopolitical subjects can be vital, primary and secondary ones depending on their importance. Political actors embed this division through the programs and strategies of the parties or governments. The interests can be local, regional and global ones depending on the extent of their spread through space. The interests of geopolitical subjects are also divided into common (permanent), (geo) strategic (fairly stable with insignificant changes), long-term and short-term ones depending to their extension through the time[3].

1.1. The Interests of the United States

The United States is a super-power, the hegemon of the international system[4]. The US dominates in the maritime geostrategical zone, space and cyber-sphere. The US economy is one of the most powerful in the core zone.

The fundamental geostrategic interest of the US is politically divided Eurasia[5]. The control of Eurasian coasts (discontinental geostrategic zone) is very important for the US. The continental powers can not (because of lack of access) challenge the US global domination in the oceans (and also could not threaten the security of the US mainland territory as well) until the US controls the discontinental geostrategic zone (in combination with domination in the air and space) of Eurasia[6].

Of course, those are only the minimal geostrategic interests of the US. The current international order depends mainly on the US. The global stability of current international system and the preservation of its unipolar structure is the long-term interest of the US.

Thus, the geopolitical pluralism in Eurasia is not enough to guarantee the global stability and, therefore, the US strives for the final establishment of its hegemonic status.

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[2] Statkus N., Motieka E., Laurinavičius Č., *Geopolitiniai kodai: tyrimo metodologija.*, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2003, p. 65-66.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 68 – 69.

[4] Ikenberry J. G., ed., *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002; Ferguson N., *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire,* New York: The Penguin Press, 2004.

[5] Brzezinski Z. *Velikaja shachmatnaja doska*, Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnoshenya, 1999, p. 52-54, also see Brzezinski Z., *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, Basic Books, 1997.

[6] The majority of the USA military bases are deployed exactly in the discontinental geostrategic zone (17,000 US troops are dislocated in Europe, 101,000 in East Asia and the Pacific, 30,000 in North Africa and the Middle East (prior to Iraq War), 5,400 in the other countries of North and South America, 160 in the counties of former Soviet Union. The US are entered into collective (multilateral) treaties on defence not only with the other 18 countries of NATO, but also New Zealand, Australia, Philippines, Japan and South Korea and the less bounding agreements of the co-operation in defence with most countries of Latin America, see Paulauskas K., *JAV gynybos pramonės raida ir poveikis santykiams su Europa*, Vilnius: LR Krašto apsaugos ministerija, 2004, p. 47.

1.2. The Interests of Russia

Russia lost the status of super-power and became one of the regional powers after the Cold War. Russia's dive into the geoeconomic periphery is a real possibility. However, Russia still controls one of the three geostrategic zones of world – the continental zone of Eurasia, i.e. the heartland. The interests of continental Russia are diametrically opposite to the interests of the maritime powers. Being the continental power, Russia seeks to control all the resources and shores of Eurasia's continent and also aims to create the sea, air and space forces matching the power of maritime powers and bear the conventional efficiency of the land forces.

The main short-term goal of Russia is the necessity to hold in the semi-periphery and to avoid diving into the periphery. The long-term economic goal is to become part of the geoeconomic core. Russia tries to mobilize human, natural and technological resources in order to enhance productivity and production quality. Therefore, the Russian ruling elite has interest in the political, administrative and economic centralisation of Russia, which would be helpful for the successful policy of "modernisation" ("transition").

The direct or indirect control of Eurasian shores would be one of the main Russia's geostrategical interests, since this would fundamentally guarantee Russia's security. To achieve this, Russia should drive out the US from Eurasia. Although, understanding the difficulty of this aim (even in a long-term perspective) Russia should create such combinations of international politics, which would eventually help to reduce the influence of the US in Europe and the remaining discontinental zone. Russia expects to retain the super-power status by these actions. In the mid-term, Russia seeks to restore influence on the former Soviet Union countries and also on the Baltic States. The reintegration of CIS countries is very important to Russia politically, military and economically, but the main goals are to stop the spread of influence of the US in the former Soviet Union territory (Moldova, Ukraine and South Caucasus) and enhance the effectiveness of use of its resources for geopolitical goals in the short-term.

1.3. The Interests of the Main Powers of the European Union

Almost all member states of the EU (except the United Kingdom and Ireland) belong to the discontinental geostrategic zone. All of them are the part of the world geoeconomic core zone.

The EU could not be considered as sole geopolitical subject, which has united interests and common geopolitical strategy. The common economic, security and foreign policy interests of the EU are the projection of the coinciding geopolitical interests of its member states. In other words, the interests and perception of the threats of the EU derives from the interests and perceptions of threats of the member states. In fact, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) is determined by the most powerful member states, especially Germany. The agreement on a particular issue of the member states determines the implementation of the CFSP. The common policy is paralysed in the spheres where the agreement is absent.

The economic interests of the EU are best articulated of all the interests, since the EU primarily an economic structure. West European continental states are interested in maintaining their welfare and status, i.e. they are interested to maintain the unequal swap with semiperiphery and periphery. The stable supply of natural resources, the protection of technologies, trade roads and supply of resources, the ruining of the industry of competitors from the semiperiphery and the free access to the markets of the semiperiphery and periphery could guarantee the current welfare and status of Europe.

The geostrategic and long-term interests of the most powerful members of the EU differ strongly. The main part of the territory of **the United Kingdom** is on the British Isles. This determines the maritime (talasocratic) civilisation and power of the UK. The base of the United Kingdom's security is ruling over the oceans by strong navy and the control of the main sea-routes and straits. On the other hand, the political elite of the Great Britain realise, that security of their state could be guaranteed by heading off the way for the dominance of one or another continental state of Europe. The specifically British "perfect isolation" and the balancing policy were the consequence of these presumptions[7].

The UK tries to balance continental European powers with the power of US, guided by the reason that their basic regional interests and position on the EU are very similar. Neither the US, nor the UK wishes the EU to transform into a consolidated geopolitical subject. The US does not wish that, because it menaces the loss of its influence in Europe and the UK fears partial loss of the sovereignty and subordination of the UK to the continental core consisting of France and Germany. The UK may support the EU model, which includes some features of true confederation such as the a President of the EU Council or a foreign minister of the EU. Though, the fully integrated security, defense, tax and social policies are contrary to the general interests of the UK. Such level of integration would infringe UK sovereignty. Also such policies could be disadvantageous to the UK's economy and social system (both of them are rather different from the continental European states) as well. Besides, this could split the strategic alliance with the US. The fairly decentralised EU with rather limited competence of central institutions is preferable to the UK[8].

Germany is a typical state of the discontinental zone (rimland) and it represents the advantages and vulnerabilities of it. The characteristics of the discontinental zone implies the active state and society and the certain indetermination of the internal and foreign policy at the same time. This indetermination is caused by the opportunities of the geopolitical orientation towards both the maritime or heartland powers and making the alliances with the states of one or another geostrategic zone.

The main elements of the current geopolitical code of Germany incite its "dissolving" in supranational structures, first of all the EU (the geopolitical internationalism). But there is the tendency of implementation of Germany's national interests through the institutions of the EU instead of "dissolving" in it. The main interests of Germany are:

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[7] Laurinavičius Č., Motieka E., Statkus N., *Baltijos valstybių geopolitikos bruožai. XX amžius*, Vilnius: Lietuvos Istorijos institutas, 2005, p. 230-231.
[8] *Ibidem.*

- preservation of the common transatlantic institutions
- complete integration of the former East Germany
- deepening the integration of the EU and enlarging it by incorporating Eastern Europe[9]

Germany is the largest and one of the richest countries in the EU and, therefore, is interested in the EU's federalisation, since this provides the opportunities to influence the other member states through the central institutions of the Union[10]. Germany is likely to support the Europeanisation of Eastern Europe and Turkey and their eventual integration into the EU after the establishment of its influence on the central federal structures of the Union.

The context of the national interests always shaped the attitude of **France** towards the CFSP. According to French perception, the EU should balance the power of the US and limit the power of the potential rivals of France (especially that of Germany) in Europe. France supports the federalisation of the EU and advocate for the enhancement of the role of its largest members. France is inclined to use the EU further as a tool for the enhancement and guaranteeing of France's prestige. France seeks to establish such a structure of the enlarged EU, that would allow finding and implementing the common position, but the individual countries would preserve the priority of national interests in the spheres of vital importance to them at the same time[11]. The EU designed by France is more confederation than federation, though France might also support and federal EU structure, in case this would guarantee equal domination by France and Germany in the European subcontinent.

The interests of the continental European states like France and Germany and their allies (Belgium, Luxembourg, and Austria) are rather similar and coincide in many spheres. These countries could be called EU "continental core". This "continental core" is likely to have the common long-term interests towards the US, Russia and China.

Europe and the US are closely bounded together by economic, common defense and other social ties. They set up one geopolitical supraregion[12]. The economical interdependence of the US and Europe is mutual[13]. The EU strongly depends on the "hard security" provided by the USA. Any impetuous cessation of the transatlantic relations would affect the EU security ant the welfare negatively. The radical shift of the EU from the transatlantic relations towards the counter-alliances with Russia or China in order to block the power of the United States is disadvantageous for the continental Europe likely[14].

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[9] *Ibidem.*

[10] Heffernan M., *The Meaning of Europe: Geography and Geopolitics*, London: Arnold, 1998, p. 129.

[11] Laurinavičius Č., Motieka E., Statkus N., (note 7) p. 274.

[12] Statkus N., Motieka E., Globalios ir Baltijos valstybių geopolitinės situacijos pokyčiai, *Lietuvos metinė strateginė apžvalga 2003*, Vilnius: Lietuvos Karo Akademija, 2004, p. 9-53.

[13] The trade with Europe compose the 25 per cent of the US foreign trade (i.e. about 400 billion USD), 50 per cent of the US investments are in Europe (about 800 billion USD), 75 per cent of foreign investments to the US are from Europe (about 1 trillion USD) in 2003. 58 per cent assets of the US corporations (with value of 3 trillion USD) are in Europe and European assets in the US have a value of 3.3 trillion USD. There are about 4 million Europeans working for the US companies and about 4,5 million Americans working for the European corporations, see Sobel C.M., "The United States and Europe: Regulatory Cooperation and Conversion", International Law and Practice Association of the New York State Bar Association, Amsterdam, October 26, 2003, http:// www. Usemb.nl/102403.htm, 14 07 2004

[14] Hunter R. E., Europe's Leverage, *The Washington Quarterly*, 27, 1, 2003, p. 91–110.

But this does not mean that "continental core" of the EU is not interested in the development of close relations with Russia or China. The EU needs Russia as:

- the supplier of energy resources[15]
- the space with the important transport corridors into East, South and South-East Asia
- the partner of common projected structure of the European defence[16]

Generally, the continental core states of the EU consider Russia as a geopolitical counterweight to the dominance of the US in the short-term and mid-term perspective and as the strategic partner in the case of Russia's Europeanization to the sufficient level in the long-term.[17]

China is considered by the European continental countries only as a tactic partner to limit the power of the US. The long-term interests of the EU continental core and China are very different and China is the geostrategic and geoeconomic rival of the EU.

1.4. The Interests of China

The main part of China's territory belongs to the discontinental geostrategic zone (rimland), so it has the similar interests like the continental European states. These interests are the avoiding the domination of the heartland or maritime powers and the possibility of making alliances with one or another. The states, which are in discontinental zone must have fairly powerful sea, air and land forces ant the alternative supply sources of various resources[18].

China, like Russia, belongs to the world's geoeconomic semiperiphery, but the difference from Russia is that China's economy is growing and modernising rapidly[19]. If China's economy would keep the current growth rates (7-8 per cent annually), it will catch up with Europe and North America by the size of GDP by 2030[20]. However, China has rather modest own oil and gas reserves. China's demand for the oil should grow by 91 per cent to the 8.8 million barrels per day (almost the same amount of the current export by Russia or Saudi Arabia) during 2000-2020.

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[15] The EU and Russia are closely connected in geoenergetic sphere. The member states of EU import about one-fifth of consumed oil and about one-third of consumed gas from Russia. According to forecasts, the EU will import 70 per cent of energy resources in 2030. The main part of them (especially oil and gas) will come from Russia. The 98 per cent of gas export and 81 per cent of oil export of Russia is to the EU, see Jaffe A. M., Manning R.A., Russia, Energy and the West, *Survival*, 43, 2, 2001, p. 133-152.

[16] Laurinavičius, Č., Motieka E., Statkus N., (note 7) p. 335.

[17] Emerson M., "The EU-Russia-US Triangle", *CEPS Policy Brief 52*, Centre for European Policy Studies, June 2004, http://www.ceps.be, 29 10 2004.

[18] Statkus N., Motieka E., Laurinavičius Č., (note 2) p. 69.

[19] If the GDP growth of China would remain at the rate of 7-8 per cent per year, it should surpass the one of the EU and almost catch up with that of the US. See: The National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue About the Future With Nongovernment Experts,* http://www.cia.gov/nic/NIC globaltrend2015.html, 05 10 2004; Sutter R., Why Does China Matter?, *The Washington Quarterly,* 27, 1, p. 75–89.

[20] Russett B., Stam A., Russia, NATO, and the Future of U.S.-Chinese Relations, http://www.fas.org/man/nato/ceern/nato-final_vs.htm

The gas demand should increase by 631 per cent, or 9.5 trillion square foot in 2020[21] .

China, like a few other great powers (Russia, France and Germany) is hostile to the dominance of the US and to the unipolar structure of the world. China supports the vision of multipolar world. China aims to be an equal partner of the US and play an important role in solving the global problems in the future[22] . However, Beijing realises the current differences of power and influence between China and the US and co-operates with the US. China needs the favour of the US for securing peaceful external environment, foreign investments, export of energy resources from the Gulf through sea-routes controlled by the US and the obtaining the modern technologies, i.e. everything what is necessary to the development of economy. The permanent economic growth is the main precondition for the social and political stability in China and the main condition to expand its influence. Therefore, China aims to strengthen its relative power and to build up the secure external environment, which would be favourable for the economical development, since this would guarantee the stable flows investment and technologies into the country. This would lead to the further development of the modernisation program of China's armed forces.

China considers weakened Russia not a rival, but a possible partner, which potentially could guarantee the stable supply of energy resources and weaponry. The growing Russia's market is considered as an export market by China. The Chinese strategic thinkers consider Russia as the potential geopolitical counterweight to the US[23] .

China needs the favourable European position as well, to use it as a lever in the various negotiations with the US. China is interested in the emergency of the EU as the united geopolitical actor, which has the potential for balancing the power of the US. Europe is considered as the giant market for Chinese production, the source of modern technology and the source of investment and the possible supplier of modern weaponry to China as well[24] .

2. The Strategies of the Global Geopolitical Actors towards Eurasia

2.1. The Geopolitical Strategy of the US towards Eurasia

US politicians and strategic thinkers mainly agree on the goal of the general (grand) strategy of the US. This is the preservation of the hegemony of the US and the unipolar international system. There is the common agreement on the main interests of the US in Eurasia - prevention of emergency of the anti-American geopolitical bloc in the continent. However, the US strategic thinkers disagree on the practical

[21] Nunn S., Schlesinger J.R., *The Geopolitics of Energy into the 21st Century*, Vol. 3, Center of Strategic and International Studies, 2000, p. 21
[22] *Liang Q., Xiangsui W., A* Chinese Alternative to US Hegemony, htttp://www.heartland.limeson-line.com, 05 10 2004.
[23] Smith M., "A Current Russo-Chinese Relations", *Working paper F81, Conflict Studies Research Centre*, January 2003, http://www.csrc.ac.uk, 03 04 2004.
[24] *Liang Q., Xiangsui W.,* (note 22).

means and ways to implement these strategic goals, despite the almost common agreement on the necessity of the **active prevention** of revisionism[25].

There are two main interpretations of general (grand) strategy of the US. The first one is the *strike* on the potential revisionists in order to establish the hegemony of the US further. The second one is the *inclusion* of the potential revisionists, i.e. the creation of global collective security system through multilateral security institutions. Both strategies belong to the type of the strategies of active prevention. These two views of the formation of the foreign policy of the US represented by the neo-conservative (the proponents of the first alternative) and by the neo-liberal (the proponents of the second one) groups of American elite (both Republicans and Democrats) respectively[26]. Both strategies of passive containment of revisionists and isolationism are not popular among the US foreign policy elite (especially after the attacks of September 11).

The neo-conservative administration of the President G.W. Bush undoubtedly implements the offensive strategy of the containment of the potential revisionists and the **establishment of the global hegemony** of the US[27]. Both neo-conservatives and neo-liberals agree on the main threats to the interests of the US in Eurasia. The threat to the geostrategic and long-term interests of the US would arise in the case (according to the one of the most famous present US scholars of geopolitics from the neo-liberal camp Zbigniew Brzezinski):

• the countries of Central Eurasia unite themselves and became an active actor hostile to the West, or even worse
• they extende their influence to the South Eurasia or create an alliance with one of the great powers in East Eurasia or
• the two great East Eurasian powers somehow merge together or
• the Western allies of the US distance them and create an alliance with the powers of Central Eurasia

The neo-conservative strategic thinkers like the former deputy secretary of defence Paul Wolfowitz and the former chairman of Defence Policy Board of Defence Department Richard Perle have a similar vision of the threats[28].

[25] Rice C. "Promoting the National Interest", *Foreign Affairs*, 79 (1), 2000, p. 45-62; Nye J. "Redefining the National Interest", *Foreign Affairs*, 78 (4), 1999, p. 22-23.; The Commission on America's National Interests, *"America's National Interests"* 2002 June. http://bcsia.ksg.harv`ard.edu/BCSIA_content/documents/AmerNatInter.PDF , 22 10 2004.
[26] Posen B. ., "Trans-Atlantic differences: a clash of values or a failure to face reality?", http://www.theepc.be/challenge/challenge_detail.asp?SEC=challenge&SUBSEC=issue&SUBSUBSEC=&REFID=964, 10 11 2002; Gaddis J.L., "A Grand Strategy", *Foreign Policy*, Nov-Dec, 2002, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/issue_novdec_2002/gaddis.html, 12 11 2002; Bacevich A.J., "The Irony of American Power", *First Things*, 81, 1998, p. 19-27, http://www.firstthings.com, 16 08 2004.
[27] Gaddis J. ., "A Grand Strategy", *Foreign Policy*, Nov-Dec, 2002, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/issue_novdec_2002/gaddis.html, 12 11 2002;
[28] 1992 "Defence Planning Guidance" Draft Excerpts, http://www.emjournal.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/may03101.html, also look, Perle R., Frum D., *An End to Evil: How to win the War on Terror*, New York: Random House, 2003.

The geostrategy of the US is to prevent potentially revisionist states or their coalitions from taking the control over the geostrategic zone of Eurasian rimland and prevent the alliances which could achieve this control by preserving the geopolitical plurality in the Eurasia. Americans fear the direct strategic subjugation of CIS countries to Russia, the success of the geopolitical alliance between Russia and Iran or Russia and China, the alliance between China and Japan (possibly including ASEAN states) in East Asia, the alliance between China and Islamic countries, i.e. the Eurasism. The US fears the alliance among European continental states and Russia, i.e. Eurocontinentalism as well[29].

The measures suggested by the neo-conservatives for the neutralisation of the threats to the interests of the US in Eurasia essentially differ from the ones suggested by the neo-liberals. **Brzezinski** had formulated the **active strategy of mondialism**, which purposes are the prevention of the processes negatively affecting the US and the creation of the global **transcontinental collective security system** led by the US in the long-term. The action plan proposes to:

- prevent the plot (rebellion) by the US allies, keeping them dependent on mutual security system with the US
- assure the security of US citizens and the security of the countries, which are under influence of the Americans
- prevent the political alliance among countries hostile to America
- convert the hostile countries into allies[30]

Neo-conservative approach is highlighted in the new National Security Strategy of the United States. It is directed to transform the US into global "hyper-state", whose hegemony would be guaranteed through the giant difference of concentrated power, pre-emptive strikes on potential enemies and radical geopolitical transformation of the Middle East instead of the leadership over the collective security system and the containment of revisionist states.

According to the neo-liberals, the security guaranties to Germany and Japan is one of the most important elements of the long-term strategy of the US towards Eurasia. America co-opts the potentially revisionist states into the pro-*status quo* camp by guaranteeing the security and opportunities of economic development for them. The foreign policy of the US under administration of W.Clinton was based on the Brzezinski's strategic concept towards Eurasia. The regional balance of the power and the regional collective security systems preventing the formation of the anti-American coalitions had guaranteed the stability in the main geostrategic regions. The stability was ensured through the NATO in Europe, through security guaranties to Japan, South Korea and Taiwan in East Asia and through support of Israel and Gulf States in the Middle East.

According to the neo-liberals, the US should project the transcontinental security system controlled by them in order to preserve geopolitical pluralism in Eurasia and prevent the hostile alliances of alternative centres of power as well in the long-term (until 2035)[31]. Transcontinentalism suggests the common security system (com-

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[29] Brzezinski Z., (note 5) p. 54.
[30] *Ibidem*, p. 54-72.
[31] The article considers 2005 – 2035 (thirty years) the long-term, 2005 – 2020 (15 years) the mid-term and 2005 – 2010 the short-term period.

munity) over all the Northern Hemisphere. Brzezinski suggests that the US should become the political unifier of the civilized world by creating the transcontinental security system of "North" (US-EU-Russia-Japan). The transcontinental union of liberal democracies would lead the world and the US would lead the union. Westernizing and attracting of Russia to the side of the US is very important, since this would prevent the formation of effective alliance between Russia and China or between China and Islamic civilization[32].

The possibility to form something similar to the four-lateral union of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia, which existed after Vienna Congress in 19th century, is also discussed among US political scientists. The new coalition of the beginning of 21st century would consist of the US, the EU, Russia and Japan[33]. This alliance should eventually constitute the premises for China's integration into this transcontinental security structure[34]. The transcontinental geopolitical alliance uniting global "North" from Vancouver to Vladivostok would be directed against the Islamic world and the remaining "South" (and China, if its inclusion would fail).

☐ — Potential members of the alliance

Map 1. Transcontinental alliace: US, EU, Russia, Japan

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[32] Brzezinski published three articles in *The National Interest* during 2000 - "Living with China" (2000 Spring), "Living with a New Europe" (2000 Summer) and "Living with Russia" (2000 Fall) on this issue.

[33] Kissinger H. Where we will turn now? *The Washington Post*, 06 11 2001; Barber L. The split among great European powers, *Financial Times*, 06 11 2001; Allison G., Kaiser K. and S. Karaganov, The world needs a new security alliance, *International Herald Tribune*, 21 11 2001.

[34] Brzezinski Z., *The Geostrategic Triad. Living with China, Europe and Russia*, Washington: The CSIS Press, 2001, p. 23-24.

The actual forms of the institutionalisation of this union could vary. The transformation of the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) into Organization of Security and Cooperation in Eurasia by incorporating the Asian countries, which do not belong to OSCE into it, could be one of the ways. NATO could be expanded and transformed into the main pillar of the new international security system in the future as well. Russia would gain more weight through these organizations in international politics, but it would become more constrained at the same time. The deepening of integration in the EU and the strengthening of common defence forces would slow down. The EU should stay a political confederation. This would be like the peculiar repetition of the strategy of the US directed at "keeping Germans down" after World War II. Germany was included into almost every Western international institution after this war.

The neo-conservatives, differently from liberals, are sceptical about guaranteeing the hegemony of the US through the bounds of the collective security. The geostrategy of neo-conservatives can be described by four concepts:

- military supremacy
- pre-emptive strike
- global sovereignty
- global governance

Bush administration had chosen to strengthen of the US relative power based on weapons system of the new generation technology, adoption of non-military informational technology, nanotechnology and biotechnology in industry and the control of energy resources supply and transportation routes. This strategy is based on *The National Security Strategy of United States of America*[35], which authorship is assigned to the neo-conservatives. The success of it would make the American military supremacy and economical potential eventually unmatchable[36]. The US should maintain the rapid growth of its power and significantly increase the gap between the power of the US and the power of the other countries or even regional blocs. According to the plans of neo-conservatives, the US should become so powerful that it could be independent of allies' support,[37] maintain the control over space and oceans and could secure the territory of North America from attacks carried by missiles or other non-conventional weapons. However, the achievement of qualitative changes, i.e. global political influence and unquestionable international prestige is the main condition of guaranteeing the hegemonic dominance[38].

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[35] *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September, 2002.

[36] New The National Security Strategy of the US is preventively interventionist. It suggests to neutralise the threats to the US in its beginning, therefore, declares the possibility to use unilateral preventive measures including pre-emptive strikes. Also see Statkus N., Motieka E., Globalios ir Baltijos valstybių geopolitinės situacijos pokyčiai, *Lietuvos metinė strateginė apžvalga 2003*, Vilnius: Lietuvos Karo Akademija, 2004, p. 9-53.

[37] The 21 active tactical brigade of the 33 were outside the borders of the US (16 were in Iraq, two in Afghanistan, two in Korea and one in Balkans) in the mid of 2003. Only 12 brigades are left for other possible military operations, so the help of the allies is necessary for the US in order to carry on two or more military operations globally, see Hutchison K. "Stretched To Thin", *Washington Times*, 20 August 2003.

[38] Barry T., "A Strategy Foretold", *Foreign Policy In Focus, Policy report,* October 2002, http://www.fpif.org/papers/foretold_body.html; Pieterse J. N., "Neoliberal Empire", *Theory, Culture & Society,* 21, 3, 2004, p. 119–140.

The US may take unilateral actions and also organise the effective international coalitions with clear goals for the sake of securing its national interests *The National Security Strategy of the United States* insist. According to the authors of the Strategy, every single state is responsible for the ongoing processes in its territory, which disturb the international order maintained by the US. If any state could not carry on its international obligations its sovereignty could be infringed for the sake of neutralisation of the source (or sources) of the threats.[39] The implementation of the Strategy could eventually lead to the establishment of global sovereignty of the US, which means that the states maintain the right to freely administer their territory until their activities (or passivity) do not interfere with the interests of the US. Therefore, the US should, whether willingly or not, establish the permanent global governance system in order to implement the Strategy. The organizations of terrorists operate in many countries (e.g. al-Qaeda units exist in about 60 countries), so the US would be forced to execute the open and secret operations against such organizations in the territory of sovereign states despite of those states permission in order to destroy such organizations. Majority of states support the fight against terrorism and co-operate with the US, but Americans, in order to be sure of the sincerity of such co-operation, should increase the monitoring of the institutions of other states, especially on the security and force structures and interfere or even take the control over them if necessary. The ongoing reform of the US armed forces confirms this statement.

In essence, the Pentagon had confirmed the doctrine of a permanent war. The military conflicts could emerge in any place of the globe. According to neo-conservatives, the US should be ready to send its "expedition forces" rather quickly. The Pentagon plans to return home as many soldiers as possible (this is based on economical calculations), because the prediction of future conflict turmoil could be more difficult and these conflicts could emerge more evenly contrary to the period of the Cold War. The extension of the US deployment capabilities, i.e. strengthening the air transport, creation of "forward" bases in the places of strategic importance, which could be quickly converted into real bases for the dislocation of significant amount of the soldiers is planned. These "forward" bases should be created and there should be more of them in the strategically important crossroads of the global transportation and communication routes. This means that the significance of the states controlling the strategically important crossroads of transportation and communication increased in the US foreign policy.[40]

A new generation information based space technology weaponry systems (the new antiaircraft defence system, *Falcon*[41] program of building up the new offensive weapons in next 25 years like an supersonic drones, missiles, and bombs, launched from the space[42]) would effectively secure the territory of the US and provide the

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[39] *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September, 2002.

[40] "On imperial overstretch. Can the USA afford to send troops here, there and everywhere?", *Jane's Foreign Report*, 2748, 7 August, 2003.

[41] *Force Application and Launch from the Continental US.*

[42] The Project for the New American Century, "Rebuilding America's Defenses. Strategy, Forces and Resources for A New Century, 2000, http://www.newamericancentury.org/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf; Pieterse J. N., "Neoliberal Empire", *Theory, Culture & Society,* 21, 3, 2004, p. 119–140.

possibilities for the armed forces of the US to execute military operations without allies or military bases in other continents. The geostrategic goals of neo-conservatives are very different from those of neo-liberals. The neo-conservative's strategy for the establishment of hegemony and ruination of revisionists focus its entire attention on the space control and the transformation of the continent of North America into the "citadel" of the power of the US. Eurasia will loose its exceptional geostrategic importance to the US (and would become equally important as the other continents) in case this strategy is implemented.

However, the US should direct its main focus towards the discontinental geostrategical zone of Eurasia until these goals are achieved and the positions of neo-conservatives and neo-liberals are similar in this case. Though, contrary to neo-liberals, neo-conservatives are not intended to form the collective security alliances. Their strategy is the achievement of the ultimate military supremacy, which would deter potential enemies so, that they could not even think about any possibility of successful stand against the US. However, the US could antagonise the potential rivals (the EU, Russia, China) through the system of indirect balancing separating the EU from Russia and China from Russia and the Middle East (by expanding it's own influence in this "shatterbelt zone") and also through employing the tactics of the selective finding of the allies (e.g. the United Kingdom, Japan, Australia and, probably, India)[43] in the case the deterioration would not work. The US should prevent the increase of the relative power of Russia and China as well.

The united pro-American Europe is the main factor guaranteeing the US interests in Eurasia (either minimal or long-term ones) according to the neo-liberals. The US should preserve the continental European states as the trustful allies in NATO and this is the main condition of the existence of transcontinental alliance. These allies should stay basically dependent on the collective euroatlantic defence system organised by the US. At the same time the increasing of their defence budgets and development of their own specialised military capabilities would be desirable. The allies should subordinate their political and economic interests for the sake of global security policy of the US[44].

It is very important to the US to strengthen the Euroatlantism as the main axis of projected transcontinental alliance (and the potential buttress against Russian expansion in the case of the failure of this project). Russia could be bound with the West institutionally by the co-operation instruments of the EU and NATO, therefore forming the opportunities and incentives to it for joining the future transcontinental alliance[45].

In short-term and mid-term, the interests of the US towards the EU would be the deeper integration of the Union, the increase of its military expenditures, the capability of its armed forces to interact with the armed forces of the US, the European support for the anti-terrorism campaign and the successful integration of new

[43] Layne Ch.,"Offshore Balancing Revisited", *The Washington Quarterly* , 25, 2 , p. 233–248.
[44] *Ibidem*, p. 41; The Atlantic Council of the United States, "Permanent Alliance? NATO's Prague Summit and Beyond", Policy paper, April 2001.
[45] Asmus R. ., Pollack K.M., The New Transatlantic Project, Policy Review, October-November 2002, http://www.policyreview.org/OCT02/asmus_print.html, 06 10 2002.

member states preserving their pro-American attitudes[46]. According to certain American strategic thinkers, the new members of the EU from Central and Eastern Europe may positively contribute on the creation of pro-American EU confederation.[47] In fact, the centralisation of the EU to a certain degree (in the fields of foreign policy and defence especially) is useful for the US unless it is not directed against the global and regional politics of the US. The support of the centraliseed European diplomacy for the global geopolitical projects of the US and the American politics in the Middle East or Central Asia would be very helpful. Americans also wish the united and effective security and foreign policy of the EU, which could contribute to the expansion of the capabilities of NATO. Other geopolitical actors (Russia, China) would face the complications in implementing their balancing politics, if the EU would become pro-American and centralised confederation. On the other hand, less centralized EU would provide more freedom of balancing if the situation would become less favourable to the Americans.

The neo-conservatives may even try to contain (isolate) the spread of influence of continental European states, China and Russia in Eurasia, because they do not attach to the long-term security alliances and aims at the further strengthening of unipolarity. The US had formed the zone of pro-American countries and the net of American military bases by incorporating the Central European states in NATO together with Romania and Bulgaria (there they plan to dislocate a part of their forces, which are in Western Europe at the moment), by altering the geopolitical orientation (towards the US) of Georgia and Azerbaijan, by military presence in Iraq and Afghanistan, by allocating troops in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan and by enhancing the strategic partnership with India. This zone should prevent the geostrategic convergence between Russia and the EU (and maybe China), the spread of Russian influence beyond the boundaries of heartland and the regional expansion of China[48]. Thus Bush administration had created the conditions for the balancing the power of the EU, Russia and China and rivalry among them but also a threat of potential confrontation with any of these geopolitical subjects.

The point of departure of the US politics towards Russia in the short-term and mid-term is the same for both the neo-conservatives and the neo-liberals. Neither Russia nor the US are interested in the radical change of their status in the international arena in the short-term. The US does not want the total withdrawal of Russia from the CIS or the possible disintegration of it. The split of Russia into separate parts would allow the spread of influence of the EU into the Western part of Russia and CIS and would even more activate China's expansion to East Siberia and Russian Far East. Russia do not wish the rapid decline of the influence and global power of the US despite its rhetoric about multipolar world, since it would allow the EU and China emerge as the alternative power centres in the international system before Russia would recover military and economically. The rapid consolidation of power of China and the EU could be disadvantageous to Russia's interests in the CIS supraregion,

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[46] Hunter R. E., Europe's Leverage, *The Washington Quarterly,* 27, 1, 2003, p. 91–110.

[47] Asmus R., Paper presented in discussion-seminar "Lithuania's Role in the Region: View from the USA", Vilnius University, Institute of International Relations and Political Science, 27 09 2004.

[48] Pieterse J. N., "Neoliberal Empire", *Theory, Culture & Society,* 21, 3, 2004, p. 119–140.

which Russia considers strategically important and this could harm the integrity of Russia in its Far Eastern and East Siberian subregions as well. Even if Russia would formally preserve its sovereignty, the Western and Eastern parts of the country possibly could begin to gravitate towards the totally different geopolitical subjects the EU and China. Therefore, the conditions for the convergence of Russian and American short-term interests in the beginning of 21st century and especially after September 11 had emerged.

Both countries face the same threat (the Islamic fundamentalism) and both have the same geopolitical rival - China[49]. There are some common geoeconomic interests too: Russia is important to the US as an alternative supplier of strategic resources independent from Islamic countries and Russia is interested in co-operation with the West and particularly the US, since the openness to them is one of preconditions to the Russia's successful economic modernisation. Therefore the US seek the increase imports of gas and oil from Russia, the openness of Russian energy and mining sectors to the American capital and the increasing Russia's economic dependence on the export of energy resources. Americans also support the cut of Russian armed forces and their reform in order to make these forces more interactive with the armed forces of NATO, but also aims that these reformed forces could effectively operate only on regional level[50]. The US are interested in preserving the centralized structure of Russia, which could guarantee the operation of Russian democracy, the process of economic and military reform, the security of foreign investments and the stable supply of energy resources. Therefore, the US is interested in co-operation with Russia, but not in equal strategic partnership.[51]

The US strategic thinkers plan to co-opt Russia into the projected transcontinental security system, which should guarantee the prevention of the power spread of China. This co-optation is planned after Russia would eventually become the regional power.[52] There would be no more need of united Russia and the US could support disintegration processes in Russia striving for the ultimate overtake of continental geostrategic zone (the heartland) in case the strategy of containment of China would work, i.e. China would become pro-American or disintegrate[53].

The control of Pacific, similarly to the domination in the Atlantic, is important to the US in order to secure North American continent from the side of Asia. The fundamental threat to the US geostrategic interests in the East and Southeast Asia and the Pacific is the success of China in becoming the dominating power in the region and both the neo-conservatives and neo-liberals agree on this. The rapid economic development of China, the modernisation programs of its military forces, the creation of the space exploration forces (the first Chinese manned spacecraft was launched in October 2003) and the enhancing Chinese influence on the ASEAN countries worries the US political elite[54]. The US is forming the system of preventive anti-Chinese alliances in East Asia in respon-

[49] Russett B., Stam A., (note 20).

[50] The Atlantic Council of the United States, The Centre for European Reform, and The Institute for the U.S. and Canadian Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences, "The Twain Shall Meet: The Prospects for Russia-West Relations", Policy paper, May 2002, http://www.cer.org.uk, 14 09 2004.

[51] Danilov D., EU-Russia positioning in the changing security field, http://www.theepc.be/challenge/topdetail.asp?SEC=documents&SUBSEC=issue&REFID=824, 10 06 2002.

[52] Brzezinski Z., (note 34) p. 68-71; Russett B., Stam A., (note 20).

[53] Valle del A., The American strategy in Eurasia and the consequences of the war in Kosovo, International Institute of strategic studies, http://www.strategicsinternational.com/enuseurasie.htm

[54] Sutter R., Why Does China Matter? *The Washington Quarterly*, 27, 1, 2003, p. 75–89.

se[55]. The US enhances the military co-operation with India[56], strengthens strategic bounds with Japan, Australia[57] and Singapore[58]. The next steps of the US possibly could be slowing down the economical development of China, blocking its political influence and changing its internal situation through propagating of democratic ideas.

The neo-liberals expect that the economic growth of China would transform its political system into democracy in long-term. The democratisation of China would possibly create the favourable conditions for its inclusion into projected transcontinental security system. The neo-conservatives suggest that the rich industrial shore regions would not be satisfied if the democratisation would not occur and this will lead to the internal instability of China. However, at that time the US shall be prepared to secure its territory from possible China's inter-continental missile attack, which could occur in the case of political turmoil there[59].

2.2. Russia's Strategy towards Eurasia

Russia is rather weak and incapable to confront great maritime powers, especially the US. Despite the loss of former influence in Central Asia and Mongolia, Russia still practically controls the territory of the heartland. The geostrategic location of Russia remains important, but its geopolitical situation is unenviable. In the West, Russia borders an enlarged EU with its population of about 454 million and with its economy about 10 times lager than Russian one. In the South, Russia is surrounded by Islamic countries with the population of 300 million and by China with the population of 1.2 billion and four times bigger economy[60]. However, considering Russia as a weak and non-influential state would be a mistake, because it has about 2,000 nuclear missiles and still is the only country in the world, which is capable of maintaining the balance of mutual assured destruction with the US.

Vladimir Putin, the current Russia's President, and his team perceive the advantages and disadvantages of their country well. They realise the fact that today Russia could pursue more or less secure development and move towards modernisation only by associating itself with most developed countries, i.e. the West[61]. Russia could neither challenge the US with its power, nor incite other countries against it anymore[62]. Therefore, Russia dropped open confrontation and even began to co-operate with the US in

[55] How ASEAN can hold its own against China, *The Straits Time*, http://straitstimes.asia1.com.sg/home/0,1869,,00.html
[56] "On imperial overstretch. Can the USA afford to send troops here, there and everywhere?", *Jane's Foreign Report*, 2748, 7 August, 2003.
[57] Blank S., "Toward a New U.S. Strategy in Asia", http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/about/2004/feb/feboped.pdf
[58] The US and Singapore establish new strategic defense and security ties, Radio Singapore International 22 October, 2003.
[59] Johnson A.I., Realism(s) and Chinese Security Policy in the Post-Cold War Period, in Kapstein E.B., Mastanduno M., *Unipolar politics: Realism and state strategies after the Cold War*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999, p. 261-318.
[60] Brzezinski Z., (note 34) p. 74.
[61] Kobrinskaya I., Russia's Security Agenda vis-ą-vis Transatlantic Developments after the War in Iraq, *PONARS Policy Memo 320, Center for Strategic and International Studies,* http://www.csis.org/ruseura/ponars/policymemos/pm_0320.pdf
[62] S. Neil MacFarlane, Russia, the West and European Security, *Survival*, vol.35, no.3, Autumn 1993.

the frame of anti-terrorist coalition. Russia needs the US as an ally in curbing Islamic radicalism and balancing China and the US needs Russia for the same purposes[63].

The first Russian step towards achieving its geostrategic interests should be the restoration of the full control over the continental zone (heartland), i.e. the reintegrating of CIS and regaining its influence in Central Asia and strengthening the internal centralisation of the country as well[64]. The second step is guaranteeing at least a neutral position or buffer state status of the Southern and Western hinterland's parts (to South Caucasus and Western CIS states) in the discontinental geostrategic zone (the rimland). Such a short-term strategy should unavoidably lead Russia into conflicts with the EU (mainly because of its project "Wider Europe") and the USA[65]. Therefore, Russia aims not only to prevent the spread of the influence of the US and other Western states and their dominated international organizations in the Western part of the CIS (in Eastern Europe), but also aims to strengthen the geoeconomic and geoenergetic dependence of Central Europe and the Baltic States on Russia. If the circumstances become favourable, then Russia will try to transform some of Eastern European countries and the Baltic States into the agents of its influence in transatlantic and the EU institutions through its economical and energetic influence on them. Russia plans to use them for dividing the EU and weakening transatlantic relations and for supporting political and economical decisions of NATO and the EU that are useful to it. [66]

Russia considers NATO dominated by the US as the structure cutting off the way for the enhancement of its power in Europe and as eventual serious threat to the region of its Western and Southwestern borders. Currently Russia avoids confrontation with NATO, because it realises that the main current threats to Russia rise both from the South and the East. Therefore, Russia considers the US and NATO as a tactical ally now, but only in a *Realpolitik* sense[67].

While co-operating with NATO, at the same time Russia expects to achieve some power erosion in this organization. Russia aims to weaken the link between Europe and the US and to incite NATO's evolution from the military defence organization to a more political one, eventually expecting to slow down or even stop the NATO's further expansion into Eurasia through participation in NATO-Russia Council[68].

This Russian foreign policy could be described as strategy of adjoining the most powerful country in the world expecting to form necessary conditions for the restoration of Russian power through the alliance in the area of former Soviet Union. In other words, Russia expects the bufferisation of former Soviet countries. However, it seems that such strategy did not work and was fruitless. The last few years after September 11 indicate the decline of Russia's international position and its influence in the CIS countries (except their increasing dependence on Russia's energy resources). The US and its allies control Iraq and most of Afghanistan. The Russian companies were not allowed to participate in rebuilding of Iraq. Also, the possibilities in the

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[63] Kobrinskaya I., (note 61).

[64] Sushko O., The Dark Side of Integration: Ambitions of Domination in Russia's Backyard, *The Washington Quarterly*, 27, 2, 2003, p. 119–131.

[65] Kobrinskaya I., (note 61).

[66] Bugajski J., "Russia's New Europe", *The National Interest*, 2003/2004 Winter.

[67] Smith M., A., "Russia & The West", *Working paper F78, Conflict Studies Research Centre*, July 2003, http://www.csrc.ac.uk, 12 08 2003.

[68] Laurinavičius, Č., Motieka E., Statkus N., (note 7) p. 332.

exploitation of oil fields of this country, despite the contracts with Hussein's government, for Russian companies remain unclear. In the Middle East, the pro-Soviet and pro-Russian countries like Iran, Libya and Syria have been forced to co-operate with the US. The US has established the military bases in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. The Baltic States, Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria have joined NATO and the US intends to establish its military bases in some of these countries[69].

The turn towards co-operation with the US probably was the one phase of a long-term Russian geopolitical Euroasianist strategy in Russian foreign policy. Russia's co-operation with the US has weakened the transatlantic connection and has incited unilateralism of the US and the rivalry among West European great powers. The unilateral actions of the US incited France and Germany to establish closer relations with Russia including it automatically in European affairs[70]. Such development forms the possibilities for Russia to weaken further the transatlantic connection and attempt to ruin the influence of the US in the whole European sub-continent by shifting the geopolitical orientation of continental European states.

Russia would be interested in the decline of influence of the US on the Eurasian coastlands in the mid-term period. Therefore Russia is satisfied with every sign of the disagreements into Euroatlantic relations and with any efforts of the EU to emerge as the independent global centre of power. However, Russia is not interested in the EU independence in the long-term period. Russia would like to participate in the formation of the "new multipolar world order"[71] together with the EU and the Russian interests would demand the strategic subjugation of Europe in a long-term perspective. Russia should make the efforts in closely connecting with the EU in energy, economy spheres and through the net of common political institutions where the US is not involved. Though, at the same time Russia should also avoid entering the EU and needs to preserve the full sovereignty of internal politics during short-term and mid-term periods.


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———  – Eastern boarder of the EU, 2005
———  – Zone of vital Russia's interests in CIS
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Map 2. Russia's vital interests in CIS

Russia expects to receive financing from the EU for renovation of its transportation structure, strengthening its Southern borders security, arrangement of its citizens passports, ratification of readmission treaties and for the other means, which would provide the opportunities to integrate Russia into the Schengen system. Russia is very interested in the plans for common European defence system. Russia considers the possibilities of the development and renovation of its military industry on the one hand, and for the decline of the military importance of NATO on the other. That also means the decline in the USA's military involvement in Europe in those plans.

The goals mentioned above are in fact reflected in another form in *The Midterm Strategy of Russian Federation and the EU (2000-2010)*. The conception and projects of the four common spaces of Russia and the EU (the Common European Economic Area, the freedom, justice and security area, the area of science and education, the common external security area), which should guarantee the achievement of goals mentioned above by Russia[72].

Russia tries to implement its policy towards Europe through the construction of very close relations with the largest EU member – Germany, in order to achieve the strategic partnership with the EU. Russia supposes the qualitative changes in the Russian-European relations by using the support of Germany. Germany tends towards strategic partnership with Russia too, because this would help to implement Germany's balancing politics[73]. Germany is the main partner of Russia's foreign trade with 10 per cent share of its export and import in 2002. Russia supplies 25 per cent of Germany's petroleum demand and about one-third of its gas demand[74]. Germany is Russia's main creditor and has the main share of investments in this country[75]. Russia is removing the barriers to German investments; e.g. Putin has announced that restrictions on the sale of *Gazprom* stocks will be cancelled for German *E.ON*, which controls only 5-6 per cent of *Gazprom* stocks so far[76].

Russia would also be interested in instability in the Middle East, in case it could prevent the threat of radical Islam successfully. The stack of the US in the Greater Middle East would be favourable for Russia too. The instable situation in the Middle East would keep the high petroleum prices, raise Russian oil and gas export and would increase Russian foreign currency reserves necessary for the country's debt payments and technologic renovation of industry. The instability in the Middle East would require a lot of attention and resources of the US and, therefore, its attention on Western CIS countries and South Caucasus would be reduced. However, Russia does not wish the establishment of Islamic fundamentalist regimes in the Middle East, because it could threaten the security of its Southern borders[77].

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[69] Barysch K., Kekic L., Putin should tilt toward the EU, *International Heral Tribune*, 16, 06, 2003.
[70] Voronov K., Russian diplomatic revolution, *Nezavisimaja Gazeta*, 9, 04, 2002.
[71] Smith M. A., (note 67).
[72] Lynch D., Russia's Strategic Partnership with Europe, *The Washington Quarterly,* 27, 2, 2003, p. 99–118.
[73] Komitet "Rosija v objedenionoi Evrope", "Kak uglubit sotrudnichestvo Rossii i Evropeiskogo Sojuza, Moscow, 2003; Schroeder G., "Rosija i Germanija: leitmotiv sotrudničestva', *Rosija v globalnoi politike*, 2, 4, 2004, p. 68-77;
[74] Smith M. A., (note 67).
[75] Gvosdev N. K., The Future Orientation Of Russia: Let The Bids Begin, *In the National Interest*, October 2003, http://www.inthenationalinterest.com
[76] Rar A., "Pochemu Schroederu nravitsia Rosija", *Rosija v globalnoi politike*, 2, 4, 2004, p. 77-83;
[77] Smith M., Russia and The Middle East, *Working paper F79, Conflict Studies Research Centre*, September 2002, http://www.csrc.ac.uk, 18 02 2003.

Principally Russia is interested in establishing the close political and economical ties with China. Russia needs China as an important regional power limiting the hegemony of the US in a short-term and mid-term. China is the growing market for the export of Russian weaponry and natural resources. However, the slowdown of growth of Chinese power and the relative isolation would be useful for Russia in order to avoid the threat of ever growing China's potential to Russia's Far East and Eastern Siberia in the mid-term. Russia tries to limit the Chinese immigration to Russia's Far East and to prevent the growing economic dependence of this region on China. Russian Far East and Eastern Siberia are sparsely populated and rich in the natural resources. Therefore, some Russian analysts suggest that such circumstances provide the opportunity for the aggressive expansion of China towards it[78]. There are about 2.5 million Chinese in the region, the total population of which is only about 6.7 million[79].

Russia should be interested in ousting the US from Eurasia in the long-term perspective. The creation of the pan-Eurasian security system through strategic partnership with the EU, China and some South and East Asian states would allow achieving that ousting. Russia would have an important role in such a pan-Eurasian security system[80].

2.3. The Strategies of the Main Powers of the EU towards Eurasia

The EU still is not a geopolitical subject or a real actor in international relations. The EU's foreign policy is the projection of the foreign policies of its member states. The geostrategy of the EU can not exist until there is absence of really common foreign and security policy. This does not mean the absence of political projects aiming to transform the EU into the geopolitical subject, with its own geostrategy.

The debates on the materialization of the EU as the subject of international relations have begun in the academic and political circles[81].There are two main geopolitical paradigms about the place of the EU in the international system and its relations with other geopolitical subjects. Those paradigms are **Euroatlantism and Eurocontinentalism** and the debates on future of the EU develop in these frames.

The **Euroatlantism** is the European version of the American neo-Atlanticism geopolitical thought[82]. The proponents of the Euroatlantism consider Europe and the US as inseparable parts of Western civilization. Those parts are united by close economical, cultural, social, political and security interests and, therefore, the transatlantic strategic unity should be maintained and strengthened. EU's foreign and security policy should be orientated to the implementation of common interests with

[78] Smith M., "A Current Russo-Chinese Relations", *Working paper F81, Conflict Studies Research Centre*, January 2003, http://www.csrc.ac.uk, 03 04 2004.

[79] Gorenburg D., "The 2002 Russian Census and the Future of the Russian Population", *PONARS Policy Memo 319, Center for Strategic and International Studies,* http://www.csis.org/ruseura/ponars/policymemos/pm_0319.pdf

[80] Dugin A. *Osnovy geopolitiki*, Moskva: Arktogeja-centr, 1999.

[81] Further see Bretherton Ch., Vogler J., The *European Union as a Global Actor*, London: Routledge, 1999, p. 1-45.

[82] Statkus, N., Motieka, E., Laurinavičius, Č., (note 2) p. 36-38.

the US and it must not harm, dub or even subvert this unity[83]. However, the Euroatlantists are not satisfied with the current passive role of the EU member states in the defence policy and, therefore, speak out for better co-ordination of CFSP and for the increasing the potential of ESDP. Anyway, according to the Euroatlantists, the processes mentioned above must neither dub NATO nor diminish the transatlantic unity. The proponents of Euroatlantism consider the EU as one of the pillar of the Euroatlantic security community, which requires significant strengthening[84].

The Euroatlantists incite the deeper integration of the EU in foreign and defence policies and they are not afraid of turning the EU into a federation or confederation, since there are fuses guaranteeing the pro-Atlantist politics of such Europe[85]. According to the euro-Atlantists, federal pro-Atlantist Europe could be very useful in advocating the values of Euroatlantic community through the Greater Middle East and CIS countries. United Europe could also limit the tendencies of the US unilateralism through international institutions in a more effective manner at the same time maintaining the transatlantic relations and the Euroatlantic community[86]. The Euroatlantists suggest implementing the strategy of the institutional bounding towards the US.

The Eurocontinentalist and Euroatlantist approaches towards further integration of the EU are the same, but the motives for federalisation differ significantly. For the Eurocontinentalists, federalised Europe is the value itself. Their long-term interest is not the preservation of the transatlantic community, but the strategic independence of Europe. The federal structure of the EU and the formation of the area of the EU's specific interests are the guarantees of the independent future of Europe[87].

The only possibility for the emergence of the EU as the united geopolitical subject is through political, cultural and social consolidation of European continental "core", which consists of Germany, France, the Benelux countries, and Austria, according to the Eurocontinentalists. In other words, "geopolitical Europe" could be formed only through the neutralisation of influence of the pro-transatlantic EU member states on the EU integration process or by altering their geopolitical orientation.

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[83] The Atlantic Council of the United States, "Permanent Alliance? NATO's Prague Summit and Beyond", Policy paper, April 2001; Patten Ch., "A Security Strategy for Europe", *Oxford Journal on Good Governance*, 1, 1, 2004, p. 13-16; Ash T.G., *Free World: Why a Crisis of the West Reveals the Opportunity of Our Time*, London: Allen Lane, 2004.

[84] Schmidt P., Geipel G.," Forward Again in US-European Relations", *Oxford Journal on Good Governance*, 1, 1, 2004, p.29-32.

[85] Ash T.G., *Free World: Why a Crisis of the West Reveals the Opportunity of Our Time*, London: Allen Lane, 2004.

[86] *Ibidem*; The Atlantic Council of the United States, The Centre for European Reform, and The Institute for the U.S. and Canadian Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences, "The Twain Shall Meet: The Prospects for Russia-West Relations", Policy paper, May 2002, http://www.cer.org.uk, 14 09 2004.

[87] Emerson M., "The Wider Europe as the European union's Friendly Monroe Doctrine", *CEPS Policy Brief 27,* Centre for European Policy Studies, *October 2003,* http://www.ceps.be, 27 10 2002.

Independent Europe could emerge only through its clear geographical and institutional self-definition and for achieving this it should dissociate from the US at first[88]. The Eurocontinentalists realise that the EU would not be able to become the influential power of the world, if it continues to expand infinitively. Europe must structure the space around itself through the common and effective foreign policy in order to achieve the status of global power.

The clearest examples of implementing the directed geostrategic politics towards Eurasia are the EU initiatives of "Wider Europe" and "The New Neighbourhood". Communication from European Commission "Wider Europe – Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours" shapes the guidelines and perspective of the EU relations with Russia, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Moldova and South Mediterranean states, which include Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Liban, Libya, Morocco, the Palestinian Autonomy, Syria and Tunisia[89]. The Communication could be considered an aim to shape the new integrated "Neighbourhood Policy", which would allow establishing the framework of friendly relationships and the stability zone around the borders of the EU. The articulation of the common interests of the EU and its neighbours is attempted in the document. Those interests would be the stimulation of the balanced development and trade together with the propagation of democratic values and the legal system of EU. The geopolitical evaluation of such politics would suggest that EU attempts to form the ring of the buffer states around its borders.

The politics of Wider Europe and New Neighbourhood is rather moderate and limited instruments of EU geopolitics. The Eurocontinentalist projects of the development of Wider Europe and New Neighbourhood are much more interesting. The recent study on Wider Europe by the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)[90], which is one of the influential think-tanks of the EU, draws the borders of the zone of EU's vital interests in Eurasia, which is called Pan-Europe (Greater Europe) and also postulates the institutional mechanisms of the Eurocontinentalist geopolitical reformation of Eurasia[91].

The Pan-Europe is the potential sphere of influence of the EU and consists of the three geopolitically important areas: 1) the territory of the EU, 2) Wider Europe, 3) European Neighbourhood, and these areas are the sphere of the vital interests of the EU, according to the CEPS study. The study suggests that the EU territory consists of the territories of the member states, including Bulgaria, Romania and Croa-

[88] Guessgen F., It fires back! The Impact of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) on the Evolution of a European identity, In *European Political-economy Infrastructure Consortium (EPIC): Ionian Conference 2000 - Challenges of the New Millenium, Corfu, 20-22 May, 2000: Theme: Governance and citizenship in the European Union - the influence of culture*, pages 20, Corfu, Greece, http://aei.pitt.edu/archive/00000642/01/ICGuessgen.pdf

[89] Commission of the European Communities, *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament "Wider Europe–Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours"*, Brussels: 11 03 2003, COM (2003) 104.

[90] Further see Centre for European Policy Studies, http://www.ceps.be

[91] Emerson M., "The Shaping of a Policy Framework for the Wider Europe", *CEPS Policy Brief 39,* Centre for European Policy Studies, *October 2003,* http://www.ceps.be, 23 10 2003; also Emerson M., (note 87).

tia, which are supposed to join the EU in the nearest future. Wider Europe consists of the states, which identify themselves with European history, culture and civilisation at the sufficient level. Those countries are the current non-Western members of European Council from the CIS. The European Neighbourhood includes the Middle East (the boundary of this region is the Eastern borders of Afghanistan ant Pakistan) and Central Asia. In other words, the Greater Middle East also belongs to the European Neighbourhood[92].

The possible instruments of EU geostrategic politics, i.e. the institutional mechanisms connecting those three areas of potential Pan-Europe are proposed in the CEPS project of the construction of Pan-Europe. The EU should stimulate the processes of the Europeanisation in the area of Wider Europe. The Europeanisation is understood here as the impact of the European integration on the countries of the area of Wider Europe and the adaptation of these states to the EU. The Europeanisation is considered as the process of the synchronisation and harmonisation of internal and foreign policies of Wider European states with the EU ones. The Europeanisation of Wider Europe should consist of: 1) the adaptation of business conditions to the norms of the EU and the democratisation of the political system, 2) implementation of the obligations in the sphere of the human rights, 3) the promulgation of European values, beliefs ant identity[93].

The EU should shape the four common areas of the EU and Russia (the economic, the internal security, the external security and the cultural-educational ones), which are anticipated in *The Communication for the EU and Russia's Partnership and Cooperation* more actively and systematically as suggested by the study. The establishment of the institutional Pan-European mechanisms for co-ordination of policies and the resolution of disagreements are also very important, according to the study. The study proposes to establish the "Pan-European Conference" which would operate under the direction of the EU (it's future minister for foreign affairs), Russia and the Co-ordination group of the two rotating non-EU states[94]. Generally speaking, the study could be taken as the project of the establishment of bipolar Pan-European geopolitical bloc in western and central Eurasia.

The Europeanisation of Wider Europe should be the goals of the common European geostrategic policy in the short-term and mid-term period. However, the main condition of the successful establishment of Wider Europe is deeper integration (federalisation) of the EU through the mechanisms of enhanced and closer co-operation, which would allow to finish the scheduled enlargement to a Balkans and, eventually, Turkey[95]. The other states of Wider Europe, excluding Russia, could expect joining the EU after the successful completion of Europeanisation.

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[92] Emerson M., (note 91).
[93] *Ibidem.*
[94] Emerson M., Institutionalising The Wider Europe, *CEPS Policy Brief 42,* Centre for European Policy Studies, *October 2003,* http://www.ceps.be, 23 10 2003.
[95] Emerson M., Tocci N., "Turkey as a Bridgehead and Spearhead. Integrating EU and Turkish Foreign Policy", *EU-Turkey Working Papers, Centre for European Policy Studies*, 1, 2004, http://www.ceps.be, 29 10 2004.

– Eastern border of the EU   2005

Map 3. CEPS Paneuropean project

In the case of "European Neighbourhood" the relations have the different nature, according to the study. The similar net of the crosscutting common institutions dominated by the EU and Russia, which probably would emerge in Wider Europe[96], is less possible in the "European Neighbourhood" (the Greater Middle East) because the interests of not only of the EU and Russia but also the interests of US will clash there. The author of the Pan-European project suggests the more cautious politics towards the Greater Middle East and it could be just the activation of Barcelona process and the support to the projects of the democratisation and the economical reform in the countries in this region expecting that it would eventually form the preconditions and need for Europeanisation in the long-term. These expectations are based on the presumption that the implementation of significant social and political reforms in the European Neighbourhood countries would automatically lead them to the Europeanisation, since the EU geographical proximity and its economic thrust would naturally direct to such processes[97].

However, it is hard to say to what extent the Pan-European project reflects the position of the governing elites of the European continental states. The European public opinion supports the establishment of the European super-state as indicated by public opinion surveys[98]. The CEPS project is a fairly rational geopolitical program. The project proposes the establishing the EU's interest zone and ousting the hegemonic power (the US) from it by bufferisation and bounding of Russia, the

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[96] Emerson M., (note 17).
[97] Emerson M., (note 91).
[98] It is not surprising that 83 per cent respondents agree on that the EU should be equal by its power to the US in France, but 50 per cent of respondents share the same opinion in Poland and the United Kingdom as well, see "A European Superpower", *The Economist*, November 13-19, 2004, p. 38.

regions of CIS and the Middle East through institutional framework. Such politics allow assuring the fairly large buffer zone for its security and diversification of the supply of energy resources. Pan-Europe could successfully claim the control all over Eurasia and challenge the USA globally[99]. It would be something like Europocentric Eurasism. This project, undoubtedly, is the academic projection of long-term Euro-continentalist strategy.

2.4. China's Geopolitical Strategy

China has chosen the politics of co-operation and tolerates the global hegemony of the US until this does not interfere in China's internal affairs. This choice is rational, since China's military forces are weak, despite rapid economic development[100]. China aims to hide its aspirations for the domination in East and Southeast Asia and to gain economic benefits through this co-operation. The US and other Western states' investments are essential for the economic development of China. The economic gains achieved through this kind of foreign policy could be used for the further modernisation of the Chinese army and for the achievement of China's long-term interest, which is the domination in East and Southeast Asia.

The resolution of disputes with neighbouring states, successful integration in the global economy, strengthening the economic relations with the other East Asian countries, the peaceful enhancement of influence in East Asia and establishing itself as unquestionable dominating power in the region is the main mid-term goal of China[101]. It seems that the Chinese vision of the region's future is very different from its current structure. China aims to eliminate the bilateral alliances, which are considered as a legacy of the Cold War and to establish the structure of multilateral security with ASEAN countries based on their mutual trust and benefit and the coordination of actions[102]. China faces the concurrence of India and Japan and the hostile influence of the US in East Asia[103]. Chinese strategic thinkers also point out the necessity for the establishment of survival space around China, that means turning its neighbour states into buffer ones and taking control over the South China Sea and East China Sea[104]. China may be planning to create the system of regional security and co-operation without the US in East and South East Asia and to ouster the Americans from this region (the bufferisation tactics) in the mid-term period.

[99] If the area of potential Pan-Europe would be united its population would be 1.2 billion and its total GDP would be 10.3 trillion USD in 2001.

[100] Paltiel, J.T., "Debating Hegemony in Asia", *Heartland limes*, 2001, 3, p. 115-121.

[101] Lai D., Learning from the Stones: A *GO* Approach to Mastering China's Strategic Concept, *SHI, Strategic Studies Institute*, http:// www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/, 14 05 2004.

[102] Glosserman B., "China's influence soars in Asia", *The Japan Times*, 2004 05 17, http://202.221.217.59/print/opinion/eu2004/eu20040517bg.htm, 17 05 2004.

[103] Umbach F., "ASEAN and Major Powers: Japan and China – A Changing Balance of Power", *Weltpolitik.net*, http://www.weltpolitik.net/texte/asien/asean.pdf 04 11 2004.

[104] Johnson A. I., Realism(s) and Chinese Security Policy in the Post-Cold War Period, in Kapstein E.B., Mastanduno M., *Unipolar politics: Realism and state strategies after the Cold War*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999, p. 261-318.

It seems that China aspires to become the super-power equal to the US in the long-term perspective. These ambitions incite its active involvement in the global politics. China cannot penetrate into the regions dominated by the West and Western companies, so it is spreading its influence to the regions, which are in the geopolitical periphery like Africa or Latin America and where the hostility to it is insignificant. However, the probability that China will try to challenge the existing world order remains low at least for the next 30 years. China has neither sufficient military capabilities to act globally, nor suitable ideology to justify its global ambitions. Any aggressive actions of China would face the hostile response of the US in any region of the world[105]. China fears its Westernisation or division by the US in order to prevent it from achieving the status of super-power[106]. Therefore, the global anti-American politics of China is hardly imaginable.

China is likely to combine the strategies of alignment and institutional containment in the short-term. It would try to oust the Americans from East and Southeast Asia and establish its influence in other continents in the mid-term, so creating the possibilities for forming the global anti-American alliances in the long-term.

2.5. The Problems and Challenges of Geopolitical Development in the Long-Term

The main feature of the current international system is its unipolarity with the US as unquestionable hegemonic power. The most interesting question about the future of the international system is whether the US would be capable of preserving and strengthening the unipolarity or the system will move towards the bipolar or multipolar one. The current unipolarity of the international system is fairly unique in the historical perspective, since the long-lasting dominance in the international system has been achieved only by the empires (the Roman Empire, the Empire of Charlemagne, France under Napoleon and the British Empire) up to 20th century. The US became the leader by demonstrating its influence based on the military, political and economic power but without creating the empire up to now.

According to the neo-realist theory, which concentrates on the structure and changes in the international system, the unipolarity is the most unstable form of the international system. One of the main principles of the neorealist theory is the tendency of the international system towards the balance of power. Therefore, the shift of the unipolar international system towards some configuration of the balance of power (bipolar or multipolar one) or towards the global empire is only a question of time. On the other hand, nobody could say how long the domination of one hegemonic power could proceed.

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[105] National Intelligence Council, NIC 2020 Project, "Asian Responses to the United States", Discussion paper, 24 11 2003, http://www.cia.gov/nic/PDF_GIF_2020_Support/2003_11_24_papers/ikenberry_asia.pdf , 24 10 2004.
[106] Johnson A.I., (note 104) p. 261-318.

Some of the political scientists presume that the international system is based on the balance of threats instead of the balance of power[107] and if other actors of the international system do not consider the hegemonic power as threat, then the hegemony may be long lasting, because other states do not intend to limit it in this case. If there is no fear of the transformation of hegemonic power to the power limiting the sovereignty of other participants of the international system, then there is no rational reason for hostility towards it.

One could foresee two processes in the global geopolitical development in long-term perspective according to the approaches mentioned above:

• the US will try to preserve the unipolar international system and strengthen its hegemonic status by preventing any other state to achieve the approximate power or form a coalition against the US in Eurasia

• the other geopolitical actors would try to establish the zones of their exceptional interests in Eurasia and/or the systems balancing the power or threat of the US

During the time, conditions may form, which will allow changing the unipolarity by limiting the relative superiority of the US or by transforming it qualitatively together with the international system in the long-term (until 2035).

The second important factor is the evolution of the status of Europe as a geopolitical entity in the long-term perspective. Currently the EU is an atypical geopolitical subject, because it is still formed by the interests of the member states and their compatibility. Therefore, the transformation possibilities of the EU are a very important issue of the further evolution of the international system. Would Europe become one of the participants in international system, or would it remain the conglomerate of national states with their own interests and identities? The transformation of the EU may be decisive step in the transformation of all international system. If Europe became the single geopolitical subject, it could be potentially the main actor limiting the hegemony of the US. The fall of the priority of the national sovereignty and national interests in Europe would signalise the change in the structure of international anarchy, which is one of the main features of the international system. The international system would become the arena of the interactions among international structures and regional units instead of the national states.

The main challenge to foreign policy of Lithuania would be facing a difficult choice: should Lithuania support the strengthening of the global hegemony of the US and the irreversible establishment of the American global power or should it support the possible aims of the European core states in order to weaken the transatlantic ties and create the counter-alliance for balancing the hegemony of the US (if such a dilemma would ever emerge)?

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[107] Walt S. M., "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power", *International Security*, 9, 4, 1985, p. 3-24.

3. The Opportunities for Lithuania's Foreign Policy

Every country (or the group of countries) has a unique geopolitical code, which is formed and constructed in the interaction process with other geopolitical actors and the geopolitical environment. The changes in the global geopolitical space (environment) are usually related with the changes in the geostrategic goals of the main geopolitical actors or the changes in their means for achieving those goals. These changes create pressure to other geopolitical subjects, because they should modify or reconstruct their current geopolitical schemes radically in order to adapt themselves to the international environment that has changed. The states aim either to reconstruct the international system, so that new processes would always increase their relative (and structural) power or to preserve stability of the international system in order to prevent the enhancement of the relative (and structural) power of another geopolitical subject.

Every state tries to enhance its own relative and structural power and every geopolitical scheme is projected by a state for the achievement of that purpose. These dimensions of power can guarantee the capability of the state to control the processes of interaction with other states and set the rules and the procedures of making decisions in the international relations. The power allows the state to achieve space for geopolitical manoeuvres and avoid the dependence on other geopolitical actors.

Therefore, every important geopolitical subject projects a few alternative geostrategies. They are used to providing the conditions for the realisation of the goals mentioned above. The geostrategic alternatives projected by the great powers are forming the eventual and global geopolitical scenarios. There are a several scenarios about the development of relations among the US, the European Union and Russia. These scenarios are shaped by the interaction process of the geostrategic triangle of the three states mentioned above and these scenarios are:

- the transcontinental alliance (US-EU-Russia axis)
- the isolation of Europe (US-Russia axis vs. Europe)
- the Eurocontinentalist alliance (EU-Russia axis vs. the US)
- the Euroatlantist alliance (the US-EU axis vs. Russia)

3.1. The Importance of the Global Geopolitical Code to Lithuania's Geopolitical Code

The interaction of the states of the geostrategic triangle consisting of the US, the EU and Russia determines the transformation opportunities of all Eurasian geopolitical space. Various scenarios of transformation of this space would unavoidably have the direct influence on the status and perspectives of Lithuania as a geopolitical subject. The factor of another geopolitical subject (e.g. China) is important to Lithuania only as much as their geostrategic choices affect the global and regional geopolitical codes of the US, the EU and Russia and, therefore, change the interactions this triangle as well.

In order to identify the optimal geopolitical code of Lithuania and evaluate the opportunities of Lithuania's foreign policy a researcher should:

• to examine the opportunities of geopolitical subjects, which are in the geostrategic triangle of the US, the EU and Russia to act in the global geopolitical environment

• to identify the place of Lithuania in the eventual scenarios of transformation of relations between the members of the triangle bearing in mind that the geopolitical status and the opportunities of Lithuania's foreign policy directly depends on the changes in the global and regional geopolitical situation

• to distinguish and examine the components or measures of the power used by the US, the EU and Russia towards Lithuania and other Central and Eastern European countries and identify the spheres and directions where Lithuania could influence the geostrategic choices of the US, the EU and Russia on this basis;

• to define the vectors of Lithuanian foreign policy allowing not only to implement successfully the specific functions of international politics requested by the main geopolitical actors in their strategic plans, but also to acquire means for the effective influence on the interrelation scenarios among the US, Russia and the EU;

• to identify the directions of Lithuanian foreign policy, which would be helpful in neutralising the aspects of conjuncture of the global geopolitical dynamics and allowing to accept the role of the formative geopolitical subject in the regional environment.

3.2. The Importance of Relative and Structural Power in Lithuania's Geopolitical Code

Lithuania, in fact, like other Baltic States belongs to the conjunctive geopolitical subregion, which emerged as a result of the clash of opposite geopolitical powers[108]. The Lithuanian geopolitical anomalism (the depositary nature of the state's independence) increases the dependence of the state on the power balancing games of the great powers. Therefore, the geopolitical code of Lithuania should be orientated towards the strategy of the neutralisation of the negative consequences generated by possible geopolitical manipulations of the global geopolitical actors. The process of strengthening the relative and structural power of the state is the base of this strategy.

The relative power could be understood as the potential of the state or as the capability to control the results of the interaction with other states. The relative power of the state is the entirety of its various resources (military, economic, social, political and cultural ones)[109].

The structural power characterizes the capability of the state to set the rules of international relations, its agenda and the rules of decision-making.

Lithuania is seeking to strengthen its structural power by the integration into the structures dominated by the hegemonic power (the US) – NATO and the states of geo-economic core (OECD) – the EU. However, the structural power is not only the participation, but also the opportunity to balance in those institutions and, therefore, it implicates the necessity of forming geopolitical alliances.

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[108] Laurinavičius Č., Motieka E., Statkus N., (note 7) p. 28.
[109] Statkus N., Motieka E., Laurinavičius Č., (note 2) p. 84.

The criteria of the effectiveness of the alliance should be not the capability to implement successfully the specific functions of international politics ascribed to Lithuania in the geostrategic plans of the main geopolitical actors, but the capability to achieve means allowing to influence the geopolitical codes of the main superpowers or the scenarios of the dynamics of the global geopolitical codes effectively.

The participation of Lithuania in the international organizations or geopolitical alliances can not presuppose the enhancement of its structural power, because of the lack of significant relative power while this vacuum is filled by the relative power of other states. In fact, this situation eventually reduces the general power of the state and its independence. The Lithuanian structural power could be strengthened only by acquiring sufficient relative power in a certain sphere like dynamic economics, effective international mediation, analytical capabilities, and importance to the transportation and so on. Lithuania could influence the behaviour of relatively more powerful states only by achieving the advantage of structural power in a certain spheres[110].

3.3. The Eventual Geopolitical Functions of Lithuania

Lithuania's integration into Euroatlantic security structures provides two alternatives. The first one is to become the outpost for maritime powers and the second one is eventual transformation into a geopolitical link[111], which could stimulate the democratisation and the geopolitical orientation towards Euroatlantic powers of countries of Eastern Europe (the Ukraine, Byelorussia) and mediate their relations with the security structures of the West. The historical relations with the Ukraine and Byelorussia and the common experience in the Soviet Union provide the opportunities for Lithuania's active involvement in Eastern European political processes. Lithuania should reach a qualitatively new strategic partnership with Poland in order to enhance the opportunities of becoming the outpost of transatlantic security structures in Eastern Europe and striving to become one of the leading countries in the Central and Eastern Europe. The new strategic partnership with Poland would guaranty closer relations with the US, create the preconditions for the role of the link between Northern and Southern Europe and enhance the structural power of Lithuania. The enhancement of the structural power would allow influencing the processes in the EU more effectively.

The perspectives of Lithuania's geopolitical status may be corrected by increased co-operation between the American and Russian governments and the formation of a transcontinental security system led by the US. Lithuania is the member of NATO and this would suggest the outpost role for Lithuania in the dimension of the "hard" power, but the occurrence of increased co-operation between the US and Russia may alter the geopolitical evolution of Lithuania radically.

The emergence of the transcontinental security system in the 21st century may condition two opposite scenarios of the development of Lithuanian geopolitical situation. Lithuania may turn back to the status of "exchange object" and fall into the redistribution process of in the spheres of influence between Russia and the US or

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[110] *Ibidem*, p. 87.

between the EU and Russia according to the first scenario. On the other hand, Lithuania may acquire the status of the link between the West and the East and become the geopolitical connection by exercising the function of instrument for the enhancement of the political and economic influence of the US on Russia in its geostrategy.

The probability of Lithuania's transformation into the link-state would increase in case of Westernisation of Russia. The Atlantistic dimension would dominate in the geopolitical code of Westernised Russia, the neoeurasism would be neutralized and the relations between Russia and the West would rise into another level. Practically, Russia would be incorporated successfully into the transatlantic space. The role of the bridge state would incite the enhancement of relative power (e.g. by performing the function of international mediator) of Lithuania and, therefore, the structural power as well. The status of the link-state would also reduce the dependence of Lithuania on the balancing games of great powers, therefore, minimizing the depositary nature of Lithuania's independence.

The participation in NATO does not guarantee the enhancement of structural power for Lithuania in case of the new global structures of security of different character are formed between the US and Russia (which could only mask its neoeurasist geopolitical code). The geopolitical perspectives of Lithuania (despite the legal guarantees after joining NATO) would depend on its balancing abilities among the great powers and on their interests in Central and Eastern Europe.

Lithuania should form the effective mechanism of the regional balancing, which could neutralise the negative effects of the possible change in a global geopolitical situation for the national security. This mechanism would probably allow avoiding the restoration of Lithuania's status as that of the "exchange object".

The evaluation of these alternatives according the criteria of the preservation of a relative political autonomy of the state implicates the conclusion that the restoration of the status that of "exchange object" is essentially dangerous to Lithuania, because it leads to its remaining in periphery. This danger could be avoided by influencing the geopolitical codes of the great powers in order to achieve the function of the bridge or barrier in them. Lithuania should perform these functions actively [112].

3.3.1. Lithuania's Place in the Geostrategy of the US

The place of Lithuania in the geostrategy of the US depends on both the priorities of foreign policy of the US administration and on the development of the global geopolitical situation, especially the dynamics of the interrelations of the US, the EU and Russia.

The US would like to turn the Baltic States into the geopolitical link (bridge) for its economic and political expansion towards Russia, Byelorussia and the Ukraine. The US designs the Baltic States as the outpost or the wedge of influence separating the countries of Western Europe from Russia and, together with other countries of Eastern Europe as the agents of its influence in the EU in case Russia shifts from its pragmatic pro-Western geopolitical code to the Eurocontinentalist or Eurasist one or the first strategy did not work [113].

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[111] Lopata R., "Etapas įveiktas, priešaky – naujos paieškos." *Lietuvos Rytas*, April 23, 2003.
[112] Laurinavičius Č., Motieka E., Statkus N., (note 7) p. 193.
[113] *Ibidem*, p. 184.

If the EU turns away from the US and became its rival, the US would likely seek to establish Lithuania as its outpost performing the function of "security fuse" in the US geostrategy by assisting to keep the power balance in Europe and assuring that the European states would remain dependent on the US security guarantees.

Lithuania should co-operate with the US in transforming Russia into a democratic country or forming a barrier to the Russian expansion towards Central and Eastern Europe (and eventually to Western Europe) in case Russia fails to democratise. Lithuania should also oppose further federalisation of the EU, the acceptance of the model of "different speeds" in European integration and the formation of military dimension of the EU or regional security initiatives eliminating the US. Such politics would allow strengthening the status of Lithuania in the US's geostrategy in the short-term.

3.3.2. Lithuania's Place in Russia's Geostrategy

The changes in the relations between Russia and the US after September 11 (the establishment of the NATO-Russia Council) and the endeavour of Washington in forming the transcontinental security zone have provided space for Russia's geostrategic manoeuvres.

Russia is seeking to weaken the structural power of the states in Central and Eastern Europe (including Lithuania) by balancing between the US and the EU and initiating the establishment of the new structures of global security or altering the character of the established ones (e.g. the security alliance based on the G-8, or the multilevel NATO) so that they provide the means allowing to influence the decision-making process in the main security issues after the recent round of NATO's enlargement.

Moscow projects the strategy of the alternative infrastructure of transit in developing co-operation with the EU and the US in energy sector. This strategy is directed towards the exclusion of the Baltic States from the projected system of transit, therefore, reducing the opportunities for Lithuania to become a geopolitical bridge-state.

On the other hand, Russia is seeking to transform the Baltic States, or at least one of them, to the "agents of influence" in the transatlantic and European institutions of the West using the vulnerability of Lithuania and other Baltic States in terms of economic and energy supply dependence on Russia. Lithuania's total dependence on Russia in the energy sector allows the possibility of becoming nothing more than Russian "terminal".

Russia is seeking the direct dominance in the energy sector of Lithuania by controlling strategically important objects of Lithuanian energy system. This kind of dominance would eventually lead to the integration of Lithuania and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe to the Russian energy system and the dependence on it. This dependence would allow Russia to turn Central and Eastern Europe into geopolitical buffer against the US and the Atlantistic countries of Western Europe[114].

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[114] Statkus N., Motieka E., (note 12) p. 27.

3.3.3. The Place of Lithuania in the Geostrategies of the Continental States of the EU

Lithuania (like other the Baltic States) remains the mean (the object of exchange) in the strategies of Germany and France and these countries are using this mean when implementing their foreign policy towards Russia. The main attitude of these countries is not to harm their relations with Russia on the issue of the Baltic States.

The position of both Germany and France towards the Baltic States depend on the constellation of power in the Western institutions. This principle of the politics of Germany and France would become especially important to Lithuania in case of the systemic break up in the Euroatlantic space and the consonance of the EU and Russia (which could be the possible reason of this break up) on the grounds of Eurocontinentalism as its consequence. This would be the serious threat to both Euroatlantism and the independence of the Baltic States, since both France and Germany would try to bargain with Russia ignoring the interests of these states and *in absentia* of them. The Lithuania's role could be various ranging from the "customs of the EU" to the Russia's province *de facto* in this context.

Therefore, Lithuania would become the province of the EU having no guarantees of security and drifting to the sphere of Russia's influence despite of staying in the EU formally in the case it had chosen the EU side in its possible confrontation with the US. The EU would not be capable to induce Russia to democratisation and would shift to the politics of the balancing towards it. The function of Lithuania of that geopolitical link for democratising the East would become irrelevant in this case[115].

4. Opportunities for Lithuania in the Context of Interaction of the Geopolitical Codes

Lithuania may acquire various functions in uniting or separating Russia (the main continental power) with the EU and the US, because of its location between the states of Eurasian coasts and the continental "heart". It is important to take this fact into consideration when discussing the possible scenarios of the interaction of the global geopolitical codes and Lithuania's place in them.

4.1. Opportunities for Lithuania in the Transcontinental Alliance (US-Russia-EU Axis)

The scenario of the transcontinental alliance would mean the formation of the alliance of the co-operation and the multilateral support among three main geopolitical actors – Russia, the US and Europe. This security system projected by the US and based on the close co-operation between NATO and Russia would join the geostrategic triangles of the US-Russia-EU and the US-China-Japan[116] providing the favourite opportunities to the transformation of Russia into the main ally of the America in Eurasia potentially able to balance the power of the EU and to become a counterweight to the geopolitical projections of China.

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[115] Laurinavičius Č., Motieka E., Statkus N., (note 7) p. 226.
[116] Brzezinski Z., (note 34) p. 68.

The US is likely to form the transcontinental alliance by adapting the established security structures and NATO in particular. The reformed NATO should become the axis of the transcontinental security system[117]. The US would legitimise its actions, consolidate its control on another states and preserve its initiative in the planned system if the formation of the transcontinental alliance implemented through the reform of NATO so the America were interested in it.

The clash of the geostategic interests of the US, Russia and the EU disappears (or delays) in the case of the implementation of this scenario and the mediators had become unnecessary, because the US, Russia ant the EU had solve their external problems by dealing directly. The region of Eastern and Central Europe, including Lithuania, would become a relatively stable zone requiring a little attention. Therefore, the establishment of the transcontinental alliance could be favourable to Lithuania in becoming a "golden province".

However, another scenario of the configuration of power is possible in this geopolitical context too. Russia could use its membership in the transcontinental alliance and the status of the main ally of the US in Eurasia for achieving its long-term strategic plans, i.e. divide Europe into the influence spheres of the US and itself, achieve the freedom of manoeuvre in the post-Soviet space (the facade transcontinentalism) and transform NATO into multilevel organisation with significant its influence on it. In this case the membership of Central and Eastern European countries, including Lithuania, have unavoidably become a formality. The conditions were set for turning back Lithuania to the status of "exchange object" and into "grey zone" of security.

The strategic alliance with powerful ally in Central Europe and active regional politics in order to form the mechanism of the "containment" of Russia's power spread and geopolitical manipulations would be helpful in avoiding this geopolitical perspective.

4.2. Opportunities for Lithuania in the Case of the Isolation of Europe (US-Russia Alliance vs. the EU)

The reason for this scenario might be the combination of both Russia's aim to achieve the freedom for geopolitical manoeuvres and strengthening its influence on European system of security and the interest of the US in limiting European power. Both Russia and the US may seek exploit Central and Eastern European states as their agents inside the EU in this context. The US would be interested doing this in order to slow down the federalisation of the EU and drive a wedge between Russia and Europe. Russia would seek this in order to enhance its influence on Europe and dismantle the Euroatlantic security structures as well.

If the America itself had become interested in the Russia's involvement into European security system in order to balance the power of the main states of the EU as that of consequence of their growing confrontation with the US, the situation of Lithuania would become critical. The US would be interested in maintaining the then power configuration and Russia would seek to restore its influence on Central

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[117] *Ibidem*, p.71.

and Eastern Europe through geopolitical manipulations and participation in the mechanism of the balancing the power of Europe and supported by the US in this case.

The great powers of Western Europe were likely tried enhance their influence on Central and Eastern Europe in order of breaking the isolation in the case of this scenario, but they would face the domination of the US in military and political sectors and Russia's in energy one in this region *et cetera paribus*. The aims of the geopolitical great powers to establish or enhance their influence on this area may turn the region in the "shatter-belt zone" which automatically presuppose instability in the countries composing it.

Lithuania should seek to reduce the isolation of Europe by searching and exposing the commons in the strategic interests of both the US and the EU in this context.

4.3. Opportunities for Lithuania in the Case of Eurocontinentalist Scenario (Russia-EU Axis)

The preconditions of eurocontinentalist scenario may be unavoidable multilateral economic dependence between Russia (on the European investments) and the EU (on the energy resources) and the interest of both Russian government and continental states of Europe in limiting the unilateralist tendencies of the US in global politics.

The politics of the US towards Europe may be the indirect impulse for this scenario in the case of its neo-conservative foreign policy. This policy consists of political divide of the EU, pressure on the main Western European states, unilateral actions weakening the tendency towards international institutionalism and the instruments of collective security and it may cause the return to the politics of balancing in Europe and the tendencies towards enhancing anarchy in the international system.

This would mean the turning point of the Euroatlantic system and would form the favourable environment for Russia's diplomacy and geopolitical manoeuvres. The main states of the EU would set their priority on the convergence with Russia in order to balance the enhancing power of the US in the European security system as the reaction to the American neo-conservative foreign policy. Russia would seek form a balance of power of a new character by using the frictions in Euroatlantic space in order to eliminate the influence of the US on Europe.

The Eurocontinentalist scenario would provide many possibilities for the status and functions of Lithuania. The optimal scenario would be Lithuania's transformation into the active and relevant bridge-builder easing the co-operation and guaranteeing the economic transit between the EU and Russia in this context. However, it would be rather hard for Lithuania to play a role of "the bridge" alone without loss of its autonomy in a broad sense. Therefore, Lithuania should protect its interests by co-operating with powerful ally in Central and Eastern Europe, which could help it in the amortisation of negative consequences of the convergence of Russia and the EU.

The space between Russia and West Europe may be divided into spheres of influence (geographical or sectoral ones) in the case of Eurocontinentalist scenario. Lithuania would become the province either of Russia or the EU. The gravitation of

Lithuania towards one or another centre of power would depend on the level of its integration into the structures of the EU. Lithuania's success in joining the economic core of the EU and performing functions useful to the main states of it would strengthen its role in the geostrategic plans of Germany and France and make the possibility to avoid the status of Russia's geopolitical province more viable.

On the other hand, the US would try to weaken and divide the developing continental block. Therefore, the US would strengthen further its influence on Central and Eastern Europe where it has a fairly significant political influence. Lithuania potentially might become the instrument of the US, i.e. the "wedge" dividing Western Europe from Russia.

Summarising, Lithuania (and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe) would turn into the "grey zone" of security with permanent tension of the dependence and threat of the possible pacts between Russia and the main states of the EU in case it remain the clash-zone of the interests of the two geopolitical actors (Russia and the EU). Therefore, the third vector (the US) is that of vital importance to the Lithuania and other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, because it would allow them balance the power spread of the axis of European continental states and Russia and provide some more freedom of the manoeuvre.

4.4. Opportunities for Lithuania in the Case of Eurasism vs. Euro-atlantism (US-EU Axis) Scenario

If Russia refused to integrate into Euroatlantic space and transforms its current pragmatic and pro-Western geopolitical code into neo-Eurasist one and as consequence of it tries to restore domination in the post-Soviet space and another regions of Eurasia and the US and great powers of the EU react adequately to these changes the colder relations between it and the West would form and the conflict of the conception of Euroatlantism with the new Eurasist geopolitical code of Russia would emerge.

Russia's aims turning the Baltic region into neutral zone or its sphere of influence, i.e. the barrier separating it from the Euroatlantist allies may be the premise of the growth of the Eurasism. It should be noted that the possibilities of the realisation of the Eurasism depend on Russia's abilities to prepare the favourable environment for it. This would happen only in the case of rivalry relations between the US and the EU. Lithuania might become the forgotten and irrelevant European periphery and the easy prey for Russia then. This rivalry would turn back the most of Central and Eastern European countries to the "grey zone" of security, similar of that existed in the beginning of the last decade of the 20th century.

On the other hand, the West can try to establish the system of outposts around Russia providing the economic (the EU) and military-political (the US) support for the countries performing these functions in the case of the unity of the EU and the US on containing Russia. Lithuania is a likely outpost of the US or (and) Europe in the East, because of its membership in the security structures of the West. This scenario would increase the role of Lithuania in the geostrategic plans of the US ant the EU ant it could establish itself as the state performing the significant function in the Euroatlantic space.

5. The Partial Neutralisation of the Conjuncture of the Geopolitical Codes: Lithuania's Foreign Policy in the Region

Lithuania cannot act successfully alone either globally or regionally, since it has not enough natural and human resources. Lithuania should combine its efforts with another one or several countries in order to enhance its own structural power. Taking the role of formative subject and making an geopolitical alliances by cooperating with the states having the similar political visions and interests is the most effective way to avoid the manipulations of great geopolitical powers (or amortise them at least).

Making alliances with certain states would be meaningful if the power of union or alliance were significant enough to provide possibilities of the protection of national interests and influence actively the external environment in higher level.

The importance of the regional security projects ("self-made" regional geopolitical alliances instead of being constructed by external actors) would become especially important to Lithuania, in case Russia tries to transform Central and Eastern Europe into the arena of its geopolitical combinations by using the aim of the US and the main continental states of the EU to limit the power of each other.

The question is what kind of regional alliance is optimal to Lithuania in order to amortise the negative influence on national security of the global geopolitical changes. Lithuania had two ways of getting closer to the Western security structures in the beginning of the Euroatlantic integration in the last decade of 20th century. The alliance with Poland was the first way and the orientation to Nordic countries was the second one. Today Lithuania faces the similar dilemma.

Lithuania would expect becoming the geopolitical link between the region of Central and Eastern Europe and North Europe by making an alliance with several Nordic countries. This choice would raise the possibilities of Lithuania to integrate into the economic core of the EU, but it would also increase its dependence on the foreign policy of the Nordic states. Nordic countries regard the questions of the security of the Baltic States only in frames of the common policy towards Russia. On the other hand, Russia meets the projects of co-operation among the Baltic and Nordic states fairly approvingly, because this formations remain open for its influence. Therefore, the orientation of Lithuania towards the geopolitical space of the Nordic countries would create the favourable conditions for the geopolitical manoeuvres of Russia, which could turn back the country to the "grey zone" of security. The tendency of the Nordic countries towards neutrality do not presuppose the active role of these states in the dimension of "hard power" and do not coincide with Lithuania's geostrategic interest to counter-weight or weaken the spread of the geopolitical power of Russia in the Baltic States.

Poland is the largest and most structurally powerful country in Central Europe and is attracting the attention of all the three main geopolitical actors because of its geopolitical situation. The transformation of the interrelations of the EU and Russia is impossible without including Poland in their geopolitical schemes. Also the transformation of the relations of the US and Russia or the US and the EU is impossible

without inclusion of Poland in some cases[118]. The structural power of Poland allows it to pursue an active foreign policy in all Central and Eastern Europe and influence the geopolitical behaviour of the more powerful states.

Lithuania should develop further the strategic partnership with Poland and strive for the formation of the geopolitical alliance. This could neutralise the main vulnerabilities of Lithuania, which would remain in the case of the orientation towards geopolitical space of Nordic countries. The geostrategic interests of Poland and Lithuania (especially towards the US and Russia) coincide in fact contrary to the interests of Lithuania and Nordic countries. The alliance between Poland and Lithuania would strengthen the positions of the later exactly in the sector of "hard" power and, therefore, it is so important.

Lithuania could implement its interests more effectively in all levels in the frames of its strategic partnership with Poland for the following reasons:

• close relations with the US would be guaranteed via Poland
• Poland may become the advocate of Lithuania's interests inside the EU
• it would let to implement active common politics of them both towards the Kaliningrad region, Byelorussia and the Ukraine instead of rivalry one
• it would be easier to identify and neutralise some threats coming from Russia by acting together
• Lithuania could join its system of power with the West European one only by wiring the electric power bridge through Poland and so reduce its energetic dependence on Russia. Therefore Poland is very important to Lithuania in energy sector[119].

Poland should be interested in the strategic partnership with Lithuania for the following reasons:

• Lithuania could become an effective geopolitical link between Poland, Latvia and Estonia and eventually the Nordic countries as well, i.e. it could become the channel of the power spread of Poland towards North
• it would be better to act together with Lithuania or through it as the mediator in the relations with Byelorussia and Ukraine, because of the caution towards Poland rooted historically in the post-Soviet states in Eastern Europe

Co-operation through co-ordination of actions without identifying with it or "dissolving" itself in the Polish sphere of influence should be the principal Lithuania's policy towards Poland approaching the proposed partnership through the prism of political autonomy. Lithuania could match the structural power that of Poland by performing specific geopolitical functions in some spheres (e.g. in the relations with Byelorussia and the Ukraine) so influencing the geopolitical behaviour of Poland in desired direction.

Lithuanian-Polish geopolitical alliance could perform the function of moderator between the EU and the US successfully by co-ordinating the politics of both of them towards Eastern Europe and informing them about the geopolitical manipulations of Russia in case rivalry between them on the global level. So Lithuania would strengthen its position that of "expert on the East" and the Polish-Lithuanian axis

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[118] Laurinavičius Č., Motieka E., Statkus N., (note 7) p. 308.
[119] *Ibidem*, p. 252.

might become the main co-ordinator of the EU policy towards the East. This program of action co-ordinated with Poland would enhance the relevancy of Lithuania in both the US and the EU geostrategic plans, which means the better guarantees of security as well.

Lithuania would achieve the possibility to implement successfully its local and regional geopolitical interests, i.e. forming the mechanisms of the "inclusion" of Kaliningrad into the EU, turning Byelorussia into the barrier to the spread of Russian influence and intensifying the relations between the EU and the Ukraine in case the geopolitical Lithuanian-Polish alliance attracted the attention of the great geopolitical powers (the US and the main European continental states) and were able coordinate the politics of the great Western states towards Eastern Europe (Russia, Byelorussia and the Ukraine).

If Lithuania were able to implement these tasks even partly in the short-term or mid-term period we could state that it is capable to influence the external environment and, therefore, the conditions for the regional leadership of Lithuania had emerged.

However, if due to unfavourable regional and local political situation Lithuania will be unable to pursue its goal of furthering Lithuanian–Polish geopolitical alliance, alternative geostrategic projects should be developed.

Changing
European
Security
Space

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Search for Identity in Modern Foreign Policy of Lithuania: between the Northern and Eastern dimensions?**

The article attempts to look at foreign and security policy of independent Lithuania as a state identity formation process. The analysis is based on social constructivism methodology, underlying the predominant role of immaterial factors in the development of international system. The article begins with the presentation of the Lithuanian geopolitical environment as an interaction of differently constructed identities. In this context, the place and role of Lithuania in the Northern dimension of the EU before and after the EU membership is analyzed. In analyzing Lithuanian foreign policy landmarks after the double enlargement, a wider survey of problems and perspectives of its participation in the latest EU foreign policy initiatives and its relationship with the EU Eastern dimension is given. The article states that Lithuania, trying to become the center of regional cooperation, is creating a *civil state* identity assembling other states by force of the example to be followed. However, the regional identity of Lithuania is still under formation: pretensions to unite the North, South and East are conceptually not grounded enough and the narrative uniting the region is still at an embryonic stage. In its position Lithuanian foreign policy substantiation is closer to the EU Northern and not Eastern dimension.

We're in NATO already, see the world differently ready[1]

Introduction

Beginning the existence of Lithuania as a fully-fledged NATO and the EU State, May 2004, as if divides modern Lithuanian history into two parts: before and after the membership. This new state development stage inevitably raises substantiation issues concerning the fundamentals of the statehood, the aims and role of the state in the new situation. It is not by chance that the Lithuanian political discourse asserts dominance over politics reconceptualization issues which practically manifest themselves by reviewing previously formulated strategic documents (The Law on the Basics of Security, Foreign policy conception) involving sufficiently wide society

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** Author is grateful to the colleagues of the COST Action 24 for inspiring research assistance. I am especially indebted to Pertti Joenniemi for comments on an earlier draft of this paper.
[1] Website motto of Lithuanian Youth Organizations, http://www.lijot.lt/nato , 14 08 2004.

layers into discussions. State and scientific institutions, mass media speak about the necessity to formulate and substantiate new foreign and security policy of Lithuania taking into consideration the changed status of the state. However, have the 2004 treaties truly established a new state? Is the Lithuania of 2004 different from that of 2003? Questions like these point to the problematic analysis of the *changing* state. Analysts of international politics emphasize that the change of the state cannot be explained as a substitution of one object possessing certain characteristics by another, it is a *process* which gives birth to a new quality. Regarding this a question arises – how to describe and analyze a *process?* This is one of key questions of recent years in the theoretical studies of international relations.

Attempts to conceptualize reality as a process, "capture" its *mobility, fluidity and change*[2] are characteristic of all social sciences, attempting to get free from long-dominant positivist epistemology and objectivist ontology. In the analysis of international relations, alongside the established rationalistic theorization, explaining social reality as an interaction of constant objects with fixed characteristics (realism, neorealism, neoliberalism), the so-called reflectivist theories (constructivism, feminist theories, normative theory, critical theory and historical sociology), underlying the constitutive nature of reality are gaining ground[3]. Methodological turn to the *reality-process* analysis required a new conceptual apparatus, the development of which is still in formation. In developing new analysis instruments, postmodernist philosophies and contemporary linguistic insights are invoked: social reality is analyzed as discoursive space, as a speech act, as a communicative action. To express the changing reality either new concepts are coined or a new content is attached to the established ones. Particular attention and new conceptualization were given to the concept of collective (state) identity: "A world without identities is a world of chaos, a world of pervasive and irremediable uncertainty, a world much more dangerous than anarchy ", Non enduring political order can exist without a substantial sense of community and shared identity"[4]. These citations reflect the fact that after the cold war in both domestic and foreign policy of states the mobilizing group identity function is particularly actualized.

All theoretical analyses perspectives of international relations acknowledge the presence of a link between the state identity and its foreign-security policy, but the actualization of this connection is largely referred to social constructivism methodology. At least several rather different variants of constructivism exist; they share a common attitude towards the international community as an interaction of intersubjectively constructed identities. As A. Wendt points out: "The rationalist strategy treats identities and interests as exogenously given and constant, and focuses on the factors shaping actors expectations about each other's behaviour. The constructivist strategy treats identities and interests as endogenous to interaction and thus a dependent variable in process. Structural change occurs when actors redefine who they are and what they want"[5].

[2] Albert M., Jacobson D., and Lapid Y., eds., *Identities, Borders, Orders: Rethinking International Relation Theory,* Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2001, p. 2.

[3] For more about new theoretical approaches see: Smith S., "New Approaches to International Theory", in: Baylis J., Smith S., eds., *The Globalization of World Politics,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 165-190.

[4] Albert M., (note 2), p. 15.

[5] Wendt A., *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 336-337.

The precondition for the existence of both individual and group identity is the separation of Self (inside) and Other (outside). The existence of collective identity depends on the capability of the group to maintain the sense of community and constantly reproduce its solidarity history, defining the group in a certain space and time.[6] The conception of identity dominating in the state is formed of a multitude of possibilities and eventually establishes itself as the story of dividing the world into selves and others, otherwise – the narrative. The concepts of the nation, national interest, national security acquire significance only due to the group-unifying narrative. The narrative is the main form representing group identity[7]. Using Foucault terminology, group identity can be defined as a discoursive formation, manifesting itself through different discoursive practices. In their turn, discoursive practices generate narrative structures that have a constitutive influence on political processes[8]. In modern narratology the analysis method of group identity expressing narratives is deconstruction disclosing binary oppositions lying in them: inside/outside, self/other, identity/difference, individuality/universality[9].

From the conception of identity as a discoursive formation ensues the conclusion that "National states do not possess prediscoursive, stable identities. States are never finished as entities, the tension between the demands of identity and the practices that constitute it can never be fully resolved, because the performative nature of identity can never be fully revealed. This paradox inherent to their being renders state in permanent need of reproduction: with no ontological status apart from the many and varied practices that constitute their reality, states are (and have been) always in a process of becoming"[10]. A state is "a constant political problem"[11]. Key practices of state identity construction are foreign and security policy[12]. In the history of any state is the period of the establishment of the narrative substantiating its identity during which new metaphors and rules stabilizing identity are formed. For the formation of the Lithuanian identity, the essential metaphor is "return to Europe" (the Western world), which is directly linked to NATO and the EU membership aspiration process. By producing clear membership criteria, NATO and the EU had (and still have) a great impact on the formation of the identity of Lithuania[13].

The article attempts to cast a glance at the foreign and security policy of independent Lithuania as at the state identity formation process. It is mostly based on the methodology of social constructivism, focusing on the dominant role of immaterial factors in the development of the international system. The article starts with the pre-

[6] McSweeney B., *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 163.

[7] For more see: Currie M., *Postmodern Narrative Theory,* New York: St. Martin Press, 1998.

[8] See: Halabi Y., "The Expansion of Global Governance into the Third World: Altruism, Realism or Constructivism*?", International Studies Review*, 2004 (1), p. 35–38.

[9] See: Currie M., (note 7), p. 73-95.

[10] Campbell D., *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity,* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992, p. 11.

[11] Devetak R., "Postmodernism", in: Burchill S. and Linklater A., eds., *Theories of International Relations*, New York: St. Martin Press, 1995, p. 200.

[12] For more see: McSweeney B. (note 6).

[13] See: Maniokas K., *EU Enlargement and Europeanization,* Vilnius, Eugrimas, 2003.

sentation of the Lithuanian geopolitical environment as an interaction of differently constructed identities. In this context, the article analyzes the place and role of Lithuania in the Northern dimension of the EU before its membership in NATO and the EU and after it became a fully-fledged member of these organizations. Further, while analyzing landmarks of Lithuanian foreign policy after the double enlargement, a closer look is given to perspectives and problems of its participation in the latest EU foreign policy initiatives and its relation to the Eastern dimension of the EU.

1. Identity of Lithuania and its Foreign and Security Policy

After the restoration of independence, in substantiating foreign and security policy, Lithuania followed the continuity of the interwar Lithuanian state. No wonder that it oriented towards the so-called then dominating model of the Westphalian States system, in which identity is stabilized as a nation state, borders as clearly defined territorial lines and order as a stable distribution of power among sovereign states[14]. In the Westphalian model, sovereignty is the fundamental principle organizing a modern political system, in which the preservation of territorial sovereignty is the key task of security and foreign policy. This system remained dominant until the end of the cold war; the essential distinctions that constitute it are "inside/outside", "anarchy/hierarchy", "self/other"[15].

Strategies of foreign and security policy in a concrete state are formulated in reference to the interpretation of Other and outside. As proved by different studies deconstructing the neo-realistic conceptualization of the reality, Other in a modern system of states is constructed as a threat[16]. The world is divided into a safe, rationally controlled inside of the nation state and dangerous, anarchic, unpredictable outside, into peace and threat zones. It is this conception of international relations that is provided for in *The Basics of the National Security of Lithuania[17]*. Characteristic of the political discourse of Lithuania and likewise of other post-soviet area states is a certain tension between the identity of the nation state and integrative practices of its foreign policy[18]. Nation state identity requires *exclusion* or identity policy[19], whereas the key objective of foreign policy – ("return to Europe" or to the Western security community) – *inclusion* or the integration policy[20]. Therefore, in the article the modern political identity formation process is analyzed as the correlation of the nation state (sovereignty) and integration discourses. Nodal points of the discourses are different conceptions of Europe and Russia.

After the end of the cold war, with the shaping of a new world order, identity reconceptualization and reformulation of foreign policy objectives became an urgent task for all participant of the Lithuanian security area. This is reflected in the estimations of the involvement of Lithuania and other Baltic States, after a 50-year interval, into the big politics of Europe. *Lithuania* interpreted this fact as the restoration of historical justice, *return* to Europe, from which it was brutally torn away in 1940. It is no

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[14] Albert M., Jacobson D., Lapid Y., (note 7), p. 7-8.
[15] *Ibidem*, p. 11.
[16] See: Bartelson J., *A Genealogy of Sovereignty,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; Biersteker J. T., Weber C., eds, *State Sovereignty as Social Construct,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

wonder that at first, its objectives of foreign and security policy were formulated by using concepts of the nation state discourse, focusing on the threatening nature of the environment. *In the West* the return of the Baltic States onto the map of Europe is most frequently treated as the confirmation of the power of the West, its victory in the cold war. However, the position that the end of the cold war and geopolitical changes related to this are proof of the importance of ideas and normative factors in the historical process is gaining ever increasing weight. Specifically, new possibilities for the development of liberalism values and security community are considered[21]. *In Russia*, dual estimation of the independence of the Baltic States is also clear-cut. At first, the position that the independence of the Baltic States was the loss of very important territories, the indication of the weakness of Russia as a state became dominant. Correspondingly, in foreign and security policy attempts are made to preserve the influence on the Baltic States; they are defined as "the near abroad", as the area of particular interests of Russia. Alongside this standpoint exists a still less popular though more promising position that the recognition of the independence of the Baltic States is a significant premise of the democratization of Russia and its rapprochement with the West.

In 1994, when the Baltic States joined the NATO Partnership for Peace Program and expressed their wish to become fully-fledged members of NATO and the EU, the Baltic dimension became a significant part of debates on the security of Europe. At that time, both the West and Russia and Lithuania faced the so-called *Baltic security dilemma* for the solution of which, according to the apt expression of Karl Bildt, the then Prime-Minister of Sweden, like a litmus test indicated the capability of different states to coexist peacefully under the new conditions[22]. The origin of the Baltic dilemmas, defined as the necessity to coordinate rather contradictory interests of the Baltic States, the West and Russia, lie in different security conceptualizations. At that time, in security and foreign policy of Lithuania an instrumental interpretation of the integration with the West dominated and the membership in NATO and the EU were means to safeguard the sovereignty of Lithuania from unpredictable and threatening Russia. The emergence of the Baltic dimension in the politics of Europe made the relations of Western States with Russia most problematic. A determined aspiration of Lithuania to become a member of NATO was perceived in Russia as a challenge for its national

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[17] See: Miniotaitė G., "The Baltic States: In Search of Security and Identity" in Krupnick Ch., ed., *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security,* Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003, p. 261-296.

[18] See: Smith G., Law V., Kuus M., "Toward Cooperative Security? International Integration and the Construction of Security in Estonia", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies,* 2002, 31 (2), p. 297-317;
Miniotaitė, G. "The Security Policy of Lithuania and the "Integration Dilemma", *COPRI Working Papers,* 2000 (5).

[19] The concept "identity policy" is rather widely used in the analysis of modern political processes. See: Wilson A., Bohr A. and E. Allworth, *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identities,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

[20] As Peter van Ham and Przemyslaw Grudzinski point out, the tension between identity and integration politics is characteristic of all post-Soviet European States. See: Ham van P. and Grudzinski P., "Europe's New Sphere of Affluence", *"The National Interest",* Winter 1999/2000 (58).

[21] See: Adler, E. and Barnett, M., eds., *Security Communities,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

[22] See: Carl Bildt, "The Baltic Litmus Test", *Foreign Affairs,* 1994 (5), p. 73.

interests and a source of tension with NATO countries. The West, however, from the very start, tried to review the traditional model of their relations with Russia. Seeking to support the democratization processes in Russia, they attempt to develop a common values-related area including both the Baltic States and Russia. After the accession of Sweden and Finland to the EU, the situation of the Baltic dilemma becomes a part of *the Northern dimension* of the EU foreign policy.

2. The Northern Dimension of the European Union and Foreign Security Policy of Lithuania

After Sweden and Finland joined the EU in 1995, and Russian-Finnish border became the Eastern border of the EU, the Northern direction in the foreign policy of the EU acquired an independent meaning. In 1997, Finland offered the EU *the Northern Dimension Initiative* (NDI) that has been an official part of the policy of the European Union since 1998. The Northern dimension can be considered the coordinator of the institutions already existing in the region for the financing of the programs of the Baltic Sea States Council and the EU[23]. The official objective of the Northern dimension is the promotion of horizontal cooperation between the actors of Northern Europe. Particular attention is focused on economic, social and environmental protection problems. 11 North-Eastern European States participate in the activity: Denmark, Estonia, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Norway, Russia, Finland, Sweden and Germany.

NDI activity comprises the Baltic region that in academic literature is often defined as the area of the interaction between modern and postmodern policy[24]. Underlying decentralization, the importance of horizontal relations, fragmentation and tolerance, the Northern States are closer to postmodernist policy which, while acknowledging the complexity and relativity of reality, rejects epistemological optimism, characteristic of the modernity epoch, and the aims closely linked with it to completely control and predict social environment. The concept of the territoriality acquires a new sense – the conception of the border *separating* one state from another is replaced by the concept of the boundary *unifying* states[25]. In suiting its own aims, Lithuania, like other post-soviet region states, by the treatment of the surrounding area is closer to modern sovereignty policy, which typically contrasts inside and outside. Russia also describes its interests in the region (preservation of territorial integrity, maintaining of military balance existing in the region) by using modernity discourse concepts. In the modernist narrative of Russia, the Baltic States are treated as lost territories, thus complicating the recognition of them as equal partners[26] .

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[23] Well before the beginning of the initiative such regional institutions as the Council of Baltic Sea States, the Nordic Council, the Barents Euro-Arctic Council functioned in Northern Europe.

[24] See: Lehti M., & Smith D., eds., *Post-Cold War Identity Politics: Northern and Baltic Experiences,* London: Frank Cass, 2003; Hanse L., & Waever O., eds., *European Integration and National Identity: the Challenge of the Northern States,* London & New York, Routledge, 2002.

[25] See: Friis L. and Murphy A., "The European Union and Central and Eastern Europe: Governance and Boundaries", *Journal of Common Market Studies,* 1999, 37(2), p. 211-32.

[26] See: Morozov V., "The Baltic States in Russian Foreign Policy Discourse: Can Russia Become a Baltic Country?", Marko Lehti & David Smith (eds.), (note 24), p. 239-240.

The States of the Baltic Sea region joined the NDI seeking rather different aims. Finland and Sweden sought to strengthen their weight within the European Union, Norway and Iceland wanted a closer cooperation with EU institutions, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia hoped that their participation in the initiative would bring them nearer to the EU membership and strengthen their security. Russia estimated its joining the initiative rather ambiguously, discerning in the Northern dimension either the aspiration of the West to delimit the Kaliningrad region from Russia or new possibilities for cooperation with the West by becoming the Russian gateway to the European Union[27]. Most probably because of the cultural, political and economic diversity of participants, the Baltic region came to be called the EU laboratory, the training area where EU governance models are tested and approved. The metaphor of the laboratory, that many people became fond of, can be interpreted in different ways. Firstly, the metaphor of the laboratory reveals that it is not a naturally emerging region, but rather a common area organized "from above". In creating the narrative unifying the region, this area is provided a particular "naturalness" by the Baltic Sea and historical interpretations of peaceful cooperation related to it. Secondly, the metaphor of the laboratory, where the experiment of the coexistence of diversities is under way, inevitably leads to the question – what is the relation between the experiment originators and its participants? Are the declared horizontal relations possibly only an illusion or would a closer look reveal the hierarchical structure of the region? Answers to these questions lie in the specificity of the region. Not only the foregoing 11 States but also the European Union as a totality operate in the region.

The European Union is not a normal state, it is a transnational political system[28], "civilian power"[29], whose international authority lies not in the military but political and economic power. By transforming the environment it creates a common economic, political and values-related area. As its economic achievements and peaceful foreign policy appeal to other states, the EU becomes a model to follow, thus exerting influence on the international environment. The EU approves of the Finnish initiative to expand the Northern region; in fact the Baltic and Northern regions overlap in its creation. In the construction of the Northern region, the experience of the cooperation of Nordic States and governance models, previously applied by the EU, integrate. The first and the second Northern Dimension Action Plans are adopted and executed.[30] The implementation of the plans is based on individual EU agreements with each participating state[31], financing sources being various EU programs[32]

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[27] See: Joenniemi P., Sergounin A., *Russia and the European Union's Northern Dimension*, Nizhny Novgorod: Nizhny Novgorod University Press, 2003.

[28] Moravcsik, A., *The Choice for Europe. Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht,* Ithaca/New York: Cornell University Press, 1998, p. 1.

[29] See: Hill C., "Closing the capabilities-expectations gap?", In Peterson J., Sjursen H., eds., *A Common Foreign Policy for Europe? Competing visions of the CFSP,* London and New York: Routledge, 1998, p. 91-107.

[30] *The First Northern Dimension Action Plan,* 2000-2003:
http;//europa. eu.int/comm./external_relations/north_dim/ndap/06_00_en.pdf. 12 07 2004.
The Second Northern Dimension Action Plan, 2004-2006:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/north_dim/ndap/com03_343.pdf . 12 07 2004.

[31] Cooperation with Iceland and Norway is based on the Economical Area Agreement, with the Baltic States and Poland – the European Agreement, with Russia – the Partnership Cooperation Agreement.

[32] INTERREG, Phare, TACIS, ISPA and SAPARD programs participate in the financing of the Northern Dimension Action Plans.

and cooperation partners[33]. The Northern Dimension Initiative functions as an EU instrument providing the form for the cooperation of the region participants. Coming back to the region – the metaphor of the laboratory, it is possible to state that this concept, derived from the modernity discourse, is granted a postmodernist content: the laboratory where diversities coexist gives birth to a certain, organizing the EU and the surrounding area model, which is created by *all* participants in the region.

What is the role of Lithuania in this "laboratory" of the Northern European region? In 1997, after Estonia was invited to start membership negotiations with the EU, and the neighbouring Poland with NATO, Lithuania's membership in these organizations also acquired sufficiently real contours. To be invited to negotiations with the EU did not seem to encounter any particular outside obstacles; it was only necessary to persuade the European Commission and the EU member States that Lithuania meets Copenhagen criteria. Meanwhile, Russia was actively opposed to the NATO membership and proposed alternative security variants[34]. Besides, Western states had no unanimous opinion related to the issue of NATO membership of the Baltic States. Thus, having joined the Northern Dimension Initiative in 1998, Lithuania considered its membership in it as an important instrument for the implementation of key objectives of foreign policy, i.e. EU and NATO membership, and good neighborly relations. Participation in the NDI offered an opportunity to Lithuania to come closer to EU institutions, gain regional cooperation skills and contribute to the Russia's integration into the region.

The majority of the states involved in the NDI border on Russia, however, a comparatively short land border of Lithuania with the Kaliningrad region of Russia is of utmost importance to Russia and the whole region. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and restoration of the independence of Lithuania in 1991, Russia lost its territorial integrity. Ties of the smallest and the most backward Kaliningrad region (out of 89) with Russia became dependent on its transit (military, economic, movement of persons) through Lithuania. Not surprising, Russia sought and is seeking to retain its political and economic influence in Lithuania. The position of Lithuania regarding the border with Russia changed depending on the relations between NATO and Russia as well as on the EU policy in regard to the region. At first, the militarized Kaliningrad region was perceived as a direct military threat to the independence of Lithuania. In 1994, the issue of the threat of Kaliningrad was made particularly acute. It was addressed at the Baltic Assembly, the program of the Government of Lithuania. In the same year, the adoption of regulations on the transit of military and dangerous cargoes through Lithuania was followed by severe criticism from the opposition, fears about a possible loss of sovereignty[35].

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[33] Cooperation partners are the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the European Investment Bank, the World Bank, the U. S. Northern European Initiative and others.

[34] After the rather unfavourable for the Baltic States results of the NATO summit meeting in Madrid (1997) and before signing the USA-Baltic Charter (1998), Russia submitted suggestions on security guarantees for the Baltic States. These suggestions particularly emphasize the non-alignment of the Baltic States to military blocks, the importance of the policy of neutrality. It is proposed to establish Russian security guarantees by a bilateral agreement between the Baltic States and Russia. The Baltic States unanimously rejected these proposals by Russia.

[35] Sirutavičius V., Stanytė-Toločkienė I., "Strategic Importance of the Kaliningrad Oblast of the Russian Federation", Vitkus G., ed., *Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review 2002*, Vilnius: Lithuanian Military Academy, 2003, p. 193.

This attitude towards the Kaliningrad region as a source of constant threat to the independence of Lithuania also found its expression in the Law on the Basics of National Security of Lithuania approved at the end of 1996[36]. Gradually, this position of "hard" security was replaced by the standpoint of "soft" security - in the National Security Strategy approved in 2002, the issue of Kaliningrad was conceptualized not as a threat to Lithuanian security but as a common issue of the region. In its relations with the Kaliningrad region Lithuania is seeking "the promotion of good neighbourly relations, and economic, trade, and cultural partnership, and improving economic development and standard of living so that it compares more favourably with neighboring states, particularly those approaching the EU membership"[37]. One can agree with the authors of the study on the Kaliningrad region that "during the last decade, KO underwent transformation in the foreign policy of Lithuania: from the main threat to security into an advantage – an opportunity to play an independent role of the leader in the south-east of the Baltic Sea region, truly contributing to promotion of stability in the area"[38]. Participation of Lithuania in the NDI had a great impact on the transformation Lithuania's position concerning the significance of the Kaliningrad region.

In the framework of the NDI, Lithuania actively participates in the integration of the Kaliningrad region into Northern European projects dealing with problems of energy, transport, border crossing and environmental protection. In 1998, a working group for promoting cooperation between regions of Lithuania and the Kaliningrad region was formed under the Lithuanian-Russian Intergovernmental Commission, and in 2000, *the Council for Long-term Cooperation between Lithuania and the Kaliningrad Region* was established. Lithuania and Russia put forth joint proposals for the first and the second NDI action plans. At the beginning of 2000, they jointly submitted to the European Commission 15 common projects on transport, energy, environmental protection, health care, etc. They were called the *"Nida Initiatives"* and are implemented from the public funds of each country as well as from funds of mutual assistance and EU programs. The Nida Initiative was the first joint Lithuanian-Russian initiative. At the NDI conference held in April 2003, for the second NDI action plan Lithuania and Russia submitted the *Nida 2* Initiative which consists of 5 supplemented and renewed projects on cooperation with the Kaliningrad region comprising the issues of transport, environmental protection and social problems. Lithuania takes part in the activity of Euroregions *Nemunas* (established in 1997), *Baltija* (1998), *Saulė* (1999) and *Šešupė* (2003). The regions encompass municipalities of Lithuania, the Kaliningrad region, Belarus, Poland, Latvia, Sweden[39].

After the accession of Lithuania to NATO and the EU, its relations with Russia have become part of relations between the EU and Russia. After signing the

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[36] See: "The Law on the Basics of the National Security of the Republic of Lithuania" adopted on 19 12 1996, *Valstybės žinios*, 1997 (2), p. 2-20.

[37] *The National Security Strategy,* 2002, http://www.kam.lt/catalog/ministerija/nacionalinio saugumo strategija 06 05.doc., 01 08 2004.

[38] Sirutavičius V., Stanytė-Toločkienė I., "Strategic importance of the Kaliningrad Oblast of the Russian Federation", (note 35) p. 186.

[39] More on participation of Lithuania in the activity of Euroregions, see: *Euroregionai*, http://www.urm.lt/data/5/LF2129325 kalin-.html.

EU-Russia Agreement on Russian transit from the Kaliningrad enclave through Lithuanian territory in the end of 2002, in 2003, Russia ratified the long-delayed Treaty on the Lithuanian-Russian State Border and signed a readmission agreement. Stricter regulations on transit of Kaliningrad region citizens via Lithuania (visa regime) that came into effect on 1 July 2003, brought Lithuania closer to the Schengen Treaty regulated space without causing a major deterioration in the relations between Lithuania and Russia[40]. In the political discourse, the Kaliningrad from a problem turned into "a window of opportunity" for diversity of regional cooperation forms[41]. Lithuania proved to be capable of creatively implementing the cooperation model proposed by the EU. This had an impact on its self-awareness in the region. The image of Lithuania as a bridge between the East and the West was replaced by the images of the bridgehead between Lithuania and the West and, eventually, the outpost of Western values[42]. Besides, participation in the Northern Dimension accelerated institutionalization of ES norms and regulations in the Constitution and laws of Lithuania.

In spite of successful regional cooperation experience, in the narrative of Lithuania substantiating its modern political identity belonging to the Northern region of Europe plays no major role. Unlike the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Estonia T.H.Ilves who claimed that the Northern Initiative is "a means of restoring our natural place in the Nordic space"[43], Lithuanian politicians tend to define Lithuania as a state of Central Europe. At a conference on regional security issues held in 2000, Vytautas Landsbergis made a suggestion to call the Baltic region a region of the Baltic-Central Europe[44]. Politicians of Latvia call their country a Northern Baltic state. This suggests that the Baltic Sea States region created 'from above' does not constitute a common identity[45]. Having become a member of the EU and NATO, Lithuania, it seems, considers the Wider Europe New Neighborhood' initiative shaping the Eastern policy of the EU to be closer to it.

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[40] It should be noted that the issue of the transit of Russian citizens through Lithuanian territory remains a source of potential tension between the two states. In September 2004, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania adopted a resolution by which it rejected the Russian proposal, rather favorably approved by some EU states, to create a corridor for transit of people and goods between the Kaliningrad region and the rest of Russia through the territory of Lithuania.

[41] See: Ušackas V. "Lithuania and Kaliningrad: building a partnership for the new Europe", http://www.lt/data/3/EF31014125 0727usac.htm, 14 07 2004.

[42] See: Miniotaite G. "Convergent Geography and Divergent Identities: A Decade of Transformation in the Baltic States", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 2003, 16(2), p. 209-222; Pavlovaite I., "Paradise Regained: The Conceptualization of Europe in the Lithuanian Debate", in Lehti M. & Smith D., (note 24), p. 199-218.

[43] Cited according to Ruutsoo R., "A Perspective on the Northern Dimension from the Baltic States", 2002, http://www.bd.1st.se/dimensionen/rapport/14.pdf., 13 08 2004.

[44] *The role of NATO in the Changing Security Environment of Europe: Materials of the Conference, Vilnius*, 2000, p. 23-24.

[45] Carl-Einar Stalvant indicates that although the states of the region are not unanimous, several blocks of states with a similar position on the EU Constitution and governance can be identified: Estonia-Sweden-Finland, Germany-Denmark, Lithuania-Poland. See: Stalvant C.E., "Interests, Loyalties, and the Lures of Power: the Baltic Sea States in Future European Governance", Huldt B., Ries T., Mortberg J., Davidson E., eds., *The New Northern Security Agenda: Perspectives from Finland and Sweden*, Stockholm: Swedish National Defence College, 2003, p. 93.

3. The New Foreign Policy of Lithuania

With the accession to the European Union and NATO, Lithuania faced the task of reformulating key foreign and security policy issues and finding its place in common foreign and security policy (CFSC) of the European Union. During the period of aspiration for the membership, domestic and foreign policy of Lithuania, like that of other candidate states, was inevitably adaptive in character. The clearly formulated requirements for the membership and a well-considered control mechanism of their implementation gave no particular space to the candidates' initiative. Restricted by the commitment to comply with *acquis,* to timely close down negotiations chapters or attempt at compatibility of their defense structures with those of NATO, they differed no more than in their position on the table of progress. Lithuania was among the most advanced on the way to NATO[46], Estonia – to the EU. Further participating in the activity of the NDI, the new members sought a more independent and more significant role in CFSP. *The Wider Europe* concept formulated by the EU in 2003 put these aspirations into an institutional framework[47]. The conception provided for a closer cooperation between the European Union and neighboring countries having at present no prospects of EU membership. As Javier Solana noted, "the reunification of Europe and the integration of acceding states will increase our security but they also bring Europe closer to troubled areas. Our task is to promote a ring of well-governed countries to the East of the European Union and on the borders of the Mediterranean with whom we can enjoy close and cooperative relations"[48]. At the beginning, the Eastern direction of *The Wider Europe* included Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, later (in June 2004) it was enlarged by the Caucasus states - Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

In the concept of the Wider Europe relations with neighboring countries are proposed to be based on the already tried and tested principle of conditionality, i.e. the character of cooperation is directly related to the progress of states in carrying out democratic reforms as well as implementing human and minority rights. The capability of states to adhere to cooperation standards accepted in the international community is also taken into consideration.

The proposed format for the relations with neighbors proved to be appealing to all new member states, however Poland and Lithuania were the strongest supporters of the Wider Europe-New Neighborhood idea. In the beginning of 2003, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland submitted a document to the EU in which the main Eastern policy ideas called the Eastern Dimension were formulated. The latter, like the Northern Dimension, proposes a certain model of relations with neighbors. The document stresses that the Eastern Dimension of the EU should not compete with

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[46] Regional Vilnius conferences which started in 1997, in 2000 joined together NATO aspirant states into "the Vilnius Ten". The Vilnius Ten includes Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Slovakia, Romania and Slovenia.

[47] The discussion on "The Wider Europe" policy was initiated by the United Kingdom. A comprehensive concept of "The Wider Europe" is laid in the 11 March 2003 Commission of Europe Communiqué "The Wider Europe – Neighborhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbors".

[48] Javier Solana, EU High Representative, "A Secure Europe in a Better World", 20 06 2003, http://www.foreignpolicy.org.tr/eng/articles/solana 200603.htm.

the Northern Dimension but be a supplement to it. It should reflect the experience of the Northern Dimension as well as the experience of the new members of the EU[49].

As Christopher Browning and Pertti Joenniemi point out, the difference between the dimensions is far greater than Polish politicians tend to think. A common objective of the Northern Dimension is "to reduce all dividing lines" and turn down the divide between The East and the West[50]. Seeking to create a common political area where non-member states could also influence decision-making, it includes all states of the region. The Eastern Dimension is less pretentious in its objectives. It strives to bring the EU neighbors Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus closer to the European Union standards and their membership in the EU. The reference to "Eastern" (dimension) does not imply that it performs the function of uniting the region; on the contrary, it draws a rather distinct line between Poland and states not belonging to the European Union in respect to which Poland has a civilizing function[51]. The key premise of Poland regarding the Northern Dimension is its position on the EU Eastern policy as prevention of potential threat from the East: "It is imperative for all of us to prevent potential negative consequences that may result from the growing modernisation gap between the EU and its Eastern neighbours. This gap might spur negative social phenomena such as migration pressures as well as provoke further frustration and anti-Western sentiments among the people of East European countries. Poland – situated on the border of the European Union – would be the first to feel the impact those negative consequences", emphasized the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz[52]. One can agree with Browning and Joenniemi that in the Northern Dimension Europe is conceptualized as "the Europe of Olympic rings", whereas in the Eastern Dimension - as "the Europe of concentric circles"[53].

Which of these conceptualizations is closer to Lithuania? It is difficult to give a definite answer to this question; the new foreign policy of Lithuania is taking but first steps. As the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania A. Valionis noted, "We still have a long way to go to fully comprehend the needs and tasks of the state"[54]. Certain guidelines for this way are provided for in *the Project on the Concept of Lithuanian Foreign Policy after its Accession to the European Union and NATO* which was introduced to the public at a conference held in Vilnius University just a few weeks after the dual membership of Lithuania[55]. Both the project and formal speeches of the officials emphasize that Lithu-

[49] *Non-paper with Polish proposals concerning policy towards new Eastern neighbours after EU Enlargement*, (January 2003), http://www.msz.gov.pl/start.php?page=1040000001&obj display cat=11&obj display full=393&obj to display type=21. Referred to on 14 07 2004.

[50] Christopher S. Browning, "Towards a New Agenda? US, Russia and EU", *the NEBI Yearbook 2003*, Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 2003, p. 274.

[51] See: Christopher S. Browning & Pertti Joenniemi, "The European Union's Two dimensions: the Eastern and Northern", *Security dialogue*, 3003, 34 (4), p. 471-472.

[52] Włodzimiez Cimoszewicz "The Eastern Dimension of the European Union. The Polish View." Paris, Institute of Political Science, April 22, 2004, http://www.msz.gov.pl/start.php., 15 08 2004.

[53] Browning Ch. S. & Joenniemi P., "The European Union's Two Dimensions: the Eastern and Northern", (Note 51), p. 476.

54 The Speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Antanas Valionis to the Heads of Diplomatic Missions of the Republic of Lithuania. Vilnius, 7 July 2004, http://www.urm.lt/., 19 08 2004.

[55] In 2003, by a decree of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania Algirdas Brazauskas a working group was formed to draw up a project on the concept of the Lithuanian foreign policy after Lithuania's accession to the European Union and NATO.

ania is oriented towards active foreign policy trying to become the center of the region: "My vision of Lithuania is that of a country which through the quality of its membership of the European Union and NATO and good neighbourhood policy has become a leader of the region. I have a vision of Lithuania as a center of the region with Vilnius as a regional capital", spoke then the Acting President of Lithuania Artūras Paulauskas introducing the Lithuanian Foreign Policy Concept and a new vision of Lithuania[56]. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania approves of this idea: "the concept of a center of the region is, most probably, the only link to connect the present of our Euro-Atlantic membership with the future of the state; it gives ambition and solidity to our policy"[57].

Naturally, a question arises – what kind of regional center is Lithuania intending to become? The answer is directly related to the concept of Lithuanian identity. In the substantiation of the new foreign policy, issues of regional identity that arose in the political discourse of Lithuania 1996-1997 gain urgency again. Then Lithuanian identity was related to the Baltic, Northern Baltic and East Central regions of Europe. In 2004, Lithuania – a member of the European Union and NATO – has "most probably the first opportunity in history to bridge the East and the West and make Lithuania a center of gravity in a geographically and culturally diverse region"[58]. Specifying this idea, the Minister of Foreign Affairs slightly narrows Lithuania's regional ambitions: "we must initiate and establish new regional cooperation formats uniting the states of Northern, Central and Eastern Europe. This would expand regional identity and enable to break away from the geographical framework formed in the interwar period. Strategic partnership with Poland, the Northern and Baltic Six, institutional partnership between Lithuania and Ukraine - all this could be developed by involving new areas, new partners, creating an interrelated cooperation area"[59].

The presented quotations suggest that Lithuania attempts to be the center of a vast region encompassing states of both Northern and Eastern Dimensions. What are these pretensions based on? First, on the successfully started work. Right after the declaration of *The Wider Europe* initiative, Lithuania started a more active cooperation with Ukraine, Belarus, the Caucasus states and can appeal to the concrete results of that cooperation[60]. Second, on "valuable experience of strengthening democracy and market economy and of developing co-operation with Euro-Atlantic structures"[61]. Third,

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[56] The Speech by the Acting President A. Paulauskas at Vilnius University on 24 May 2004. "On Lithuania's New Foreign Policy", http://www.urm.lt/data/2/LF51152557 Paulauskokalba.htm., 08 08 2004.

[57] The Speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Antanas Valionis to the Heads of Diplomatic Missions of the Republic of Lithuania. Vilnius, 7 July 2004 (Note 54).

[58] The Speech by the Acting President A. Paulauskas at Vilnius University on 24 May 2004, (Note 56).

[59] The Speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Antanas Valionis to the Heads of Diplomatic Missions of the Republic of Lithuania. Vilnius, 7 July 2004, (Note 54).

[60] On Lithuania's relations with Belarus and Ukraine see: Lopata R., "Autoritarianism in Belarus: Eventual Threats to Lithuania's Security", (note 35), p. 215-230; *Understanding Belarus: Transition to Where? Proceedings of the International Conference*, Vilnius, Lithuanian Military Academy, 2003 (9); Daniliauskas J., Lopata R., Sirutavičius V., Šatūnienė Ž., Vilpišauskas R., "The European Union and Ukraine: Lithuania's Viewpoint", in Jankauskas A., ed., *Lithuanian Political Science Yearbook 2002,* Vilnius, 2003, p. 203-246.

[61] The Speech by the President Valdas Adamkus in the meeting with the Heads of Foreign Diplomatic Missions in Lithuania on 14 July 2004, http://www.president.lt/lt/news.full/5125?PSID=42c199698aa3c9abbad8a4f6fe1114e7, 28 08 2004.

on successful participation in the Northern Dimension, fourth, on the non-conflict development of relations with Russia, and, finally, on the geopolitical position.

With the construction of the narrative substantiating the identity of Lithuania as the center of the region, the conception of both Lithuania and regional actors also changes. Lithuania is constructed not as a border between the Western and the Eastern civilizations but as "crossroads of civilizations" (Paulauskas), "center of gravity" (Adamkus), "symbol of the European Union and NATO that other states would seek to align with" (Valionis). In the newest conceptualization, Russia is losing the status of "ontological other of Europe"[62]. It is recognized as part of the common area: "Our objective is that the Kaliningrad region organically joins Europe and is, together with the whole Russia, open to Euro-Atlantic cooperation"[63]. Seeking to become the center of regional cooperation, Lithuania is creating the identity of the civil state bringing other states together by force of the example to be followed.

According to Marko Lehti, the narratives of the construction of the Estonian and Latvian identity and conceptualization of the area surrounding them are changing in the same direction[64]. The narrative of the golden age of the interwar period is replaced by a new history of success where economic reforms and knowledge society play the main role. "The Baltic tigers" challenge the existing center of Europe. The Baltic States are no longer pupils of Europe but forerunners of progress[65]. In one form or another, all Baltic states claim that both Europe and neighboring countries have something to learn from them; they can propose the EU concrete solutions "how to advance further to the East"[66]. Regarding this role of the Baltic experts, certain specialization manifested itself: Estonia revealed itself as a leader of economic reforms, Latvia – as that of finance, Lithuania – as a leader of international political initiatives. This to some extent explains Lithuania's claims to become the center of a vast region uniting the North, the East and the South. Besides, there are attempts to interpret the ambitions of Lithuania by its imperial past, recalling the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the history of the joint Lithuanian-Polish state[67]. These attempts, however, are more cultural-humanitarian by charac-

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[62] See: Neumann, B.I., *Russia and the Idea of Europe: A Study in Identity and International Relations*, London, Routledge, 1996.

[63] The Speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Antanas Valionis to the Heads of Diplomatic Missions of the Republic of Lithuania (Note 52).

[64] See: Lehti M., "Challenging the 'Old' Europe: Estonia and Latvia in a 'New' Europe", paper presented at the 5th Pan-European International Relations Conference "Constructing World Orders", The Hague, 9-11 September 2004. Lehti's analysis deals with Estonia and Latvia only but, in my opinion, the main conclusions of the article apply to all Baltic States.

[65] *Ibidem*.

[66] The Speech by the Acting President A. Paulauskas at Vilnius University on 24 May 2004, (Note 56).

[67] "The Lithuanians cannot do without an empire. In respect to its policy, the GDL was ahead of the entire Western Europe and, in fact, came close to the doctrine of the freedom of conscience which, say, in the USA was declared, but which actually was not observed until the 20th century. We have experience and models how to implement multinational commonality. In the East our opportunities and possible interests are evident – South Caucasus, Central Asia (post-Soviet part) and the territory of the GDL which is still alive in the minds of many Ukrainians and Belarussians and which will not disappear for centuries to come". Beresnevičius, G. "An Empire in the East, an Empire in the West. An Outline of Geopolitics of Lithuania (1)", http://www.omni.lt. 24 05 2004.

ter; in official political discourse it is not popular to associate the ambitions of Lithuania as a regional leader with the history of its statehood[68].

It is possible to state that ambitions of Lithuania to become the center of the region are based on present achievements rather than its glorious past: it has successfully implemented economic and political reforms, has consistently sought integration into Western economic and political structures. Of key importance is the fact that, having resolutely broken off relations with the Soviet Union, Lithuania managed to maintain good relations with Russia. In spite of the complicated issue of Kaliningrad, it was the only Baltic State that signed a border agreement with Russia and is successfully resolving the issues of transit and visas with the Kaliningrad region. This experience appeals to former Soviet Union republics seeking EU membership. Besides, the role of Lithuania in the region is positively assessed by the USA and the EU.

Concluding Remarks

Formulation and substantiation of the objectives of Lithuanian foreign policy are inseparable from the state identity construction process. The tension between nation state identity and integration objectives of foreign policy is characteristic of political discourse of Lithuania as well as that of other states of the post-Soviet area. Joining the integration process not only sped up the institutionalization of ES norms and regulations in the constitution and laws of Lithuania, but also contributed to the development of Lithuanian political identity. Specifically, participation in the EU Northern Dimension replaced the image of Lithuania as *the bridge between the East and the West* by the image of *Lithuania as the bridgehead of the West.* This, in its turn, changed the conceptualization of the Kaliningrad region in Lithuanian foreign security policy: from a threat to the state security it turned into a common regional problem, "a window of opportunity" bringing Lithuania closer to the European Union.

The new stage of Lithuanian statehood, which began in 2004, in both domestic and foreign policy is often characterized as a period of a vacuum of ideas. It lacks a common goal uniting political forces of different orientation. The new project on the concept of the Lithuanian foreign policy proposing the idea of *Lithuania as the regional center* is trying to fill this vacuum. The content of the concept project rather consistently follows from the already launched regional cooperation initiatives. Seeking to become the center of regional cooperation, Lithuania is creating the identity of the civil state, bringing other states together by force of an example to be followed.

Membership of the EU and NATO offers wider opportunities for active Lithuanian foreign policy, however by itself it does not make Lithuania a center of the

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[68] It is interesting to note that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz substantiating pretensions of Poland as the leader of the Eastern Dimension does not avoid appealing to historical sources of common regional identity: "For more than three centuries Poles lived in one state with Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Belarussians. Two hundred years ago that common state disappeared from the map of Europe. Yet people living on the territories of the partitioned Commonwealth never lost the western part of their identity", Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, "The Eastern Policy of the European Union", Paris, Institute of Political Science, April 22, 2004, http://www.msz.gov.pl/start.php., 10 08 2004.

region. Judging by the documents and official speeches reviewed in the article, regional identity of Lithuania has just begun to develop, pretensions to bring together the North, the South and the East lack sufficiently well-grounded ideas, whereas the narrative uniting the region is still in embryo. Attempts to formulate the new Lithuanian foreign policy are oriented towards both the EU Northern and Eastern Dimensions: by the conceptualization of the political environment it is closer to the Northern Dimension (the Europe of Olympic rings), while by the objectives – to the Polish variant of the Eastern Dimension. This indicates that Lithuanian foreign policy is poised between modern and postmodern conceptualization of political processes.

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Exporting Idealism? The Prospects of Baltic Sea Region Cooperation after Enlargement

With the dual enlargement of NATO and the EU to the Baltic States in 2004 the post-Cold War transition process in the Baltic Sea Region has begun to draw to a close. The article argues that this is posing questions for, and is likely to change, the character of cooperation within the region. During the 1990s it is argued regional cooperation was driven primarily by motivations of idealism and security, with one of the central elements of regional cooperation being its conceptualisation as a project of identity and subjectivity creation. With the transition process completed the key motivations behind this political project are becoming less important, with the result being that this idealistic element to regional cooperation is being replaced by more pragmatic, functionalist and self-interested aspects. However, whilst internally idealism, solidarity and internationalism are on the wane, it is argued these elements have not disappeared altogether but are increasingly becoming an accepted part of the international profile and identity of the region.

Introduction

The recent dual enlargement of the EU and NATO to states of the former Eastern bloc has been accompanied by considerable reflection. Although visually less dramatic and euphoric than the tearing down of the Berlin Wall over a decade ago the sense of 'endism' has been tangible. Indeed, although it is normal to proclaim 1989-1991 as the period when the Cold War ended a case can also be made that it was only in 2004 that this geopolitical transition really happened. Such a sentiment has been apparent amongst the new members for some time with 2004 standing out as the year when the 'return to Europe/the West' finally culminated. This has now presented the new members with a considerable challenge. With policies of the last 10-15 years driven by the desire of joining western institutions and returning 'home', the new members are now faced with a quite different question of what policies and goals to follow now they have arrived.

Interpreted as a geopolitical transition and the final end of the Cold War what is significant about the dual enlargement is that framing politics primarily in East-West terms will make increasingly less sense whilst new frameworks are instead needed for the future. The events of 2001 and the subsequent War on Terror have also

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contributed to this erosion of the East-West framework as the defining script of international and European politics. On the one hand, the geopolitical landscape of security threats has been dramatically transformed, with former enemies now crucial allies in combating new threats. On the other hand, the unity of the West has itself been challenged with the emergence of significant tensions within the transatlantic alliance as well as between what is now frequently termed the states of New and Old Europe.

This sense of geopolitical transition and endism is arguably also apparent in the Baltic Sea Region. Looking back over the last decade the achievements of the region have been considerable. Despite early fears that the region might disintegrate into a 'northern Balkans', political stability has not only been preserved but has increasingly become taken for granted. This has been achieved through a series of confidence building measures which are most apparent in the proliferation of regional contacts and institutions within the region. Not least, however, has been a clear political project of providing the Baltic Sea Region with a common and positive regional identity and to some extent to even provide the region with a certain amount of subjectivity. In this respect regional cooperation in the Baltic Sea area has exhibited clear project-like features. Today, however, and as elsewhere, in light of the Baltic States' membership of the EU and NATO the trajectory, purpose and future of the region, and not least of regional cooperation, appears much less clear. This article is concerned with this sense of endism in the Baltic Sea Region. If the original project is over what, if anything, will replace it? Is the ideal of constructing a common identity and regional political subjectivity now over?

The article is divided into three parts. First the article examines the purposes of regional cooperation throughout the 1990s and argues that regional cooperation was primarily underlain by dimensions of *idealism* and of *security*. Second, the article examines the challenges that the dual enlargement has posed for the region. In particular, it argues that much of the endism and crisis of purpose regarding regional cooperation results from the fact that with the original security imperatives largely resolved motivation for regional cooperation has been undermined. In turn this has seen the idealism of the pre-enlargement period replaced with a sense of *pragmatism* which undermines previous emphases on self-sacrifice. One result of this is that the previous idealised political project of creating a regional subjectivity has largely come unstuck. Finally, the article ends on a more positive note arguing that despite the sense of endism, and despite the problems with the identity-building project, common norms have emerged in the region largely based around ideas of solidarity and internationalism. In this respect, the idea of the Baltic Sea Region as a 'region for export' is emerging. In certain respects this represents the externalisation of the idealism of internal regional cooperation prior to the dual enlargement.

1. Regional Cooperation after the Cold War

As noted, a good argument can be made that much of the regional cooperation that emerged in the Baltic Sea area after the end of the Cold War was driven primarily by elements of idealism and of security, which although analytically distinct, in practice were also intricately connected.

1.1. Idealism

During the Cold War regional cooperation along both East-West and North-South axes in northern Europe was very limited. Psychologically the Baltic Sea assumed oceanic proportions that seemed to exacerbate distances and dividing lines. The sea was conceptualised as a buffer and obstacle to cooperation, not a facilitator of it. As we know, when the Cold War ended all this changed. The Sea was re-conceptualised as a meeting point and a symbol of commonality, and instead of being an ocean it turned out to be not so big after all.

Accompanying the euphoria of the end of the Cold War there emerged a 'Baltic feeling' throughout the region with the end of the Cold War being seen as a chance to transcend the conflicts of the past in favour of a new commonness and unity. The idealism of this 'Baltic feeling' was encapsulated in a series of new and evocative metaphors that served to naturalise the transformations underway and became prevalent in debates and policy-making language. These included concepts such as Baltic Europe, *Mare Balticum*, Region North and *Ostseeraum*[1]. Similarly 'historical' metaphors, such as that of the old *Hanseatic* trading links, were also utilised to add depth to emerging feelings of a sense of 'we-ness' transcending the Baltic. In doing so Cold War divisions were presented as an historical parenthesis that now over would enable the region to return to its former prosperity, peacefulness and unity. To quote Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari in 1999: "we need not look very far back through the window of time to find all around the Baltic thriving, multicultural Hanseatic cities that flourished thanks to trade and business"[2]. Or as the Finnish Ambassador, René Nyberg put it, the re-establishment of ties with those on the opposite coast of the Baltic is 'natural' and "represents a return to *normality* after the success of efforts to overcome the *abnormal* state of affairs *wrongly* considered 'normal' for so long" (emphases added)[3].

To an important degree this Baltic feeling emerged rather spontaneously with the idealism inherent within it itself becoming a reason for developing cross-regional links. As Stålvant has pointed out, an entrepreneurial spirit was apparent that resulted in citizens taking it upon themselves to establish links with each other, especially between the Nordic and Baltic states. This has been particularly evident in the proliferation of twinning arrangements, which on the part of the Nordic partners often moved beyond simply cultural exchanges to exhibit clear idealised notions of self-sacrifice for the benefit of poorer Baltic cousins. Thus, twinning arrangements also became a channel for humanitarian aid and technical development assistance in fields including that of transportation, environment, water treatment and energy supply[4].

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[1] Christiansen T & and Joenniemi P., "Politics on the Edge: On the Restructuring of Borders in the North of Europe" in Eskelinen H, Liikanen I & Oksa J., eds., *Curtains of Iron and Gold: Reconstructing Borders and Scales of Interaction*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999, p. 92.

[2] Ahtissari M., speech delivered at the Karelian Summer Festival, Vaasa, 19 June 1999. Available at http://www.tpk.fi/puheet-1999/P990619.karen.html

[3] Nyberg R., "The Dynamic Baltic Sea Region: What Belongs Together is Now Growing Together", speech at Greifswald, 30 March 2000. Available at http://virtual.finland.fi/news/showarticle.

[4] Stålvant C E., "Trans-national Forces and the Role of Local Actors" in Browning C., ed., *Remaking Europe in the Margins: Northern Europe after the Enlargements*, Aldershot: Ashgate, Forthcoming 2005. Also see Bergman A., "Nordic Integration Assistance: The Case of the Baltic States", paper presented at "The Baltic States: New or Old?" conference, University of Glasgow, 22-23 January 2004.

At the same time, however, and as Neumann has clearly demonstrated, the academic and foreign policy intellectual elite also played an important role in framing and directing much of what was initiated in the early 1990s[5]. These 'region-builders', Neumann argues, developed a clear political project for the region, providing the historical and geographical knowledge and vision to support various regional cooperation projects with the goal being to help foster a clear sense of shared identity throughout the Baltic region. Beyond this, however, through promoting the institutionalisation of this cooperation in institutions such as the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS – 1992) and the Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC – 1993) there was also an implicit agenda of fostering a political subjectivity for the region.

There was however a further more particularly Nordic element to the idealism that underlay regional cooperation after the end of the Cold War. As Wæver noted at the time, in the immediate aftermath of the end of the Cold War a certain amount of questioning regarding Nordic cooperation became apparent, with 'old' statist Norden being compared unfavourably to the dynamism behind the European project that was clearly apparent in the run-up to the Maastricht Treaty[6]. Whereas throughout the Cold War the Nordics had fostered a progressivist image based on their solidarity with the Third World, their internationalism, environmentalism and the egalitarian welfare oriented nature of their societies[7], following the fall of the Berlin Wall the Nordic model no longer appeared so distinctive. In particular, questions were raised about just what it meant to be Nordic in the new unfolding order and what type of international role the Nordic countries might be able to play.

In re-orienting themselves to the post-Cold War world the Nordic States have actually re-asserted their internationalist credentials by continuing to focus on solidarity with those perceived to be less fortunate than themselves. This has taken various forms. For example, it can be seen in the strong desire to maintain a mediating role in global conflicts (such as Norway's close engagement with the Middle East peace process). It can also be seen in Finland's and Sweden's sponsorship of the Petersburg Tasks as a part of the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty of the EU that ensured they could take part in EU peacekeeping operations even though, as non-aligned countries, they were not members of the Western European Union (WEU). And not least, of course, it can also be seen in the fact that the Nordic countries remain in the top ranks of nations when it comes to the percentage of GDP devoted to development aid[8].

Most conspicuous and closest to home, however, Nordic internationalism was refocused on the Baltic Sea Region and more particularly on helping the Baltic States in the transition process, whilst at the same time trying to prevent a new normative and economic divide opening with Russia. Within this context previous elements of

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[5] Neumann I. B., "A Region-Building Approach to Northern Europe", *Review of International Studies* 20, 1994, pp. 53-74.

[6] Wæver O., "Nordic Nostalgia: Northern Europe after the Cold War", *International Affairs* 68 (1), 1992.

[7] Mouritzen H., "The Nordic Model as a Foreign Policy Instrument: Its Rise and Fall", *Journal of Peace Research* 32 (1), 1995, pp. 10-11.

[8] Bergman A., "Post-Cold War Shifts in Swedish and Finnish Security Policies: The Compatibility of Non-Alignment and Participation in EU Led Conflict Prevention", paper presented at the ECPR conference, University of Uppsala, 13-18 April 2004.

Nordic superiority have remained apparent and not least in the clear desire to spread 'Nordic' norms to their southern neighbours. As Archer notes, drawing on Cold War benevolent self-identifications the Nordics have engaged with almost missionary zeal, seeing the reproduction of Nordic values, particularly of security, as the ultimate goal[9]. Seeing the Baltic States as the focus of a new Nordic mission to imbue the Balts with responsibility in international affairs, the Nordics constructed a discourse in which they were the authoritative teachers of knowledge, the Balts students. Thus, it was not surprising that in 1998 then Foreign Minister Tarja Halonen felt able to depict Finland as Estonia's "godmother" when it came to the development of Estonian-Russian relations[10]. More particularly, however, the fact that when it has come to providing the Baltic States with defence support the Nordic countries have been keen supporters of the development of a Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion (BALTBAT) can at least in part be explained by their desire to spread their internationalist values to their Baltic neighbours[11].

1.2. Security

At least as important as these various strands of idealism behind regional cooperation in the Baltic Sea Region since the end of the Cold War have been security considerations. Indeed, security and cooperation have become so tightly linked in the region that it has become difficult to think of them separately. However, security as a driving force of cooperation in the Baltic Sea Region has two distinct elements to it with cooperation being driven by both *realist* and *liberalist* discourses of security. Although generally complementary in the case of the Baltic Sea Region clear differences also exist between them, particularly in terms of what the referent object of security is assumed to be, how threats are identified, and the character of cooperation that becomes possible as a result[12].

For example, *realist* approaches to international politics tend to focus on issues of hard military security, reflecting a view of the international system as an anarchic Hobbesian realm of all against all. With such a pessimistic and conflict-laden view of international politics realist understandings of security are usually understood to entail specific implications and limitations for international cooperation. In particular, cooperation between states is generally understood in terms of alliance building and balancing (or bandwagoning) against other states viewed as threatening one's security and independence[13]. From a realist perspective, therefore, states are taken to be the referent object of security (the thing that has to be secured and protected), whilst the principal threats to the state are understood to come from other states. Consequently, regional cooperation becomes driven by a logic of othering and exclu-

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[9] Archer C., "Nordic Swans and Baltic Cygnets", *Cooperation and Conflict* 34 (1), 1999, p. 62.

[10] *Kansan Uutiset* 16 December 1998, cited at http://virtual.finland.fi/news/.

[11] Bergman, (note 8).

[12] For a full elaboration of the following argument see, Browning C & Joenniemi P., "Regionality Beyond Security? The Baltic Sea Region after Enlargement", *Cooperation and Conflict* 39 (3), 2004, pp. 233-253.

[13] Walt S., *The Origins of Alliances*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987.

sion and remains limited as states build alliances with some states in the face of the perceived aggressive intentions of other states.

In the post-Cold War period cooperation driven by realist security discourses has been most clearly apparent on the part of the Baltic States and Poland for whom engaging in cooperation with their western and northern neighbours has been a central strategy in escaping the Russian sphere of influence and gaining Western security gua-rantees[14]. Thus, it has been argued that even if in recent years the Baltic States have adopted the language of cooperative security and have expressed their desire for NATO membership by drawing on notions of a 'new NATO', it remains clear these aspirations mask a desire for hard military security guarantees *vis-q-vis* Russia[15]. Likewise the emphasis on EU and NATO membership in the discourses of 'returning to Europe' of the Baltic States and Poland (but also of Finland) in constructing their post-Cold War identities have also exhibited a certain realist security element. Whilst in these discour-ses membership is equated with international acceptance of their desired identities, the discourse only makes sense to the extent that 'West' is constructed in opposition to a negatively depicted 'Russian East', which they are leaving behind[16]. In other words, in this context, integration and regional cooperation have been understood as enhancing state security *vis-q-vis* another state (Russia) considered potentially threatening.

In contrast to the exclusionary elements of realist security-driven regional coopera-tion, however, *liberalist* discourses of security have also been important and have promoted regional cooperation in slightly different ways. In contrast to realist understandings of security, which focus on state sovereignty and military issues, liberalist discourses of securi-ty utilise a much broader agenda. The key focus of liberalist discourses is therefore on 'soft' security issues like global warming, environmental problems, economic performance and issues of public health, migration and welfare more generally. In other words, to the military dimension is also added environmental, societal and economic elements. As a result, the liberalist focus on soft security issues can also have the effect of undermining the state as the 'natural' referent object of security. Instead, within liberalist understandings of security states are usually redefined as simply means to supporting the needs of other security referents, whether they be individual people, societal groups or even the environment[17].

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[14] Archer C & Jones C., "The Security Policies and Concepts of the Baltic States - Learning from their Nordic Neighbours?" in Knudsen O. F., ed., *Stability and Security in the Baltic Sea Region: Russian, Nordic and European Aspects*, London: Frank Cass, 1999, pp. 168-169.

[15] *Ibidem*, p. 171.

[16] For examples of such exclusionary discourses see the following: Browning C., "Coming Home or Moving Home? 'Westernizing' Narratives in Finnish Foreign Policy and the Reinterpretation of Past Identities", *Cooperation and Conflict* 37 (1), 2002, pp. 47-72; Feldman G., "Shifting the Perspective on Identity Discourse in Estonia", *Journal of Baltic Studies* 31 (4), 2000, pp. 415-416; Jæger O., *Securitising Russia: Discursive Practices of the Baltic States*, Copenhagen: Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, 1997 (Working Paper No 10); Kuus M., "From threats to risks: The Reconfiguration of Security Debates in the Context of Regional Co-operation", in Kasekamp A., ed., *The Estonian Foreign Policy Yearbook 2003*, Tallinn: The Estonian Foreign Policy Institute, 2003, pp. 14-17; Lauristin M, Vihalemm P, Rosengren K & Weibull L., eds., *Return to the Western World: Cultural and Political Perspectives on the Estonian Post-Communist Transition*, Tartu: Tartu University Press, 1997.

[17] For an overview of some of the debates entailed here see: Terriff T, Croft S, James L & Morgan P., *Security Studies Today*, Gateshead: Polity, 1999, Chapters 6+7; Buzan B, Wæver O & de Wilde J., *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, London: Lynne Rienner, 1998; Booth K., "Security and Emancipation", *Review of International Studies*.

[17] (4), 1991, pp. 313-326.

Also important is that soft security threats are usually seen as trans-national in nature and therefore beyond the ability of any one state to tackle them on its own. Soft security threats usually have cross-border, regional and even global dimensions and therefore require cooperation between different states and societies if they are to be resolved. More particularly, and again unlike realist perspectives on security, soft security threats are not other states, but such things as pollution, trans-national crime or communicable diseases. Although within the security studies community there has been much debate about whether broadening the security agenda to include such issues is sensible[18], as Wæver argues presenting social, economic and environmental issues as 'security' matters has been important in building motivation for action. Presenting something as a security issue, *securitising* it in Wæver's terms, can raise it to a matter of urgency and focus minds, and in doing so motivate people to action[19].

In the Baltic Sea Region the *securitisation* of 'soft' issues has been important in providing a rationale for breaking with ordinary territorial constraints and promoting regional cooperation. The crucial difference with realist discourses, however, is that although regional cooperation remains driven by a security threat, it is no longer premised on the othering of Russia by moves of strict bordering. Instead, 'security' has become an argument uniting *all* in the region. In contrast to realism's 'cooperation by othering', this is 'cooperation by inclusion'. Such liberalist discourses are clearly apparent, for example, in the agendas of the Northern Dimension Initiative, the CBSS and the BEAC. Particularly notable about the Northern Dimension, however, is its explicit reference to treating Russia as an equal partner with a say in policy formulation and implementation, even if in practice the rhetoric of equality has not always been put into practice[20]. On the whole it has been the Nordic States and Germany that have led the way in promoting liberalist concepts of security as a way to bolster regional cooperation in the Baltic Sea area, with the Nordic states in particular seeing part of their post-Cold War role as being to export concepts such as comprehensive, civic and cooperative security to the Baltic States and Russia[21].

Finally, though, although the focus of liberalist security driven cooperation differs from realist driven cooperation, in the Baltic Sea Region they have actually been closely linked. For the liberalist agenda to gain ground it has been necessary to convince key state actors that pursuing such a course would also positively affect the realist agenda. Therefore, focusing on soft security issues has been understood as a way to moderate inter-state relations and in particular to build trust between Russia and the Baltic States and Poland through mutually beneficial projects of cooperation. Put otherwise, the securitisation of 'soft' issues has become a way to overcome other-

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[18] For example see, Møller B., *The Concept of Security: The Pros and Cons of Expansion and Contraction*, Copenhagen: Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, 2000 (Working Paper No 26); Deudney D., "The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security", *Millennium* 19, 1990, pp. 461-476.

[19] Wæver O., "Securitization and Desecuritization" in Lipshultz R., ed., *On Security*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1995, pp. 46-86.

[20] Browning C., "The Region-Building Approach Revisited: The Continued Othering of Russia in Discourses of Region-Building in the European North", *Geopolitics* 8 (1), 2003, pp. 45-71.

[21] Archer & Jones, (note 14) pp. 173-175.

ness in the region, to say we are all in this together. Moreover, this idea of moving beyond traditional realpolitik calculations and of overcoming otherness in the region also clearly resonates with the idealism evident in the region noted above. As such, the Northern Dimension, the BEAC and the CBSS have been driven by the desire to avoid the divisions and conflicts of the past re-emerging. In respect of Russia, therefore, the threat is no longer considered to be Russia's reconstitution as a revanchist power, but rather that it might disintegrate into a chaotic and disordered entity, which will make environmental problems, organised crime and migration flows difficult to control[22] .

2. The Challenge of Enlargement

However, if regional cooperation in the Baltic Sea Region since the end of the Cold War has been driven largely by motivations of idealism and security, then the argument of this article is that with the dual enlargement of NATO and the EU to the Baltic States and Poland whether regional cooperation will continue in the same manner or with the same enthusiasm is open to question. The key issue here relates to the fact that with the dual enlargement the region's key security issue, the Baltic States' desire to join Western security institutions, has been achieved. Moreover, not only has it been achieved, but it has been achieved relatively amicably with Russian acceptance, if not outright endorsement. The result is that there are now far fewer grounds for comprehending the Baltic Sea Region as a potential trouble spot.

Moreover, with the War on Terror Russia is also increasingly included as a fundamental partner of the transatlantic security community. Indeed, following 9/11 a new security agenda has emerged as a result of which the region's key hard security questions are no longer so territorially fixed or dominated by Russia's relations with the Baltic States. Instead, global concerns of counter-terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction have become more important, with security no longer figured in a purely regional context anymore. A global dimension has emerged that arguably undermines the security driven cooperation that has been central to the region previously.

This is important since to a considerable degree regional cooperation in the Baltic Sea area has had very clear project-like features and has been largely understood as aiding in the post-Cold War transition process of building security and stabilising the region. Arguably, this period of transition and *stabilisation* is now over and is likely to be replaced by one emphasising *normalisation* where traditional realist security calculations are largely off the agenda. The question that arises from this sense of 'endism' is what will drive regional cooperation now that the key realist security issues (which have also formed the foundation of much of the liberalist-driven cooperation in the region) are less obvious?

To make the point more clearly at least two issues can be identified here. The first is that this is not to suggest that everyday regional contacts will cease, as they will not. The issue is rather whether regional cooperation as a political project of identity creation and of trying to provide the region with a distinctive subjectivity will have any future in a context in which the original goals underlying such ambitions have

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[22] Herolf G., "Attitudes and Policies of Sweden in the Baltic Sea Region" in Hubel H., ed., *EU Enlargement and Beyond: The Baltic States and Russia*, Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2002, p. 235.

now been achieved. This links to a second issue of motivation. As Stålvant has indicated, if we are moving from a period of stabilisation to one of normalisation then we may also be shifting from one of *idealism* to one dominated more by issues of *pragmatism* and *self-interest*. As he puts it, incentive schemes for regional cooperation are likely to change as the Baltic Sea Region shifts increasingly to a period of normalisation. Instead of self-sacrifice and solidarity being a motivation for action, increasingly he argues materialist cost-benefit calculations will come to the fore. The result, he suggests, is that some cross-region linkages will no longer continue to function[23].

Evidence to suggest that some of the more ambitious and idealistic elements of Baltic Sea regional cooperation are beginning to stall is apparent. Notable, for example, is that the Nordic states have begun to cut back on investment in Baltic Sea regional cooperation projects. Perhaps most notable here is the running down of Sweden's flagship 'Baltic Sea Billions' Fund, which was launched in 1996 and which perhaps supports Stålvant's view that in future ideals of self-sacrifice will be less prominent[24]. Likewise, it is also notable that the CBSS has now abolished the post of its former Commissioner for Democratic Development and is also in the process of reducing the frequency of its summit meetings. One interpretation is that with the transition period over and a new European order emerging it appears that the states of the Baltic Sea Region no longer see the CBSS as such an important instrument[25]. Or as Atis Lejins has put it, the CBSS has lost its initial meaning and is clearly in need of a new mission[26]. Whether it will get one, however, is another matter.

Another important example, however, is how American engagement and funding towards the region through its Enhanced Partnership in Northern Europe (e-PINE) seems to be being cut back. It is notable, for example, that at the time when America's former Northern European Initiative (NEI) was being repackaged into the e-PINE in 2003, US officials connected to the policy framework were concerned that the initiative might be scrapped altogether on the basis that with the Baltic States' NATO membership assured there was no longer any need for such a regional policy promoting cooperation[27]. Although the NEI in the end was repackaged the resources devoted to it are notably limited[28].

However, beyond the notion that the transition process is coming to an end several other reasons closely linked to this may also be identified to explain the apparent under-

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[23] Stålvant, (note 4).

[24] See the web site of the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs on this. http://www.utrikes.regeringen.se/inenglish/policy/balticbillion/

[25] Dauchert H., "No Future for the Council of Baltic Sea States? The Implications of Baltic State's EU and NATO Membership for the CBSS", paper presentedgiven at the BaltSeaNet conference in Tallinn, 5-8 February 2004.

[26] Lejins A., "The EU and NATO on the Shores of the Baltic Sea", *NATO Enlargement Daily Brief*, 23 December 2003. The article was originally published in the Latvian newspaper *Diena* on 20 December 2003.

[27] See Conference-Workshop on the Northern European Initiative, 17-18 January 2003, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Available at http://www.ciaonet.org/; Larrabee F. S., "The Baltic States and NATO Membership", testimony presented to the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on 3 April 2003. Available at http://www.rand.org.

[28] For example, note that in the following introductory speech on the e-PINE no mention of new financing is made. Conley H., "Building on Success: The Enhanced Partnership in Northern Europe", Remarks to the School for Advanced International Studies, Washington, DC, 15 October 2003. Available at http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/2003/25286pf.htm (Downloaded 27/11/2003).

mining of regional cooperation as a political project of identity and subjectivity building. Perhaps first to note is what might be termed the existence of a *fear of marginalisation* throughout the region. In this respect, it should be noted that in the early/mid-1990s the Baltic States were not always that convinced about the benefits of Baltic Sea regional cooperation, fearing that it was being presented as a substitute for EU and NATO membership. This was clearly apparent, for example, in initial Baltic suspicions regarding the US-Baltic Charter of Partnership of 1998, which was seen by some in the Baltic States as a way to delay the question of NATO enlargement and instead to confine the Baltic States to a grey zone between NATO and Russia[29]. In the end, of course, regional cooperation precisely became seen as a route and training ground for future membership in the EU and NATO and as a symbolic support of their Western identity, which today is no longer needed. Likewise, given that regional cooperation has been seen as an instrument of claiming a position of centrality and of escaping what has been perceived to be a vulnerable position on the edge, for what do the Baltic States need the key regional institutions in the future? The issue, it seems, is whether in future they will prefer to focus directly on the EU and NATO rather than on the regional dimension that might re-enforce the very marginal position they have been so keen to escape.

Similar concerns about being marginalised and left on the fringes of Europe can also be identified in the Nordic States and increasingly form a key background to debates on the EU and NATO. A standard argument here is that increasingly states need to be active at the table where the key decisions are made. Rightly or wrongly increasingly those tables are seen to be in Brussels, not in the Baltic Sea Region.

A second reason to explain the downgrading of regional cooperation may be that despite goals of creating a common identity and subjectivity, with the transition process over it appears that a lack of common interests exists in the region. Although specific regional issues of transportation, trade, pollution and so forth are of course still apparent and will be tackled at the regional level, at least in the context of EU politics it is unclear as to where the common interests and positions will be found. On the one hand, it should be noted that with EU enlargement attempts have been made to promote Nordic-Baltic co-ordination within the Union. A 3+3 model has emerged by which the three Baltic prime ministers and the prime ministers of the three Nordic EU members will meet twice a year shortly before meetings of the European Council. The first such meeting was in Stockholm in June 2003[30]. Likewise, Lithuania has initiated the creation of what has been termed the 'Northern Baltic 8' (NB-8) whereby parliamentary leaders of the Nordic and Baltic countries (but notably not of Poland and Germany) will meet to harmonise positions, with the goal being to strengthen the role of the group's parliamentarians in the expanding EU. Similarly, Lithuania has also initiated the creation of a "Baltic Group" in the European Parliament[31].

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[29] van Ham P., "US Policy Toward the Baltic States: An Ambiguous Commitment" in Jopp M & Arnswald S., eds., *The European Union and the Baltic States: Visions, Interests and Strategies for the Baltic Sea Region*, Helsinki: Ulkopoliittinen instituutti & Institut für Europäische Politik, 1998, pp. 223-224.
[30] Lejins, (note 26).
[31] Miniotaite G., "Lithuania's New Neighbours Policy in the Framework of the EU's "Wider Europe-Neighbourhood" Initiative", Vilnius, March 2004 (Unpublished research report).

However, despite these moves it is unclear whether articulating common interests and positions will actually be that straightforward. As has sometimes been noted about the Nordic States following the previous enlargement in 1995, and in view of concerns that this would result in a Nordic bloc within the EU, in practice the different Nordic countries have often found more in common with other EU members than they have with each other. Moreover, the fact that the Nordic and Baltic States subscribe to rather different socio-economic developmental models may also indicate that regional bonds may not be as strong as with other EU states. Indeed, as Ojanen has indicated, even when common goals may be identified it is probable that disagreement will often remain over which are the right policies to pursue those goals. Similarly, in the enlarged EU it should not be forgotten that the Nordic and Baltic states will not just be potential partners, but also potential competitors, especially when it comes to influencing the EU's Russia policy[32]. Finally, the lack of common positions has already been apparent in the recent dispute in transatlantic relations regarding the war in Iraq. Notably the region split rather markedly into the camps of New and Old Europe, with Denmark, Poland and the Baltic States being rather supportive of the US, with Finland, Germany, Norway and Sweden rather more reticent regarding US actions and policy.

In other words, it seems that with the transition process over the idealism and security concerns that previously had bound the region together and made it relevant to talk of regional cooperation as a process of identity construction and subjectivity building has begun to come unstuck. The result is that it is unclear whether regional cooperation understood in these project-like terms has much future in the north. From aspiring to be an 'identity region' it rather seems that more functionalist, pragmatic and self-interested elements will come to dominate. Importantly, although some may lament this development and wish to rejuvenate the identity project, it should also be noted that this very development is itself indicative of the great successes of regional cooperation and the region building project of the 1990s.

Conclusion: Region-Building for Export

In conclusion, however, all this is not to say that notions of solidarity and idealism have simply disappeared. Instead, it appears that with the end of the transition process idealism and solidarity have rather been refocused beyond the region. To some extent it appears that the Baltic States have been inculcated with Nordic internationalist progressivist values. Increasingly the experience of region-building in the Baltic Sea area, and perhaps more particularly the Baltic States' experience of transition, is being seen as something that can be exported to other neighbouring regions. On the one hand, this perhaps reflects a desire to carve out an international role in the post-enlargement context. On the other hand, however, it also reflects normative and ethical notions of the duty these states feel to help those less fortunate than them. This element can be seen, for example, in the following statement by the Antanas Valionis, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister, in January 2004: „EU and NATO membership will

[32] Ojanen H., "Enlargement: A Permanent Threat for the EU, and a Policy Problem for Finland?" *Northern Dimensions Yearbook 2001,* Helsinki: Finnish Institute for International Affairs, 2001, p. 29.

encourage us to emulate our democratic experience. We shall work to make sure that the seeds of democracy take firm root east of us. We shall offer our help to countries which seek to embrace the values of democracy and freedom to pursue their internal reforms, by encouraging their integration towards Western institutions. Looking outward, Lithuania can best contribute to broader security by continuing to assume a role of leadership in regional cooperation, by sharing the experience of building democracy and free market economy with countries who remain outside the EU and NATO enlargement area"[33].

Such comments have also been echoed by the former Estonian Foreign Minister, Toomas Hendrik Ilves who has argued that the Baltic States possess particular expertise in helping former communist societies in the transition process. Moreover, not only do they possess expertise, but having gone through the process themselves, he argues, they also possess much more credibility when offering advice and assistance than states like France, Germany, the UK and, of course, also the Nordic countries[34].

Such rhetoric has also been backed up with practice. In particular the Baltic States and Poland have begun to focus their efforts on helping their near neighbours, Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine, especially in areas of promoting democracy, rule of law and strengthening civil society. This has included, for example, training seminars for journalists and parliamentarians[35]. Similarly Poland has also sought to play a key role in framing EU policy towards these countries with its Eastern Dimension proposal[36]. However, increasingly contacts are also being made with the three Caucasus states, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. For example, Lithuania has proposed an ongoing dialogue between the Baltic States and the three Caucasian republics, with Lithuania presenting itself as a bridge for these states to the EU and NATO[37]. The similarities with Nordic-Baltic relations in the 1990s seem clear. Also similar is that the Baltic States have begun to offer defence assistance in terms of re-organising these states' militaries in line with NATO standards and providing a certain amount of training by paying for officers to attend the Baltic Defense College in Estonia[38].

Similarly, it should also be noted that even if the idealism that underlay much of the Nordic States' activity in the Baltic Sea Region in the 1990s is on the wane, it too has not disappeared but is being refocused, with development assistance, for example, expected to be refocused on Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine and the Caucasian

[33] Quoted in Miniotaite, (note 31).

[34] Ilves T. H., "The Grand Enlargement and the Great Wall of Europe" in Kasekamp A., ed., *The Estonian Foreign Policy Yearbook 2003*, Tallinn: The Estonian Foreign Policy Institute, 2003 p. 197.

[35] Carlsen P., "From the Baltic States to the Caucasus: Regional Cooperation after the Enlargements", *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review* 1 (9), 2002, p. 28.

[36] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Republic of Poland, 2003. 'Non-paper with Polish proposals concerning policy towards new Eastern neighbours after EU enlargement', Warsaw: January 2003. Available at http://www.msz.gov.pl.

[37] Miniotaite, (note 31).

[38] *Ibidem*.

republics[39]. In other words, it appears that as the Baltic Sea Region has moved from a period of *stabilisation* to one of *normalisation*, Baltic Sea idealism has been externalised onto the next region to the East in need of *stabilisation*. Perhaps one open question here, however, is whether, lacking popular common historical narratives such as that of the Hanseatic League, levels of solidarity *vis-q-vis* these countries will be the same and as enduring as between the Nordic and Baltic States?

More generally, however, Nordic notions of internationalism are now also broadly accepted throughout the Baltic Sea Region, will the Baltic and Nordic states all re-organising their military structures to enable them to play key roles in international peacekeeping and peace-building operations. Indeed, at a time when idealised notions of cooperation within the Baltic Sea Region are increasingly being questioned, it is notable that cooperation regarding external matters of humanitarian assistance and peace support are forging ahead. Thus, it seems that whilst internally a strong sense of subjectivity and identity may be lacking in the Baltic Sea Region, one thing that regional cooperation of the 1990s does appear to have done is to provide a basis for a somewhat idealised regional approach to international affairs based on ideals of internationalism and solidarity.

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[39] Stålvant, (note 4). For example, in May 2004 the Finnish Ministry of Defence co-sponsored with the NATO Defence College a four day seminar in Finland under the title, "South Caucasus – Promoting Values through Co-operation", see http://www.defmin.fi. Similarly, in June 2004 Sweden announced that it would raise its development assistance to Georgia to SEK 54 million a year from 2004-2006. See 'Sweden to contribute SEK 54 million to Georgia', Press Release of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 16 June 2004, http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/4001/a/25810 . In July it also announced it would increase funding directed towards training Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian and Moldovan economists. See 'Sweden to contribute SEK 10 million towards education of economists in Ukraine and Russia', 2 July 2004, http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/4166/a/27093.

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The Baltic States, Arms Brokers and Diversions of Arms

The illicit trade in arms, strategic and dual-use goods has attracted considerable international attention since the end of the Cold War. A particular interest has developed with regard to preventing the diversion of weapons from the licit market into the 'black market'. This paper focuses explicitly upon the actors suspected of facilitating these diversions – arms brokers. After briefly considering the role played by 'middlemen' in the competitive licit arms market, the darker side of arms brokering will be explored.

Two cases involving Baltic States citizens will then be discussed, which illustrate how arms brokers operate from a variety of locations, use corrupt state officials, front companies, flags of convenience and circuitous routes with weak customs and border controls to supply 'undesirable end-users'. The potential of transport services in the Baltic States for brokering-related services will also be highlighted.

The Baltic States are among the few states which currently have legislation for defining, controlling and monitoring brokering activities. Yet, national controls are insufficient for preventing diversions, which require international co-operation. This paper considers the challenges posed for the Baltic States in this regard, and also the challenges that the Baltic States are posing for traditional thinking about international non-proliferation regimes. The paper concludes by asking: what role for the Baltic States in combating diversions from the licit to illicit arms markets and controlling brokers?

Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War, a number of factors have had an impact upon our thinking about the arms trade in general, and the illicit arms trade in particular. For example, there have been a number of general developments, such as the considerable changes in the significance and functions of borders, the disintegration and integration of states, the blurring of the categories of conflict and crime and a significant increase in international trade. But there have also been a number of important developments in the positions of researchers, NGOs and governments on the problems of the black market in arms, military equipment, strategic and dual-use goods and other instruments employed for killing and the abuse of human rights. In particular, it has been agreed that a priority for dealing with the black market should be to prevent the diversion of arms from the licit international arms market to the black market. This has, in turn, led to an increased level of attention being directed towards

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the activities of individuals and enterprises which have for many years been operating in the grey areas and exploiting the loopholes of the licit arms trade, and assisting with covert arms transfers from governments to insurgents and end-users deemed internationally 'undesirable'. These individuals and enterprises are often described as 'middlemen', 'intermediaries', 'mediators' and a host of other names. For the purpose of this paper, I will refer to them primarily as arms brokers, and their activities will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

This paper seeks to highlight some of the challenges posed by arms brokers for the Baltic States, and some of the responses which have been, and could be, taken by the governments and those involved in the export control systems of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to help prevent diversions of arms and materiel passing from the licit to the illicit market. The first section will explore the rationale for employing brokers in the licit arms market using arguments put forward by the Latvian Ministry of Defence, before considering some of the concerns that have been expressed with the way in which brokers have been able to operate within legal 'grey areas', facilitate diversions of arms to illicit end-users, prey upon states with weak export/import control systems and 'feed' (and feed off) corrupt state officials. Two classic cases of brokered diversions of arms involving Baltic States' citizens will then be used to illustrate some of the practices employed by brokers willing to sell to organised crime groups and UN-embargoed states, and the ways in which corrupt state officials are involved, weak control systems evaded, problems with the length of time that it takes to convict a corrupt broker and the importance of good international co-operation for information exchanges and co-ordinating investigations within and across borders. These cases, to some extent, influenced the fact that the Baltic States have enacted legislation to control some brokering activities before 'older' EU Member States. In the final section of this paper, Baltic States' brokering controls will be discussed, noting the importance of international co-operation for successful implementation of national legislation in this sphere. Attention will also be drawn to a number of challenges and concerns with the implementation of brokering controls in general and in the Baltic States in particular.

1. Arms Brokers and Methods for Diverting Arms

Arms brokers can be defined as middlemen who organise arms transfers between two or more parties, often bringing together buyers, sellers, transporters, financiers and insurers to make a deal. They generally do so for financial gain, although political or religious motivation may also play a part in some deals. They often do not reside in the country from which the weapons originate, nor do they live in the countries through which the weapons pass or for which they are destined. As a result, such 'third party' arms brokering is notoriously difficult to trace, monitor and control. Arms brokers work very closely with transport or shipping agents. These agents contract transport facilities, carriers and crews in order to move arms cargoes by sea, air, rail or road[1].

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[1] BASIC, International Alert & Saferworld, "Controlling arms brokering and transport agents: Time for international action", *Briefing 8: Biting the Bullet*, 2001, http://www.international-alert.org/pdf/pubsec/btb_brf8.pdf, 26 05 2004.

According to Kathis Austin, director of the Arms and Conflict Program for the Fund for Peace, many governments and reputable arms manufacturing companies around the world rely on arms brokers for marketing their weapons and helping to arrange and facilitate sales[2]. In an increasingly competitive global arms market, they appear to have found a profitable niche. The Latvian daily newspaper *Diena* published a number of articles in 2004 on the role of brokers in assisting with supplying arms to the Latvian military, in which it was claimed that they provide a valuable service and can offer better value for money than buying direct from manufacturers[3]. These articles stated that in 2002 and 2003 the Latvian Ministry of Defence bought arms from nine Latvian companies, which did not manufacture armaments, to the value of 1.14 million Lati (• 1.73m / US$2m) from a total of 1.3 million Lati (• 2m / US$2.4m) spent on arms purchases in this period, with the remainder spent on purchases direct from foreign manufacturers.

The *Diena* articles question this reliance on Latvian intermediaries on a number of counts. Firstly, the claim that intermediaries are cheaper than buying direct from the manufacturer is questioned in one article by a Latvian corruption investigator, although it is claimed that intermediaries are only really used for small-scale orders (e.g. grenades, cartridges), with larger orders for weapons systems being conducted at the state-to-state level[4]. Secondly, an article written in February 2004 noted that tenders were only publicly announced in the Latvian government's newspaper, *Latvijas Vestnesis*, and on the home pages of the Ministry of Defence and Purchasing Supervisory Office (IUB), suggesting that this is why most firms competing for tenders were small Latvian intermediary firms. Since August 2004 the IUB no longer publishes announcements of military purchases on its website, and the Latvian Ministry of Defence no longer has to call for tenders or announce who will be supplying them. Opaqueness in military procurement has also been noted as a source of concern, due to possibilities for corruption, by analysts in Lithuania too[5]. Nevertheless, perhaps the most interesting line of questioning in *Diena's* articles stems from the fact that the Estonian and Lithuanian military buy directly from manufacturers or through state-to-state agreements on military co-operation. Neither state uses local or foreign intermediaries. If it is indeed cheaper to purchase arms in this manner, is it not surprising that Latvia's neighbours do not use local intermediaries? Why are their contacts with foreign suppliers better? But perhaps most importantly, an issue which was not explicitly raised in the *Diena* article is, why are the activities of, and rationale for, arms brokers and intermediaries meeting with increased suspicion and questioning?

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[2] Austin K., "Illicit Arms Brokers: Aiding and Abetting Atrocities", *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 9 (1), 2002, p. 205.

[3] For example see: Krastinš J. & Petersons K., "Ieroči armijai no Jelgavas un Rīgas", *Diena* web-site, 24 02 2004, http://www.diena.lv, 13 01 2005; Krastinš J., "Ieroču iepirkumi ar klusinātāju", *Diena* web-site, 09 09 2004, http://www.diena.lv, 13 01 2005.

[4] "Valdība sāk ieroču iegādi", *Diena* web-site, 10 06 2004, http://www.diena.lv, 13 01 2005.

[5] Gricius A. & Paulaskas K., "Democratic Control over the Armed Forces in Lithuania", *Lithuanian Strategic Review 2002*, Vilnius, 2003, p. 247; "Lithuanian Defence Spending is not fully transparent", *BBC Monitoring Report*, 21 10 2004 taken from *Kauno Diena*, 20 10 2004, pp. 1 &9.

The answer to this last question is simple enough. A number of unscrupulous arms brokers are suspected of supplying arms to states subject to UN, OSCE and EU embargoes, terrorists and insurgents, organised crime groups and other 'undesirable' end-users and agents suspected of using weapons, military equipment, torture implements and dangerous materials for undesirable end-uses. Names such as Viktor Bout, Wilhelm Ehlers, and Sarkis Soghanalian have given arms brokers the unattractive soubriquet 'merchants of death', due to their "key responsibility in exacerbating violent conflict, promoting terrorism, advancing crime and breaking UN arms embargoes", according to Austin[6]. Although there are currently no legally binding international regulations and treaties on arms transfers, and hence no strict definitions in international law on what constitutes a licit or illicit arms sale or transfer, national export control legislation, UN, EU and OSCE sponsored arms embargoes and various international regimes on non-proliferation do allow us to distinguish, to some extent, between illicit and licit arms transfers and markets[7]. Arms brokers are thought to play a key role in moving shipments of arms which appear to conform to the laws and control systems of the exporting and importing states, into the hands of individuals, groups, movements and armies for whom the arms were not intended, and who are generally not permitted to purchase arms on the international licit arms market. Or in other cases, perhaps weapons and/or materiel which are not permitted for sale on the international arms market are discovered being traded by brokers. In other words, arms brokers are believed to not only play an important role in the licit arms market, but are also thought to play a crucial role in transferring arms from the licit to the illicit arms market and are also suspected of aiding governments with their covert or 'grey' arms transfers[8].

The problem for those responsible for enforcing export control regimes and ensuring that arms shipments are received by the certified end-user is that arms brokers can be highly skilled at making it difficult to stop a diversion or even spot at which point on its journey the arms were diverted to an 'undesirable'/undesignated end-user. As two distinguished experts on arms brokering, Brian Wood and John Peleman, have discovered, "shipping agents and arms brokers go to considerable lengths to establish intricate international webs involving multiple subcontractors, front companies and circuitous transport routes"[9]. Research into arms brokering suggests that shipping agents, freight forwarders, financiers, insurers, and even government officials wittingly and unwittingly help to provide a mountain of paperwork to help conceal diversions. Due to the fact that lengthy and circuitous routes across numerous state borders have been used to assist with diversions, it is even possible that a combination of the following methods have been used in a single diverted transfer. A shipment may:

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[6] Austin K., (note 2), p. 204.

[7] Gillard E-C., "What's Legal? What's Illegal?", in Lumpe L., ed., *Running Guns: The Global Black Market in Small Arms*, London: Zed Books, 2000, pp. 27-52.

[8] Marsh N., "Two Sides of the Same Coin? The Legal and Illegal Trade in Small Arms", *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 9 (1), 2002, pp. 221-3; Mathiak L. & Lumpe L., "Government Gun-Running to Guerillas", in Lumpe L., ed., *Running Guns: The Global Black Market in Small Arms*, London: Zed Books, 2000, pp. 55-80.

[9] Wood B. & Peleman J., "Making the Deal and Moving the Goods: The Role of Brokers and Shippers", in Lumpe L, ed., *Running Guns: The Global Black Market in Small Arms*, London: Zed Books, 2000, p. 130.

• at some stage have been smuggled across a border by not declaring the cargo to customs officials, or alternatively customs and/or border guards may have been bribed to turn a blind eye to the cargo's contents;

• have been mislabelled, with accompanying documentation declaring that the shipment contains farming machinery or foodstuffs, or documents may have been forged which announce that the shipment contains arms bound for country 'x', although it will eventually end up in country 'y'.

Or, using some of the more dubious characters from their extensive network of state officials, arms brokers may have been able to 'persuade' a corrupt state official or two to supply documents that are not so much forged as bearing 'untruths'. An order, international import certificate, delivery verification certificate or 'receipt' for the shipment may have been issued by a member of country 'x's government or civil service, although the shipment may never even travel through country 'x' on its way to country 'y'.

Such diversions have begun to garner an increased level of attention at the global level in recent years, as evidenced by the preparations for and proposals stemming from the 2001 'UN Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in all its Aspects'. On a regional level, the EU has promoted various Joint Actions and continually develops its Code of Conduct on Arms Exports[10]. Since the mid-1990s, many states have been actively amending national legislation to increase the stringency on export and import controls for arms transfers. More requirements need to be satisfied before national authorities issue licences and permits for transfers, more detailed pre- and post- shipment checks and documentation now have to be provided, and, in some states, brokers need to be registered and in possession of a licence for each transfer in which they have played a role. Of course, this has not stopped diversions from taking place, but global, regional and national responses are becoming more co-ordinated and loopholes in legislation and control procedures are being closed.

The need for closing loopholes and ensuring clarity in national legislation and global and regional embargoes to effectively deter or help prosecute brokers involved in diversions of military equipment can be demonstrated with reference to Yuri Borisov and his Kaunas-based firm Avia Baltika, which specialises in selling and servicing helicopters. Lithuanian authorities have launched a number of investigations into this company's activities, for example deals with Sudan and Bangladesh, yet no convictions for diverting or smuggling military equipment to these states have followed. Borisov claims that these investigations were politically motivated, and has called for one of his main rivals, Helisota, to be investigated for corruption instead, alleging that it was awarded a contract to supply the Lithuanian military thanks to corrupt practices[11]. While some Lithuanian analysts may concur with the need for greater transparency in Lithuania's military purchases[12], there is little doubt that

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[10] For example, in the late 1990s the EU launched a Programme on Preventing and Combating the Illicit Trafficking of Conventional Arms (June 1997), a Code of Conduct on Arms Exports (June 1998) and a Joint Action on the EU's Contribution to Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of SALW (December 1998), and Plan of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in all its Aspects (2000).

[11] "Laisvas Laikrastis interview with Yuri Borisov", *Laisvas Laikrastis*, 05 02 2004, http://www.laisvaslaikrastis.lt/EN, 13 01 2005.

[12] Gricius A. & Paulaskas K., (note 5), p. 247; "Lithuanian Defence Spending is not fully transparent" (note 5).

many political analysts, commentators and elites would readily accept the unsavoury description of Borisov presented by the former head of the Lithuanian Security Services, Mecys Laurinkus, in a report to the Seimas at the end of October 2003[13].

Despite allegations that Borisov has used, or intended to use, state officials in Lithuania to wittingly or unwittingly assist in the smuggling of military equipment to states under international embargoes such as Iraq, Libya and Sudan, he has not yet been convicted of arms smuggling. He has admitted to facilitating the supply of Mi-8T helicopters to Sudan in 2001, but in March 2003 an Interim Committee of the Lithuanian Parliament decreed that this act had not violated the laws of Lithuania in force at that time[14]. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not approve Avia Baltika's application for a licence to export a Mi-8T helicopter to Sudan, and the Interim Committee stated that such an export ran counter to the principles of an EU embargo and sanctions, but it was not illegal in Lithuania in 2001[15]. Borisov has not yet been found guilty of transgressing any Lithuanian laws, despite the fact that he helped to send dual-use helicopters to Sudan, which may have been used in human rights abuses in the area. The fact that an arms dealer was being considered for a role in advising the Lithuanian president on security affairs is worrying, but again not necessarily illegal. It is for such reasons that the two cases described below should still be regarded as important, although the diversions discussed took place in the mid-1990s. They remain significant because there are still very few detailed accounts of the role played by brokers in diverting military equipment and arms to illicit end-users, and even fewer cases that have been taken to court.

2. Brokering Balts and Diversion Concerns

In this section, I will present two accounts in which citizens of the Baltic States have been found to be involved in brokering and attempting to divert seemingly legitimate arms transfers to end-users subject to UN embargoes and organised crime groups. These two accounts will be followed by more general concerns on brokering and diversions through the Baltic States.

2.1 Lithuanian Brokers and Nukes for Columbia

The first case to be discussed has been considered at length in other publications on arms brokering[16], yet serves as a useful illustration of the potential danger posed by brokers. In 1995, two Lithuanian citizens, acting as brokers for the Bulgarian arms firm Armimex, were caught in a US sting operation after having successful-

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[13] This supposedly secret memo from the Lithuanian Security Service to a parliamentary commission was evidently leaked, as within days extracts featured in the Lithuanian daily newspapers *Respublika* and *Lietuvos Rytas*.

[14] "AviaBaltika accounts frozen by prosecutors", *The Baltic Times*, 11-17 12 2003, www.baltictimes.com, 13 01 2005.

[15] Amnesty International, *Arming the perpetrators of grave abuses in Darfur*, AI Index: AFR 54/139/2004, 16 11 2004, http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAFR541392004, 13 01 2005.

[16] See for example: Wood B. & Peleman J., "Chapter 8: The USA: Getting Around the Toughest Law", *The Arms Fixers: Controlling the Brokers and Shipping Agents*, 1999, http://www.nisat.org/default.asp?page=publications/pub_videos.htm, 26 05 2004.

ly demonstrated their abilities at diverting weapons. Aleksandr Darichev (a.k.a. Da-ricev) and Aleksandr Pogrebzskii (a.k.a. Pogrebovksy; Pogrebeshki) believed that they were supplying weapons to a Columbian drugs cartel, but in fact they were supplying US customs agents. The publicly available details of the sting clearly demonstrate the way in which arms brokers operate from a variety of locations, use corrupt officials, front companies, flags of convenience and circuitous routes with weak customs and border controls to supply 'undesirable end-users'.

According to Wood and Peleman, Darichev and Pogrebzskii managed to acquire an end-user certificate from the Lithuanian Ministry of Defence, declaring that it was the purchaser of a missile system to be supplied by the Bulgarian firm Armimex. It was claimed that a false letter of receipt would be issued by the Lithuanian Ministry of Defence, even though the system was aboard a Cypriot-owned ship, which set sail from Lithuania, for Puerto Rico. On the way to Puerto Rico, the ship collected the weapons system from Bulgaria, where it was concealed amongst crates of machinery authorised for export to Puerto Rico. Although Darichev and Pogrebzskii were convicted of smuggling, money laundering and conspiracy, they were only sentenced to four years imprisonment[17]. Their activities, however, no doubt helped to demonstrate the need for controls on arms brokers, and in 1996 the US Congress passed an amendment to the US Arms Export Control Act, requiring all US nationals and foreign nationals residing or conducting business in the US of registering and obtaining licences for arms brokering.

2.2 Breaking a Baltic Brokering Ring

The second case to be recounted here focuses upon the role played by a former Latvian Colonel, suspected of diverting arms to UN-embargoed states and organised crime groups. I have discussed the case at greater length elsewhere, and with a greater emphasis upon the role of the Polish companies involved than I intend to here[18]. The tale begins in the Spring of 1992, when the re-established Latvian national army received a Polish 'donation' of surplus military materials. The transfer was not particularly lucrative, but the contacts established paved the way for a number of successful diversions of arms into the hands of 'undesirable' end-users.

The first known instance of diversion would appear to be a classic example of a corrupt official producing false declarations for order of arms. Janis is alleged to have sent an order for US$2 million worth of arms and munitions to the Polish enterprise Cenrex, for which permission to export to Latvia from Poland was duly granted. In June 1992, the ship carrying US$2 million worth of arms and munitions arrived at the Latvian port of Liepaja, but only US$50,000 worth of AK-47 rifles and munitions were unloaded and taken to Latvian army depots, in accordance with the documents submitted by Colonel Janis to the relevant authorities in Latvia. The

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[17] A full transcript of their indictment can be found on the PBS web-site: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/russia/scenario/indictment.html, 26 05 2002.

[18] For a more detailed account see: Holtom P., *Arms Transit in the Baltic Region*, London: Saferworld, 2003, pp. 64-8.

remainder of the ship's arms and munitions were subsequently transferred to a ship off the coast of Somalia, a state which was subject to a UN Security Council arms embargo at the time[19]. The method used for diverting the arms to Somalia is known as 'short-ordering'. This is when the order made by the importer is for more arms than they are registered as receiving. Therefore, there can be a considerable difference between the volume that the importer receives, and the volume that the authorities responsible for controlling imports believe have been received.

In September 1992, Colonel Janis again helped the director of Cenrex to divert arms to another state subject to a UN Security Council arms embargo - Croatia. A Latvian order for US$1.3 million worth of arms was placed, and permission was granted for export from Poland. The ship transporting the arms left only US$50,000 worth of its cargo in Latvia before docking in the Croatian port of Rijeka. In 1993, Janis was relieved of his post at the Latvian Ministry of Defence. No prosecution was brought against him at this time for 'short-ordering' or his role in diverting arms to states subject to UN Security Council arms embargoes. He was subsequently employed as a consultant for the Latvian-based arms company Arnex, which supplied arms to a number of Latvian governmental bodies.

It was not long before Janis was once again assisting his Polish contacts to divert arms via Latvia. This time, however, the ships carrying the arms did not even dock in Latvia. The arms were allegedly switched at sea with shipments of foodstuffs. Thus, ships carrying cargoes of pasta, flour and other foodstuffs arrived in Latvian ports, while ships carrying arms were unloaded at the Estonian fishing harbour of Miduranna. According to reports, four such diversions were made in the mid-1990s, with each shipment apparently consisting of US$640,000 worth of TT pistols, assault rifles and ammunition. However, these shipments differed from Janis' earlier diversions, as the shipments were not bound for UN Security Council embargoed states, but Estonian arms dealers suspected of selling weapons to organised crime groups across Europe. And also in contrast to the earlier diversions, something went wrong with the diversion. This enabled law enforcement and security services in Estonia, Latvia and Poland to collect enough evidence to prosecute those involved in the diversions.

In 1996, the captain of one of the ships carrying arms refused to transfer his shipment at sea, and arrived in Riga with the arms still on board, much to Janis' chagrin. In an attempt to honour his 'contract', he sent the arms, mislabelled as foodstuffs, in a truck across the Latvian-Estonian border. The arms were discovered and the Estonian security services contacted their counterparts in Latvia and Poland and an international investigation began. In 1997 criminal proceedings were instigated against representatives of Arnex in relation to supplying arms to UN-embargoed Somalia and Croatia, and the diversions to Estonian arms dealers were also investigated[20]. In May 2000, a criminal case against three Latvian citizens was sent to the Prosecutor General's Office. The case against Janis was dropped because of "time limitations", while the two other defendants were found guilty of arms trafficking in

[19] This case was cited in the 'Report of the team of experts appointed pursuant to Security Council resolution (2002), paragraph 1, concerning Somalia'.
[20] "Latvian firm did break arms embargo on Somalia as UN claims", *Neatkariga Rita Avize*, 19 July 2002, http://www.nisat.org/default.asp?page=/search.asp, 26 05 2004.

2001. In these two cases, we are not only given information on the methods used for diversion, but also the apparent difficulty and controversy that ensues after arms brokers with connections in state institutions are caught diverting arms. Almost a decade passed between the initial diversions (that are known of) and a partially successful prosecution.

These two cases illustrate why brokering activities and diversions are a source for concern, and one would be complacent if they believed that such practices should be consigned to a box marked 'early transition experiences'. There remain concerns with the administrative capacity of the Baltic States to guard against diversions taking place in and around their states, corrupt practices, grey areas in legislation and the political sensitivity of investigating and prosecuting individuals or companies for brokering or smuggling if they have ties to state officials.

In addition to these cases, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have also provided arms brokers and dealers with the means for diverting shipments by air and sea, and the ports and airports of the Baltic States remain a cause for concern with regard to their potential as points for diversion. A number of reports have recently highlighted that the volume of cargo turnover passing through the ports of Tallinn, Klaipeda, Riga, and Ventspils alone is considerable[21], with recent expansions, developments and the growth of competition for container shipments worrying because of their suspected use for arms trafficking[22]. The need for enhancing controls to prevent diversions of transfers of arms and other sensitive goods when passing through key transit and trans-shipment hubs is beginning to attract more international attention[23], with measures such as the US-funded installation of a system for detecting WMD materials and data at Vilnius international airport suggesting concerns with the use of the Baltic States for diversions. The fact that in 2003 the route of a Helisota serviced helicopter bound for UAE was changed by Lithuanian authorities so that it no longer passed through Sudan, suggests that attempts are being made to limit the possibilities for diversions[24]. And the discovery of aircraft and air defence system components by Latvian customs officials at Riga airport in August 2003, which according to documentation contained construction and farm machinery parts, and was bound for Iran from Russia, could also be regarded as a coup in combating attempts at arms smuggling[25]. But what measures and responses have been taken by the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian governments to control brokering and prevent diversions?

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[21] See for example: Brodin A., ed., *Russian Transit Trade in the Baltic Sea Region*, Centre for European Research, Goteborg University, 2002; Laurila J., "Determinants of transit transports between the European Union and Russia", *BOFIT Online*, 1, 2002, p. 26, http://www.bof.fi/bofit/eng/7online/abs/pdf/bon0102.pdf, 26 05 2004.

[22] It is feared that containers provide a particularly useful means for transporting illicit shipments of arms, see: *The Economist*, 4 April 2002, http://www.economist.com/, 10 05 2003; Holtom P,. (note 18), pp. 16-19.

[23] See for example, "Emerging Issue: Transit and Transshipment Controls", *NIS Export Control Observer*, 4, 04 2003, p. 18, http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/nisexcon/pdfs/ob_0304e.pdf, 26 05 2004.

[24] Amnesty International, (note 15).

[25] Interfax News Agency, *Latvia opens criminal case following seizure of arms bound for Iran*, 29 08 2003.

3. Arms Controls, International Co-operation and Concerns

While all three Baltic States have subjected certain shipments of arms, strategic and dual-use goods travelling in transit through their territories to controls since the early 1990s, their legislation on import, export and transit controls has been subject to numerous amendments and even new laws. The most recent Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian laws on export, import and transit controls for arms and strategic and dual-use goods, and lists of arms, strategic goods and countries subject to controls, all explicitly refer to their compliance with EU Joint Actions, directives and the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports. In addition, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have publicly supported the OSCE's Document on SALW and signed the Firearms Protocol of the UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime.

More significantly for this paper, all three states have defined brokering activities in their national legislation, and require nationals and residents involved in such activities to be licensed and subject to controls and monitoring. In 2004, they constituted 3 of the 25 states worldwide that had legislation controlling the activities of arms brokers, helping to boost the number of EU member states with such legislation from 8 to 16 after enlargement.

Although it has been stated that brokerage controls have been in place in Estonia since 2001[26], the legislative base became far clearer with the enactment of the Strategic Goods Act of the Republic of Estonia (2003)[27]. Thus any Estonian citizen or resident involved in acquiring military goods, providing information, practical assistance or funds for a transaction between two third parties located outside Estonia must now hold a permit to engage in such activities, be placed on the national register of brokers and apply for a licence for each transaction in which they are involved. Therefore, Estonia has enacted a system for controlling brokering that is in line with many of the recommendations contained in the EU Council's 'Common Position on the Control of Arms Brokering' (23 June 2003)[28].

Latvian authorities claim that they have had a system for controlling brokering activities in place since 1997, referring to the fact that since this date companies owned by Latvian citizens, or permanent residents of Latvia, must hold a Latvian-issued transit license if they are involved in the transfer of strategic goods from one foreign country to another country via a third-country, even if the transit shipment did not enter or leave the territory of Latvia[29]. However, it had been unclear whether this would also apply to extra-territorial cases, as is the case in Belgian law, and as no case was brought against a Latvian individual or company on these grounds, the question remained purely theoretical. Latvia has, however, kept a database for a number of years on arms transactions carried out by Latvian enterprises, including

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[26] Estonian Government Order No. 154 'On Confirming the List of Strategic Goods', 30 04 2001.
27 'Strategic Goods Act of the Republic of Estonia', in force since 05 02 2004
[28] EU Council 'Common Position on the Control of Arms Brokering' 2003/468/CFSP, 23 06 2003.
[29] Latvian Cabinet of Ministers' Regulations 'On Control of Strategic Goods', 16 12 1997.

entities that could be defined as brokers. And, like its neighbours, Latvia has also recently enacted a number of laws with more detailed information on brokering requirements in line with the 'Common Position on Arms Brokering' prior to accession to the EU[30].

In Lithuania, controls were also introduced on brokering activities to help prevent diversions before joining the EU in 2004. In recent years a number of pieces of legislation with reference to military equipment, weapons and ammunition have been enacted that broadly define brokering activities and call for permits and licences to be held and registers to be compiled[31], therefore also putting a control system for brokering in place before 'older' EU Member States such as Greece, Luxembourg and the UK.

However, as with other EU efforts to prevent diversion from the licit to the illicit arms market and combat trafficking, the Common Position has already been criticised for its low minimum standards. Rather than calling for the adoption of best practice already on the statute books of EU Member States such as Belgium, Finland and Germany, states are invited to 'consider' or 'may' be required to introduce certain measures. Yet, despite concerns that the EU Council did not ascribe enough importance to increasing controls on brokering-related activities, extra-territorial controls and the continued lack of a 'standard model' position for licensing, monitoring and recording arms brokers and their transactions[32], the Baltic States appear to have included some of the more stringent controls on brokering applied by other EU Member States in their legislation on export, import and transit controls.

Unfortunately, well-meant legislation does not implement and enforce itself. For example, in the five years following the arms brokering amendment to the US Arms Export Control Act, there had not been a single prosecution of an arms broker based on this amendment[33], although some have argued that there is anecdotal evidence that it has served as a deterrent[34]. The US controls on arms brokering have not yet been tested. Fears have also been voiced by Polish experts on arms control that although legislators can justifiably feel proud of their legislation on controlling arms brokers and closing the loopholes that had previously made it difficult to launch a successful prosecution against those involved in diversions, Poland lacks the ability to enforce this legislation. Similar concerns have been voiced by Latvian officials regarding Latvia's ability to enforce its requirement for Latvian-owned enterprises and entities based overseas to hold licences and permits if involved in an arms trans-

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[30] 'Law on Arms Circulation', in force since 01 01 2003; 'Law on the Circulation of Strategic Goods', in force since 01 05 2004.

[31] 'Law On Amending the Law on the Control of Import, Transit and Export of Strategic Goods and Technologies', approved 05 02 2002; 'Law on the Control of Arms and Ammunition', in force since 01 07 2003.

[32] For more detailed critiques of the EU's Common Position on the Control of Arms Brokering see: Amnesty International, *Undermining Global Security. The European Union's Arms Exports*, London: Amnesty International, May 2004; Anders H., *Controlling Arms Brokering. Next Steps for EU Member States*, Brussels: GRIP, January 2004, http://www.grip.org, 26 05 2004. Anders also offers a useful overview of brokering legislation in the pre-2004 enlargement EU.

[33] Austin K., (note 2), p. 207.

[34] Amnesty International, (note 32), p. 29.

fer that does not pass through Latvia's borders. And this is without mentioning concerns about the abilities of all three states to prevent diversions taking place via their airports, ports or land border crossings. The assessments of the EU and Council of Europe's Group of States Against Corruption (GRECO) regarding the judiciary, law enforcement, border and customs services of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania highlighted a number of general concerns with corruption, experience, and resources, which could have an impact upon the ability of these states to uncover attempted diversions and arms brokering activities.

Some of these general concerns and shortcomings in relation to arms controls and law enforcement, customs and border provisions are being actively addressed with international assistance from EU funds and bi-lateral and multi-lateral projects with EU Member States, the USA, Norway and other states. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have concluded a number of co-operation agreements for combating organised crime, and best practice training and equipment provisioning for customs, border and law enforcement with neighbours in the Baltic Sea and other EU Member States[35]. However, it does not yet appear that assistance with implementing brokering controls has been offered. A number of NGO-sponsored reports are now actively highlighting the fact that not enough attention was given to the export control systems of those states acceding to the EU in 2004, and that more technical and financial assistance has to be rendered now[36]. The rationale is that an EU-wide control system is only as strong as its weakest link, and many advocates of stringent export and broker controls consider the new member states to be weak links due to concerns with their administrative capacity.

Of course, due to their very nature, the monitoring of brokering activities and preventing the diversion of arms and strategic goods to the international illicit arms trade require multi-lateral co-operation. International non-proliferation regimes such as the Australian Group (AG), the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT), the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and the Wassenaar Arrangment (WA) were established to more effectively counter proliferation by providing forums for information exchanges on materials, goods and dubious end-users. However, membership of such regimes has tended to be limited to states which house manufacturers and suppliers of certain goods and materials. And, therefore, the Baltic States did not appear to have sufficient grounds on which to join these regimes. Yet membership of these regimes continues to be stated as amongst the most important foreign and security priorities of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Thus, the Baltic States are challenging the twentieth century non-proliferation regimes to reform to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century, and with some success. For example, Estonia and Lithuania were admitted to the Nuclear Suppliers Group in May 2004. Toomas Raba, an Estonian export control practitioner, has argued persuasively for small transit states such as Estonia to be admitted to international regimes, even if they are not manufacturers or suppliers of controlled goods and materials, because:

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[35] See also the relevant sections in: Holtom P., (note 18).
[36] Amnesty International, (note 32), p. 95.

• transit states need to participate in information sharing processes if they are to successfully ensure that merchandise that may pose a danger to international security is not being diverted. In cases where so-called 'dual-use goods', for example goods which can be used in the manufacture of nuclear weapons but which can also be employed for other 'civilian' purposes, are being transferred across the Baltic States, or a Baltic broker is involved in a transfer of such materials, without access to information restricted to regime members, permission may be granted by Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania for the materials to be transported to an end-user who should not receive such materials;

• small states have limited human, financial and intelligence resources to monitor end-users and end-uses, and therefore co-operation with other countries is essential for pre-shipment controls and post-shipment monitoring[37].

For Raba, although the Baltic States already co-operate and exchange information with regime members, for example through Baltic Sea and EU structures, this is not enough to ensure that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania can effectively prevent dangerous goods and materials being delivered or diverted to undesirable end-users. Of course, Raba notes that regional co-operation forums such as ad-hoc Baltic/Nordic States information sharing and EU COARM meetings are essential for strengthening national and international controls as they provide an opportunity for establishing good personal relations, developing trust, goodwill and like-mindedness, all deemed essential 'cornerstones' for effective information sharing relating to pre- and post- shipment controls on end-users. Yet such geographically limited relationships are insufficient for preventing diversions, which are potentially global in scope.

However, regional arrangements for exchanging information in relation to arms controls do offer potential starting points for moving towards global controls on arms brokering activities. If the EU is successful in establishing an effective system for exchanging information on legislation, registered brokers, records of their transactions and denials, and willing to extend this arrangement to third states or groupings of states, a global information exchange network could be developed. The EU has already successfully exported its Code of Conduct to applicant states and beyond. Is it possible that a similar process could be promoted with regard to its Common Position on the Control of Arms Brokering, with the annual enhancements to the Code of Conduct also being issued with regard to brokering controls? And what role for the Baltic States?

Conclusion

There are a number of actions which the Baltic States could take individually or via multi-lateral mechanisms to assist with the prevention of diversions from the licit to the illicit arms market and undesirable end-users. The Baltic States should continue to challenge traditional non-proliferation regimes and models and support regional and global efforts to combat illicit arms trafficking and diversions. For example, the Baltic States "should actively support a process to develop a legally

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[37] Raba T., "Enhancing export controls in transit states", *The Monitor: International Perspectives in Nonproliferation*, 8 (2), 2002, pp. 19-21.

binding international arms trade treaty"[38]. A number of international NGOs are pushing for a global arms trade framework, which would require commitments to greater transparency and accountability, the licensing of overseas arms production, the registration and monitoring of arms brokers and brokering-related services, better stockpile management and destruction programmes, clearer and more stringent transit and trans-shipment controls, in addition to global controls not only for military equipment, but also for surveillance, torture and non-tangible transfers and improved mechanisms for monitoring end-use[39].

Perhaps the easiest and most straightforward action that the Baltic States could undertake would be to provide other EU Member States with information on brokers registered in these states, and details of their transactions and most importantly denials. This would demonstrate that they are not weak links but actively participating in efforts to control the licit arms trade and prevent diversions. This could be further demonstrated by producing 'model' annual reports on import, export and transit shipments of arms, military equipment, and other strategic and dual-use goods, going beyond the minimum requirements stipulated by Criterion 8 of the EU's Code of Conduct on Arms Exports. At the same time, due to concerns with the potential for corruption in procurement practices of arms for the military and other governmental bodies, efforts should be undertaken to increase the quality of parliamentary scrutiny of exports, imports and transit shipments of arms. Assistance could be requested from other EU Member Parliaments, national and international NGOs if it is felt that parliamentarians are not currently equipped with sufficient knowledge to undertake such tasks. It would also appear that media outlets in the area are also beginning to take an interest in exports and imports of arms, and the threats posed by arms brokers with interests in unstable regions, hopefully also leading to better informed civil societies in this sphere.

The Baltic States could assist the international struggle with unscrupulous arms brokers by instigating a test case based on their newly improved national legislation. This may well be one of the most challenging suggestions contained in this conclusion, as it calls for far more than political rhetoric and legislating. Firstly, it requires the good fortune that helped Estonian, Latvian and Polish law enforcement agencies to unravel the arms trafficking network described above. And secondly, it will need a considerable amount of political will and bravery to bring to trial and hear the testimonies of individuals who could implicate a number of government officials in the Baltic States and other states.

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[38] Amnesty International, (note 32), p. 98.
[39] *Ibidem*.

Lithuania's Eastern Neighbours

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The Russia – USA – EU "Triangle" and Smaller States in 2003-2004

The purpose of this paper is to assess the development of relations between Russia and the two Western power centres, the United States of America and the European Union, in 2003 – 2004. It goes without saying that it would be quite problematic and risky to formulate an unequivocal evaluation of this dynamic phenomenon. The author, however, sought to identify and determine the key trends of development. This was done through a search for answers to more specific questions: what was the strategy of Russia's foreign policy, how did it interact with the goals and aspirations of the USA and EU, and, finally, toward what – convergence or alienation – did evolve the dialogue between the global power centres that are of greatest importance for the Central and Eastern European countries.

These tasks have dictated the trinomial structure of the paper. The first part deals with the changes in the Russian foreign policy strategy in recent years. It shows how, upon sensible assessment of its opportunities, Russia abandoned its former rush-about and concentrated on the inclusion of the CIS states (the Ukraine in particular) in its political orbit. The second and the third part of the paper analyse the peculiarities and ups and downs of Russia's relations with the USA and the EU respectively. Despite certain variations, the development of these relations increasingly shows signs of alienation and cooling, which were partly masked by the intention of the EU larger Member States, in particular of the Germany, to maintain good relations with Russia at any cost. Finally, a brief overview of the culminating event in the Russian–Western relations – the Ukrainian "orange revolution" – is presented at the end of the paper, supplemented by a broader summarisation of the period under consideration. The underlying idea of the summary is that the so-called "value gap" has been widening in the Russian-Western relations in recent years. It forms a basis for supposing that in the future the pressures between the West and Russia should increase despite the pragmatic nature of their relations. The situation might only be changed by democratic changes in Russia itself, which at present seems hardly probable.

Introduction

Smaller countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) including the Baltic States used to play a quite important role in the global politics at the time of substantial changes in the entire international system related to the shift in the relations between the key power states. It should be recognised, however, that the role has often been passive rather than active. CEE countries frequently were objects of influence and exchange rather than parties to agreements and transactions, whereas Russia and

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the actual ratio between its power and the power of other global powers having interests in the region have always been decisive factors in the region.

The end of the cold war, the collapse of the Soviet Union and weakening of Russia enabled Central and Eastern Europe to implement important changes. CEE countries have successfully made use of this reflux of Russia's power and were in time to complete important economic reforms and to become members of NATO and the European Union, the main organisation of the democratic Western world. Thus more power factors were included in the affairs of the CEE security region, which today provide a more effective counterbalance to the Russian factor.

But life does not stand still and the rising of the CEE countries is followed by re-emergence of the old problem: Russia is recovering too. For instance, by the end of Putin's first term of office, Russia was already able to boast both its eternal ambitions and recovering economy. In 2000-2003, Russia's GDP grew by 20%, the physical volume of exports by 25%, and the volume of oil, petroleum products and gas exports by 18%. All in all, Russia became the world's largest exporter of energy resources[1]. It seems that this trend will remain in the nearest future. Oil and gas prices have been incessantly increasing in recent years and it is probable that the increase will continue both due to turbulent political processes in the Middle East and to general growth in demand.

Overall economic growth has been accompanied by increasing Russia's foreign direct investments, in particular in the energy sectors of the neighbouring countries. Russian companies, making use of the advantages of having main energy resources under their control, the energy resource transportation and power supply systems established in Soviet years, and availability of spare funds due to the situation, take an active part in the process of privatisation of energy enterprises in the Central Europe and CIS, thus gaining significant economic power in the neighbouring countries. In 2002-2003, two Russian giants – *Gazprom* gas concern and *RAO-UES*, a power suppliers' amalgamation, increased their share of the CIS and CEE markets considerably. However, the companies taking part in privatisation are not merely business entities. Russian authorities, which control 52% of the shares in *RAO-UES*, a power supply monopolist, and 38% of the shares in *Gazprom*[2], have their weighty say in their operations. Similar situation is observed in the oil supply sector that has been privatised to a larger extent. The Russian authorities hold private enterprises in leash as the government controls the oil transportation system and feel free to resort to sanctioned violence with respect to "disobedient" companies (*Yukos* case).

According to "The Economist", an influential British weekly journal, increasing Russia's control over the vitally important sector of the economy due to its investments would not be a bad thing if it were a merely commercial project. However, in case of Russia it is becoming a tool of political influence and, where necessary, of political pressure as well[3]. Therefore, "participation" of the world's other major power centres

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[1] See: Путин В., "Послание Федеральному Собранию Российской Федерации, 16 мая 2003 года, Москва", *Президент России. Официальный сайт*, http://www.president.kremlin.ru/text/appears/2003/05/44623.shtml, 03 02 2005.

[2] See: Jé M. "Moscou renoueses liens "energétiques" avec l'ex-URSS", *Le Monde*, 2 décembre, 2003, p.2.

[3] "Ivan at the pipe", *The Economist*, December 9, 2004. Also see: Smith K., "Russian Energy Politics in the Baltics, Poland and Ukraine. A New Stealth Imperialism?", *CSIS Report*, Washington D.C., December 2004.

in the CEE region and particularly the nature of their relations with Russia does not lose its significance, and is even increasing, in this dynamic and unstable context. This is why these relations were chosen as the main subject of this paper.

The purpose of this research project is to assess the development of relations between Russia and the two Western power centres, the United States of America and the European Union, in 2003 – 2004. It goes without saying that it would be quite problematic and risky to formulate an unequivocal evaluation of this dynamic phenomenon. The author, however, sought to identify and determine the key trends of development. This was done through a search for answers to more specific questions: what was the strategic direction of Russia's foreign policy, how did it interact with the goals and aspirations of the USA and EU, and, finally, towards what – convergence or alienation – did evolve the dialogue between the global power centres that are of greatest importance for the Central and Eastern European countries. These tasks have dictated the trinomial structure of the paper. The first part deals with the changes in the Russian foreign policy strategy in recent years. It shows how, upon sensible assessment of its opportunities, Russia abandoned its former rush-about and concentrated on the inclusion of the CIS states (the Ukraine in particular) in its political orbit. The second and the third part of the paper analyse the peculiarities and ups and downs of Russia's relations with the USA and the EU respectively. Despite certain variations, the development of these relations increasingly shows the signs of alienation and cooling, which were partly masked by the intention of the EU largest Member States, in particular of the German authorities, to maintain good relations with Russia at any cost. Finally, a brief overview of the culminating event in the Russian–Western relations – the Ukrainian "orange revolution" – is presented at the end of the paper, supplemented by a broader summarisation of the period under consideration.

1. Putin's Project

The last occasion in 2004 for the Russian President Putin to overview and assess his achievements and problems was a grandiose press conference held in the Kremlin on 23 December. 51 question was put by 690 Russian and foreign journalists participating in the conference, which lasted for as many as three hours. In the opinion of some observers, the conference was focussed on form (i.e. maintaining of an image of a powerful but very direct president) rather than on substance of problems[4] . However, despite superficiality that is characteristic of such events, the observers have also noted how emotional and aggressive were Putin's statements on foreign policy issues. Western criticism of the President's policy in the former USSR space was one of the key leitmotivs in the foreign policy discussion. Putin was indignant at, as he put it, "double standards" of the West in assessing results of elections in various countries. He said that elections in Afghanistan, Kosovo and even the US could be criticised as well. Election in the occupied Iraq on the background of military actions is something that is difficult to understand. According to Putin, however,

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[4] Falkowski M., "Konferencja prasowa prezydenta Putina: mniej treści, więcej formy", *Komentarze OSW*, 30 grudnia 2004, http://www.osw.waw.pl/pub/koment/2004/12/041230.htm, 23 03 2005.

when the election is taking place in a post-Soviet country, an entire "system of permanent revolutions" emerges with the election ending up in a "pink or blue or whatever revolution"[5].

Putin's indignation is understandable. Events taking place during the last two years in the pot-Soviet space, in Georgia and the Ukraine in particular, were far from in line with Russia's plans and intentions. The events of 2003-2004 changed a generally favourable balance of foreign policy successes and failures of Putin's second term of office for the benefit of the latter. This is very different from the mood that had prevailed in the Kremlin just one and a half years ago, when preparations for the Russian parliamentary and presidential election were underway.

In his annual report to the State Duma on 16 May 2003, Putin outlined an impressive and powerful future for the recovering Russian state. He emphasised that Russia had already completed the most difficult period of transformation, when a threat of destruction of the state had arisen, and that Russia regained its legitimate place among the most powerful and reputable states of the world. Among achievements substantiating such statement, Putin mentioned the recognition of Russia as a key player in the global antiterrorist coalition, the official invitation to become a member of the G-8 in June 2002, recovery of Russia's economy and successful expansion of Russian companies' operations beyond the country's limits. It is true that Putin himself acknowledged in his report that unprecedented improvement in foreign trade conditions had formed a basis for Russia's economic growth[6], however, according to him, in spite of that Russia must continue consolidation of its achievements. For this purpose, Russia's GDP must be doubled in ten years, strategic partnership with the European Union has to be further developed, and Russia must become a part of the global economy by joining the World Trade Organisation. However, the most interesting – and the most threatening – thing in Putin's speech was his statement "… and I wish to tell you openly that we consider CIS area to be the area of our strategic interests"[7].

This was quite a significant and new turn considering the fact that up until then Russia's post-Soviet foreign policy had been characterised by the lack of a clear strategic resolution on its key priorities. Throughout the past decade, in its relations with the West Russia attempted, by different geopolitical combinations, to gain a status of an equal and important partner. Russia tried to interfere with the Balkan and Middle East affairs; at one time, it propagated the idea of a multi-pole world; it tried to flirt with the states of the so-called "evil axis" – North Korea, Libya, Cuba, Iran and Iraq – and to act as an intermediary in their relations with the West. But it was a resolution of Putin after his coming to power that Russia's status as a great power would be better secured not by "balancing" other powerful countries in one form or another but by gradually gluing a new power centre of the fragments of the Soviet Union, headed by Russia, which would later help Moscow maximise its power. One may only guess at what kind of power centre it would have been. In any case, however, Putin and his associates must have had on their minds something more that the then amorphous CIS.

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[5] "Пресс-конференция Владимира Путина", 23 декабря 2004 года, Москва, Кремль", *Президент России. Официальный сайт*, http://www.president.kremlin.ru/appears/2004/12/23/1414_type63380type82634_81691.shtml, 08 03 2005.

[6] See: Путин В. (note 1).

[7] See: Путин В. (note 1).

As shown by the events in 2003-2004, it was a double-faced project in substance. On the one hand, Russia was seeking to achieve that the neighbouring CIS states would be loyal to it and would not submit to the influence of the West, i.e. the USA or the European Union. On the other hand, these countries had to become a zone for the expansion of the recovering Russian economy. According to Dmitri Trenin, Deputy Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, this could be a certain "combination of the Russian version of the Monroe Doctrine (which was proposed, as early as in 1992, by Yevgeni Ambartsumov, the then chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Russian Supreme Council, and which is currently supported mainly by representatives of the power structures) and the "liberal empire" project in line with the interests of major investors, advanced by Anatoli Chubais in 2003"[8].

Thus, one can easily see competition over the control of energy resources and their transportation means behind practically all political processes taking place in the CIS space in 2003-2004. Russia's politics in the so-called "near abroad" was aimed at maintaining and further consolidating the relatively comfortable situation. The main political economic issue was as follows: will the West manage to develop a system of supply of energy resources from the Central Asia and the Caspian Sea Basin that would constitute an alternative to the Russian system. Only two facts are sufficient in order to illustrate what is at stake.

Firstly, despite economic recovery and social stability, Russia remains highly dependent on oil and gas prices. Oil and gas account for one-fourth of Russia's GDP, almost one half of export revenues, and one-third of national tax revenues; therefore, according to "Financial Times", just a $1 rise in the oil prices on the global market would mean $1.5 billion in the Russia's state budget revenues, while a decline would produce a reverse effect[9]. Therefore, emergency of any alternative sources of supply is extremely undesirable, which, of course, is a complete contradiction to the Western interest in obtaining cheaper energy resources.

One more fact illustrating the advantage enjoyed by Russia due to the pipeline transportation system inherited from the Soviet Union. Turkmenistan, a Central Asian state that is rich in gas resources, has no other way to sell them on the global market except via Russia. *Gazprom* purchases gas from Turkmenistan at $44 per 1000 m³, paying only half of the amount in US dollars and covering the remaining half by commodities produced in Russia. But then *Gazprom* sells the same gas, e.g. to Turkey already at $150 per 1000 m³.[10]

Of course, it would be too great a simplification to reduce the diversity of the political process to oil, gas and pipelines. One has to add a thirst for power and an imperial tradition of "the Great Power" that has been historically characteristic of Russia and that can constitute an even stronger political motive. It has been this intermingling of rational and irrational motives that had manifested itself in Russia's foreign policy toward CIS countries in 2003-2004.

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[8] Тренин Д., "Идентичность и интеграция: Россия и Запад в XXI веке", *Pro et Contra*, 2004, т. 8, № 3, с.11, http://www.carnegie.ru/ru/pubs/procontra/Vol8n3-01.pdf , 23 03 2005.
[9] Hill F., "A land too cold for a free market in energy", *Financial Times*, 17 October 2003, p. 21
[10] See: Jé M. (note 2).

Putin's policy toward the Ukraine is the most glaring example of such politics balancing on the edge of rationality and irrationality. The Ukraine means the matters of a consortium for gas transportation to Germany, the dilemma of utilisation of the oil pipeline Odessa-Brody, the prospects of Russian capital investments etc. At the same time, the Ukraine is as if Russia's fate itself. Nobody knows if Putin has read Zbigniew Brzezinsky's "The Grand Chessboard", in which the Doctor of Honour of Vilnius University writes that without Ukraine Russia ceased to be an Empire, with Ukraine absorbed and subordinated Russia automatically will become the new Empire[11]. Anyway, in 2003-2004 Putin concentrated his efforts and energy on "returning" the Ukraine to Russia's political orbit and to persuade or force it to enter into a broader political and economic agreement, i. e. to establish the so-called Common Economic Area including also Belarus and Kazakhstan.

However, the Ukrainian authorities were not inclined to give up its position on all these matters. The issues of ownership and profit distribution formed the essence of the gas transportation consortium. Ukraine was dissatisfied with Russia's intention to take over part of the gas pipelines. The Odessa-Brody oil pipeline built by the Ukrainians in 2000-2001 and intended to be extended up to Gdansk was a still greater headache for Russia. If used for the transportation of the Caspian oil delivered by sea, it would become an alternative oil supply to Europe and would inevitably ruin the Russian monopoly. So Russian oil companies backed by the Russian authorities started making tempting proposals to the Ukraine for the use of the pipeline in the other direction – to pump the Russian oil from Brody to Odessa for further transportation by sea to Southern Europe[12].

Finally, the Common Economic Area project proposed by Moscow, which had to become a kind of customs union of the four CIS states, was interpreted by the Ukraine as a still another attempt to realize Russia's imperial ambitions. The Ukrainian government considered, and this was well founded, that the project would restrict Ukraine's opportunities for independent communication with the European Union and WTO, while Russian attempts to deny that seemed unconvincing. Moscow did not succeed in camouflaging the imperial substance of such ideas because they were imperial indeed. Moscow desired to become a gate to the post-soviet area for the EU and WTO, whereas the Ukraine resisted this instinctively.

However, this time Russia was very persistent; besides, the moment was particularly favourable. The Ukraine governed by the President Leonid Kuchma had lost favour of the West. The USA did not wish to cooperate with the government that was corrupted and secretly trading in arms. In addition, at that time the USA was preoccupied with the issues of terrorism and Iraq. The European Union, in its turn, was engaged in its internal reforms and preparations for enlargement to the East, so paid almost no attention to the Ukraine. Whereas the Russian President used a full range of diplomatic and military pressure in order to finally attain his objectives. Apart from direct persuasion in respect of Kuchma and promises to support a government's candidate in the Ukrainian presidential election at the end of 2004 and to give economic discounts, in the summer of 2003 Putin even authorized an escalation of a terri-

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[11] See: Brzezinsky Z., *The Grand Chessboard. American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, New York: BasicBooks, 1997, p. 113

[12] See: Sokor V., "Teamwork and a Good Save in the Pipeline Game", *Wall Street Journal Europe*, 17 October, 2003, p. A9.

torial conflict over the Tuzla Island in the Kerch Strait, relating its settlement to the implementation of the Common Economic Area project.

It seems that eventually the Ukraine submitted to Russia's pressure and on 19 September 2003 the Concept Paper on the Common Economic Area was signed by the four states in Yalta[13]. Afterwards the agreement was hastily ratified in order to further implement it through specific legal acts. All this took place with the West quite calmly observing and practically not interfering despite negative comments in the Western press by well-known experts, who also urged the West not to leave the Ukraine alone in its dealings with Russia. According to a senior fellow of the Washington-based Institute for Advanced Strategic & Political Studies Vladimir Sokor, "this so-called Eurasian Economic Union seems intended generally to create a sheltered market for uncompetitive products, and more specifically to orient Ukraine's economy more firmly toward Russia as a means of mortgaging Ukraine's European future"[14]. And Robert McFarlane, who served as U.S. President Ronald Reagan's national security adviser stated that "…yet the U.S. seems so conflicted between the goal of achieving early evidence of social and political reform in Ukraine and the desire to avoid turmoil in the relationship with Moscow that it runs the risk of being left in Ukraine with little influence and diminished local ability to reform… Ukraine wants to be a Western country, but it needs help."[15]

The Caucasus, and Georgia in particular, became another key target of Russia's politics in the post-Soviet area in 2003-2004. Formally, the so-called Pankisi Ravine problem was the main source of disagreement between Russia and Georgia; according to the Russian authorities, Chechen fighters hide in the ravine. Russia has even threatened to invade the ravine if Georgia itself does not manage to establish order. However, in the opinion of many observers, oil is the main cause of the Russian-Georgian conflict: the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline is being built across Georgian territory, which will allow pumping Caspian and maybe (in the future) Kazakhstan oil to the global market passing Russia over and acquiring another alternative to the Persian Gulf's suppliers, which are the cause of constant rise in oil prices. Therefore, this project has been strongly supported as a strategic one by both the USA and the European Union. Whereas Russia, in its turn, has attempted to destabilise Georgia and to hinder the pipeline construction. It is easier to find a pretext for interference in Caucasus that anywhere else. Therefore, Russia's interests were served both by support for separatists in Abkhazia and Southern Osetia, and the Pankisi problem. Also, in order to exert pressure, in 2002 Russia terminated the already prolonged negotiations for the removal of its military bases, although it had to finish them by the end of 2000 under the Istanbul agreement within the framework of OSCE[16].

[13] "Концепция формирования Единого экономического пространства, 19 сентября 2003 г.", *Президент России. Официальный сайт*, http://www.president.kremlin.ru/text/docs/2003/09/52480.shtml, 28 02 2005.
[14] Sokor V., "Standing Up to Putin's Imperial Ambitions", *The Wall Street Journal Europe*, 19 September, 2003, p. A9.
[15] McFarlane R., Ways to Prevent the Seduction in Kiev, *The Wall Street Journal Europe*, 10 October, 2003, p. A9.
[16] OSCE, "Joint Statement of the Russian Federation and Georgia, Istanbul, 17 November 1999" in *OSCE Istanbul Document 1999*, p. 252, http://www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/summits/istan99e.pdf, 28 02 2005.

Actually, it was due to the Pankisi problem that the Georgian government received support from the USA. In the spring of 2002 the USA and Georgia agreed that the former would dislocate its military advisers in Georgia under the pretext of assisting Georgia in better controlling the Pankisi Ravine as it was suspected that it was being used by the Chechen rebels and al-Qaeda terrorists for maintaining contacts. However, it is obvious that this was a sign for Russia showing that it will not succeed in destabilising Georgia to such extent so that the pipeline construction is terminated[17].

But Russia was not going to concede and it seems that in the summer of 2003 it succeeded in "cornering" the then Georgian government. At that time, due to inconsistent position of Georgia's President Eduard Shevarnadze, practically all the national energy sector fell under the Russian companies' control. *AES Telasi*, a US company that had controlled Georgian power distribution system, sold the controlling block of shares to a Russian giant *RAO UES* (a scenario similar to the *Williams* drama in Lithuania). Soon the Georgian government signed an agreement with the Russian monopolist *Gazprom* on the monopolistic supply of gas for 25 years, which caused even greater indignation of the Georgian opposition. Pressures in Georgia were also increasing pending parliamentary election in the autumn of 2003, which had to eventually show the direction of Georgia's politics. However, it seems that, as distinct from the case of the Ukraine, Russia had no clear plan as to which political forces it should support in Georgia. It looks like Shevarnadze would be more useful to it: even though he had been difficult to deal with, it was possible to force him to obey. Whereas the opposition's disposition was clearly pro-Western and it seemed that it was supported by citizens more than the then government.

Although in 2003 Russia had focused attention on strategically important issues of the Ukraine and Georgia, one more CIS member, Moldova, received exceptional attention. Today Moldova, which still cannot eliminate its Soviet heritage, is the poorest country in Europe: according to the World Bank, even Albania's indicator of the GDP per capita is three times better. A separatist conflict preventing normal development of the country is often identified as the cause of such situation.

The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has been trying to settle the conflict for an entire decade, however, without success. Russia, too, has been involved in the conflict since the armistice in 1992. However, it has committed itself, in the final document of the OSCE Istanbul summit, to withdraw its forces from Moldova and to liquidate its ammunition stores by the end of 2002[18]. Eventually the term was extended to the end of 2003. It is natural that the conflict had to be settled somehow by this time. The EU also expressed a wish to join the settlement of the conflict; it was in a position to act much more effectively than OSCE as it had larger funds at its disposal and could even offer peace-keeping troops to replace the Russian army being withdrawn. Finally, this had to become the first joint peace-keeping operation of Russia and the EU[19].

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[17] See more: Scott, P.D., "Pipeline politics: Oil behind plan for U.S. troops in Georgia", The Final Call Online Edition, 03 19 2002, http://www.finalcall.com/perspectives/pipeline03-19-2002.htm, 28 02 2005.
[18] OSCE, "Istanbul Summit Declaration" in *OSCE Istanbul Document 1999*, p. 50, http://www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/summits/istan99e.pdf, 23 03 2005.
[19] See more: Lynch D., "Russia's Strategic Partnership with Europe", *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2004, p. 114-117.

However, to the astonishment of OSCE and EU, on 17 November 2003 Russia suddenly undertook a unilateral initiative. Dmitri Kozak, Deputy Head of Putin's administration, present a draft memorandum on division of the competencies between Chisinau and Tiraspol. The purpose of the draft memorandum was to establish the Federal Republic of Moldova, an asymmetrical federation consisting of Moldova, Gagausia and Transnistria having equal legal rights, with the Russian language being the second official language along with the Romanian language. A referendum on the constitution would be held in 2004 and the general election in 2005. 2,500 Russian peacekeepers had to be left for an unlimited period of time as a guarantee of implementation of the agreement. The Federation would be demilitarised and Moldova would have no army of its own[20]. In substance this would mean Moldova's transformation into a federation and Russia's becoming the guarantee of its stability on a unilateral basis, thus securing an opportunity for remaining in the region indefinitely. On 24 November 2003 Putin's visit to Chisinau for a solemn signing of the memorandum had to take place. This event was meant to become a still another victory of Russian diplomacy in reintegrating the former Soviet republics.

So in the autumn of 2003 Russia's foreign policy in the countires of "nearest abrod" was increasingly showing signs of reanimation of the empire. And this was not accidental. External imperialism with respect to neighbours reflected authoritarianism which was becoming stronger within the country. Along with the striving for stronger "tying" of the neighbouring states, at the same time the Russian government started restricting democratic freedoms in the country and persecuting influential business magnates that were not loyal to the Kremlin. This was partly related to the parliamentary election scheduled for the end of 2003 and the presidential election to be held in the spring of 2004. However, as shown by later events, the essence lay not in the elections but in the more and more apparent trend for centralising Russia's governance. According to the *Freedom House* analyst Adrian Karatnyck, the so-called militocrats, i. e. former military and KGB men led to power by Putin[21] sought not only to make use of the government positions to the maximum extent possible, so that victory in the elections is secured, but also to ensure that control over processes remains in their hands in the future.

Although the election to the State Duma were scheduled for December 2003, as early as in June the authorities closed the last independent national TV channel; the siege of Yukos oil company followed in July. Platon Lebedev, the main partner of the company's head Mikhail Khodorkovsky, was arrested and accused of fraud. Persecution of other persons related to the company and hindering of it business started. It was stated officially that Yukos had violated the laws and was practising fraud, however, the actual reasons was clearly different: statements by Yukos' head and key shareholder Khodorkovsky as to his plans to finance the election campaign of opposition parties.

In the meanwhile, criticism of Putin in the world press was becoming more active, Washington and the European leaders were being urged to use their levers of

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[20] Бовт Г., Виноградов М., Ратиани Н., "2500 "лишних Иванов". Молдавия сорвала план мирного урегулирования и визит Путина", *Известия*, 25 ноября 2003 г., http://www.izvestia.ru/politic/article41479, 17 03 2005.

[21] See more: Karatnycky A., "Jobs for Boys: Putin's New 'Militocracy' ", *The Wall Street Journal Europe*, 13 June, 2003, p. A11.

influence in the Kremlin in order to stop the evolution toward authoritarianism in Russia. However, this did not yield any results as Putin had established good personal relations with the leaders of all main Western states, which allowed him to expect that there will be no official criticism damaging the personal relations. After returning from a visit to the USA in the autumn of 2003, Putin apparently decided that the moment was favourable for striking another blow to his main political competitor Khodorkovsky. On 25 October Khodorkovsky was arrested in a demonstratively noisy manner and imprisoned by order of an obedient Moscow court; he was still in prison at the beginning of 2005. The political atmosphere in Russia was becoming more and more oppressive as afterwards the court refused to release Khodorkovsky on bail, banned journalists and reporters from participating in the hearings and even did not allow entry of American attorneys-at-law in Russia. The world press expressed its indignation and accused Putin of lack of respect even of his own country's laws, however, there were no critical remarks on the part of the official West.

Against this oppressive background, the election to the State Duma took place on 7 December 2003; the liberal opposition experienced a crushing defeat, while Putin's political supporters won a qualified majority which was not only absolute but also sufficient for amending the Constitution. Political situation in the country was fully controllable, even the OSCE observers, though criticising the parliamentary election as "unfair", had to agree that the election results reflect the Russian society's disposition to a larger or smaller extent.

However, as shown by events later in 2004, good beginning did not make a good ending for Putin. After successful 2003, the year 2004 was much more complicated for Putin and his supporters despite that there could not be a slightest doubt or problem concerning the outcome of the presidential election planned for March 2004. It appeared that dealing with CIS countries will not be as easy as it had been within the country, because neither these countries' citizens nor the USA and EU did think that the new independent states should bean untouchable Russia's fief. The intrigue began when things started going wrong for Putin.

2. Russia's Relations with the US in 2003-2004

Georgia, a country key to the Caspian oil transit, was the first "battle" lost by Putin. "Lost" might be a too strict evaluation as, one way or the other, Russia did not have a clear approach toward the Georgian politics. When numerous demonstrators invaded the parliament on 23 November 2003, indignant over obviously forged results of the parliamentary election, and made Georgia's President Shevarnadze resign, Russia still tried to interfere with its intermediation mission. Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov has hastily sent to Georgia, however, he did not exert any decisive influence. Shevarnadze resigned and on the next day Nino Burdzhanadze, the chairwoman of the Parliament and acting President, made an unequivocal statement to the effect that the new Georgian government will strive to restore territorial integrity, to follow the example of the Baltic states, to take a Western orientation, and to achieve Georgia's membership of the European Union and NATO. The US President George Bush confirmed, on his turn, that these Georgia's aspirations will be supported in every way possible. In his later interviews to the Western press, Shevar-

nadze openly accused the West and the USA in particular for causing a chaos in Georgia and for forcing him to resign. But the coming into power of the pro-Western opposition was really useful to the USA's strategic interests and not at all in line with Russia's plans. Therefore, it is not surprising that open statements about the need to support Shevarnadze appeared in the Russian mas-media[22].

As early as in April 2003, a conference on the consequences of the Iraq war for the Caucasus was held by the Strategic and International Research Center of the Georgetown University in Washington. More than one of the speakers at the conference predicted that it was namely Caucasus that might become an arena for serious political competition between Russia and the USA after the end of war in Iraq[23]. It appears that they were completely right. To tell the truth, Putin's decision on announcing CIS as a strategic interest area was a bit late as this meant a kind of challenge to the USA, which established its military aviation bases in Uzbekistan and Kirghizstan in November 2001, after the start of war against terrorism and even without objections on the part of Russia; as it has already been mentioned, in the spring of 2002 they "stepped into" Georgia as well. Without any doubt, Georgia was important to the US not only because of the above-mentioned strategic oil pipeline project but also as a yet another, reserve base near the restless Middle East – a region critical to the US.

In general, speaking about the US-Russian relation after the Cold War, one should cite James M. Goldgeier and Michael McFaul, who wrote an exhaustive study on the American policy toward Russia. According to them, America has been constantly faced with a dilemma – to what extent should it continue its policy of power balance and Russia's containment, practiced in the cold war years, and to what extent it should now undertake a new mission to help Russia become a liberal, democratic and market-economy state[24]. In the opinion of these authors, after the Cold War, the American policy-makers as if split into two camps of "regime transformers" and "power balancers". The former asserted that Russia must be assisted in becoming a flourishing democratic state as soon as possible, as Russia was no longer posing a military threat to America and democracies cannot be at war with each other. Investment should be promoted and Russia should be admitted to international organisations such as WTO, while helping Russia consolidate democratic institutions within the country. Then the number of nuclear heads held by Russia will be insignificant, just as it is insignificant how many of them has the UK.

Whereas the "power balancers", forming an opposition to this attitude, held that the US has no real opportunities to exert substantial influence over Russia's internal politics, therefore, the key American interest would lie in the making use of Russia's temporary weakening and creating a power balance and international security system favourable to the US. The extreme of this view manifested itself in the

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[22] Юсин М., "Ставка на "Лиса". В грузинском кризисе Россия вынуждена поддерживать Шеварднадзе...", *Известия*, 19 ноября 2003 г., http://www.izvestia.ru/politic/article41238, 23 03 2005.

[23] See more: Радио Свобода, "Война в Ираке и ее влияние на Кавказ", http://www.svoboda.org/programs/rtl/2003/rtl.040703.asp ir http://www.svoboda.org/programs/rtl/2003/rtl.040903.asp, 25 02 2005.

[24] See: Goldgeier F.M., McFaul M., *Power and Purpose. U.S. Policy towards Russia after the Cold War*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003. p. 3.

striving for further weakening of Russia until its final disintegration into separate sovereign states[25].

As it always happens in case of emergence of extreme views, the actual policy of a state reflects a compromise between the two extremes. Indeed, in recent years' US foreign policy toward Russia directed by the President Bush one may observe as if a permanent balancing between these extremes despite considerable changes in other foreign policy sectors. At some moments, the "power balancers" prevail, to be replaced later by the "regime transformers".

It seems that in 2003, after the Iraq war, the opinion of the "power transformers" dominated the US policy toward Russia; it has been maintained that there is no sense in interfering in and criticising Russia's internal political processes as they cannot be influenced anyway. Therefore, official information about meetings of Bush and Putin in 2003 in St. Petersburg (June) and Camp David (September) only stated that discussions were limited to issues of common interest (terrorism, Iran, Iraq) and neither Bush nor other representatives of the US administration did not publicly criticise Putin for Chechnya or restrictions of democracy, although the most influential American dailies were scorching Putin's internal policy without mercy. As regards situation in CIS – if even it was discussed, it was not spoken of publicly. However, it is obvious that US and Russia's positions in this area were almost opposite. Here one may see the role of the "power balancers", who considered Georgia to be a significant achievement.

However, developments in Georgia were just a geopolitical "battle" won by the US, and by no mean a final geopolitical victory. Despite formation of a pro-Western government in Tbilisi, Russia has retained a lot of instruments of influence over Georgia. It may stop supply of oil and gas to this country at any time and tighten the visa regime for Georgian citizens looking for job opportunities in Russia. It also has control over two separatist regions of Georgia, Abkhazia and South Osetia. Finally, two Russian military bases have remained in Georgia and Russia does not intend to liquidate them in the nearest future.

The fact that this geopolitical "game" has just started is also testified by another American-Russian clash, although of a slightly lesser significance – the issue of Moldova. The matter is that the signing of the memorandum on Moldova's federalisation scheduled by the Kremlin for 24 November 2003 with the participation of Putin has failed. Due to pressure by opposition and international disapproval, Moldova's President Vladimir Voronin suddenly changed his mind and stated that he would not sign the memorandum. In his speech delivered on the OSCE foreign ministers' conference in Maastricht held on 1-2 December 2003, the US Secretary of State Colin L. Powell criticised Russia severely for its failure to fulfil its obligation to withdraw its army from Moldova and to complete negotiations over the withdrawal of troops from Georgia[26]. In order to avoid an unfavourable resolution Russia had to take an extreme measure and to veto the decision as it had no support for its position.

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[25] See more: Goldgeier F.M., McFaul M., p. 1-17 (note 24).
[26] Editorial: A Stand on Russia", *The Washington Post*, December 4, 2003, p. A34, http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&contentId=A33557-2003Dec3&notFound=true, 04 03 2005.

However, soon after these clashes in the "balancing" style, one could observe manifestations of influence of another camp, i.e. the "regime transformers", over the US administration. The USA finally made up its mind to publicly criticise Russia's internal political processes. As the Russian authorities were increasingly restricting the freedom of speech in order to control the election campaign and had decided on final ruination of the largest oil company *Yukos*, the American press and various interest groups enhanced their pressure upon Bush urging him to publicly criticise Putin's internal policy and restrictions of democracy[27]. Eventually this aim was achieved.

At the end of January 2004 the US Secretary of State Powell arrived to Moscow for negotiations after the inauguration of the Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili in Tbilisi. During the visit a Russian daily *Izvestya* published Powell's article which evoked a considerable resonance. The article contained both a diplomatic overview of the Russian-American relations and quite harsh criticism toward the Russian government. The critical fragment is presented below:

… Certain developments in Russian politics and foreign policy in recent months have given us pause.

Russia's democratic system seems not yet to have found the essential balance among the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government. Political power is not yet fully tethered to law. Key aspects of civil society – free media and political party development, for example – have not yet sustained an independent presence.

Certain aspects of internal Russian policy in Chechnya, and toward neighbors that emerged from the former Soviet Union, have concerned us, too. We recognize Russia's territorial integrity and its natural interest in lands that abut it. But we recognize no less the sovereign integrity of Russia's neighbors and their rights to peaceful and respectful relations across their borders, as well….[28]

As we see two main problem issues – the problems of Russian democracy and Russia's behaviour in pot-Soviet area have been separated out in the article. These two problem nods were the main leitmotivs of the American-Russian relations and disagreements in 2004.

One should note that, in general, the American-Russian relations in 2004 developed by inertia rather than driven by any political impulses. 2004 was the year of elections, therefore both Putin and Bush were absorbed by internal policy rather than by foreign affairs. Putin was the first of the two presidents to overcome the barrier of the election on 14 March 2004. Whereas, according to the US legislation, the decisive date for Bush was November 2nd, i. e. the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November. However, not only the dates but also the very nature of elections differed. In the USA, nobody knew the result of the election and a tiring election campaign was awaiting for Bush, whereas in Russia the main problem lay in ensuring the appearance of competition to Putin as there was a threat at one moment that the opposition forces would agree

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[27] See more: Slevin P., Baler P., "Bush Changing Views on Putin. Administration That Hailed Russian Leader Alters Course", *The Washington Post*, December 14, 2003, p. A26, http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&contentId=A62533-2003Dec13&notFound=true, 04 03 2005.
[28] Powell C.L., "Partnership under construction", *Izvestia*, January 26, 2004, http://moscow.usembassy.gov/embassy/oped.php?record_id=7 , 05 03 2005.3. Russia's Relations with the EU in 2003-2004

among themselves and, protesting against obstacles to their election campaign created by the authorities, would simply withdraw all the candidates, leaving the choice from candidate, which would have looked not quite "aesthetic".

As neither observers nor the main candidate had any doubts over the outcome of the presidential election in Russia, the world had an opportunity to see yet another grimace of the Russian democracy. Putin even did not waste time waiting for the date of election – he made use of his constitutional right to dismiss the government and to form a new one at the end of February. However, his choice was interesting. Mikhail Fradkov, Russia's representative in the European Union was appointed new prime minister of Russia. Apart from other things, this could also mean that Russia was starting to attach greater importance to relations with the European Union, which, to tell the truth, was quite a new turn in Russian politics.

For a long time since establishing of diplomatic relations between Russia and the European Union they have been quite formal. In spite that Russian and EU summit meetings (i.e. meetings of the Russian President, the head of the Member State in presidency, and the President of the European Commission) used to take place twice in a year under the Russian and EU Partnership and Cooperation Agreement that had come into effect in 1997, the Russian government and Putin personally attributed much more importance to bilateral relations with the key Member States – the United Kingdom, France and Germany as well as Italy, although it seems that the latter was more than Russia interested in this.

The Iraq war in 2003 had a cooling effect upon relations between Vladimir Putin and Tony Blair, which had been excellent until that time, but brought Putin closer to Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schröder. In June 2003 Putin paid a state visit to the UK. This had to be an exceptional event as the last state visit by the head of the Russian state took place as long ago as in 1874 when Tsar Alexander II visited England. It should be noted that as state visits are quite ceremonial in nature, the invitations are agreed upon very early, sometimes even two years before the visit. At the time when Putin was invited, Blair probably saw a reformer and a person to work with in Putin. However, many things changed before the time of the visit. The relations were cooled down by the Iraq war and when Blair visited Moscow in April 2003 in order to renew them, Putin even expressed a public criticism of Blair asking where was Saddam and his weapons. Although in 2003 the UK and Russia were far apart politically, however, strange as it may seem, the UK became the largest foreign investor in Russia after a British oil company BP merged successfully with its Russian counterpart TNK.

Whereas, despite political closeness, relations between Russia and France remained complicated as on trade issues falling within the scope of the EU competence France had always been among the Member States in favour of a more protectionist EU trade policy, which was unfavourable to Russia, and of making Russia's accession to the WTO more difficult[29]. But these contradictions did not prevent the two countries from political and even military cooperation and from carrying out

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[29] Jack A., "Paris and Moscow close but affair may not be long-term", *Financial Times*, 5 April, 2003, p. 6.

joint military exercises. In July 2003, during the visit to Moscow by the French ministers of foreign affairs and defence, Russian and French navies manoeuvred at the shores of Norway, while French and Russian fighters carried out joint exercises in Lipeck and Belarus[30].

However, in 2003-2004 Russia's relations with Germany and personal relations between Putin and Schröder were particularly exceptional. Of course, Putin's fluency in German played an important role; however, interests of German energy companies, gas companies in particular, were even more significant. Importance attached to Russia by Schröder and many German businessmen is so great that good relations with the Russian authorities must be maintained at any cost. According to *junge Welt* daily, Russia meets 31% of Germany's demand for gas and 29% - for oil[31]. It should be admitted that Schröder has been consistently following this approach despite increasing authoritarian and imperialistic trends in Russian politics and constant public criticism by the German opposition and press[32], the waves of which used to rise before each meeting of Putin and Schröder. Schröder has never allowed himself to publicly criticise Putin, while energy issues have always reigned the agendas of their meetings.

For instance, during the Russian-German intergovernmental consultation in October 2003 in Yekaterinburg, a lot of time was devoted to discussions on the grandiose project of a gas pipeline built on the Baltic Sea bottom and connecting Russia with Germany. Or, for example, before Putin's and Schröder's meeting at the German-Russian economic forum in July 2004 the criticism expressed in Germany was particularly severe as authoritarianism in Russia was increasing and the newspapers often repeated the same statements – personal relations between the Chancellor and Putin is a good thing, of course, but if would be better if, in case of problems, German companies could rely upon the Russian legislation, law-enforcement system and unbiased courts and not upon the Chancellor's connections[33].

In general, incredibly friendly relations between Putin and Schröder are an exceptional phenomenon as, similarly to the case of France, contradictions between Russia and Germany are quite numerous. Russia did not consistently support Germany and France on the issue of Iraq. In his interview to New York Times in October 2003, Putin said that Russia did not interfere in the disputes between the USA and Europe and that this was none of their business[34]. Russia did not hurry to ratify the

[30] Borowiec A., "France downplays jet swap with Russia", *The Washington Times*, 21 July, 2003, http://www.washtimes.com/world/20030714-092731-6790r.htm, 23 03 2005.

[31] Elsässer J., "Kein Rapallo. Russisch-deutscher Gipfel in Jekaterinburg", *junge Welt*, 09.10.2003, http://www.jungewelt.de/public_php/drucken_popup.php?num=6&djahr=2003&dmontag=10-09, 23 03 2005.

[32] See: "Scharfe Kritik an Schröders Politik gegenüber Putin. Opposition wirft Kanzler "Doppelmoral" vor", *Welt am Sontag*, 14. Dezember 2003, http://www.wams.de/data/2003/12/14/210691.html, 23 03 2005

[33] See for instance: "Leitartikel: Peinlicher Persilschein für Putin", *Financial Times Deutschland*, 09 07 2004, http://www.ftd.de/pw/in/1089192463628.html?nv=op%20, 11 07 2004.

[34] Путин В., "Интервью американской газете "Нью-Йорк Таймс", 4 октября 2003 года, Ново-Огарево", *Президент России. Официальный сайт*, http://www.president.kremlin.ru/text/appears/2003/10/53439.shtml, 23 03 2005.

Kyoto Protocol[35] strongly supported by Germany. Finally, not everybody in the German government was in favour of such friendship. For example, Joschka Fischer, Deputy Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, has always been more reserved and critical with respect to Russia. He was quite critical – to the extent permitted by the rules of diplomacy - during his visit to Kaliningrad and Moscow at the beginning of 2004[36].

Hwever, despite sincerity and friendliness of communication between Putin and the leaders of the key EU Member States, this proved to be not enough as Russia's relations with the EU were becoming more diverse and important. Therefore, the Russian government's attitude toward the EU started changing[37]. This was apparent already in 2002 when the first Russia's conflict with the European Union as an entity over the Kaliningrad transit took place[38]. Then France, Spain, Italy and Greece as the EU Member States interested more in good relations with Russia than in the protection of interests of the candidate countries such as Lithuania attempted to block the proposals on Kaliningrad transit drafted by the European Commission. Preferences to Russia at the expense of Lithuania were sought, as, in case of meeting of Russia's demands, Lithuania would not be able to join the Schengen area. However, these actions were not met with approval on the part of other EU Member States. A compromise was nevertheless reached without infringing the principles proposed by the Commission.

The European Union as an entity is important for Russia, firstly, because foreign trade of the Member States falls within the scope of its competence. Even before the EU enlargement as much as 37% of Russian exports went to the ES, jumping above 50% after the enlargement. The EU is the main market for Russia's most important commodity – energy resources. The EU accounts for 53% of Russian oil and 63% of Russian gas exports, which meet approx. 20% of total EU demand for these products[39]. Therefore, the prospects of Russia's negotiations for WTO membership depend on the general EU position.

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[35] The Kyoto Protocol is an amendment to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), an international treaty on global warming. It also reaffirms sections of the UNFCCC. Countries which ratify this protocol commit to reduce their emissions of carbon dioxide and five other greenhouse gases, or engage in emissions trading if they maintain or increase emissions of these gases. A total of 141 countries have ratified the agreement. Notable exceptions include the United States and Australia. The formal name of the proposed agreement, which reaffirms sections of the UNFCCC, is the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/1997/global.warming/stories/treaty). It was negotiated in Kyoto, Japan in December 1997, opened for signature on March 16, 1998, and closed on March 15, 1999. The agreement came into force on February 16, 2005 following ratification by Russia on November 18, 2004.

[36] See for instance: Donath K-H., "Eine Kaltfront zwischen Berlin und Moskau", *Die Tageszeitung*, 14. Feb 2004, http://www.taz.de/pt/2004/02/14/a0116.nf/textdruck, 23 03 2005 or Champion M., "Europe May Face Divisions Over Russia", *The Wall Street Journal Europe*, 18 February 2004, p. A3.

[37] See more: Šleivytė J., " Russia's Alignment with Europe: Pursuing the Euro-Atlantic Agenda?", *Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review 2003*, Vilnius: Lithuanian Military Academy, 2004, p. 155-157, http://beta.lka.lt/~serveris/biblioteka/KNYGOS/strategine_apzvalga_angl_2003.pdf, 01 12 2004.

[38] BNS, "V. Landsbergis Rusijos veiksmuose įžvelgia bandymus suskaldyti ES vienybę", 2002 m. rugsėjo 30 d. Also see: Sirutavičius V., Toločkienė I., "Strategic Importance of Kaliningrad Oblast of Russian Federation", *Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review 2002*, Vilnius: Lithuanian Military Academy, 2003, p. 196-214. http://beta.lka.lt/~serveris/biblioteka/KNYGOS/strategine_apzv_a.pdf, 01 12 2004.

[39] "Economic and Trade" in *The European Commission's Delegation to Russia*, http://www.delrus.cec.eu.int/en/p_216.htm, 23 03 2005.

Secondly, geographical closeness is the reason for increased Russia's attention to the Europe. After the EU enlargement in 2004, Russia borders with as much as five EU Member States. Geographical closeness both creates pre-conditions for intense trade and enhances the importance of security problems starting from the "great politics" and ending with cultural exchange and people's contacts. Border control, regional conflicts, fighting against organised crime etc. become common interests, most of which fall within the competence of the EU and not individual Member States. One should also take into account that despite a split on the issue of Iraq war the Member States are inclined to continue the development of a common EU security policy. In the summer of 2003, EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) Javier Solana prepared, for the first time in the history of the EU, the European Security Strategy[40], which was unanimously approved by the Member States.

Therefore, the year 2003 could be considered the beginning of Russia's attempts to develop qualitatively new relations with the EU. The eleventh Russian-EU summit meeting held in May 2003 in St. Petersburg gave its approval of the Russian initiative on transferring EU-Russian relations to new qualitative level. The declaration adopted by the meeting states that Russia and EU will develop, within the framework of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, four pan-European areas: economic; freedom, security and justice; science and education; and external security. The declaration also mentions higher institutionalisation of the EU-Russian relations and facilitation of the visa regime in the long term[41].

Thus a promising declaration was adopted and a lost of congratulations and toasts proposed in St. Petersburg[42], however, as shown by further course of events, in substance this was just a collection of nice intentions. Neither the European Union nor the EU were prepared to implement these actions in the nearest future. The twelfth Russian-EU summit meeting that took place on 6 November 2003 did not bring any substantial changes to the situation formed after the St. Petersburg meeting. Knowing that the four-area concept has a symbolic rather than actual meaning, only specific and relatively small projects were discussed at the summit meeting. The press release published by the European Commission before the meeting stated that the meeting would promote an energy dialogue, discuss the prospects of Russia's joining the WTO, approve of an agreement on cooperation between Europol and the Russian Ministry of Interior, consider the issues of future visa-free regime between Russia and the EU etc.[43]

[40] See: "A secure Europe in a better world. European Security Strategy", Document proposed by Javier Solana and adopted by the Heads of State and Government at the European Council in Brussels on 12 December 2003, http://www.iss-eu.org/solana/solanae.pdf, 23 03 2005.
[41] EU-Russia Summit, *Joint Statement*, St. Petersburg, 31 May, 2003, http://www.delrus.cec.eu.int/en/p_234.htm, 18 03 2005.
[42] The most famous phrase was said by the President of the European Commission Romano Prodi that "the EU and Russia were bound together like "caviar and vodka". See: Dempsey J., Jack A. "'Holding operation' rewards Putin for pro-western stance ahead of elections", *Financial Times*, June 2, 2003, p. 8.
[43] See: European Commission, "EU-Russia Summit (Rome, 6 November 2003)", Brussels, 04 November 2003 in *The European Commission's Delegation to Russia*, http://www.delrus.cec.eu.int/en/p_399.htm, 23 03 2005.

It should be noted that the Rome summit had aroused increased observers' attention from the very beginning. At that time, passions and discussions in Europe over the arrest of Yukos' CEO Khodorkovsky and Russia's future remained heated. Indeed, the Rome summit, in a certain sense, did not "disappoint" lovers of sensations and provided several relatively unexpected developments connected with the manifestations of pro-Russian lobbying within the European Union itself. When journalists put a question to Putin concerning the rule of law in his country as well as the Yukos scandal and situation in Chechnya, the Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi interfered expressing, in substance, solidarity with the Kremlin's official position toward Chechnya.

Nobody was surprised that Berlusconi continued trying to make friends with Putin, even more zealously than Chancellor Schröder, however, this time the Italian Prime Minister was representing the entire EU and not only Italy. Therefore, his decision to undertake the role of Putin's advocate at the final press conference of the summit meeting evoked a severe reaction. Berlusconi's behaviour aroused at least surprise, if not indignation, of other EU Member States and candidate countries. On the next day even the European Commission decided to take an unprecedented action by publishing a statement that comments by a prime minister of the Member State holding presidency of the EU do not coincide, in all respects, with the EU's position[44]. Whereas the German press openly mocked Berlusconi urging to isolate this "political fool from Rome" (*Indem sie den Polit-Narren von Rom isoliert*)"[45]. Finally, the Council of the European Union gave an unsatisfactory evaluation of the results of the Russian-EU summit meeting because they did not reflect the Chechen problem[46]. Although it should be noted that poor Italian presidency was not recorded in any way in the official EU information sources and documents.

Berlusconi's "jokes" obscured, to some extent, another important aspect of the Rome summit: it was the last meeting of such level in which EU participated as a union of 15 Western states. Next time Putin was going to speak with the heads of states representing interests of twenty-five and not fifteen EU Member States. It was namely this problem that emerged at the top of the agenda of the EU-Russian relations at the beginning of 2004. Both the European Commission and the Russian government started preparations. In the opinion of the Commission, the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the EU and Russia, which establishes, inter alia, bilateral trade relations, should be automatically extended to cover the acceding countries. Whereas Russia presented to the Commission a list of 14 items – demands that had to be met in order to get Russia's consent to extension of the Agreement to ten more countries acceding to the US on 1 May 2004. Russia demanded that US would com-

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[44] BBC News World Edition, "EU dismay at Berlusconi comments", 6 November 2003, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3248995.stm, 23 02 2005.

[45] Winter M. "Keine Komplizenschaft", *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 8 November, 2003; Also see: "Zwei dicke Freunde", *Die Welt*, 2003, n. 47, http://zeus.zeit.de/text/2003/47/Berlusconi, 23 03 2005.

[46] von Büchner G., "EU geht auf größere Distanz zu Russlands Führung", *Berliner Zeitung*, 18 November 2003, S. 6.

pensate it for estimated losses amounting to approx. EUR 150 m per annum to be incurred in connection with termination from 1 May 2004 of previous trade agreements with the candidate countries. The 14 items also included the issue of visa-free regime as up until then Russians needed no visas to most of the candidate countries (e.g. Cyprus) as well as the issue of unsatisfactory situation of Russian minorities in Latvia and Estonia.

However, the European Commission did not yield to Russia's pressure and presented, on its turn, a 17-page description of unsettled issues in the EU-Russian relations to the Council and the European Parliament[47]. It included violations of the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law, unsigned agreements on the state border with Latvia and Estonia, subsidising of the national energy sector, delay in ratification of the Kyoto Protocol, reluctance to acknowledge navigation and nuclear energy safety standards, and unjustified taxation of the European airlines the airplanes of which pass the Russian territory in transit.

Reports had appeared in the press that the signs of crisis were apparent in the EU and Russian relations, that contradictions in the European Union itself arose due to relations with Russia, and that Russia was even considering an option of Europe's energy blockade[48], which it had just practiced in February in respect of brotherly Belarus. To tell the truth this latter action was aimed not at forcing the dictator Lukashenko to restore democracy but to show him who is the real master of the situation, at the same time sending a signal to entire Europe. However, the negotiations at the end of April 2004 during the visit of the President of the Commission Romano Prodi and seven commissioners in Moscow, held behind the closed doors, finally ended successfully, and similar assumptions appeared to be considerably exaggerated. A compromise was reached by agreeing on EU's support for Russia in acceding WTO and by Russia's committing itself to ratify the Kyoto Protocol and to start a gradual liberalisation of the national energy resources market. All these decisions were approved at a regular official Russian-EU summit meeting held in Moscow on 21 May 2004.

What conclusions can be drawn from this episode? Firstly, the relations between EU and Russia were still not characterised by a strategic depth. The declarations made at St. Petersburg including the four areas and the visa-free regime remain a long-term vision as the issues actually resolved were related to trade, transport, environmental protection, finance and other low politics issues. Whereas striking differences on the high-politics and value level remain. These differences probably arise from fundamentally different nature of the EU and Russia as international political players and not only from differences in opinions.

[47] See: Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on relations with Russia (COM(2004) 106 09/02/04), http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/russia/russia_docs/com04_106_en.pdf, 23 03 2005.
[48] See: Ridderbusch K., "Beziehungen zwischen Moskau und EU sind angespannt", *Die Welt*, 14. Februar 2004, http://www.welt.de/data/2004/02/14/237316.html, 2005 03 23; "Russland: Beziehungen zur EU immer angespannter", *Die Presse*, 18. Februar 2004, http://www.diepresse.com/textversion_article.aspx?id=405533 , 23 03 2005.; Champion M., "Europe May Face Divisions Over Russia ", *The Wall Street Journal Europe*", 18 February, 2004, p. A3; Dorner J., " Die EU ist Putins Dauerproblem", *Bremer Nachrichten*, 4. März, 2004.

The European Union is a unique modern amalgamation of states based not only on pragmatic interests but also on common values. For example, unlike the USA, for the EU is much more difficult "not to notice" violations of democratic procedures and the rule of law in Russia, to keep silent about and not to respond to evidence on lamentable state of human rights in Chechnya reaching Europe on a regular basis. Therefore, forms of cooperation with the states not forming part of the EU depend much upon the extent to which the partner is willing to recognise common value grounds.

But, on the other hand, European Union is not an entity confining itself to defence of values. It can be a very hard nut to crack in negotiations over specific issues falling within the scope of its competence. Therefore, Russia's urge to draft a specific action plan for the introduction of visa-free regime was very quickly met with Brussels' categorical disagreement on the grounds that Russia does not meet a multitude of criteria (starting from border guard and ending with readmission agreements) applicable to countries wishing to enjoy such a regime.

Trade relations and common pan-European economic area is another specific example. In the European Union, the notion of the common economic area does not form part of foreign policy; it covers everything related to market regulation. Whereas the meaning of common economic area or other above-mentioned common areas with Russia remains completely unclear as, in Russia's view, relations with the EU is an issue of foreign and not economic policy. President Putin has said that Russia does not intend to join the EU[49]. This means that, naturally, Russia is not going to transpose the EU norms to its system. Accordingly, it is hard to imagine a material and not just declared convergence of Russia and the EU.

Therefore, despite high phrases and promising declarations, in 2003-2004 the Russian-EU relations remained in the sphere of quite narrow pragmatic matters. Although the EU was untiringly urging Russia to rectify the state of human rights in Chechnya, to observe the law in the company regulation area, and to ratify the Kyoto Protocol, which would create conditions for entry into force of a new international environmental regime, Russia, apart from the above-mentioned four areas and alleviation of the visa regime, was striving to obtain EU' support in acceding the WTO and to win other additional preferences related to EU's enlargement to Central and East Europe in 2004.

Therefore, one may assume that Russia being a state with imperial ambitions that had not faded out but even became renewed, viewed a closer relationship with the European Union, first of all, not as a creation of a space based on common values and rules but as acquisition of special privileges and exceptions in the relations with the EU. At the same time this would be an important demonstration of success of Putin's governance in the eyes of Russian electorate and a weighty argument and grounds for other CIS states (Ukraine in particular) to rally around Russia, which is becoming a kind of a gate, bridge and intermediary between them and Europe, them and the world!

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[49] See: Путин В., (note 34).

"To Europe together with Russia" – such was the underlying idea of the Common Economic Area project including the four largest CIS states and signed on 19 September 2003. It is known, however, that this Putin's project experienced considerable difficulties. Such a system might be attractive to Central Asia and Kazakhstan, but it is doubtful that it would to the Ukraine, Belarus or Moldova situated closer to the European Union, and the EU itself. Although some of Western European states –France or Germany – would prefer dealing only with Moscow, other EU Members States hardly would approve this; finally, this would be contrary to the very nature of the EU.

It was namely this contradiction that was revealed by two crisis events of the second half of 2004: the tragedy of Beslan hostages in September 2004, which was used by Putin as a pretext for striking one more blow to Russia's democracy, and the "orange" revolution in the Ukraine at the end of 2004, which reunited on a common value basis, quite unexpectedly, the USA and Western Europe that had been in confrontation due to the Iraq war and which showed even more clearly the value gap that still exists between the West and Russia.

A Value Gap - Instead of Conclusion

The international resonance of the killing of schoolchildren in Beslan was two-sided. On the one hand, the world condemned cruelty of terrorists and expressed sympathy with the relatives of the victims. On the other hand, lack of professionalism and helplessness of the Russian services as well as indifference of the authorities toward human lives aroused universal surprise. Russia categorically and with great indignation rejected a wish expressed by Bernard Bot, the Dutch Foreign Minister – the Netherlands were holding presidency of the US at that time – to hear an explanation why the hostage-freeing operation demanded so many victims[50]. But the world was surprised even more by President Putin's inappropriate response to the terrorist act. Putin stated that raging terrorism requires strengthening of the state, therefore, abandoning direct governor's elections was the most important thing to do in that situation. According to the new procedures, governors will be elected by the Councils of Subject of the Russian Federation on proposal of the Kremlin[51].

Thus Putin not just categorically rejected numerous urges to start searching for political measures to settle the bloody Chechen conflict but also expressed a determination to implement further reforms centralising governance as a protection against future terrorist acts, which aroused surprise of both the Russian opposition and the international community. In other words, Beslan's horror became yet another pretext for enhancing the Kremlin's power, which was already great. Putin took another step towards authoritarianism. Therefore, it is not surprising that the issue of

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[50] Lobjakas A., "Russia: Beslan Hostage Tragedy Leads to Spat with EU", RFE/RL, September 6, 2004, http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2004/09/6ea40e08-57e6-4d7c-98d7-65360c989f8d.html, 20 03 2005.

[51] See more: Путин В., "Выступление на расширенном заседании Правительства с участием глав субъектов Российской Федерации, 13 сентября 2004 года, Москва, Дом Правительства России", *Президент России. Официальный сайт*, http://www.president.kremlin.ru/appears/2004/09/13/1514_type63374type63378type82634_76651.shtml, 30 03 2005.

Russia's democracy, which up until that time was avoided at the US and Russian summit meetings, eventually was included in the agenda. On 20 November 2004 during the first meeting of Putin of Bush after the presidential election in the US, held in the corridors of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation's annual summit in Santiago, Chile, the US President inquired about the reform of centralisation of governance carried out by the Russian authorities. According to the news agencies, Putin "went through a very long and detailed explanation" of the political and historical logic, reaching back to the Stalinist period… He made the point the Russian government was trying to develop a democratic style of government "consistent with Russian history and the unique problems that Russia faced as a multiethnic society on a large land mass…But he rejected suggestions he was pushing Russia back to totalitarian rule, but said it was still searching for a model of democracy to match its traditions".[52]

Putin's reference to the Russian history is not a novelty in the consideration and investigation of Russia, however, it should be noted that it is a new thing in Putin's repertoire. Putin had never emphasized Russia's exceptional nature in terms of civilization either in his statements or politics. On the contrary, if one reads Putin's annual report for 2003 to the State Duma mentioned at the beginning of this paper, one would see that it contains no hints to Russia's exceptional nature. On the contrary, the focus is on Russia's efforts toward returning the country to the community of respectable states, to "civilization". However, the logic of behaviour of the political authorities distancing from democracy, concentration of power in one hands, and persecution of dissidents makes the government resort to tricks that are tried and tested though not original. As noted by reporter of *Der Standard*, an Austrian daily, who provided comments on the Santiago summit, although there are many people in the West who think that Russia can only be controlled by power, "at the same time, for many who are for real democracy, young people in particular – this is a harsh experience. But the farcical nature of Putin's statement is seen very clearly in the Ukraine. During few years of independence, elements of a civic society have appeared in this historical centre of the Russian nation. This has largely contributed to the advancing of a real alternative to the existing system last Sunday during the presidential election and this was done by the Ukrainian citizens despite attempts to forge the election results. Russian cultural strata know perfectly well, too, what kind of democracy they want"[53].

Indeed, as shown by events, the Beslan crisis was just a prelude to problems that Putin's policy was posing to the European Union and the USA. At the end of the year, the Ukraine issue intruded into the first lines of the international news summaries, which was unexpected for many in both America and Europe. Although, to tell the truth, this could be forecast already in the summer of 2004 when preparation for the presidential election scheduled for 31 October started. The matter is that the

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[52] Lateline News, "Bush tells Putin of concerns about Russia", Santiago, November 20, 2004, http://dailynews.muzi.com/ll/english/1336553.shtml, 20 03 2005.
[53] Kirchengast J. "Die passende Demokratie. Auch im russischen Kulturkreis wissen die Menschen, welche Art von Demokratie sie wollen", *Der Standard,* 21 November, 2004, http://derstandard.at/?url=/?id=1865865, 20 03 2005.

election had to resolve the issue of – not more and not less - the Ukraine's geopolitical orientation, which could not be insignificant to Europe and America. Despite that both USA and EU were quite indifferent. Although America has always considered Ukraine's independence to be its strategic priority in the region, now it was preoccupied with Iraq, while relations between the Ukrainian government, more specifically, President Kuchma, with America had gone awry. The European Union, on its turn, had just completed its enlargement and was not cherishing any significant enlargement plans in the nearest future. A special policy of neighbourhood rather than membership was going to be developed in respect of the Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus.

Having noticed that his main geopolitical competitors are passive, President Putin resolved not to miss his chance. If one looks at Putin's agenda in 2004 starting from his election for the second term of office in March, one would be struck by the amount of efforts devoted to the Ukraine. During that period Putin did not consider it a necessity to visit any of the Central and East European countries, while the number of meetings with the Ukrainian President Kuchma in 2004 (if the calculation is correct) reached as much as 10 including as much a 6 Putin's working visits to the Ukraine. This figure could perhaps get into the Guinness record book if only accounting for intensity of meetings of heads of states is kept in it.

It goes without saying that the central concern in the lasting negotiations was to breathe new life into the Common Economic Area project so that it would not suffer the fate of earlier initiatives planned within the framework of CIS. And in the second half of the year, when Kuchma's term of office was nearing end, the Ukraine had to be assisted in ensuring succession of power so that economic integration with Russia would be continued without any obstacles.

Thus it seems that all had been accomplished on Putin's part. According to expert of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Anders Åslund, USD 300 m were collected from Russian companies for the support of the election campaign[54]. In addition, Putin sent a team of his advisors and political technologists and during the campaign visited the Ukraine in person twice, agitating for hi favourite Victor Yanukovich. Finally, Putin hastened to congratulate the "winner" on his victory before the official election results were announced.

Putin's haste is understandable. This time as never before he was close to his dream – to rally the former Soviet republics under Russia's wing again. And Putin did not want to miss the opportunity. However, unforeseen obstacles suddenly arose. OSCE observers recorded and published numerous facts of abuse and falsification of election results by the authorities. This provoked mass protests in Kiev. Thousands of demonstrators gathered in the Independence Square, blocked public buildings and paralysed work of the government. This was a real revolution. The authorities had two options – to resort to force or to start negotiating with the opposition leaders heading the demonstrators.

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[54] Åslund A., "Democracy in Retreat in Russia. Testimony before the U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations", Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=16550, 20 03 2005.

Western countries had to make up their minds as well. They had to say whether they acknowledge the election results and welcome Putin's favourite or to state that they support the demonstrators demanding new election. It goes without saying that Russia was sending unequivocal signals of support to the "winner", recognizing no foreign opinions. However, Putin's signals were not effective this time. On 24 November the US Secretary of State Powell stated that the USA did not acknowledge the election results and urged to hold new fair elections[55].

For Europe it was more difficult to resolve. According to Russia's foreign policy expert Alexander Rahr, it appeared, after emergence of the Ukrainian crisis, that the key EU Member States had shown almost no interest in the Ukraine and processes taking place in it in recent years. Attention was focused on Russia alone[56]. Therefore, the Ukrainian crisis was both a surprise and a headache to Berlin and other West European capitals – and they did not know what to do with it. However, this time even Putin's faithful friends Chirac and Schröder had no opportunity to make allowances for him. Violations of the principles of democracy and fair election were too obvious. This is what Putin's admirer Schröder said: "I am firmly convinced, firstly that the Russian president wants to develop a democracy, and wants to do so out of inner conviction. But that doesn't mean that we cannot ... criticize what has happened in the Ukraine."[57]

Thus, paradoxically, the Ukrainian crisis put everything in their places. It appeared that Russia, despite increased demand for its energy resources and economic recovery, is not becoming more democratic in its internal policy and continues to see its main foreign policy interest in securing its political influence and commercial benefits, which has nothing to do with the universal Western values such as democracy, self-determination of nations, free elections and human rights. Whereas in the West, the USA and the main EU Member States (Germany and France) that had become fierce opponents and had separated politically due to the Iraq war now discovered that they were still united by the same values irrespective of personal dislikes of their leaders.

So if one takes a retrospective look at the period of 2003-2004 one may say with confidence that at that time Western politics performed a real salto mortale from confrontation based on Iraq up to solidarity over the Ukraine. The significance of that for Russia, the Ukraine and a whole range of smaller states in the CEE region is evidenced by the fact that Poland and Lithuania, acting with the EU mandate, succeed in carrying out a mission of intermediation between the confronting Ukrainian political forces and help this country avoid a civil conflict. Eventually, Putin had to retreat at the EU-Russian summit. "While commenting on Ukraine at a Russia-EU summit in the Hague on 25 November, Putin seemed to back down on his previo-

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[55] CNN.com, "Powell: 'Fraud and abuse' in Ukraine vote", November 25, 2004, http://www.cnn.com/2004/US/11/24/powell.ukraine/, 20 03 2005.

[56] Klein B., "Die EU hat sich um die Ukraine einfach nicht gekümmert Interview mit dem Russlandexperten Alexander Rahr", *Deutschlandfunk Interview*, 24.11.2004, http://www.dradio.de/dlf/sendungen/interview_dlf/324487/, 05 03 2005.

[57] CNN.com, "World pressures Ukraine on poll", November 25, 2004, http://www.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/europe/11/24/ukraine.reax/index.html, 21 03 2005.

us assurance that the election was indisputably won by Yanukovich. Putin noted that the election is Ukraine's internal affair and added that any election disputes should be resolved by in a legal way. "And we know what the legal way is - all claims should be sent to the court," he said"[58]. As it is known the court ordered to annul the results of the rigged election.

The world press and political analysts assessed the Ukrainian episode unequivocally – as a surprising example of political incompetence and not only as a political defeat of Russia and Putin personally[59]. Anyway, now the most interesting question is how further behaviour of players on this political scene will be affected by the Ukrainian crisis and its settlement in a way desired by most Ukrainians and in line with key Western values. Will political convergence of the USA and major EU Member States continue? Will Russia continue to drift away from the civilized world, with the value gap becoming wider?

For the time being, developments at the end of 2004 do not inspire much hope. A regular meeting of OSCE foreign ministers held on 7 December 2004 in Sofia ended with mutual reproaches expressed by the foreign ministers of the USA and Russia. Sergei Lavrov asserted that OSCE had transformed observation of elections into a tool of political fight and that it was applying a double standard with respect to elections in the West and in post-Soviet states. Whereas Powell rejected these reproaches as totally unjustified and, on his turn, criticised Russia for a failure to fulfil its obligation to withdraw its troops from Moldova and Georgia[60]. Thus, as it was put by the Western press at that time, the wind of the Cold War was felt again. Similar mood prevailed at the grandiose Putin's press conference mentioned at the beginning of this paper. The near future will show whether this is Russia's wilful choice or simply political inertia.

[58] Maksymiuk J., "Avoiding a new Cold War over Ukraine", *RFE/RL Belarus and Ukraine Report*, 1 December 2004, Vol. 6, No. 44, http://www.rferl.org/reports/pbureport/2004/12/44-011204.asp, 23 03 2005.
[59] See: Corvin J.A., "Who lost Ukraine?", *RFE/RL Russian Political Weekly*, 12 January 2005, Vol. 5, No. 2. http://www.rferl.org/reports/rpw/2005/01/2-120105.asp, 23 03 2005.
[60] See: Kessler, G., "Powell, Russian Clash on Ukraine", Role of Observers Called 'Political Manipulation'", *The Washington Post*, December 8, 2004, p. A13, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A42522-2004Dec7.html, 21 03 2005.

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"Power Vertical" in Russia:
2003-2004 Election Cycle Peripeteia

The article deals with the internal political process compound and idiosyncratic element of so called election cycle covering the period of 2003 elections to the State Duma and 2004 elections of the president democracy problem. First, the general characteristics of the preelection political regime are defined as of the main factor influencing the content of the elections. Main attention is paid to the violations of the democracy requirements in the procedural course of the presidential and the State Duma's election campaigns and to the analysis of the propresidential party „United Russia" exceptional keynote „democratic" position on forming the government on the basis of the Duma's results. The political results of the elections are discussed that for the additional four years have legitimized the direction of the political monocentric power strengthening and freezing of the democratic processes conducted by Putin and it is stressed that it is achieved violating the principle of the democratic representation justice as the equal opportunities were not guaranteed for all participants of the political competition in the election procedural course. Thus, the last elections have not become the indicator of the further spread of democracy.

Introduction

The post-communist development of Russia lasting over the decade and attendant theoretical reasoning, practical actions, the highlighted certain regularity and paradoxes of the process are the object of the constant attention of the political science with all possible forms of manifestation. The most conceptual problem solved by the researches is directly related to the concept of the "democracy transformation" in broad sense.

To be precise, the more precise answers are in search for the following principal questions: why the democratization process in independent Russia has not achieved the vivid results, why the created polical power system is corresponding more to the attributes of the intermediate political regime what have caused too slowly implemented principles of the democratic political life, to what extend the achieved winnings of democracy are deep and irreversible in the separate spheres of the state and public life, and finally - can we expect the successful consolidation of democracy in the nearest perspective. But some vivid changes of the internal political development in Russia that started in 2000 cause the doubt

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not only about the perspective of consolidation but also about the possibility of the democratic processes succession[1].

As it is known, in Russia the democratization process has achieved the biggest winnings exactly in the area of elections, to be more precise - they are conducted more or less on the basis of the democratic election procedures legitimizing the newly elected power. By the way, this principle has been realized for the first time in the history of the state. The functioning of the election system is based on the legal base of democratic elections and as if corresponds at least to the formal procedural criteria (direct, public, equal, secret, competitive, periodical), and it proves that the democratic rules are respected and the democratic regulations of the political regime are demonstrated – the government receives democratic legitimating and the political elite is not questioning the results of the elections. This is the only more serious criteria allowing to include Russia into the list of the modern "electoral democracies" (the most vivid and general feature characterizing the political regime).

But such characteristic has many exceptions and it is possible only due to superficial and often formalized point of view as after each elections (from 1993) the independent observers from such organizations as the ESBO have stated various violations but they did not reach the critical line to be evaluated as obviously non-democratic.

The main goal of the article is to define one of the most important phenomena of the internal political process in Russia, namely – correspondence of the 2003–2004 electoral cycle to the standards of the democratic elections. First of all, the pre-electoral general characteristic of the political regime as the essentrial factor influencing the content of the elections is determined but the main attention is allotted to define the non-conformity of the procedural course of the presidential election campaign and of the elections to the State Duma with the democracy requirements in order to present the conclusions on the influence of the elections results upon the political regime consolidation in longer perspective.

1.Functioning of the Political System: Pluses and Minuses of the Monocentrical Power Strengthening

The significance of the elections for the development of the political regime is more than obvious, their importance is becoming essential for the intermediate political regimes of the third wave of democracy. The analysis of the electoral practice in Russia strongly facilitates understanding and characteristics of the transformation processes, bearing in mind that practically the elections make the uninterrupted cycle – a little over three months' period between the elections. On the other hand, the elections are evaluated as one of the most essential presumptions of democratization in Russia.

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[1] *Russia After the Soviet Union,* London: Longman, 1999; Sakwa R., *Russian politics and society,* 3nd edition, London: Routledge, 2002, Brown A., "Russia and democratization", *Problems of Post–communism*, 1999, Vol. 46, No. 5; *Russia's Unfinished revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001; Гельман В., *"Transition" по-русски: концепции переходного периода и политическая трансформация в России, Общественные науки и современность,* 1997, №. 4; McFaul M., Petrov N., Ryabov A., *Between dictatorship and democracy Russian Post–Communist Political Reform,* Carnegie Endowment for international Peace, 2004; Colton T. J., McFaul M., "Russian Democracy Under Putin", *Problems of Post–Communism*, July–August, 2003, Vol. 50, No. 4.

Before starting to analyze directly the problems of the electoral cycle that lasted almost six months, first of all it is proper to review the preelectoral period, to be more precise, the peculiarities and essential changes of the political system functioning during the period of President Vladimir Putin's rule. The most vivid change in the sphere of the political role took place when in the end of the first Putin's term the greater majority of the monocenrtic power features have been formed – the president has become the only and real centre of power hold, establishing strategical directions of the political process movement, and day by day more firmly controlling the channels of the political regime performance as well as the main actors. The Russian independent analysts characterize the achieved general result by the word stability, covering on one or another level all spheres of the state life. And what is more, these results have become so obvious, radical and unquestioned that caused the broad discussion – how deep they have changed the characteristics of the political regime[2].

During the first years of the term, essentially, Putin was solving the only conceptual political problem – in all possible ways he was trying to neutralize threats of the state disintegration that he received as the direct legatee of Boris Jelcin's political inheritage. The first post-electional actions of the president have been concentrated to realize the central power strengthening procedures, i.e. from the links that weakens it mostly: narrowing of the broad autonomic rights of the regional elite and influence of the oligarchs on the political decisions adopted by the Kremlin.

In order to solve successfully the first problem it was enough to adopt two radical administrational decisions: first, establishing seven districts with the authorized persons appointed by the president, who have broad and not too clearly defined functions in order to ensure the coordination of the actions between the central and regional power institutions what in itself has strongly decreased the level of the regional elite's political autonomy. Secondly, reorganization of the Federal Council, depriving the governors' and the heads of the regional legislative institutions of the right to be its members, what means loss of the immunity status and narrowing of the political performance freedom on the level of the whole state[3]. Really, it must be mentioned that the president managed to avoid not only traditional confrontation in the relations with the State Duma but to concentrate and to base the political communication not on the ideology principle but exceptionally on the principle of pragmatic dialogue with the deputates of the different parties what considerably lessened oppositional contraposition and at the same time has decreased the influence of the Duma[4].

[2] Шевцова Л., "Президент Путин оформляет собственный политический режим: что из этого следует". http://www.carnegie.ru/ru/print/69486-print.htm, 2005 01 23; Зудин А., Ю., "Режим В. Путина: контуры новой политической системы". *Общественные науки и современость*, 2003, №. 2, с. 67; Putin ensured solid (not fallen below 50 percent level) and stabile (10% bias) support of the citizens of the country and what is the most interesting - almost not depending on the present conjuncture. "В. Путин: рейтинг неизменен – имидж меняется", http://www.bd.fom.ru/report/cat/president2/putin/rating_Putin/d023924, 2004 11 12; "Рейтинг Путина обвалится через год?", http://www.cipkr.ru/publication/p010604.html, 2004 09 10.

[3] Rogoża J., Wiśniewska I., A summary of the politico-economic changes taking place during Vladimir Putin's first term of office, *Prace OSW* (Centre For Eastern Studies), Warsaw, 2003, No. 11, p. 17–18, 55–56; Петров Н., Puzzle федеральной реформы: 4 года спустя, http://www.carnegie.ru/ru/print/69803-print.htm arba http://www.themoscowtimes.com/stories/2004/02/17/006.hml, 2004 05 10.

[4] Bielinis L., "Kremliaus sprendimus diktuoja šalies politinė inercija", *Tarptautinė politika: komentarai ir interpretacijos,* Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2002, p.181.

The second problem was solved by Putin resultatively as well – using the methods of economic and legal constraint the most politicizing oligarchs have lost the possibility to influence directly the political decisions adopted by the Kremlin, their potency was finally neutralized. Thus, the president ex-parte has established the new principles of communication between the Kremlin and the oligarchs as political subordination and loyalty announcing taboo on the public political role of the oligarchs[5]. Of course, it was compulsory to observe them by other members of that exclusive club. It must be added that parallel to the process of the strengthening the positions of the Kremlin there was slow rise in economy caused not by concrete and successful economic policy of the authorities but more by permanently favourable international conjuncture preserving high and stabile level of the world prices for strategical raw materials.

Thus, stabilization of the internal development of Russia is considered to be the greatest winning of the first term that was achieved consolidating the real leverage of power in one hand at the same time repairing, slowly and carefully, the basic spheres of the state life that were on the stage of anarchy and without which the further movement towards the normal situation was not possible. And really on the background of the stronger potency of the Kremlin, and in the anti-crisis activities of the power it is possible to see certain modern undertakings and concrete attempts to apply them in practice – adopting the law on parties, reforms of the courts and prosecutor house, tax system, land and air forces. To tell the truth, the majority of these projects due to multiple both objective and subjective factors have not become the political–social ones, and especially the catalysts of the economic structural changes, more often they managed to reach only the level of a half or minimum practical implementation, so the final result was also weak[6]. Comprehensively evaluating the situation it is important to add that so called modernization decisions of the power in the general context of the anti-crisis activities have obviously been modificated and essentially solved not the problems to considerable improvement of the situation but foremost the problems of its normalization.

On the other hand, we can state that the anti-crisis activities of the Kremlin becoming the only priority goal (because it was the problem of the survival of the state) step by step "has frozen" the general and rather chaotic process of democratization, and even more – the tendency of the democracy positions narrowing gradually started to be more vivid. To be more precise, the energetic activities of the power directed to ensuring the state stability have weakened the freedom of word and press either closing or limiting the opposition press and TV channels (a part of them were closed because they belonged to the oligarchs who felt into disgrace of the Kremlin)[7].

[5] Фортескью С., Правит ли Россией олигархия ?, *Полис*, 2002, №. 5, с. 64–73.

[6] For a detailed analysis see: Shevcova L., *Putin's Russia*, Washington: Carnegie endowment for international peace, 2003, p. 104–133, 187–196; Laurinavičius Č., "О военной реформе в России", *Lietuvos rytų kaimynai: Politika ir saugumas. Tarptautinės mokslinės konferencijos medžiaga. Nr. 7*, Vilnius: Leidybos centras prie KAM, 2002, p. 25–28.

[7] The political scientists comparing preelectional political conjuncture of 1999 and 2003 have named the „reforms" implemented by Putin as antidemocratic reconstruction that created multiple challenges for the political opponents in the future elections. McFaul M., Petrov N., "What the Elections Tell Us, *Journal of Democracy*, July 2004, Vol. 15, No. 3.

On the other hand, Putin considerably increased the direct role of the special services in the state governing by the policy of the cadres appointments when the representatives of the military structures and special services were appointed to the responsible posts of the civil power (every fourth representative of the political elite), what naturally contradicts the logic of the democratic order[8].

It can be stated that from that very moment the tendency of the president's potency strengthening has evolutionated from the policy of single actions to the priority political programme, in such a way giving the status of the official policy and at the same time weakening the development of the public democratic institutions. On the background of this policy the new view of the power on the further development of democracy is more vivid little by little, postponing the solution of the problems to the further perspective, motivating it by the specifity of Russia disturbing to take over the experience of the Western democratic life.

To tell the truth, considerably strengthened potency of the president and achieved relatively stabilized political and social environment in the end of the first term provided Putin with alternative possibilities as, for example, to include the new tasks of the state democratic transformation into the political agenda and to solve them qualitatively. Of course, practically it could be started to implement only after the elections cycle – the elections of the parliament and the president.

2. The State Duma Elections: Search for Democracy

In the end of the first Putin's term the most important political event undoubtedly was the elections to the State Duma despite clearly restrained possibility of that institution to construct the political processes. Nevertheless, political pluralism is being realized in this very power institution although on the minimum level and what is especially important the Duma is formed on the basis of the free elections principle in the competition of the political parties of different deviations.

The pre-election political situation in the country comparing with the previous elections of 1999 has considerably changed and depended, as it was mentioned already, on the new factors listed above. According to political scientist Andriej Riabov in this case the president himself, his administration or just the Kremlin have become the main election player forming the agenda of the election and the direction of the pre-election fight and the parties and so called election unifications have only adjusted to the election situation[9]. Besides, it should be stressed that during the pre-election period for the fist time the potency of the Kremlin has reached the highest level what means that the political forces supporting it can expect stronger than earlier and diverse support.

The Kremlin was trying not only to consolidate the achieved winnings in respect of the Duma but also to guarantee the most favourable number of the Duma deputies' supporting mandates. The traditional way was used to achieve that goal –

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[8] Крыштановская О., "Режим Путина: либеральная милитократия?", *Pro et Contra*, Т. 7, 2002, №. 4, с. 158, 175–176.

[9] Пресс-брифинг: "Расстановка сил перед выборами: оценки и прогнозы", http://www.carnegie.ru/ru/print/69303-print.htm, 2004 05 11.

the "power party"[10]. The concrete actions in that direction have been undertaken in 2001, uniting two political forces - "Motherland" and "Unity" into the public organization and later into the party. Comparing with the previous elections the pre-election positions of both political players have considerably transformed in favour of the president – this time openly expressed support of the strong first politician provided the party with more political dividends than vice versa. The latter factor and active and regular actions of the party leaders quickly increasing the ranks of the party members and supporters, and what is the most important the direct possibility to use inexhaustible power administrative resources have created the especially favourable conditions for the party to accumulate successfully potential strength and to win the electorate favour[11].

It should be kept in mind that there was one more aspect of the favourable factors related to the usage of the administrative resources especially in the regions. It was easy to decide for the state bureaucracy of all levels as the favourites of the elections and especially of the presidential ones became clear in advance. Thus, it was necessary just to coordinate one's actions with the vivid political conjuncture and to support the propresidential political force.

Thus, the elections that took place on 7 December 2003 essentially solved the only political intrigue – how many mandates of the deputies would be received by the power party "United Russia". The early public opinion polls conducted by various public opinion research centres also proved that the "power party" had not faced serious obstacles because the new favourable moments appeared, for example, the main political forces were weak – the Communist party failed to increase the ranks of its supporters and left far behind and the possibilities of the both right parties even to overstep the foreseen percentage barrier remained doubtful due to failure to coordinate joint actions[12]. In the space created by the conjuncture of these factors it is purposeful to discuss the further important aspects of the elections when 23 political parties and public movements independently or setting up the election unifications have entered the competitive struggle[13].

According to the data of the sociological polls only 5 participants could expect really to gain serious advantage and to overstep 5 % limit, the weakest positions were demonstrated by the "Yabloko" and the "Union of the right forces" due to the personal ambitions of the leaders of these parties who failed to agree on joint agitation actions. Such tendency stayed unchangeable with little deviations till the begin-

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[10] Carotbers T., "Democracy: no party for parties", *Rough crossing democracy in Russia*, Moscow: Neostrom Publisters, 2004, p. 75–76.

[11] The statistical data of the party as for March 2002: about 400 thousand members, among whom 154 deputies of the State Duma, 41 member of the Federal Council, 6 governors in the council of the party, the affiliates work in all 89 subjects of the federation, in total about 2 400 local departments. Верин В., "Единая Россия" обещает успех" *Парламенская газета*, 2003 04 01, № 59 (1188); Мнения экспертов, "Развитие партии "Единая Россия" и состояние партийно–политической системы", http://niiss.ru/edro.shtml, 2004 03 05; "Программа "Выборы–2003", "Съезд партии "Единая Россия" http://svoboda.org/programs/el/2003/el.040303.asp, 2004 03 23.

[12] Партийние электораты: динамика и перспективы: Аналитический бюллетень. Август 2003, http://www.carnegie.ru/ru/print 67956-print.htm, 2004 04 12.

[13] "Политические партии в начале предвыборной кампании в Государственную Думу РФ", http://www.indem.ru/IDD2000/anal/Rim2583.html., 2004 10 11.

ning of the election agitation and the day of the elections except the fact that just before the elections the ratings of "Rodina" has greatly increased[14].

On the other hand, it is necessary to remind one interesting moment that despite low public ratings of the parties and the Duma itself (the ordinary citizens answering the question what kind of the elections they consider the most important in the country indicated them in the following order: of the president, municipalities, of the governors and only on the fourth position the elections to the Duma that they almost equalized with the elections of the regional legislative institutions) the prognosis was not less than 50% activity of the electorate[15]. Such disharmony can be convincingly explained by too strong influence of the traditions of the forced participation upon the present electorate that came from the near past.

Discussing the peculiarities of the elections agitation period it is meaningful to pay attention to one more product of the election process forgotten by the researches – the election programmers of the parties despite the obvious truth – under the conditions of Russia they can be evaluated as the virtual form of the political theoretical thought manifestation. In other words, this is totally formalized election attribute of the election democracy in Russia only because of the fact that their practical implementation is impossible if it does not coincide with the political line of the Kremlin. But in this case we are mostly interested in the "power party" as potentially the only force disposing the certain open possibility of the political thought realization. On the other hand, new proposals related to the strengthening of the democratization process in the country are fixed in the election programme of the party and in the official speeches of its leaders.

And really, the election programme of the election favourite concentrates the main priority on social and economic activities that should rise the citizens' welfare but we also find several very concrete statements directly related to the problems of deepening the democratic processes. This political force introducing itself to be of the centrist orientation, the party of the professionals and pragmatists rises the goal to become the party very carefully at first – "if the government will be formed on the basis of the parliamentary results" but rather clearly and it is prepared to announce "the composition of its government as only such party is able to pretend to have power in the country. And we are ready for that!" They proposed to use six ways to solve successfully the problem of the power management optimization, among which one is related to necessity to strengthen the influence of the party on the executive power and it is spoken about the accountability of the government to the State Duma[16]. The previous official documents of the party show that such statement is the

[14] Пресс-выпуск No 20: рейтинги партий и политиков, http://www.levada.ru/press/2003111701.html; 2004 05 23; Рейтинги партий, http://www.bd.fom./report/cat/policy/party_rating/stat_rating/party_rating_2003/d034401, 2004 05 24.

[15] "Опрос населения 2003 07 03. Отношение к выборам", www.bd.fom.ru/report/cat/policy/party_rating/election_2003/attitude_to_election_/d032608, 2004 03 06.

[16] Предвыборная программа Политической партии "Единая Россия" http://www.edinros.ru/section.html?rid=2092, 2004 05 09.

logical political-ideological guide of the values of the party, one of the effective ways to strengthen the democratic processes of the political regime[17].

On the other hand, the programme tells the electorate about the necessity to have other democratic decisions (free press, strengthening of the self-governing, accountability of power) but this is formulated very carefully, for example, if it is spoken about the defence of press against the commercial structures and influence of power then it is always spoken about "socially responsible press"[18]. Summarizing we can state that the party defining its priority task of the activities as growth of the economy of the country and of the citizens' welfare relates these to further gradual democratization procedures of the separate areas of the political regime that to my mind are especially far from the democracy standards. Thus, the position of the party to continue the transformation process in the direction of deepening democracy was not by chance and we can surely state it took the concrete place in the list of the principal democratic provisions despite the ambiguity of formulations guaranteeing the freedom of political maneuvers. On the other hand, such solid election provision although having the supporting part unlikely can be included into the programme without preliminary consultations or at least silent consent of the first politician of the country. At the same time such position causes the thought about the exceptionally patronage relations dimension of the Kremlin and the "United Russia", officially announcing to be the „President's prop", preventing this political force from realizing its independent initiatives. It narrows the possibility even of the "power party" to perform successfully the role of the mediator between the society and the political institutions. Comparing with the election programmes of the right wing parties, The Right forces union and especially of the "Yabloko"declaring the priority way of the democratic choice of Russia, the package of the "power party" proposals is less concrete and radical, with considerably smaller volume of the actions, but the positions on some questions practically coincide, for example, increasing influence of the parliament lower chamber (providing the control function) for the executive power – the government[19].

The elections even during the most active agitation period were monotonic and without bigger tension of competition, except one exceptional case – refusal of the "United Russia" radicals to participate in the teledebates with the main political opponents. This position is based on the formal explanation about notoriety of the party ideology and positions on the most important issues and their presentation in the programme and at the congresses and about the especially active work of the party

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[17] For the first time the position was formulated in the most precise and broad way in March 2002 in the report of leader Boris Gryzlov where it was stated that the developed situation is the most problematic heritage of the decade and one of the obstacles of the political development of the country, to create "true democracy" and "true civil society". Even the favourable time to solve the problem is indicated – the elections of the State Duma. But at the same time, again it is compulsory stressed that the Constitution is not foreseeing such possibility and alterations of the Constitution are "the question of the future". Доклад Б. Грызлова на II Съезде Партии "Единая Россия", http://www.vvp.ru/docs/parties/er/63.html, 2004 05 10.

[18] See note 17.

[19] "Демократический манифест", "Основы государственной политики на 2003–2005 г." http://www.yabloko.ru/Elections/2003/Program_2003/index.html, 2004 04 10; "Обращение СПС к российским избирателям", 8 августа 2003 г., http://www.duma.sps.ru/?id=51132, 2004 03 25.

members on the level of the regions. Of course, such strategy of the elections was determined by other motives because the ordinary electorate is not reading the programmes and the congresses of the party are not translated via mass media.

But speaking about the validity of such strategy it is necessary to underline that it really has served the purpose as the party more benefited than disadvantaged because of the critics of the political competitors and mass media. First of all, it as the "power party", i.e. as if responsible for the present policy of the power has escaped the unfavourable questions of the gifted speakers of the parties, especially of the RKP and "Yabloko" - (the "Jukos" case, social hyper-differentiation, low international status of the state) on-air and non-used air time, what is noted by the majority of the experts of the elections, the party compensated by multiple appearance of the party leaders on the main TV channels subordinate to the state (four times more often comparing with other candidates, parties and election unifications all together)[20].

Ascertaining the further aspects of the procedure course we face the degree of the administrative resources usage causing especially serious doubts about democracy of the process of the elections. Administrative recourse as one of the brightest features of the Russian electoral system is divided into three parts that shortly can be characterized in the following way: the first, informational. Characterized by the monopoly of the TV channels; the second, official, combination of dual officials in one person: the leader of the party or vivid supporter and the state service in the central or regional power institution, public speeches about the support of the certain political force; and the third – "forced", direct influence on the will of electorate by the means of the administrative impact and falsification of the results of the elections. Till that time such illegal method of agitation directed to mobilize the electorate was mostly noticed during the presidential campaigns, the classical example – the second electoral campaign of Boris Jelcin, when the administrative recourse was directed against the competitors and was mostly expressed by financial and informational resources[21].

The ESBO observers were the first to state publicly in their primary reports about the threats of such tendency in the agitation process of the elections but the monitoring of the "administrative recourse" conducted by the competent international company "Transparency International", unit in Russia, stated about spread of such phenomenon and its influence upon the mobilization of the electorate and the final results of the elections in the most precise and eloquent way. During the monitoring the "United Russia" managed to be mentioned in all main information sources (mass media, TV, Internet) practically (46, 14 percent) as much as other parties all together. It should be added for the sake of clarity that the coefficient of the administrative resource subservience could reach not less than one and a half times.

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[20] Бадовский Д., "Комментарий в связи с отказом "Единой России" от участия в теледебатах", www.carnegie.ru/ru/print/68544-print.htm, 2004 04 02; Михайлова О., "Старт дан...", www.indem.ru/idd2000/index.htm, 2004 04 05.

[21] Gelman V., "The Iceberg of Russian Political Finance", *Contemporary Russian Politics*, Oxford:University press, 2001, s. 182, 191–192; Воронцова А., Звоновский Б., "Административный ресурс как феномен российского избирательного процесса", *Полис*, 2003, № 6, с. 114–124; Михайлова О., "Предвыборная кампания – 2003: итоги и выводы", http://www.indem.ru/IDD2000/anal/MOV31215.htm, 2004 06 10.

Of course, first of all the party has used administrative resource (162 times) for the goals of self-advertising, but rather big dose (42 times) were allotted for the open critics of the biggest competitor - the RKP[22] . On the other hand, Head of the Strategical research centre politologist Andrej Piontkovskij stated comparing the initial starting positions of the favourite and the final achievements that namely the television was the main tool ensuring the absolute victory of the main party of the Kremlin[23] .

Of course, we cannot agree with such serious arguments but the leaders of the party in their laconic evaluations (we won due to real work) were not mentioning that phenomena as if it was not existing at all. Head of the party election headquarters Jurij Volkov was a little more open and diplomatic stating that not the administrative resource was used but "hule human resource"[24] . The ESBO observers stated in the preliminary report distributed the next day after the elections about the "administrative resource" as about the fait accompli and stressed universality of the usage and namely that became the ground for the final conclusion – one of the most important principle of the democratic elections has been violated what means that the parties and the candidates were competing under unequal conditions of the competition[25] . The analogical conclusion only with broader argumentation was presented in the final report of that organization a month later where the administrative resource is related to the elevation of one party via mass media[26] . Thus, the administrational resource can be considered one of the main factors influencing the results of the election in favour of the "power party" what is proved by the new order of the political forces exposition. The "United Russia" has considerably consolidated its positions collecting 306 (of 450) deputates' mandates (the achievement of the "power party" in 1999 was 81 mandates). The Communist party has preserved the second position collecting 54 mandates but correspondingly losing 30 places of the deputates, the third place is occupied by the new party "Rodina" that collected 38 places. The Liberal–democrats are on the fourth position and they have improved their result more than twice and gained the right for 36 mandates. The right wing parties experienced the biggest failure being not elected to the Duma and losing as many as 52 mandates[27] .

So, on the basis of the analysis conducted by the Commission in which we can find quite a lot of positive evaluations (for example, the increased professionalism of the Central election commission is noted) states clearly about the serious violations

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[22] "От мифов к фактам: использование административного ресурса в избирательной кампании в цифрах", www.transparency.org.ru/doc/pr231203_rus_01101_2.doc; "Второй промежуточный отчет миссии ОБСЕ", http://www.urna.ru/rules52534.html, 2004 02 23.

[23] Пионтковский А., "Управляемая демократия стала ешё более управляемой", *Новая газета*, 9 декабря 2003

[24] "Борис Грызлов комментирует предварительные итоги выборов в Госдуму", http://www.gryzlov.ru/index.php?page=events&id=326; Юрий Волков: "Наша победа закономерна", http://www.edinros.ru/news.html?id=41486 2004 05 12.

[25] "OSCE: Vote Fundamentally Distorted", http://www.themoscowtimes.com/stories/2003/12/09/001.html; 2004 02 01; "Выборы в Госдуму: предварительный доклад ОБСЕ", 08 декабря 2003; http://www.urna.ru/rules/53557.html, 2004 04 16.

[26] Russian Federation Elections to the state Duma 7 december 2003. OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Report, Warsaw, 2004, p. 12.

[27] Smith M., "The Putin Presidency: Establishig Superpresidentalism", *Conflict Studies Research Centre,* (Russian Series), February 2002, p. 2–3.

of the competitively criteria. The fixed number and frequency of the violations gives the basis to speak about the element of control existing in the election democracy in Russia that appeared due to illegitimate attempts of the power and non-correspondence to one of the main elements proving competition – equal conditions, i.e. free and fair for the participants of the political competition. One more observation is obvious - that not the programmes were fighting during the elections but bureaucracy had monopolized the electorate who voted not according to the presented programme but purely automatically or following other motives giving the right to rule. That is why we can state that the step of further progress was not undertaken in that direction and in the consciousness of the society the democracy of the elections is still comprehended very passively and have no steady tradition, thus, can be easily violated.

Despite the obvious violations of the integrality of the democratic elections process norms from the side of the executive power the president Putin has stated the positivism of the accomplished elections in his evaluations – the citizens of Russia had one more possibility to elect the Duma and "the state guaranteed free and fair democratic choice", the elections "reflected the real sympathies of the citizens" and he presented the main conclusion – "this is one more step strengthening democracy"[28]. Bearing in mind the statements of the competent organizations mentioned above and adding that the parties identifying themselves with democratic values disappeared from the new Duma, but there still was, although very weakened, the opposition of the left-wing deviation, the motives of such conclusion are difficult to explain but they are understandable in the context of the pragmatic policy conducted by the president. The Putin's stand should be interpreted in another way, perhaps – at the present development stage of the state and the society the existing realia of election "democracy" are evaluated unambiguously as rather big achievement of modernization. On the other hand, such political action of Putin clearly brought to daylight the difference of values among the Western states and Russia.

3. News of the Inter-Electoral Cycle

In the further agenda of the internal policy of Russia related to the election period the elections of the president were figuring, thus, it is understandable that the decisions adopted at that time should be evaluated considering that factor. But the sudden and secret decision of Putin to resign the government using article 117 part 2 of the Constitution just three weeks prior the day of the elections became the central object in the pre-election public discussions and in the comments of the politicians and political scientists.

This political maneuver that caused controversial evaluations both in Russia and abroad is fitting the frames of the strategy and tactics of the policy conducted by Putin, we can state that this is logical continuation of his policy. The new thing here is only unexpectancy of the decision, incidentally, not peculiar to the governing style of the president and as it was precisely underlined by several dailies in Russia ("Komsomolskaja pravda", "Nezavisymaja gazeta", "Moskovskij komsomolec") it corresponded to the traditions of the sudden „castlings" of the governments during Jelcin's

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[28] "Вступительное слово на совещании с членами Правительства", 8 декабря 2003 г. http://www.kremlin.ru/appears/2003/12/08/1931_type63378_56843.shtml, 2004 10 09.

management. Using the constitutional right to resign the government at his discretion, and in that case just two weeks prior the date of the elections, the president had demonstrated his political potency and expressed that in the short phrase – "I can, thus, I think". No doubts, the contrary action when the government is resigned as well according to the Constitution but at once after the elections of the president would witness about the constancy of the policy of the Kremlin and more democratic character.

At the same time the resignation of the government created the favourable occasion to realize into practice the expressed earlier the election programme statement of the "United Russia" about formation of the executive power depending on the results of the State Duma. About what seriousness of the political intentions did the assurance of the party leaders and especially of B. Gryzlov who became the Chairperson of the Duma witness to observe the provision that formation of the government "should be based on the majority in the Duma" and the persuasion – "we are convinced in the necessity that the candidates of the party pretend to have the posts of the ministers in the future government"[29]. The party expected at least to be the heads of the separate ministries and selected 5-6 possible candidates from the deputies' Corps[30].

Suspicions that it is only the question of time were strengthened by the recognition of Putin expressed before the elections about the mood to discuss the issue of the government's formation with the majority in the parliament. Such political decision would be evaluated favourably by the Western countries as the concrete and serious step strengthening the democracy elements of the political institutional system that by itself would serve to settle quickly progressing doubts about deviation from the democratic line. But the party has achieved only the minimum result – there were several consultative meetings with the president as the result of which it succeeded to receive the post of the first vice–premier in the technical government. This is all what the first politician of the country could afford. Such consultation of the president reminded more the formal step of politeness that the solid political consultations, what was openly acknowledged by Valerij Bogomolov, the secretary of the "United Russia" party, in one of his interviews but backing himself saying that that was his personal opinion[31].

And the only cadres appointment to the vice-premier post can be evaluated as compensation for the experienced moral wrong and too high expectations confirmed by the public statements at the same time to forestall possible spontaneous disappointment. But voting for non-political candidature of Premier Michail Fradkov gained the votes of the State Duma constitutional majority (352).

The way to adopt decisions about the resignation of the government and appoint-

[29] "Борис Грызлов за формирование правительства парламенского большинства", http://www.edinros.ru/news.html?rid=43&id=50860, Борис Грызлов. "Решение Президента – стратегическое", http://www.edinros.ru/news.html?rid=43&id=51380, 2004 06 12.

[30] "Единороссы" могут предложить несколько кандидатур", http://www.edinros.ru/news.html?rid=43&id=52084, 2004 06 04.

[31] Speaking about the peripeteia of the consultations V. Bogomolov, known for far more open speeches than other leaders of the party, has stated: "All decisions more or less cardinal ones, the president is adopting by himself". "Фрадков мне сказал: расскажи о ЕР...", *Независимая газета*, 2004 03 5 arba http://vbogomolov.ru/index.php?smi=27.

ment of the new one obviously witnessed that president Putin is not inclined to change the usual practice of political "power vertical" – to share though and minimally and with the propresidential (demonstrating adherence with each step) party – political resources, obligations and responsibility. The terminology used by Aleksandr Zudin, the Carnegie Moscow research centre politologist, "equally remote" (ravnoudalejemost) is precise characterizing the relations of the president with other players of the political regime: oligarchs, military and political elite, also we can include propresidential party "United Russia" which at least at that moment was the closest to the president[32].

But the most important is that such principal decision of the Kremlin gave the serious ground to think that the further structural liberalization of the political system, first of all of the political power institutions, is considered to be neither the priority task nor the more serious political problem, in other words, they are satisfied by the achieved minimalist results on the level of the "election democracy". They are satisfying just partly optimizing and perfecting it what is called the administrative reform and in the case of the new government means to decrease the number of the ministries by a half[33].

Why pragmatic president Putin has refused the more radical political decision especially bearing in mind the existing complex of the favourable conditions can be explained only by the carefulness of the president speaking about ensuring political stability that is mentioned in every more important official speech[34]. To tell the truth, composing the government by appointment of the ministries representing the parliamentary majority and especially propresidential position surely has no even minimal influence on the president's power. Maybe the question „why" is in the list of the unanswered questions and it is in the column "Who is Mister Putin"? So, in this case the power status quo (legitimizing such political course by the way of the elections) has been preserved and it is even possible to state that it strengthened potency of Putin and the personalized governing what corresponds to the long traditions of Russia's authorities.

4. Presidential Electional Marathon

The last and the most essential even of the election cycle agenda had to be the elections of the president but it was clear before that they would be just formal political procedure because there was no alternative political figure capable to be at least minimum serious competitor of the candidature of Putin. The pre-election sociologic polls witnessing very high rating of the president's popularity (up to 80%) have not left even theoretical possibilities for other participants and determined the final of the elections beforehand. That stabile and clearly controlled pre-election situation has repeated the elections to the state Duma as it has eliminated the main driven component from the elections agitation part, namely – competition and the fight of the programmes and the elections have essentially become only the issue of time.

On the other hand, the further election actions of the preconceived winner

[32] Bielinis, (note 4); Hale H. E., "Russia's Single-member-district Elections and The New Duma", *The Moscow Times*, 2003 12 09.
[33] Указ № 314 "О системе и структуре федеральных органов исполнительной власти", http://www.government.gov.ru/data/news_text.html?he_id=158&news_id=13732. 2004 10 12.
[34]"Послание Федеральному Собранию Российской Федерации", 26 мая 2004 года, http://www.kremlin.ru/sdocs/appears.shtml?type=63372, 2004 10 25.

have discredited even the formal content of the democratic elections. First of all, wide usage of indirect agitation – trips all over the country showed as the president's working trips and at the same time refusal to participate in the elections debates are unambiguously evaluated as incompatible with the democratic standards. Secondly, the clear strategical plan of actions as the integral document of the election programme was not presented to the electorate. The ordinary elector was able to learn (thanks to the translations of the state TV channel RTR) the short reasonings of the president on the main directions of the development of the country from the meetings with so called Authorized persons summarizing the results of the four years presidency[35]. It looks that usage of such indefinite election strategy consolidating supporters from various groups of the society is fully justified as the analogical tactics was used during the first elections as well[36].

But the way to present the essential information knowing that it was not widely discussed in the course of the elections confirms once more that the president is absolutely independent adopting the principal decisions and the political elite, essentially, has no real possibility to participate in the process. On the other hand, the political statements of the president presented more clearly than before are worth to be discussed more attentively and broadly because it helps to understand deeper the direction of the general policy and at least minimally to reveal the content of its agenda – what questions of the internal policy are considered to be priority and if they are related to the problem of our concern – perspective of democracy and what are the ways to solve it?

Listing the brightest achievements of the first term (stopping the process of the state disintegration, regulating the process of the oligarchs' polarization, stabilization of the economic situation), Putin has newly rose and concentrated attention on the main priority problem: "rise of the living quality of people" and foresaw the main channel of economic actions to achieve it. First of all, acceleration of the economic development continuing the started reforms and initiating the new ones: proving the inhabitants with housing, in the spheres of energetics, taxes, communication and social area decreasing the certain factors of too high participation of the state in economic processes"[37].

Not going deep into the nuances of the economic policy it is necessary to state that the arsenal of the modernization measures is formed exceptionally by the reasonable methods reminding at least from the first sight the best times of „perestrojka" when the attempts are made to improve the separate elements of the regime by the partial measures what is reflected in the words "to stimulate, to try, to strengthen, to rationalize". It is obvious lack of concrete and clear view to the existing problems and the ways to solve them.

The second priority direction of activities makes only one page by the volume

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[35] "Главе государства не следует заниматься собственной рекламой...", http://www.vip.lenta.ru/doc/2004/02/12/putin/, 2004 10 12.

[36] Гельман В., "Второй электоральный цикл и трансформация политического режима в Рооссии", http://www.eu.spb.ru/socio/files/cycle_2s.pdf, 2004 11 12.

[37] "Выступление Владимира Путина перед доверенными лицами", http://www.putin2004.ru, 2004 10 23.

and it is encoded in the phrase "only a free person can guarantee prosperity of the state". Guaranteeing the democratic continuity of the further political reforms Putin is concretizing it relating to strengthening self-governments, it is said about the necessity of the civilized political competition that is possible only having influential and large political parties and it is promised to finish the reform of the legal system. The most important proliberal position of the president is reflected in the expressed statements about the necessity to form "full value, effective civil society in the country". But how concretely the speaker was not concretizing it mentioning only one nuance that "I will state separately: it is not possible without free and responsible mass media. But such freedom and responsibility should be supported by the legal and economic basis the creation of which is the obligation of the state"[38]. What was meant speaking about responsibility we can only guess remembering the best times of "Kremlinology"* or just to wait till such project is started to be implemented in practice.

The proposals of Putin on liberalization of the political regime should be evaluated double. First, the actions foreseen in the agenda for future are not just unclearly defined referring to the content but are of minimalistic character that should be evaluated only as small changes–perfections able to create the conditions for the cardinal perfection on the scale of the state as the creation of the civil society in the remote future. We can state that the liberal position of the president did not become clearer. Second, there are no doubts that the credo of Putin cannot be evaluated as the final and justified programme of actions where the priority actions are indicated, the same can be applied to the economic proposals, whether they will be implemented successively or as it is indicated by many politologists there will be new reformatic actions based on the concrete political situation[39]. By the way, even the majority of the Russian experts are the most skeptic about the implementation of the president's democratic intentions speaking about all proposals[40]. Thus, we can state that even in the case of their implementation they won't have bigger influence on the democratization of the political regime.

The election behaviour of the candidates-outsiders was precisely adequate to the existing conditions – after refusal of the main leaders of the parties to participate in the elections their places were occupied by the persons who just mechanically filled up the vacuum or to solve exceptionally local party and personal problems: the communists nominated Nikolaj Haritonov, and Irina Hakamada representing the liberal positions used it for her advertising. The ideology leader of patriotical forces Sergej Glazjev was trying to resist more seriously but his agitation machine was working more to ensure the political dividends in the future. Chairperson of the Supreme chamber of the parliament Sergej Mironov, the most devoted supported of the president, has nominated his candidature as at the Olympic games just wanting to

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[38] *Ibidem*.

*Kremlinology is the discipline that is trying to determine in the way of presumptions having no concrete and confirmed information what was happening inside the Kremlin walls during the times of the Soviet Union.

[39] Rogoża J., "Wydźignęliśmy się z zapaści": wystąpienie przedwyborcze Władimira Putina", http://www.osw.waw.pl/pub/koment/2004/02/030219.htm, 2004 10 13.

[40] Предвыборная кампания глазами экспертов: В. Путин и другие, http://bd.fom.ru/report/map/special/elecprez/d040938, 2004 11 10.

participate and to prolong the list of the candidates. The same political performance was prepared by the permanent participant of the elections of the president, the liberaldemocrates leader eccentric Vladimir Zhirinovskij providing the participation possibilities to his personal bodyguard Oleg Malyshkin.

Speaking about the elections it should be noted that in the calm and boring procedure course there was one problem of the minimalistic character as on the basis of the sociological polls (only 48 % of the respondents stated that they are sure to participate in the elections) it was possible for Putin not to collect over 50 % of votes necessary to be elected in the first round of the elections. To mobilize the activity of the electorate the usual method was used – "administrative resources" and the agitation motto was announced - "everybody to the elections". Here again as in the case of the elections to the State Duma the independent diligence and initiative of the bureaucratic apparatus has been expressed but the endless will to serve to the preliminary known winner achieved broader scale although there was no necessity to do it.

The ESBO conducted monitoring of the state and private televisions proves that special attention was allotted to the existing president and referring to time it exceed the on-air time of all other candidates together, especially it was reflected in the regional state and the private televisions (with several exceptions)[41] . Such position as undoubtedly violation of the standards of the democratic elections is fixed and in the final report of that organization where the following moments are stressed: discriminative role of the mass media towards the candidates what influenced the narrowing the competition among the different political positions and limited the possibilities to realize "purposeful pluralism"[42] .

Remembering the characteristics of the presidential elections in 2000 when there was certain free competition among the candidates the information means resources were more or less balanced and even sharp-eyed and principal international observers have limited themselves to the temperate evaluations, that is why the latter elections are unanimously evaluated as the concrete step back[43] . And really the results of the elections as it was expected have not presented any surprises, the participation of electorate with the help of the mobilizing "administrative resource" made 64,39 % (comparing with the activity at the previous elections of 68,7 %), and Putin won quite easily collecting 71, 31 % percent of votes, i.e. 18,4 % more comparing with the previous elections, and the rest 5 pretendents – outsiders have collected 22,60 % of votes, among them representative of the communists Haritonov gained more (13, 69 %), democrat Hakamada was on the fourth position (3.84 %) following Glazjev (4.10 %)[44] .

Trust of the electorate for Putin is impressive without doubts – he has received

[41] Russian Federation: ODIHR Election Reports. 2004. Media Monitoring Results (Television) 12 February – 12 March, Media Monitoring Results (Regional State Television) (5 March 2004); Media Monitoring Results (Regional Private Television) (5 March 2004) http://www.osce.org/odihr/index.php?page=elections&div=reports&contry=ru, 2004 10 12.

[42] "Russian Federation. Presidential Election. Final Report", 14 March 2004 (2 June 2004) http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2004/06/3033_en.pdf, 2004 11 10.

[43] Зудин А., "Кремль как субъект избирательной кампании", *Россия в избирательном цикле 1999–2000 годов*, Москва: Гендальф, 2000, с. 107–108.

[44] *Выборы Президента Российской Федерации 14 марта 2004 года*, Протокол Центральной избирательной комиссии Российской Федерации о результатах выборов Президента Российской Федерации, http://www.pr2004.cikrf.ru, 2004 10 12.

over 50 % in all regions: the least – in Belgorod region - 54,8%, the most in – Ingushetija Republic – 99 %. Over 90 % voted for Putin in Mordovia, Dagestan, Bashkirstan, Kabarda–Balkaria regions[45] . The answer to the question what influenced such indicators repeating the election indicators and spirit of the Society times is hardly explainable measuring by the scale of democratic elections. Such political participation voting almost without choice (the difference between those who came and those who voted for Putin made 1-3 %) can be called to be conjuncture, the violations can be stated, but the reasons should be looked for in the social–cultural traditions of these groups of the society.

The high legitimacy expressed by the citizens of Russia towards the centristic political position of Putin could be explained by different reasons: personal charisma of the politician, support of the power party, positive conjuncture in the country (partial stabilization of the political and economical situation, rise of the inhabitants' income, etc.), usage of administrative resource, fight with oligarchs, but ideological attitude of the electorate that is based on partenialistic understanding of the state as the main for to organize and to lead the society is of major importance. The strong states ensuring safety of the citizens, their welfare and corresponding international status, such propaganda of the general goals of the state Putin has initiated already during the first elections campaign and reminded it to the nation at each occasion during the term of his presidency. Fight with the oligarchs also was advertised one-sided as the biggest evil and obstacle in the process to strengthen the state because they represented only narrow interests of their group[46] . This is the context of the present day political and public realia in Russia.

Concluding Remarks

The finished election cycle of the power changes has finally defined the status of power at least for the nearest future and the result is more than obvious – further consolidations of the "power vertical" involving the lower chamber of the parliament, narrowing their political autonomy status. The democratic political initiatives of the Presidential party "United Russia" at least minimally to extend the area of the political activity of the State Duma and the government have obviously failed by the decision of the dominating political player. It proves about the further deepening of the misbalance of the state power balance concentrating political potential exceptionally in the hands of the president and his administration. To tell the truth, the clear shape of the "power vertical" has not achieved the level and has not rooted as widely and deeply as in authoritarian Belarus, but is essentially disposing absolute personal and uncontrollable power, thus, we can agree with the opinion of Kiril Privalov that since the times of Stalin no one in Russia had such lever of total power[47] .

Democracy represented by one person is based on the principle that victory at

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[45] "Rinkėjų aktyvumas mainais į pinigus", *Atgimimas*, Nr. 11, 2004 03 19-25.

[46] On the basis of the polls the electorate of all parties except the communists gave the priority not to the leaders of the parties but for Putin, for example, the "Union of the right forces" supporters gave 47 % of votes to the present president and 11 % for Hakamada. Седов Л. А., "О чём вещают голоса избирателей?", *Общественные науки и современость*, 2004, №. 5, с. 70–72.

[47] Privalov K., "La recette russe: la démocratie autoritaire", *Le débat*, Paris, mai-août 2004, numéro 130, p. 45, 62.

the presidential elections provides the winner with the right to rule the country at discretion that is formally regulated (what Putin likes to stress) by the frames of time and functions established by the Constitution. At the same time the State Duma and the state press have certain possibilities in the determined frames to criticize the political decisions of the president weakly or stronger. The development directions of the post-election political system in Russia – the solid obstacles to strengthen the resources of the power monocentric potency can be such factors as size of Russia, progressed independence of the separate regions, especially ambitions of the separate regional leaders, and finally hardly controllable licence of huge bureaucracy.

Understanding this Putin looks for and finds the ways how to prolong the potency concentration process that is proved by the most vivid example, new proposal – to annul the right of the citizens to elect the heads of the regions in the direct elections, and this procedure is left to be conducted by the president, to be more precise, the candidates proposed by the first politician are confirmed by the regional legally represented institutions. Traditionally strengthening of monocentrism officially is motivated as the only effective way in the conditions of Russia (there is no civil society and really functioning party system) to solve the accumulated problems of power efficiency and at the same time the problems of the further modernization of the state.

These steps show that Putin is trying (his following phrase is very eloquent: "the art of politics makes the ability to find the golden middle between what is necessary and what is possible", helping to understand and to prognose minimally the actions of the politician) to create the model of the strictly centralized state constituently and methodically where the president and bureaucracy are playing the role to govern the society, in other words, the interests of the nation are interpreted independently from its will. Thus, the personalized power limits and narrows the fixed mission of political socialization, leaving weak perspectives to the society to develop independent public spirit what is very important knowing the level of the political culture of the ordinary citizens.

It should be acknowledged that in any case, even under the most favourable conditions, progress towards more real democratic process in Russia will be slow, in different directions and probably only partial. The tendency positivism can be mostly formed from the top, i.e. under control of the state, gradually reforming internal problems of the society formed during many years but it will require much time and abilities and especially the political will.

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The Review of the Russian Military Policy: Old Mythology, Today's Threats, Future Prospects

In the article it is reviewed the Russian military policy in the period of the years 2003-2004. It is tried to reveal the evolution o nature and the latter peculiarities of the military policy of Russian Federation (RF). There are presented quite a few instances of the Russian military policy's inconsequence as well as duplicity.

Due to the extent of the subject there are reviewed not all, but only the most important and for the Baltic region the biggest impact doing or being able to do aspects of the Russian military policy: the changes in the Russian military doctrine, the nature of the RF military reform, the role of the strategic nuclear forces and the tactical nuclear weapons in the Russian military strategy, the development of the military – industrial complex, the peculiarities of the military collaboration with other nations, regional structures of the regional and political – military blocs.

The most attention is given to the Russian military policy in the CIS space, to the Russian role in the Organisation of the Collective Security Treaty Organisation and to the Russia-Belarus military collaboration, while analysing this phenomenon as one of the means of the RF military policy implementation. There is also briefly discussed the Russian military strategy of the latter years in the Baltic region.

Introduction

After collapse of Soviet Union and breakdown of the Warsaw military bloc Russia's military capability has noticeably decremented. The number of soldiers has decreased threefold, the amount of the main usual munition types – from 3 (aviation) to 10 (armour) times. Only the potential of the nuclear weapons remained approximate to the potential of the former Soviet Union. In the ninth decade Russia lost the position of the world power both from an economic viewpoint, and from a political and military viewpoint. The Russian armed forces within the latter decade having experienced a variety of transformations has entered the 21st century with a huge pressure of unresolved problems[1].

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[1] Rumer E. B., Wallander C. E. , "Russia: Power in Weakness?", *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2003–2004.

While dealing with the problems at global level in the beginning of the 21st century there has been settled the USA dominance, it began to develop apace the structure of the unipolar world. The present Russian economic potential, political influence and the military power didn't give it the opportunities to be an effective balance for the USA dominance in the world. The complicated situation of the armed forces (AF) and the military industrial complex (MIC) forced the Russian political and military elite to restrict its great-power ambitions.

However in the year 2000, Vladimir Putin having started to function as Russian Federation (RF) president has declared the word, that Russia must retrieve the status of the world-power and start to represent a clear role in the processes determining the global politics and economy. It was one of the main reasons, which helped him easily win the presidential elections. No sooner than he became the president, he started to implement his elective word in series. Since the year 2000 Russia started to change its foreign and military policy, to be in search of allies resisting to the USA dominance.

In the latter years it is made every effort to pass into the interval of the authoritative international political, political – military and economic frameworks, to expand the influence of the international organisations and to reform them to advantage of Russia[2].

Generally, in the years 2003 – 2004 there were particularly lots of far-reaching changes in the Russian military policy, which in the long-lasting perspective may have big influence both for the Baltic region, and on a global scale.

The understanding of the Russian national interests and the military threats became so broad, that, if there is a political will, practically there can at any time be found a formal pretext for the utilization of the RF armed forces in some nation's territory. Such a formal consolidation of the national interests and threats' perception in the main documents regulating the RF national security would cause not inconsiderable threat for the Russia's neighbour states, in between – for the Baltic States as well.

A noticeable alternation of the RF military policy conceptual attitudes shows, that the administration of the president Putin has evaluated the geopolitical changes having happened in the world, the military conflicts of late years and started to operate positively, having a clear long-term objective – to re-establish the former Russian power till the disintegration of the Soviet Union, to strengthen its geopolitical dominance.

Particularly big influence for the Russian military policy is making in the last few years noticeable rapid vertical militarization of the Russian military power, the prolonged war, which has reached an impasse in Chechnya, developing apace the influence of the president Putin and the officers loyal to him, the influence of the representatives of the special services in the Russian economy and other factors.

Lately a continually rising collaboration of the military and civil institutions, the interflow of interests and the infrastructure's utilization of the household nation for military purposes shows strong Russian intensions to strengthen apace its military power by all possible means and militarise the nation.

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[2] Miller S. E. "Moscow's Military Power: Russia's Search for Security in an Age of Transition", The Russian Military: *Power and Policy*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2004.

Putin started to deal with the Russian AF problems having been gathered for a long time – finally it is realistically started to implement the optimisation of the RF armed forces and the appliance for the solution of new strategic goals. Since the year 2003 the new tendencies started to be developed in the military exercises operating in Russia: particularly big attention is paid to mobilization, the amount of exercise is constantly increasing (more and more often military exercises are synchronically implemented in several districts at the same time).

While using up the political authority being given by the available nuclear potential and being at the end of the increasing economy's resources, in the beginning of the 21st century Russia has made a lodgement in the group of the world-power called G–8, it is positively participating in the Russian – NATO council's activity, it attempts to get into the membership of the World Trade Organization, Islamic conference and other important international organizations.

The Russian leadership is constantly emphasizing for the West, that the present Russian foreign and military policy is clear, pragmatic and easily forecasted, but really it is still full of olden mythology, and future prospects of the Russian armed forces are quite vague, and this should cause some concern both for the Russian neighbour states, and for the global world-powers.

1. In Pursuit of the New Military Doctrine: between Ambitions and Opportunities

While planning and implementing its military policy Russia should follow the valid documents at conceptual level, most of which, including the RF military doctrine, were accepted in the year 2000. Though as far back as 2001 in September president Putin declared[3], that, in connection with the enlarged threat of international terrorism, „the programme documents describing the main RF defensive politics's trends having been accepted earlier must be corrected substantially". In the year 2003 in May president Putin in the report for the Federal Meeting[4] formulated the provision, that „Russia must become a nation with up-to-date, well provided and mobile armed forces, ready to defend Russia, /.../ its national interests and citizens". In the year 2003 initiated correction of the military policy' conceptual provisions shows a grave attitude of Putin and his inner circles towards the collected RF AF problems. It has been started to solve these problems substantially, that is – from the directive to legislative base's creation and development.

The main directive document, setting the trends of the present Russian military policy and activity, was published on the 2nd of October 2003 in the conference of the Russian AF leadership. Although the published document „The Relevant developmental goals of the Russian Federation armed forces"[5] doesn't officially correspond to the requirements of the military doctrine according to its structure and level

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[3] ИНТЕРФАКС-АВН, Путин заявляет, что начался переход от разговоров о реформе армии к конкретной работе в этой сфере, 2001 11 12.

[4] "Послание Федеральному Собранию Российской Федерации", *Российская газета*, 2003 05 17.

[5] Министерство обороны Российской Федерации, *Актуальные задачи развития вооруженных сил Российской Федерации*, Агенство "Военинформ" МО РФ, 2003.

of approval, there was naturalized the title „The Broad Russian military doctrine", given by the conferees and mass communication. By some of its provisions this document has shocked foreign politicians and reviewers. While delivering this „broad military doctrine", Russia has officially refused the traditional concept of preventive detention and has chosen considerably more aggressive version of the military doctrine, in which there is a provided opportunity to arrange preventive strikes in any place in the world, if it is essential to defend RF national interests.

In the document „The Relevant developmental goals of the Russian Federation armed forces" it is stated the attitude of the Russian military command towards the present situation of the armed forces and there are given developmental landmarks of the Russian Federation armed forces. It is stated, that the Russian military policy is being proportioned to/blended with new global realia, therefore, if these were changed, it is necessary to correct the attitude towards the state military policy and towards the armed forces as its realization tool.

Concerning the changes of the military policy in this document there is a presumption, that Russian intercourse with the USA and NATO states have come up to the higher level, therefore the possibility of a global nuclear war has been cancelled from the list of most probable conflicts. But there are many disagreements in this document – in the other point of the document it is stated, that „*still existing stereotypes of the cold war signally press international situation*", big influence for the development of the global politics has an enlarged impact of economic factors, the interflow of internal and external terrorism and the rising influence of international structures, that Russia is positively following NATO transformation process and in case NATO will further remain the military alliance with the doctrine of offensive order, Russia will have to reconsider its military planning and developmental rules of the armed forces in principle as well as change its nuclear strategy. The latter statements should be treated as a warning or even a threat for NATO states (first of all – the USA).

The threats of war for the Russian security indicated „in the Broad doctrine" are close to the threats indicated in the formal Russian Federation military doctrine, though new threats are being mentioned as well. These are actions, limiting Russia to have the use of strategically essential traffic communication, the violation of Russian civic rights and interests, the instability and weakness of the organs of government, being bordered on Russia. Despite the intercourse between Russia and NATO officially treated as good, there is still a threat of an expansion of the military blocs and alliances and of military blocs, breaking the settled balance of forces, deployment near the Russian borders.

The understanding of the Russian Federation national interests and the threats of war has recently become so broad, that, if there is a political will, practically there can at any time be found a formal pretext for the utilization of the Russian Federation armed forces in some state's territory. Such an official confirmation of understanding the national interests and threats in the main Russian Federation documents, regulating national security would cause some threat for the Russian neighbour states, in between – for the Baltic States as well.

While solving military conflicts in „the Broad military doctrine" a big role is given to aviation, to a long-range and right pointing armament, to the action of connection and reconnaissance systems. When solving local conflicts the main tactical unit is going to be a battalion, and the main factor of up-to-date armed conflicts – a fight in the

air and outer space as well as afloat (the surface forces should only consolidate the results of the above-mentioned fight). The confirmation of the economic and political interests in the doctrine is named as the main reason, why today's conflicts can arise.

In the document there are also introduced new priorities vouching for the Russian national security and goals of the Russian Federation armed forces. When elaborating the goals the Russian national interests such as political, military, security and economic are emphasized. On purpose to vouch for the security of the Russian economic activity the armed forces can be used for the realization of vital economic and political interests of the Russian Federation if it is determined by the president. While implementing these tasks there can be also used such a deterrent as a combatant preparation of the nuclear potential and strategic deployment.

In this document the developmental priorities of the Russian armed forces are formulated following the geopolitical interests of the nation. There are indicated seven priorities, amid which the most important are the following: the potential retention of the strategic forces' detention, the expansion of the steady preparedness units and the formation of the military groups at their request. It is offered to pay the biggest attention to the present armament repair, to the maintenance of its military level and its extension of a term. For the modernization of the armament it is suggested to use the cumulative run-in of the armament build-up more effectively.

The potential retention of the strategic forces' detention in the doctrine is based on any kind of military enforcement for Russia and on the possibility to eliminate the aggression against it or its allies. According to the document, the Russian armed forces must be ready to demonstrate its military power and the possibility to use it. For that purpose serves "the measured utilization of the distinct strategic deterrent force components, their change of dislocation or arrangement of the military training". For the potential retention in the doctrine it is supposed to develop all the components of the strategic forces: the aboveground, the aviation (modernization of the strategic bombers TU-160), and the marine.

The consolidation of the steady preparedness units in the Russian military planning is not an innovation, but new is this, that one of its goals in the doctrine is being mentioned the demonstration of the military power on purpose to defend national interests. It is stated in the document, that these units must be created and expanded in all kinds of armed forces and in all types of troop, from which there can be formed various types of combinations or groups.

There it is also stated, that the military preparedness activity of the troop must be set to the real conditions at the maximum. One of the goals of the military preparedness is the readiness for the demonstration of military enforcement. It is supposed, that the main tactical unit when solving the tasks of local or borderline conflicts must be the battalion, every so often of a partial composition.

Apart from the above-mentioned points, "in the broad doctrine" there are also discussed the situation of the military cadre arrangement, the manning on a contractual basis and prospects, big attention is paid to the social and patriotic problems of the further armed forces development.

In the document it is also said, that the Russian armed forces are provided with the main types of armament, military technology and other material devices properly, though this statement should be considered as absolutely baseless, because

the situation of the ordnance and military technology of the Russian Federation armed forces is actually very complicated.

After the assassinations having happened in Russia in the year 2004, in August – September the national authority has made several statements, which could be also seen as the provisions at directive level.

In the year 2004, on the 1st of September, just before the hold of the hostages in the North Osetia, Ivanov declared, "there is a war in Russia, whose enemy is invisible, and there is no line". The idea of the fight against terrorism taking place in Russia repeated president Putin in the year 2004, on the 4th of September addressing the nation and in the year 2004, on the 13th of September in the enlarged meeting of the government, in which he offered suggestions owing to the reform of the government structure on purpose to strengthen the fight against terrorism.

In the year 2004, on the 8th of September the head of general staff Gen. Col. Baluyevsky declared, that Russia could fetch preventive strikes for terrorist bases. "We will take to every kind of actions in order to eliminate terrorist bases in any region of the world. But it does not mean, that we will fetch nuclear strikes", - said the head of staff. The possibility of preventive strikes for several times has also approved the Russian Federation minister of defence Ivanov. This was particularly emphasized in the meeting of NATO and Russian military office/department leaders in Romania in the year 2004, on the 14th of October in the announcement read by Ivanov.

In the year 2004, on the 29th of September the secretary of Russian Security Council Ivanov declared[6], that by order of the president there will be formulated the new Russian Federation national security conception, because "in the 21st century Russia is facing new threats, requiring a detailed analysis". In the year 2004, on the 28th of October the deputy of the Russian Federation Security Council Valentin Sobolev concretized this announcement: "the conception of the Russian national security must be essentially revised and it is needed to create a strategy for terrorism resistance"[7].

It seems likely that in the year 2005 there would be well renewed all the main documents, regulating the Russian Federation national security and military policy. There will be officially consolidated a new understanding of military threats and goals of the Russian Federation armed forces, which at the end of the year 2003 was initiated to formulate "in the broad Russian military doctrine".

It should be pointed out, that one of the main goals of the biggest military trainings[8], having been proceeded in the Russian Federation armed forces in 2004 is to check in practice the operation of the main provisions of the new (yet unofficial) Russian Federation military doctrine and the operation of the new RF AF usage plan[9] of the Russian Federation armed forces[10]. Therefore, after having analysed the biggest military trainings happened in Russia in the year 2004, it is true to say that one

[6] Агентство Бизнес Новостей, *Владимир Путин дал поручение подготовить новую редакцию Концепции национальной безопасности страны*, 2002 10 29 , http://www.kadis.ru/daily/dayjust.phtml?id=3623.

[7] RIA Novosti, *Концепция национальной безопасности РФ требует коренной переработки в связи с угрозой терроризма - замсекретаря СБ РФ*, 2004 10 28, http://www.anews.ru/archive/2514062.html

[8] February 2004 – "Bezopasnost-2004", April 2004 – large scale trainings of strategic aviation , June 2004 – "Mobilnost-2004", August 2004 – "Sojuznaja bezopasnost-2004" etc.

[9] The new RF AF usage plan should be presented to RF President until the end of 2004. This document should come into power from 1st January 2005.

[10] Пуросков Н., "Время "Ч" в стране "Р", *Время новостей*, 2004 06 29, с. 4.

of the biggest and most realistic threats for Russia's security, like in the Soviet Union times, is believed to be the threat from the West.

Moreover, the Russian military authority in the training period is calculating not only on defensive, but also on offensive actions, it pays a particularly big attention to the strategic forces mobility, to the arrangement of a mobilized reserve, and its main trump is reckoned the tactical nuclear weapon and strategic forces.

2. The Militarization of the Russian Political Power's Vertical: the Impact for the Russian Military Policy

The rapid militarization of the Russian political power's vertical in the last few years has also been making big influence on Russian military policy. At present every fourth member of the Russian political elite is an officer[11].

From the structures of power there has come not only the Russian Federation president Putin, but also his closest and most influential assistants V. Ivanov, I. Setchin, Vladislav Surkov.

Particularly lots of important posts were offered for soldiers in the ministries, which guide the economy and household activity, in the Russian Federation embassies abroad[12]. It is noted that the especially important posts in Russia hold people from the Foreign reconnaissance post[13].

A special structure of the federal power, created in the period of Putin's presidency is an institution of the president's plenipotentiaries in federal counties. Every plenipotentiary from seven counties has from 6 to 10 assistants; moreover, there lead about 150 federal inspectors and their assistants. While establishing this institution the priorities[14] of Putin's cadre politics have best shown up.

Public attention is usually not paid to such appointments, but realistically these people can make big impact for the civil institutions' activity. A part of the great officers of power in Russia is the soldiers of the operative reserve that is they also serve at once in some kind of a paramilitary structure, they get earnings, and to the civil structure they are temporary drafted in to accomplish some specific tasks. One of the most typical features of the soldiers' ring, setting in all the most important spheres of the states government, is an implicit obedience and pursuance of orders, while suppressing the initiative and a different from the authority's opinion[15].

The prolonged and having reached an impasse war in Chechnya is also of big importance for the Russian militarization. The soldiers present the combatant actions running in the North Caucasus as an additional argument, requiring to enlarge the sponsorship of the Russian Federation armed forces and provide them with the space-age armament and military technology, to solve the soldiers' social problems as quickly as possible.

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[11] Here and thereinafter all the present and former officers of the RF AF, Federal Security Service (FSB), Internal troops and other military and paramilitary structures are called as officers.

[12] Former RF Ambassador to Lithuania J. Zubakov formerly was a high rank official in the RF Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR). Currently he is a deputy of the RF Security Council secretary I. Ivanov.

[13] Крыштановская О., "Элита в погонах", *Время-MN*, 2002 09 18.

[14] Five plenipotentiaries of RF President in Federal districts are generals. 70 percent of their deputies are also high rank officers. Between inspectors about 35 percent of personal are officers.

[15] Staar R., *Siloviki inside,* Hoover Institution of Stanford University, 2003.

Under cover of the increased threat of terrorism, authority of the special service and their influence on the domestic living processes are being expanded, under the influence of Putin in National Duma in the Russian Federation the laws, limiting civic rights and liberties are being legislated, the sponsorship of the Russian Federation armed forces and other force structures is being increased apace.

Besides, the influence of President Putin, the soldiers loyal to him and the representatives of the special service is being strengthened quickly not only in the Russian politics, but also in the economy[16]. In the year 2004, at the beginning of September one more assistant of the president's Putin head's of administration Surkov was elected as a chairman[17] of the Board of directors in the public company "Transnefteprodukt"[18].

Currently Kremlin is already able to control directly all the biggest national natural monopolies, the basic pipelines and gas lines, the military-industrial complex enterprises and other important objects[19] for the national economy.

From all these enterprises controlled by Putin's administration there are received particularly lots of financial resources, which are also used for the realization of the Russian geopolitical goals, for the intensification of the Russian Federation armed forces' service and the further Putin's and his close people influence's consolidation in the nation.

3. The Military Reform: the Beginning of Serious Changes?

In the latter years the Russian authority is paying particularly big attention to the military reform. A successful realization of the armed forces reform is closely related to the gathering and arrangement of the military staff, to the development of the armed forces structure, to financial and social welfare of the soldiers, to the successful activity of the Military-Industrial Complex and to other problems.

It is noted that since the year 1999 Russian expenses for the national defence has been on the rapid increase. Only during the last 3 years the sponsorship of the Russian Federation armed forces has increased twice. In the year 2005 for the Russian Federation national defence it was supposed to budget 529,1 billion RUR (about 53 billion LTL), this is even 110 billion RUR more than it was budgeted in the year 2004. Besides, in the latter years not only the sponsorship of the Russian Federation armed forces has been on the rapid increase, but also the sponsorship of the other power structures. From the year 2000 to 2004 the sponsorship of the Russian federal Security Council has increased thrice, the sponsorship of the Home Office – two and a half time, the sponsorship of the borderline service – twice[20]. Due to the particular-

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[16] Mydans S., "Putin Extends Power in Parliament", *New York Times,* 30 December 2003, p. A-7.

[17] Curent position is very important because lets directly regulate flows of oil export and to use this instrument as a tool for the implementation of geopolitical purposes.

[18] Чайка Ф., "Сурков и нефть", *Известия*, 2004 08 25.

[19] Deputy chief of RF President's administration I. Setchin this year was appointed as a chairman of the Board of directors in the Rosneft company. Chief of RF President's administration Dmitry Medvedev already several years is heading Gazprom's Board of directors. Moreover, assistant of president Putin I. Shuvalov is member in the Board of directors of the company Russian railways. Former chief of RF President's administration Alexander Voloshin is heading Board of directors of the company Yedinnaya energetycheskaya systema (RAO JES) etc.

[20] Лантратов К., "Мирный бюджет военного времени", *Коммерсант*, 2004 11 24.

ly high global oil prices, a similar tendency should remain in the future as well. The rising sponsorship conditions the markedly increased Russian Federation's military activity, the annually rising number and extent of military trainings.

Particular attention of the Russian Federation armed forces is recently being paid to the forces expansion of the constant state of preparedness and to the rise of the state of preparedness. In the measurement of the new Russian Federation armed forces it is supposed to form military groups on the ground of the constant preparedness units in all the main strategic spheres, which without an extra mobilization could immediately carry out combatant tasks. Considering the particularity and the tasks of the military trainings having happened in Russia in the last few years, we can suppose, that Russia regards strategic trends of the West and the Far East as underlying.

Namely in these trends there is projected the potential possibility of the armed forces utilization in the large-scale military conflicts. China and NATO are unofficially regarded as the potential sources of threats.

Big attention is paid to the Central Asia (the South), though, considering the fact, that there are available not large-scale, but local (regional) conflicts, another tactics is used - basic attention is paid to the close military collaboration with the neighbour states, to these states' consolidation of the military potential, to the establishment of the regional security system, serving Russia's interests.

Since the year 2003 it has been finally started to implement the optimization of the Russian Federation armed forces and the appliance for the solution of new strategic tasks. New is this, that in this process there are increasingly involved all the main national power structures, and since the year 2004 – also the civil subjects (especially visibly it was manifested in the year 2004, on June during the military trainings „Mobilnost-2004", when for the downthrown of the military units there were used airliners[21] of civil aviation). Besides, since the year 2003 the new tendencies started to be developed in the military exercises operating in Russia: particularly big attention has been paid to mobilization, the extent of training has been constantly increasing (more and more often military exercises were synchronically implemented in some districts).

The rising collaboration of the military and civil institutions, the interflow of interests and the infrastructure's utilization of the household nation for military purposes shows strong Russian intensions to strengthen apace its military power by all possible means and militarise the nation[22].

Russia, considering a new conception of the military threats is trying to reform all the administrative – military state machinery and its armed forces as soon as possible. One of the essential requirements is the Russian Federation armed forces' strategic mobility and flexibility, vouching for the operative redeployment of the military units and the possibilities of the combatant utilization, and the modern ammunition of big accuracy introduction to the armament. If the global oil prices remained high for at least 10 years (this is quite probable), Russia would most likely succeed in implementing[23] this goal.

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[21] Цыганок А., Плугатарев И., "Тактическая путаница в оперативно-стратегических умах", *Независимое военное обозрение*, 2004 07 08, с. 1,7.

[22] One of the latter examples how the country's civilian infrastructure could be used for military purposes – military radar of the RF's Baltic Fleet deployed on the oil extraction platform D-6 in the Baltic Sea (Lukoil company).

[23] Bendersky Y., "Russian military technology fights back", *Asia Times*, July 2004.

The realization of the Russian Federation armed forces reform in Russia for a long time has been converged to a solution[24] of the problems such as the armed forces reduction of staff, on the ground of a gathering contract, the soldiers' pay increase and the development of social welfare. But all this is only a partial solution of the big problem, affecting the most numerous part of the armed forces – the land-force. The actual armed forces' problems such as the armed forces, the army's, their structure's and reciprocity's development, essential rearmament and redistribution of functions were actually not being solved. The reform in a broad sense (all the national military infrastructures, including KPK, military education and training and other fields) has not actually even been started[25].

It looks like Putin, who was for the second time elected as Russian president, has finally decided to start solving the prolonged problems of the Russian armed forces in principle. In the year 2004, on the 21st of April he declared, that decisions of the reconstruction of the Russian power structures' leadership should be accepted in the near future.

In the year 2004, at the end of March Russian Federation president Putin was resolved to displace the head of the Russian Federation general staff, Gen. Anatoly Kvashnin and to reorganize some Russia Federation power structures. The biggest impact for this decision had a constant Kvashnin's confrontation with the Russian Federation minister of defence Ivanov and the reform[26] of the Russian Federation armed forces, keeping still from the dead-point.

The repeated Ivanov's appointment as the Russian Federation minister of defence in a government, newly formed after the presidential elections in spring, in the year 2004 shows, that Putin firmly supports the politics, carried out by the minister of defence Ivanov.

Actually, since the year 2003 all the control of the Russian Federation armed forces has already been taken over by the minister of defence Ivanov. Namely Ivanov generally used to be near Russian Federation president Putin during all the most important military exercises in the year 2003, in 2003 on October he introduced "the broad Russian military doctrine", issued the main statements related to the Russian Federation armed forces and so on. Meanwhile since the end of the year 2003 the head of the Russian Federation General staff Kvashnin could not be seen in publicity – the RF General staff in various events has usually represented his assistant Gen. Col. Baluyevsky.

In the year 2004, on the 29th of April the RF National Duma gave its countenance to Putin's proposed amendment to the laws, by which the status of the RF armed forces General staff was lowered and its possibilities to influence the Russian military policy were restricted. The RF minister of defence Ivanov for the first time mentioned the necessity to review the RF General staff's functions in the year 2004, in January, while giving a speech in the meeting of the RF military academy.

When the reform has left the function of the military planning and combatant rule/control for the General staff of the Russian Federation armed forces, the head of the staff has lost the possibility to communicate directly with RF President and has

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[24] Lopata R., Laurinavičius Č., "Karinė reforma Rusijoje: politinės trajektorijos", *Politologija*, 2001/ 3 (23).

[25] Barany Z., *Defence Reform, Russian Style: Obstacles, Options and Opposition*, University of Texas, 2004.

[26] Baev P. K., "The Trajectory of the Russian Military: Downsizing, Degeneration, and Defeat" in *The Russian Military: Power and Policy*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2004.

become directly subject to the RF minister of defence. It was incapacitated from the head of the General staff of the Russian Federation armed forces to arrange and launch directive documents, which till now were obligatory to all RF armed forces[27].

Gen. Col. Baluyevsky, who was the prime assistant of the head of RF General Staff, was appointed the new head of the RF General staff in the year 2004 in July, characterized as being more "mild" and being more inclined to pursue without reservation the decisions of the Russian political leadership.

By these changes it was supposed to solve the prolonged and quite problematic intercourse[28] between the Russian Federation Board of defence and the armed forces of General staff. It is intended that the new head of the Russian Federation General staff will immediately start to pursue a real, but not a "paper" reform of the Russian Federation armed forces and solve the old problems of the Russian Federation armed forces. However, being aware of the actual extent of these problems, it is hard to expect some prompt and cardinal changes.

4. The Importance of the Strategic Forces and the Nuclear Tactical Weapon in the Russian Federation Military Policy

The traditional attitude, dominating in Russian society and political sectors, that the strategic nuclear forces are the guarantee of the national security and the status of the world power, in the last decade has not practically varied.

On the ground of the data of various surveys of Russian inhabitants, the overall majority (70-80 percent) of Russians are convinced, that nuclear weapon is a determinant for the guarantee[29] of national security. Meanwhile in the Russian Federation military-political sectors in the latter years there was a violent battle due to the status of the strategic nuclear forces and the importance for the national defence. This fight due to the destiny and developmental prospects of the Russian Federation strategic nuclear forces in the Russian political-military sectors started to appear quite outright since the end of the year 1999.

In the period of the cold war and right after the disintegration of the Soviet Union strategic forces were regarded as the main guarantee and pride of the Russian national security. In the year 2000, on the 12th of July in the board meeting of the Russian Federation ministry of defence the then head of the Russian Federation General staff Kvashnin subjected a reformation plan of the missile army on a strategic purpose (SPRK), in which there was projected a considerable reduction in this kind of armed forces. Consequently, the then minister of defence Sergejev flatly resisted this plan of the head of General staff Kvashnin. He has treated the proposal of Kvashnin to reform the missile army on a strategic purpose as "*an attempt to destroy the missile army on a strategic purpose (SPRK), as an offence against Russia and a folly, endangering the Russian national security*".

[27] Одноколенко О., "Генеральное сражение", *Итоги*, 2004 08 09.
[28] Main S. J., *Couch for the MoD or the CGS? The Russian Ministry of Defence & the General Staff 2001-2004*, Conflict Studies Research Centre, April 2004.
[29] Gottemoeller R., "Nuclear Weapons in Current Russian Policy" in *The Russian Military: Power and Policy*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2004.

But in the year 2001 (SPRK) the dismissal of the General-in-Chief five-star general Vladimir Jakovlev and the appointment of the general colonel Nikolaj Solovcov as a leader of the missile army on a strategic purpose and the SPRK, as a kind of armed forces, reorganization into the army type, that is, the reduction of the SPRK status, practically meant the victory of Kvashnin in the fight, lasting for one and a half year, with the then Russian Federation minister of defence Sergejev due to the prospects of the strategic forces' development.

Since the middle of the year 2001 in the Russian military policy and planning processes the attitudes of the head of the Russian Federation Armed Forces General staff Kvashnin has started to appear, that the nuclear weapon first of all is a mean of a political impact and it probably will never be used, therefore, while financing the national armed forces, priority should be given to conventional, but not to strategic forces.

At the end of the year 2001 RF SPRK leadership declared, that till the year 2006 the Russian Federation's missile army on a strategic purpose is planned to be reduced third – approximately to 500 launching ramps, as well as to reduce twice the number of combinations.

In the latter years there have also been some major disagreements among the Russian military-political leadership due to the fact, that for which component's of the Russian Federation strategic forces (above-ground, naval or air) development should be given a priority. In the year 2002, 65 percent of the Russian nuclear arsenal was given to the missile army on a strategic purpose, 35 percent – for the watercraft (naval), 5 percent – for the military air forces. In the year 2002, at the beginning of January the assistant of the head of the Russian Federation General staff Gen. Col. Baluyevsky officially declared, that *while developing the Russian strategic nuclear forces, priority will be given to the watercraft (naval) component of these forces*". At the beginning of the year 2002 president Putin also spoke in support of this position of the General staff quite enthusiastically.

But already in the year 2002, at the end of March the minister of defence Ivanov, having visited the division of the Russian Federation missile army on a strategic purpose, being disposed in the region of Vypolzov (Tver district), where there were disposed mobile and stationary rocket complexes „Topol", declared, that in the Russian armed forces there should remain a balanced triad of strategic nuclear forces, that is, the nuclear forces must be equally allocated overland, on the sea and outside.

Some months later, in the year 2002, on the 19th of June in the president Putin's meeting, assigned to the problem of sponsorship for the Russian armed forces reform, with the head of the Armed forces General staff Gen. Kvashnin and the Russian Federation minister of defence Ivanov, president suddenly announced, that priority should be given not to the watercraft, but to the surface strategic component's, that is SPRK, development.

It seems likely, that for such Putin's decision big influence has made the former Russian Federation minister of defence, the opponent of Kvashnin, Sergeyev, who became president's adviser in problems of the strategic military planning. On the threshold of the PRG treaty in the year 1972 of the USA retreat (at the end of May in the year 2002) he proposed to the president Putin an analytic note, in which he offered to review the plans of the strategic nuclear forces' development and considerably increase the sponsorship of SPRK. Sergejev managed to convince Putin, that

the retention and development of the strategic nuclear forces' potential for Russia currently is the cheapest and the most effective, and maybe even the only possibility to vouch for the national security.

In consequence, the situation and the attitude of the Russian Federation military-political leadership to strategic forces and its developmental prospects essentially changed in the middle of the year 2002. In the year 2002, on the 13th of June after the USA officially retreated from the treaty of antimissile defence in 1972, the Russian military-political leadership decided to review the developmental strategy of the Russian Federation nuclear forces and its basic attention pay to the development of the missile army on a strategic purpose. It was decided form the year 2003 to considerably increase the sponsorship of the Russian Federation strategic nuclear forces and to speed up the instillation of the strategic nuclear rocket complexes "Topol-M". It was also decided to prolong once again the exploitation term of the ballistic missile complexes with resolving heads, among these the heavy ballistic missiles RS-20 (according to NATO classification – "Satan") for 10-15 years, despite the fact, that according to the former SPRK head Gen. Col. Yakovlev, the guarantee terms of these rockets' exploitation has already been earlier prolonged from 10 to 23 years, and after the year 2007 the exploitation of these rockets can be especially dangerous.

The changed provisions of the national political-military leadership with regard to the strategic nuclear forces reflect as well in the broad Russian military doctrine, introduced in the year 2003, on the 2nd of October. Among the indicated Russian Federation armed forces' developmental priorities the retention and development of the Russian strategic deterrent forces' potential is pointed out as one of the most important. It is based on the necessity to prevent any kind of military-political enforcement on Russia or potential aggression against it and its allies.

At the end of the year 2003 the Russian Federation minister of defence Ivanov once again vouched for the fact, that the original "renaissance" of the Russian Federation strategic forces, dating from the middle of the year 2002 and in the year 2003 having got an acceleration, will last in future as well. Ivanov, visiting Tatishchev in the year 2003, on the 21st of December, where the combatant watch has begun one more rocket regiment on a strategic purpose, provided with the newest rocket complexes "Topol-M", declared, that only the nuclear weapon which Russia has can vouch for and guarantee the national security and sovereignty. According to the minister, the leadership is lately paying more and more attention to the qualitative development of the strategic nuclear forces.

The main support of the Russian strategic nuclear forces is the intercontinental ballistic mobile basing rockets „Topol-M". Three solid fuel engines, assembled in these rockets enable to develop a higher than other rockets speed, and some tens of vernier rockets make its trajectory of flight practically unpredictable for the enemies. The rearmament programme of the SPRK units and combinations with the „Topol-M" rockets till the year 2010 was formulated and ratified in the year 2000. The first regiment armed with the „Topol-M" rockets its combatant watch began in the year 1998, in Tatishchev's division situated in Saratov's region.

The complexes of mobile basing „Topol-M" are still being tested (the experimental rocket shots were carried out in the year 2000 in September, in the year 2003 in June and in the year 2004 on the 20th of April). The serial production of these

complexes and the introduction into the armament can already be initiated in the year 2005.

Besides, in the year 2003 in December it was announced, that Russia begin to create a new intercontinental ballistic rocket on a strategic purpose, which will be able to carry up to 10 nuclear payloads. In the year 2004 the operations of the rocket's oil-fuel build-up had to be launched. By courtesy of this fuel the rocket should carry a load, which can weigh up to 4 tons, and this would outweigh the possibilities of the rocket „Topol-M", using the solid fuel, more than three times. In the most optimal estimations, these rockets in the combatant watch can be started to use from the year 2009, when the operation of the Treaty of the strategic offensive armament (SGA-1) will come to an end.

Particularly great concern raises the fact, that lately in the Russian military policy not only the strategic, but also the tactical nuclear armament is of bigger and bigger importance. The Russian military-political leadership since the year 1999 (after Putin became the actual Russian Federation head) is constantly emphasizing, that the weakness of the conventional Russian Federation forces must compensate not only the strategic, but also the tactical nuclear weapon (TBG), that Russia will never be able to resist the organization like NATO[30] only with conventional armament. In the year 2001 in the Western press there appeared some messages, that Russia disposed its tactical nuclear weapon also in the Kaliningrad region, situated near Lithuania.

The status of the tactical nuclear weapon, indeterminate by any international treaties, the absence of its accounting and control devices enables Russia to retain its military superiority in a westerly direction without offending officially the valid treaty of the Conventional armed forces in Europe.

5. Changes in the Russian Federation Military-Industrial Complex

Despite the fact, being stated "in the broad military doctrine", that the Russian armed forces "are provided with the basic armament types, military etechnology and other material tools at proper level", the activity of the Russian Federation military-industrial complex (KPK) is of especially great concern to the Russian leadership. The armed forces' equipment with a new armament and military technology is the most burning problem of the Russian military policy and development. The constant attempts to change the complex's structure of leadership, the proprietary forms of enterprises shows, that the Russian military and political leadership can not find an optimal version, enabling to vouch for a successful proceeding of this important sector of military and economic politics.

Various facts suggest that the Russian military-industrial complex consists of from 1200 to 1700[31] enterprises, for quite a big part of it the military produce is not the basic. Though the majority of these enterprises, especially the small ones, are economically hardly surviving, but there are about twenty enterprises, which output

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[30] Jasutis G., Sadauskas K., "Rusijos karinė doktrina: konvencinės ir branduolinės ginkluotės santykis", *Politologija*, 2002/1 (25).

[31] Бабакин А., "Отечественная оборонка производит массовый брак", *Независимое военное обозрение*, № 24, 2004 07 02, http://nvo.ng.ru/armament/2004-07-02/1_abroad.html

in the year 2003 was from 3 to 22 billion roubles[32] (from 100 to 730 million USD). The main income of these and other economically stronger enterprises were gained from the armament's export.

A high-powered organization of the Russian politics and military experts – Foreign and Defence Council of politics in the report, prepared at the end of the year 2003, states, that the situation in the Russian military-industrial complex (KPK) is much worse, than in the armed forces, and namely this critical situation of the military-industrial complex, if no prompt developmental measures were taken, will influence the decrement of the Russian military power in the near future.

An inefficient proceeding of the military-industrial complex enterprises in the year 1993-2001 lead up to bankrupt of about 500 KPK enterprises. Their produce became waste/unnecessary or it did not suit the quality or price requirements. The main reason of this situation is low extents of the national defensive orders, allocated to enterprises, its total absence or the production on loan, because only the minority of enterprises was and is able to produce the output, saleable to export. New armament is almost not being served to the Russian armed forces. For instance, while the Russian military-industrial complex produces per year about 50-60 planes, one or two watercraft, about hundred tanks for export, then for the Russian armed forces for the year 2004 it is planned to buy 6 ballistic rockets, one strategic bomb dropper, 14 tanks, 5 pursuit planes and 1 helicopter[33], to modernize 5 pursuit planes named Su-27.

These data partially contrast with the revenue allocated to the national defensive order – in the year 2004 it was budgeted for 148 billion roubles. While measuring, that the prime cost of producing one pursuit plane costs to Russia 300-500 million roubles, and the strategic bomb dropper – about 1,5 billion, in the year 2004 Russia could have produced 300-450 pursuit planes or about 100 strategic bomb droppers. To some purpose the president Putin in September officially required the minister of defence Ivanov to explain, where on a Russian scale very big resources allocated to the defensive order disappear. According to all details, the funds are used ineffectively, distributing among a big number of enterprises and many orders of scientific research, planning and construction, from which only a little part is introduced into manufacture. The possibility is not being discounted, that quite a fair part of funds is peculated illegally.

On purpose to make the proceeding of the enterprises of the military-industrial complex, the vast majority of which belong to the nation, more effective, the Russian political and military leadership takes administrative measures – tries to optimize the complex's structure, arranges perspective programmes of the Russian armed forces armament and the qualitative development of the armament.

The main programme, in accordance with which there currently is the Russian armed forces armament/equipment, is "the National armament programme 2001-2010", ratified in the year 2001, on the 27th of June. Another programme, in accordance with which in parallel with the above-mentioned there is being proceeded product manufacture and the in hand modernization of the perspective armament and military engineering/technology, is a federal-objective programme called "The

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[32] Хазбиев А., "Военно-промышленный комплекс", *Эксперт*, № 37, 2004 10 04.
[33] "Кому принадлежит Россия. Военно-промышленный комплекс", *Коммерсант-власть*, 2004 05 24.

reformation and development of the military-industrial complex 2002-2006", into which already in summer of the year 2004, the leadership already being under the guidance of the new premier Fradkov, the changes were introduced.

The proceeding of the 2001-2010 armament programme's realization is being responded critically: the leaderships of the armed forces and armament types and units are constantly laying claim to insufficient amounts of the supplied armament and its inadequate quality, to the disruption of the provision terms. The former chairman of the National Duma committee of defence Nikolajev in the year 2003, on the 13th of October declared, that "the development of the programme is disrupted by all rates. Even if for the sponsorship of the programme there were annually be given about 250 – 300 billion roubles, whereas it is twice more than it is planned for the year 2004, its completion date would be postponed for the year 2013 – 2014".

The head of the armed forces' headquarters of armament the assistant of the minister of defence the army's Gen. Moskovsky in the year 2004 in August also critically responded to the realization of the programme.

While measuring the unsuccessful realization of the armament programme for the year 2001-2010, in autumn of the year 2002 the programme of the Russian armed forces' armament for the year 2006-2015 was started to be framed. In the year 2003 in February its outline were being discussed in the Russian Federation Security Council. According to Putin, the main advantage of the new programme is that it is fairly "aggressive", because it provides for the armament build-up of really new quality, the pursuit of the informative precedence in the intended fight.

While arranging this programme there is followed a provision, that an appropriate balance between demands of armament and economic national opportunities must be sustained. As the president's adviser on the defensive and KPK questions Alexander Burutin[34] states, currently for the national defence it is given 2,5% - 2,8% BVP, though according to the valid armament's programme there should be allocated up to 3,5%. In his estimation, alongside with the minimal allowable level of the present sponsorship extents it is managed to sustain the combatant armed forces' potential only by courtesy of the national economy's increase, and only after having reached the intended 3,5% BVP sponsorship it is allowed to speak about the optimal armed forces' provision with armament and weaponry. But for this already since the year 2006 it is necessary to start supplying the army the examples of the new, in a serial way issued, modern armament. Though, the new programme will probably be ratified only in spring[35] of the year 2005 and its influence will start to come into play not earlier than in the year 2007.

This programme also reflects the present armament politics' provision of the armed forces, being dictated by the limited Russian economic opportunities. In accordance with this provision till the time, when the armed forces will start getting the modern weaponry, it is necessary to pay the main attention to the keeping of the in hand combatant level of the armament, its repair and the roll-over of exploitation and, depending on the possibilities, modernization.

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[34] Коротченко И., "Проблемы реализации военно-технической политики России", *Военно-промышленный курьер*, № 32, 2004 08 25.

[35] Авдеев Ю., "Мы вновь удивили мир", *Красная звезда*, 2004 07 23.

On purpose to revitalize the overall proceeding of the military-industrial complex and to increase its effectiveness, since the year 2001 the reform of the complex's structure is being pursued. For its realization in January of the year 2001 "the plan of the Russian Federation military-industrial complex's reform for the year 2001-2005" was confirmed. The main objectives of this plan – the simplification and optimisation of the military-industrial complex's structure, the connection of the military-industrial complex's enterprises to the holding companies according to the type of the launched produce, in one structure connecting the organizations of scientific research, planning-construction and manufacture, as well as the reduction in dubbing of the enterprises proceeding.

Due to the provisions and realization opportunities of this plan incisive discussions were carried out in the military-political Russian leadership and, while correcting and supplementing the plan of the year 2001-2005, the federal-objective programme "the Reformation and development of the military-industrial complex in the period of the year 2002-2006" was formulated. In accordance with this programme there was projected a much bigger KPK structures' centralization into holdings, their more strict jurisdiction to the armament agencies[36], created in the year 1999.

But the creation of holdings is hardly in progress. When in the year 2001 it was projected to establish 74 holdings, in the year 2002 their planned number was reduced to 42, so in the year 2004 it is already planned to create only 29 holdings (till October of the year 2004 there were created 5). Sometimes the creation of holdings both economically, and technically falsifies. For example, one of the first holdings – PLG tools' planning and production holding "Almaz-Antey", being created for more than a year, according to expert opinion, did not come up to expectations. Besides, in autumn of the year 2004 the news from Russian GM trickled out, that due to the infighting of into the holdings connecting enterprises, distinct proprietary forms and the juridical base's deficiency the creation of holdings can be absolutely rejected[18]. In that case, the shake-up programme of the military-industrial complex for the year 2002-2006 should be once again corrected.

To correct the developmental programmes of the military-industrial complex can fall to the Russian political and military leadership also due to the deteriorative quality of the armament and weaponry, being produced in Russia. The problem of the weaponry's quality comes into play in two aspects:

1. the possibility of the military-industrial complex to produce the items, meeting the highest tactical-technical requirements – the so-called fourth and especially fifth generation's armament, is on the is diminishing;

2. the armament, produced in Russia (and mostly exported) and the weaponry are out of keeping with its declared technical characteristics in line with the possibilities of mass, speed, accurateness, remote control and cosmic connection, with the resistance to radioelectronic interferences and other parameters, but the major inadequacy, worrying the customers/clients is the reduction in reliability of the armament and weaponry.

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[36] In 2004 Russia's military-industrial complex consisted from 5 armament agencies: cosmic armament agency "Rosaviakosmos", military ships building agency "Rossudostrojenije", agency of automated armament control systems RASU, agency of conventional armament RAV and the munitions agency "Rosbojepripasy".

The effect of the first aspect is slightly perceptible yet and the enterprises of the military-industrial complex find foreign clients, buying the armament, being manufactured still using the SSSR worked power. But in the last few years the symptoms have come into play, that on purpose to supply proper produce to the armament's market, the Russian KPK enterprises are already forced to use the products of foreign firms, especially from the field of radioelectronics, connection and computer technologies, optics (their substitutes produced in Russia usually do not meet the requirements or they are very expensive). This tendency will develop in future.

The problems of already manufactured produce quality, having shown up in the last 3-5 years, are of much greater concern for the Russian military leadership. They are particularly coming into play in the cases, when the leadership of the armed forces, having no means by which it could change the obsolescent armament, prolongs its exploitation's term. The leaders of the army types and units are complaining about the low quality of the armament and engineering, due to low quality it is not managed to successfully launch ballistic rockets, to hit the mark under the night circumstances or for the rescue workers to fasten to the „drowned" training submarine, but the worst is, when low quality becomes the reason[37] of the catastrophes with human victims.

The enterprises of the military-industrial complex get many reclamations due to low quality of produce both from foreign clients, and from their own armed forces. During the last 3 years the number of reclamations, received from the Russian armed forces, increased 10 times, and the reclamations, received from foreign clients – 20 times[38].

Another facts suggest that in the year 2002 the number of reclamations, received from foreign clients was 622, in the year 2003 – 861; in the year 2004 there were more than 500 statements due to the elimination[39] of the disadvantages, indicated in the reclamations.

The India pretensions to the quality[40] of the pursuit planes Su-30MKI, the deck basing pursuit planes MiG-29K, assigned to the cruiser-carrier „Admirol Gorshkov" can example the foreigners' dissatisfaction with the produce quality of the Russian military-industrial complex, Malaysia makes a bid for Russia due to the quality of the serial planes such as SU and MiG.

It is already getting hard for Russia to achieve the intended quality of the military-industrial complex's products and of the armament of its armed forces. As an instance of this there can be creation of the strategic ballistic rocket of solid fuel, named "Bulava", allocated to the watercraft. The prototype of "Bulava" called "Bark" was started to create still in SSSR times, though its all three shoots of development types were unsuccessful. Instead of it, the other designed organization began to create "Bulava", though it is not finished yet and strategic submarines will get them at best at the end of the year 2005[41].

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[37] According to official declarations – main reason of most aviation catastrophes in RF AF is human factor. Anyway, other sources claims that the real reason – unsatisfactory condition of military technique (especially helicopters).

[38] Бабакин А., "Отечественная оборонка производит массовый брак", *Независимое военное обозрение*, № 24, 2004 07 02.

[39] "Бракованная техника подрывает национальную безопасность", *Независимое военное обозрение*, № 29, 2004 08 06.

[40] Бабаева С., Литовкин Д., "Индия отказалась от российских истребителей", *Известия*, 2003 12 16.

[41] Литовкин В., "Булава идет макетом", *Московские новости*, № 39, 2004 10 15.

The main reason of the deteriorative products' quality is a moral and physical run-out of the industrial-technological base of the Russian military-industrial complex. After the SSSR breakdown, the enterprises of the complex, attempting only to survive and neglecting prospects, the main implements of production, machine-tool plant, laboratory and mount equipment, the elemental base of manufacture were practically not renovated, the up-to-date materials were not being created and used. Even the plant facilities, being in the first flight and working for export, is worn out up to 80 %. The chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Defence and security committee Ozerov defines the situation in the enterprises of the military-industrial complex as an oncoming technologic stagnation[42] and requires to take immediate action for its betterment.

Another important reasons for the quality's deterioration of the military-industrial complex produce – little extents of the issued produce (the Russian armed forces almost does not order it, and the extents of export are inconsiderable) and lack of experienced cadres (the best specialists grew old or moved to private structures, new specialists are not being prepared/qualified and do not apply due to relatively low salaries, restriction of work privacy and lost image of placement in the enterprises of the military-industrial complex).

The Russian political and military leadership pays quite big attention[43] to the armed forces provision with weaponry and military engineering, to the armament quality's problems, though a more considerable improvement does not show up. The solicitude for the armament's quality also shows the arrangement of the armament programmes, the expansion of the order of national defence, which has become constant in the latter years, overtaking common expenses for defence.

It is displayed in the following table:

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005*
Common expenses for defence, billion roubles	191,7	246,7	284,2	345,7	481,5	531,1
Increase, %		28,7	15,2	21,6	19,0	29,1
Expenses for the national order of defence, billion roubles		46	57	79	111	136	188
Increase, %		24		40		27		38

Findings/data are from the Russian federal draft budget for the year 2005.

The structural changes of the military-industrial complex, reorganizations, shake-ups, etc. constantly being in progress, also do not benefit both for common proceeding of the complex, and for its producible weaponry's quality. It is also responded in the negative to the national government reform, being pursued since March of the year 2004, when the guiding of the military-industrial complex activity was given to the Federal industrial agency[44], but not to the ministry of Defence.

[42] Озеров В., "Российский оборонный экспорт: состояние, проблемы, перспективы", *Военный парад*, 2004 июль–август.

[43] Starting from 2001 problems of the quality of military technique and armament were discussed at various governmental and nongovernmental institutions (see note 15).

[44] Николский А., "После начала административной реформы проблем стало больше", *Ведомости*, 2004 07 07.

One of the potential decisions when improving the proceeding of the military-industrial complex can be offered the reconstruction of the SSSR times' structure – the ministry of industrial Defence. Such opportunity has been mentioned in the mass media for about a year, though the chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Defence and security committee Ozerov[45] has suggested it most seriously. However, while implementing this idea the problems of the national and private property being in the jurisdiction of the ministry should be met, some disagreements of a juridical nature and technical difficulties of the changeover would be on the rise, and the essential improvement of the military-industrial complex proceeding would hardly be ensured.

6. The Trajectories of the Military Policy: Companions and Enemies

The main provisions of the Russian military policy markedly influence the Russian intercourse with the main world powers or their blocs.

The Russian military collaboration with the West and NATO has lately strongly developed (it came into play at the end of the year 2003 – at the beginning of the year 2004). Though, attention should be paid to the fact that this is in most cases only new tactics, conditioned by pragmatic interests, whose aim in a sustained perspective is to benefit from the politics and economy as much as possible, to obtain more power in international politics, to re-establish the image of Russia as a powerful nation without rejecting the long-lasting interests in the Baltic states, the East and Central Europe as well as in CIS countries. The implementation and vindication of these interests (on the ground of the new unofficial Russian Federation military doctrine, it can be also performed by military tools) is postponed for a later time.

Russia began to show particularly high initiative to develop a close collaboration with NATO in spring of the year 2004, right after the NATO expansion (it is an odd paradox, because the majority of the Russian politicians, soldiers and ordinary citizens treat the NATO organization as an opponent to Russia). This paradox is explainable with the opened NATO reform, debates about the future of this military bloc. Russia seeks to make a lodgement in the new NATO structure, to get an opportunity to influence the transformation of this organization to Russia's advantage and, last of all, to weaken it.

Thus the new strategy, formulated by Russia somewhere about 2002 in respect of NATO, is being implemented: to transform NATO from the military-defensive bloc into a more political organization, to dismember it from the inside.

One of the main and most important methods – the dismemberment of the Euro Atlantic combinations, the escalation of tension in the intercourse between USA and EU – it is being made when pursuing the creation policy of the strategic alliances both with USA, and with Germany and France (it is an odd double game).

Every effort is being made on purpose to reduce the NATO influence in the world, especially – in Europe. As an alternative for NATO, Russia is actively propagating in multilateral and bilateral meetings the creation of a united security system

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[45] Озеров В., "Восстановление Минобронпрома – востребованная идея", *Независимая газета*, 2004 09 20.

in Europe as a balance for the USA dominance. Lately Russia is especially actively propagating the idea of the European antimissile defence (PRG) system, which should be a balance for the antimissile defence system, being created by the USA. It would be beneficial for Russia not only politically, but also economically (the possibilities of weaponry and equipment export).

In the year 2004 the Russian intercourse with France and Germany has particularly improved. Without an economic France's and Germany's concernment to keep terms with Russia as a supplier of energy sources, the resistance of the USA invasion to Iraq in the year 2003 and a general provision to oppose to the USA dominance in the world politics became an inducement to the approach of these states. Germany and France together with Italy are actively maintaining the Russian positions in the negotiations with the European Union in the fields of trade, no-visa treatment, transit through the region Kaliningrad and other questions.

Russia keeps traditionally well relations with China and India. These two nations are the major partners of its economic and military-technical collaboration. Russia sells to China and India fighting planes, surface ships and submarines, PLG systems, armoured engineering, licences to manufacture tanks, arranges for these nations military specialists. However, being afraid of political competition and potential military contraposition, Russia refuses to sell for China bomb droppers of a strategic nature, up-to-date pursuit planes, PLG systems and other modern weaponry.

Lately it is of especially high importance for Russia to keep its influence in the Islamic countries of the world. Although Iraq and Afghanistan are not anymore in a direct Russian sphere of influence, Russia still has its economic and political interests in these countries and strives to defend them. When developing the military-technical collaboration, Russia strives not to release Syria, Algeria, the Sudan from its sphere of influence, extends its influence in Malaysia, Indonesia. Despite the fact that Iran indirectly maintains/supports the structures of international terrorism, Russia assists Iran to pursue the raising doubts programme of nuclear energy scheme, opposes to the USA requirements to deliberate this programme in the Security Council of the United Nations.

In the year 2004 it was actively started to renew the contacts of economic and military-technical collaboration with some former socialistic nations in the Southeast Asia, Latin-America and other regions of the world.

6.1. The Russian Military Policy in CIS Countries

Despite the particularly broad Russian geography of the military policy, one of the major Russian aims of late years is to keep in its sphere of influence the CIS countries.

In July of the year 2004 the Russian president Putin declared, that it is necessary to strengthen far more the integration of the CIS countries, to keep developing the organization of the Collective security agreement (KSSO), and that Russia has to play the major, leading role in this process[46]. This announcement is regarded as clear Russia's ambitions to become a world-power, uniting the regional political, military and economic structures.

Another high Russian politician – the Russian Federation National Duma

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[46] Третьяков В., "Летаргический сон СНГ", *Российская газета*, 2004 07 22.

chairman of the committee of Defence Gen. Col. Viktor Zavarzin declared in spring of the year 2004, that in order to vouch for the Russian Federation national security interests it is necessary to keep the Russian military power in various CIS regions, first of all in Georgia and Moldova. Thus, it is hardly probable that Russia attempts to eliminate situated there its military bases at an early or medium date as it is laid under obligation in the Istanbul conference. On the contrary, at the end of the year 2004 the realization and development of military bases in the CIS countries became one of the Russian military policy priorities and an effective measure of the influence's consolidation in these nations[47].

One of the newest Russia's initiatives are intensions to reform radically the European organization of security and collaboration (ESBO) and to change the security system, existing in Europe. An adequate announcement, initiated by Russia, in which it is urged on to review once again the principles and policies of the European organization of security and collaboration, was published by eight CIS countries in the year 2004, on the 3rd of July. The Russian Federation Foreign Office is framing an appeal to all the members of the European organization of security and collaboration, in which it will be urged on to undertake the organization's reform.

The reform of the European organization of security and collaboration (ESBO) is being sponsored by many CIS countries (all the members of the CIS Collective security agreement, the Ukraine and Moldova), which, same as Russia the European organization of security and collaboration has more than once bitter criticized for the lack of democracy and breach of human rights.

Besides, at the end of August of the year 2004, in Sochi, the Russian Federation president Putin talked to the leaders of Germany and France about the initiatory reform of the European organization of security and collaboration – they are also approvingly assessing the mentioned Russian initiative. It could be explained as Germany's and France's intention to reduce the USA influence on the European security system, to create an original European NATO analogue and close with Russia, consolidating its long-lasting supply of power resources[48].

Attention should be paid to the fact, that a decade ago this organization has already been radically reformed. Then existing the European conference of collaboration and security was reformed on Russia's initiative into the European organization of security and collaboration, which major functions had to be guarantee of security in Europe while cooperating with NATO and European Council. Then Russia also wanted to create a strong alternative for NATO – there was an intention to reduce the Alliance's significance to European security and so to suspend the expansion to the East. Though, being politically and economically weak, Russia did not manage to pursue this idea to the utmost. Currently the international and economic situation is markedly advantageous for Russia.

While initiating the new reform of the European organization of security and collaboration, Russia tends to reactivate the same "independent of the USA Europe-

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[47] Мухин В., "Минобороны РФ усилит свое влияние в ближнем зарубежье", *Независимая газета*, 2004 10 15.

[48] Russian oil export currently satisfies about 30 % of Germany's oil market demands. Russia's part in this market is constantly increasing.

an security system" idea. One of the major objectives of this idea is not to release from its sphere of influence the Ukraine, Moldova and the South Caucasus nations and to suspend NATO expansion to these regions.

6.2. The Organization of the Collective Security Treaty

Some years ago, when in the former republics' territories of the Soviet Union has shown up a military contingent of the West, Russia began to be actively in search of the balance's possibilities for the rising USA influence in CIS expansion and potential NATO expansion to this region.

On the 27th of April in the year 2003 on the ground of the old CIS Collective security agreement was established a new military-political structure called the CIS organization of the Collective security agreement (KSSO). This organization consists of six CIS members: Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Russia and Tadzhikistan. In December of the year 2003 the World Trade Organization registered the organization of the collective security agreement as an international regional organization. Same as in the NATO provisions, in the provisions of the organization of the collective security agreement there is a statement, that "one of the organization's members attack will be treated as the attack of all the organizations' members".

In the year 2003, on the expiration of commissions the KSSO secretary-general Valery Nikolayenko, who has been in power for three terms of office, the new KSSO secretary-general was appointed Nikolay Bordiuzha[49]. The latter appointment demonstrates Russia's efforts to give the organization of the collective security agreement a special authority.

One of the major CIS KSSO components is the Common forces of rapid reaction in the Central Asia[50]. It consists of four distinct battalions (1,5 thousand soldiers):

- Assault battalion „Kazbat" – in Kazakhstan territory;
- Upland rifles battalion – in Kirghizia;
- Assault and landing battalion – in Tadzhikistan;
- Separate connection battalion from the Russian 201st motto rifles division, disposed in Tadzhikistan territory.

In the year 2003 the Common forces of rapid reaction were strengthened with the aviation bloc, which located in the Kant military base in Kirghizia. This is one of the steps towards the establishment of the collective security allied army's bloc (regional forces) of the Central Asia's region.

On the ground of the resolution of the CIS organization of the collective security agreement ministries of defence, the collective forces of prompt response will be expanded into almost 2,5 times in the year 2004. Alongside with the 4 present battalions and aviation group there will be connected 5 more battalions: by one from Russia, Kazakhstan and Kirghizia and two battalions from Tadzhikistan.

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[49] N. Bordyiuzha formerly acted as chief of RF federal boarder service, RF Security Council, RF President's administration.

[50] 25th May 2001 by the decision of four countries of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan) were created Common forces of rapid reaction.

Without the already existing Common forces of rapid reaction, Russia has offered to establish also the task-force in the organization's of collective security agreement frames, which are planned to use in an escalated situation in one of the CIS countries, belonging to the organization of collective security agreement: for the neutralization of terrorist organizations or blocs, for the fight against the drug traffic, the illegal armament traffic. These forces would have a separate leadership.

The Common forces of rapid reaction are designated to operate only in the Central Asia region, and the task force – with all the strategically essential aspects, interacting with other forces' structures. It is particularly relevant to Russia, because it will be able to use these military forces for the implementation of its foreign policy objectives as well.

Thus, the organization of the collective security agreement can be regarded as Russia's attempt to create something similar to the analogue of the Warsaw treaty in the CIS expansion, as a balance for the increasing USA and NATO influence in the Central Asia, the South Caucasus and other regions, which Russia traditionally regards as an area of its interests[51].

6.3. The Russia-Belarus Regional Military Grouping in the Western Direction

Since the middle of the year 2003 it has been noted an especially marked intensity's increase of the bilateral Russian and Belarusian military collaboration and a rising activity of the Russian and Belarusian regional military bloc in a westerly direction. Namely Russia uses its biggest initiative on this point[52].

The establishment of the Belarusian - Russian regional military bloc was projected already in the year 1997 in the creation treaty of the Russian and Belarusian allied nation.

The regional military bloc was established on purpose to secure the allied nation's security and the united defensive expansion, to be the deterrent factor of military threat in a north-westerly direction and it must begin to operate in case of threat or military conflict.

"The expansion of the military blocs, connected with an increase of the military groups and the consolidation near the allied nation's border" is regarded in the Russian and Belarusian Union's national security concept and in the military doctrine as one of the major factors of the military threat.

An accomplished NATO expansion and all its results are being treated unofficially by the leaderships of both nations as a direct military threat for the allied nation and in response to it the regional military bloc can be used for preventive actions. Yet there is no evidence, that this Russian and Belarusian leaderships' provision due to the threat, endangered by NATO, could change in future.

The Russian and Belarusian military collaboration has turned especially active and assumed new elements in the year 2003 – 2004. In the creation process of the united defensive system biggest attention was paid to the development, intensifica-

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[51] Поросков Н., "Солдаты без границ", *Время новостей*, 2004 08 11.

[52] Мазаева О., "Реверансы на военной почве", *Независимая газета*,, 2004 10 11.

tion and perfection of the state of preparedness of the regional military bloc, created three years ago. Besides, the working of the joint PLG system and the juridical base of the military collaboration were being developed. The agreement "Due to the reverse provision of the regional military bloc" was signed up, which was ratified by Russia in the middle of the year 2004. In purpose to keep the united training system of military specialists, the common programme "The Belarusian soldiers' training in the Russian military training institutions".

Currently the joint Russian and Belarusian system of air-defence (AAD) has already been created, its offensive function (aviation) has been strengthened, the deployment of the antiaircraft rocket brigades closer to the western borders is being pursued, the interaction of the surface units belonging to the regional military bloc is being developed, the reverse provision system of the bloc is being created, the general programmes of weaponry's unification and modernisation are being pursued, the deployment of the especially modern Russian operational tactical rocket complexes called "Iskander" in Belarus is projected, general military trainings are being pursued, their extents are increasing, the consentaneous military reform is being pursued. There are being integrated the domestic troops of both nations Home Offices, the frontier troops, the railway troops and the internal security structures (KGB and FSB), etc.

The number of the joint Russian and Belarusian military trainings and the variety of the solving tasks has also enormously increased in the year 2003. In the year 2003 there were in total about 60 various joint Russian and Belarusian developmental practices of the state of preparedness. The priority was given to the general military air forces and the air-defence (as well as radio-electronic fight) forces' trainings and exercises. As an instance of the general air-defence (PLG) system it was also started to organize the proceeding of the regional military bloc (RKG), forming the land-forces units.

The number of the joint Russian and Belarusian developmental practices of the state of preparedness should increase in future even more, because at the end of the year 2003, in the joint board meeting of the Russian and Belarusian ministries of defence it was decided to strengthen the regional military bloc of two nations and the state of preparedness of the units, belonging to this bloc. The common military trainings of the regional military bloc will be pursued in future both in Russia's, and in Belarus territories.

At the end of the year 2003 there was signed up a joint programme of the Russian and Belarusian ministries of defence for the year 2004 and a concrete scenario, connected with the regional military bloc, in which it is forecasted, that there will be further pursued a material-technical supply of the combinations and units, belonging to the bloc, keeping the level of the state of preparedness of the common basing military airports, being situated in the Russian and Belarusian territory, a united connection system will be further created.

The Russian and Belarusian regional military grouping is being created and developed as a direct response to the NATO expansion (it went public more than once in the highest level), and pending this bloc's military trainings NATO forces are usually playing a role of a conditional opponent.

7. The Baltic Region – an Eternal Area of Russia's Interests?

It is not a secret, that a substantially increased Russian military, political and economical activity in the latter years is being noticed not only in the CIS countries, but also in the Baltic States and the Baltic region.

Since the middle of the year 2003 in the Russian press, in the announcements of the analysts and high-ranking politicians it was more than once emphasized, that currently, while the national armed forces are still conditionally weak, it is especially promising for Russia to increase its economic influence and thus, but not by military tools to strive for its political aims and keep influence on the new NATO member states.

The latter Russian tactics in the Baltic States characterizes best the statement of the Russian Federation National Duma vice-chairman Vladimir Zhirinovsky, which was announced right after the NATO and EU expansion in the middle of the year 2004: „in the South we are using military methods, and in the Baltic States there will be employed economic methods".

Though the changes of late years in the major Russian national security documents, in the Russian Federation armed forces developmental programmes, the scenarios of the military trainings, taking part in the Western part of Russia, and the adequate statements of the Russian political and military leadership show that, in the long-lasting perspective „when there is a necessity to defend Russia's interests" and when the Russian Federation armed forces are strengthened enough, in the Baltic States, same as in any other part of the world, there can be used not only economic, but also military methods.

Russia, in the latter decade having officially reduced the number of the armed forces in Kaliningrad region, since the year 2003 has rapidly optimised and strengthened its military bloc, situated in the Kaliningrad region.

Attention should be paid to the fact that in the year 2003 – 2004 the military activity of the Russian Federation Baltic watercraft, deployed in the RF Kaliningrad region, has substantially increased.

The increased role of the Russian Federation Baltic watercraft and the attention of the Russian Federation political-military leadership to it show, that in the year 2003 apart from the traditional military practices, taking part in spring and at the end of summer, there additionally were two large-scale inspections of the BL units, on June of the year 2003 there were large-scale joint trainings at a demonstrative nature with the Russian Federation North watercraft (the trainings were observed by the Russian Federation President Putin himself). The strategic-military significance of the Kaliningrad region shows also this, that for some time there have been inculcated the most advanced military technology and structural innovations in this region, bigger attention is paid to the contractual work.

It seems likely, that due to the increasing Russia's economic interests in the Baltic (new maritime lines, oil output), the activity and importance of the Russian Federation Baltic watercraft should increase even more in future.

In Conclusion

The Russian military policy of late years is closely related to the foreign and internal politics, being governed by the nation's leadership. There is an intention to transform the armed forces into an active implement of the Russian foreign politics, an effective measure of political enforcement/pressure. Lately the Russian president's Putin and his environment's objectives to increase the national economic and military power by all possible means, to create military and economically strong, influential nation in the world, to re-establish the former status of the world-power, to extend by all possible means its geopolitical influence in the surrounding regions, have especially come into play.

The first aspects of the Russian foreign and military policy, becoming aggressive, were noticed already in the year 2000, right after Putin was elected president. Basically, the majority of the Russian politicians and especially soldiers approve of the course, selected by the president. Despite the official doctrinal statements, that Russia does not treat other nations as opponents and does not feel any aggression from them, there are being noticed in the Russian military policy the clear tendencies of the consolidation of the military power, the aggressiveness of the foreign and military policy and the rising hostility for the West.

In the year 2003 – 2004 emerged the particularly influential circumstances for the aggressiveness of the further Russian foreign and military policy. The biggest influence for that due to the record high global oil prices has brought a beneficial Russia's financial situation. When a long-lasting positive financial perspective has come into play, when the Russian foreign debt and dependence on the Western financial support have substantially decreased, the Russian macro national ambitions' development got a certain impulse. The Russian Federation armed forces started to be rapidly developed and modernized, their sponsorship is on a substantial increase, the military activity is constantly rising, there is being pursued an intensive and purposeful implementation and development of the initiated new military-political and economic blocs.

Since the year 2003 the juridical base of the Russian Federation armed forces proceeding has been formulated and corrected especially actively, the new normative documents at conceptual level were being accepted. Particular attention started to be paid to the Russian Federation armed forces' reform, to the implementation of the armed forces and the national defensive order's sponsorship, the qualitative and quantitative extents of the military trainings started to increase apace.

It shows, that after the disruption of the Soviet Union, the prolonged degradation of the Russian Federation armed forces is overcome, that the military reform has finally moved from its dead-point and in the long-lasting perspective Russia can become a powerful nation not only economically, but also from the military point of view, being able to dictate its ground rules in international politics.

Due to the increased threat of terrorist acts the Russian society's approval to Putin's "strong hand's" politics has also markedly developed. Quite a fair part of Russians are currently determined to abandon some of their civic rights and freedom in the name of the promising security and stability in the state and they feel logically

hardly explainable hostility for the West. For the majority the main Russian geopolitical Putin's provisions, imperial ambitions, a sequential and pragmatic assertion of the national interests in all directions and an especially active and aggressive Russia's foreign and military policy is absolutely acceptable and understandable. The political opposition in Russia is weak and raven, and the reaction possibilities of the West to the dangerous processes taking part in Russia are also restricted: it is mostly conditioned by the threat to loose Russia's support for the Western anti-terrorist coalition and the West's (especially Europe's) dependence on the Russian power resources.

National
Security
Issues
in Lithuania

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Transformation of the Military in the 21st Century: The Lithuanian Case

The article aims to reveal how the changing international environment, Lithuania's membership in NATO and the reform of its National Defense System influence the development of the Lithuanian military and to what extent the latter corresponds to the general trends in the development of the militaries in NATO countries. In the first part, the Charles C. Moscos model of the transformation of the society and the military from modern to postmodern which is applied in the comparative analysis of the development of the armed forces in Western democracies is presented. This part deals with the trends in changes of the armed forces of NATO countries in the period after the Cold War and collapse of the communist system. In the second part of the article, variables of the Moscos model are used as a theoretical basis to discuss the trends in the changes of the Lithuanian military. Attempts are also made to determine the extent to which the changes in the Lithuanian armed forces correspond to similar processes in the old NATO countries and what problems Lithuania faces having become a member of NATO.

Introduction

With the collapse of the socialist system and the end of the Cold War, there were quite a few considerations regarding the changing nature of conflicts and wars in the present-day world. Issues related to the transformation of the military of democratic states received particular attention. After the decade following the "velvet" revolutions, members of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society (IUS) stated that "studies of armed forces are enjoying unprecedented renaissance"[1]. The statement was inspired by both theoretical discussions about radical changes in international relations and the role of the military in the world after the fall of the Iron Curtain and processes of technological, organizational, social and political changes within armed forces.

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[1] Moscos C.C., Williams J.A., Segal D.R., eds., *The Postmodern Military*, N.Y., Oxford University Press, 2000, p. ix.

As far back as Michail Gorbachev's leadership, heated discussions in which "the orthodox security concept emphasizing territorial integrity and political independence of states, the shifting balance of power between East and West, and the military problems of defense, deterrence and arms control"[2] gave way to new attitudes towards international relations and security and defense policy. These attitudes rested on a far broader conception of security[3] and did not confine to a merely political-military dimension, but replaced the categories of conflict and violence with the principle of cooperation with former adversaries, projecting security onto the individual as well.

With changes in interpretations of security and new threats, the conception of their management strategy also changed. This was reflected both in shaping security and defense policy and reforming one of its implementation tools, that is, armed forces. In transition from total territorial and unconditional defense to collective defense, as far back as the 90-s of the 20th century, some of NATO states in Europe renounced compulsory military service[4], whereas others are planning to renounce it or are downsizing the number of conscripts in the army[5].

However, whether to maintain compulsory military service or totally renounce it is only one of the aspects of the transformation of contemporary armed forces. Comparative research of the 50-s of the 20th century gradually revealed that military forces were a constantly changing institution responsive to changes in the internal and international environment. Research into the armed forces of NATO states and, primarily the USA, carried out during the last decade led to the theoretical assumption that the years 1989-1990 were a dividing line between the modern and postmodern military[6]. According to many military sociologists, as institutions, contemporary armed forces of Western countries face such problems as newly perceived military missions, structural changes, human resources, distribution of funds, professional change, relations with the society, etc. and require a thorough analysis[7].

These years marked the beginning of the transformation of the militaries of postcommunist countries which was much more complicated due to the processes of

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[2] Averre D., Cottey A. "Introduction: Thinking about Security in Postcommunist Europe" in Averre D., Cottey A., eds, *New Security Challenges in Postcommunist Europe. Securing Europe's East*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002, p. 2.

[3] See: Snyder C.A., ed., *Contemporary Security and Strategy*, London: Macmillan Press, 1999; Buzan B., People, States and Fear. *International Security Studies after the Cold War*, Vilnius: Eugrimas, 1997.

[4] Belgium in 1992, the Netherlands in 1993, France in 1996. See: Haltiner K.W. "Mass armies in Western Europe" in Vlachova M., ed., *The European Military in Transition*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998. In the United Kingdom compulsory military service was introduced only in 1916-1919 and 1939-1960. See: Parrot A., "Professional Armed Forces: Experience of the British Army" . See: Novagrockienė J., ed*Professional Army: Experience of Western Countries and Perspectives in Lithuania*, Vilnius: The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, 2005. (in Lithuanian).

[5] Ibidem.

[6] Williams J. A. "The Postmodern Military Reconsidered" in Moscos C.C., Williams J.A., Segal D.R., eds., *The Postmodern Military*, N.Y., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 273.

[7] Moscos C.C., "Armed Forces After the Cold War" in Moscos C.C., Williams J.A., Segal D.R., eds., *The Postmodern Military*, N.Y. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

democratization of the political regime and transition from planned to market economy as well as due to the soviet legacy. The majority of Central European countries inherited huge poorly equiped armies whose maintenance and restructuring required political will and enormous financial costs.

Unlike the armed forces of other Central-Eastern European countries, the armed forces of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Slovenia, and Macedonia were built from scratch. In the case of Lithuania, the need to restore the army was predetermined by the legacy of the dependence on the Soviet Union as well as the political situation after the restoration of the independence of Lithuania. The Soviet Army had been an occupation army and after the withdrawal of its last units in 1993, the developing armed forces of Lithuania faced such problems as the formation of the national defense system, the need of human resources for the developing Lithuanian military, protection of facilities and armaments that had been taken over from the Soviet Army, financing, etc.

Restoration of the Lithuanian military and its adjustment to security and defense policy of the country were particularly dynamic. In slightly more than a decade the National Defense System got rid of the Soviet legacy, reformed the organizational structure, developed and established the mechanism of democratic civil control of the armed forces, renewed the officer corps[8]. However, qualitative changes in the Lithuanian military began only in 2003 when, having received an invitation to become a member of NATO, Lithuania started the reform of the National Defense System (NDS). Despite the rapid development of the national armed forces, research of these processes still remains at the initial stage[9].

The present article has a twofold purpose. Firstly, it provides a review of theoretical discussions about changes in the contemporary military in reference to military sociology, and attempts to prove that the model of the transformation to the postmodern military can be applied as a theoretical basis in the analysis of the armed forces of post-communist countries.

Secondly, attempts are made to explore to what extent changes in the Lithuanian armed forces influenced by external and internal factors correspond to hypothetical trends in the transformation of NATO militaries and to identify the problems and challenges that the armed forces of Lithuania face after the country became a member of NATO and the European Union.

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[8] Norgėla J., "Lithuania's Accession to NATO and the Professional Army". See: Novagrockienė J., ed., *Professional Army: Experience of Western Countries and Perspectives in Lithuania*, Vilnius: The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, 2005. (in Lithuanian).

[9] Urbelis V., Urbonas T., "The Challenges of Civil-Military Relations and Democratic Control of Armed Forces: the Case of Lithuania" in Cottey A., Edmunds T., Forster A., eds., *Democratic Control of the Military in Postcommunist Europe*, Houndmills: Palgrave Publishers Ltd, 2002, p. 108-125; Gricius A.,Paulauskas K., "Democratic Civil Control of the Armed Forces in Lithuania". See: *Lithuanian Strategic Annual Review 2002*, Vilnius: The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, 2003; Novagrockienė J., ed., *Professional Army: Experience of Western Countries and Perspectives in Lithuania*, Vilnius: The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, 2005. (in Lithuanian).

1. Armed forces in the postmodern era: theoretical assumptions

For over a decade military sociologists have been investigating changes in the military after the Cold War in the countries of democracy. Similarly to the majority of scientists of this period, they failed to avoid the euphoria caused by the collapse of the socialist system.

At the 12th World Congress of Sociologists held in Madrid in 1990, Charles Moscos, somewhat confirming Francis Fukuyama's thesis about the end of history[10], formulated the hypothesis that modern states evolve from *war readiness societies* to *war deterrence societies,* while recently they have been transforming into *warless societies* and, correspondingly, changed their war sociology[11]. He argued that war as a means of conflict management has become less likely between Europe and the great states of the world; therefore, the relationship between the society and the military and, consequently, the nature of the military, are changing. The Congress raised the idea that at present peace rather than war sociology should be discussed.

Moscos tried to create a systemic model to the comparative war sociology: "Our concern is to grasp the whole, to place the salient fact, and to have a framework to appraise the emergent armed forces"[12]. He suggested three types of the development of the society and the military – *war readiness, war deterrence and warless societies* which, as analytical ideal types, could be applied in studying the militaries of Western democracies.

According to the suggested types, NATO and Warsaw Pact countries of the 50-s and 60-s of the 20th century possessing large standing forces, usually consisting of conscripts, corresponded to *war readiness societies*.

The USA, Canada and Great Britain of the 60-70-s corresponded to *war deterrence societies,* whereas, according to the author, nearly all NATO countries and the Soviet Union possessed certain analogous features. This type of armed forces can be characterized by transition from mass to well-paid professional and technical armies.

At that time, Western and North Atlantic countries, such as Sweden, Switzerland, Canada and "even the USA" [13], whose armed forces were restructured from mass to small regular forces backed by the reserve[14], corresponded to *warless societies*.

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[10] Fukuyama F., "The End of History?", *National Interest*, 1989. Summer.,

[11] Moscos C. C., "Armed Forces in a Warless Society", *Forum 13*, Munich, 1992, p. 4.

[12] Ibidem.

[13] During the years of the Cold War the USA had the biggest professional (2.6 mln) and best armed forces in NATO.

[14] Moscos (note 11), 6.

*Table1. Armed Forces and Society**

Armed Forces variable	War Readiness	War Deterrence	Warless
1.Formal Organization	Mass army	Professional army	Cadre and rezerve force
2.Majot Item in Personnel Budget	Agregate personnel costs	Per capita personnel costs	Rezerve infrastructure
3.Major Item in Weapons Budget	Low-technology weapons	High-technology weapons	Low-and high technology wpn.
4. Membership Indentification	Institutional	Professional	Civic
5. Organizational Tension	Service roles	Budget fights	Mission substitution
6.Conscienious Objection	Limited or prohibited	Permited on routine basis	Subsumed in alternative civilian sv.
7.Recruitment	Representative of male youth	Stratified per labor market (only military)	Represent. .of young adults (military+civilian)
8.Dominant Type of Military Professional	Combat leader	Managerial technician	Soldier scholar
9.Public Attitude Toward Military	Supportive	Apathetic	Skeptical
10.Military Attitude Toward Military	Hostile	Skeptical	Apathetic

* Moscos, C. C., "Armed Forces in a Warless Society", *Forum 13*, Munich, 1992, p. 5.

Moscos provided 10 variables, the sum total of which describes three different types of armed forces in respective periods of the development (Table 1). In his opinion, transition of armed forces from one type to another is best reflected by the change of defense expenditures in the analyzed countries. Though the expenditures increased rather than decreased, their structure changed. If in the national defense budget of a war readiness society and war deterrence society a major part of expenditures was allotted to the personnel, in warless societies most finances are planned for training and sustenance of the reserve infrastructure[15].

Organizational structure and the ratio of servicemen to civilians in armed forces also change. In war societies, the army was a strictly institutionalized hierarchical organization which greatly differed from civil structures, whereas in war deterrence societies, the convergence of military and civil personnel is obvious and "the main battles for the budget" take place in Ministries of Defense, but not between the Army, the Air Force and the Navy. In a warless society the boundaries between the military and civilians are likely to be erased while more civil responsibilities and activities fall onto the military[16].

However, in 1992, at the seminar "Sociological Projecting of the Future Military", most likely due to the ended euphoria caused by the 1990-1991 Persian Gulf War, Moscos comes up with different terms for the three types: "early Cold War", "late Cold War" and "post-Cold War" societies and armed forces[17].

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[15] *Ibidem*, p.6-7.

[16] *Ibidem*.

[17] *Ibidem*.

Finally, in 1994, while further improving his concept, Moscos introduces additional variables into the model, such as 'threat awareness", "relationship with the media", "the role of the female", "homosexuals in the military", that is, dimensions characteristic of the postmodern society, and creates a newer version of the model (Table 2). This resulted in the appearance of the new categories – "modern", "late modern" and "postmodern" society[18].

Modern military was completely formed in the 19th century as one of the elements of the establishment of the national state. It consisted of lower-ranking servicemen and the professional officer corps and was manly by its nature and spirit which, regarding its structure and culture, made it greatly different from the civil society. Its origins go back to *levee en masse* born during the French revolution when the notion of the citizen soldier was coined[19].

The type of *late modern* military dominated from the middle of the 20th century to the beginning of the 90-s and coincided with the period of the Cold War. It is characterized by a mass army with the increasing officer corps professionalism attained at military academies and colleges.

Table2. Armed forces and postmodern society: the USA

Armed forces variables	Modern, (Pre-cold war), 1990 -1945	Late Modern, (Cold War), 1945 -1990	Postmodern (Post-Cold War), 1990 -
1. Perceived threat	Enemy invasion	Nuclear war	Subnational (e.g., ethnic violence, terrorism)
2. Force structure	Mass army, conscription	Large professional army	Small professional army
3. Major mission definition	Defence of homeland	Support of alliance	New missions (peackeeping, humanitarian)
4. Dominant military professional	Combat leader	Manager or technition	Soldier-statesmen, Soldier-scholar
5. Public attitude toward military	Supportive	Ambivalent	Indifferent
6. Media relations	Incorporated	Manipulated	Courted
7. Civilian employees	Minor component	Medium component	Major component
8. Women's role	Separate corps or excluded	Partial integration	Full integration
9. Spouse and military community	Integral part	Partial involvement	Removed
10. Homosexuals in the military	Punished	Discharged	Accepted
11. Consciencious objection	Limited or prohibited	Permited or rutine basis	Subsumed under cvivilian service

*Moscos C. C., "Toward a Postmodern Military: The United States as a Paradigm" in Moscos C. C., Wiliams J.A., Segal D. R., eds., *The Postmodern Military*, N.Y., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 15.

[18] Nuciari M., "Models and Explanations for military Organizations: An Updated Reconsideration" in Caforio G., ed., *Handbook of the Sociology in the Military*. N.Y.: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003.

[19] Moscos, (note 7), p. 1.

The *postmodern type* is characteristic of the present period. The collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe gave impetus to changes in armed forces. In the absence of threat of invasion, Western states no longer needed to retain such militaries whose social values essentially differed from the majority of the society. "Although national patriotism continues to be emphasized by the armed forces, globalization of finances, trade, communications and other vital human activity undermine the traditional foundation of national sovereignty"[20].

In his attempts to conceptualize the research of the development of the armed forces in the 21st century, Moscos uses the experience of the USA as the main paradigm for ideal postmodern military. However, as the author himself asserts, the postmodern military is an ideal type which, via many variables, enables to identify the main trends distinguishing between modern, late modern and postmodern armed forces[21]. Nevertheless, in his opinion, the universality of the model is limited to the analysis of the militaries of developed Western democracies.

11 variables of the new version of the model (Table 2) are logically interconnected. According to Moscos, the first variable – threats and their awareness – is undergoing historical changes. Before the Cold War, there were fears of an attack against the state; therefore, a mass army was necessary. In the years of the Cold War, with the threat of the nuclear weapon and improvement of military equipment, a need for technically well- trained military professionals arose. Recently, new threats – local wars and terrorism – have emerged. Respectively, defense policy has undergone changes wherein territorial defense was replaced with collective defense, in essence, changing the conception of the military mission.

The new missions mark a fundamental change in the objective of the military – from the defender of the state it turned into a participant of peacekeeping and humanitarian missions. This gave rise to discussions in the USA military about the extent to which "operations other than war" decrease the development of "the warior's" abilities[22].

The composition of the personnel changed respectively: in 1973, the USA renounced conscription and reduced the number of the personnel and the budget. After the Vietnam War and particularly at the end of the Cold War, reserve forces became an integral part of the armed forces[23].

The profession of the serviceman also changed. Before the Cold War, art of war and leadership were the basic requirements; however, technological sophistication eliminated violence as the essential component of the victory. In modern times the platoon commander was replaced with the specialist-leader. New professions, such as an officer-scientist and officer-diplomat emerge in the postmodern society.

Summarizing the Moscos model, John Allen Williams claimed that it is a social sciences model oriented towards the West, or rather, towards America, and it is possible that a Western oriented model would miss important elements of interaction if used in where its assumption do not apply. It could be even argued that using of nonindegenous model to explain variations in particular social system is a form of intellectual imperialism"[24].

[20] Ibidem, p. 2.
[21] Moscos Ch. C., "Toward a Postmodern Military: The United States as a Paradigm" in Moscos Ch. C., Williams J. A., Segal D.R., eds., *The Postmodern Military*, N.Y., Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 14.
[22] *Ibidem*, p.17.
[23] *Ibidem*, p. 18.
[24] Williams (note 6), p. 272.

Nevertheless, based on this hypothetical model, among the countries analyzed in the publication *The Postmodern Military,* the development of the military of South Africa is discussed, which raises doubts about the rather strict standpoint held by Williams.

In fact, a methodological question arises whether the same theoretical models are applicable in the analysis of similar processes in the new NATO countries. It is obvious that both transformation processes in NATO armed forces and their problems are to a lesser or greater extent characteristic of postcommunist NATO members (including Lithuania).

On the other hand, there is no doubt that armed forces of postcommunist countries lag far behind the old NATO states; the specific problems they encounter in the process of the reform are closely related to universal problems which are, in one way or another, typical to the armed forces of all NATO states. Therefore, in this article the variables of both the first and the second model are used as the criteria for the analysis of the changes in the Lithuanian military.

It should be noted that in the second part of the article attempts are made not to analyze the technical aspect of the reform process, but rather to reveal how much its implementation conforms to the general trends in NATO armed forces and what challenges the membership in the Alliance poses.

The reform of the armed forces and its context are primarily analyzed by using variables of the *postmodern* military (Table 2) with the exception of "the spouse integration" variable; variables of the first model are applied which were rejected in the later variant, i. e. "the main articles in the budget", "the main articles in the defense budget" (Table 1).

2. Reform of the Lithuanian Armed Forces: towards the postmodern military?

In November 2002, at the meeting of Heads of State of NATO countries, held in Prague, alongside a group of other Middle and Eastern European countries, Lithuania was invited to join the Alliance. The guaranteed membership in the Alliance gave impetus to working out political, legal, financial and technical prerequisites for the NDS reform prior to the formalization of the new status of the country[25].

The planning of the reform was primarily based on the revision of defense policy and military strategy of Lithuania. If before the Prague Summit, one of the strategic goals of Lithuania had been total and unconditional defense, so at the beginning of 2004, the principle of collective defense was emphasized and on 15 November of the same year it was established in the adopted "Military Strategy of the Republic of Lithuania" (further – Strategy). The Strategy states that there is no direct military threat to Lithuania, however, "in the closest security environment of Lithuania there still are countries that have not completely established democratic constitutional system and which maintain relatively huge military capabilities; therefore, a probability of the occurrence of military threats still remains"[26]. For this reason, the

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[25] Lithuania's membership in NATO ratification documents were submitted on 29 March 2004.
[26] "The Military Strategy of the Republic of Lithuania", http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=29340. 7 December 2004.

principle of persuasive defense and deterrence remained in the document. In the appraisal of threats, the Strategy emphasizes the growing interdependence between different countries and regions, that is why non-military threats, such as international terrorism, organized crime, illegal trade in arms, drugs and people, uncontrolled migration, spread of dangerous diseases, danger of unconventional threats and international terrorism, are becoming of growing importance.

2.1. Threat perception as impetus for change

"Threat perception", the first variable of the Moscos model of the transformation of the military in the postmodern era, corresponds to the interaction between threats and security and defense policy and suggests that from the viewpoint of perspective the trends in the development of the Lithuanian armed forces do not significantly differ from the trends in the old democracies. However, the time when the turning point in security and defense policy was politically implemented obviously differs from the time fixed in Western countries – 1989-1990.

On the one hand, restoration of the Lithuanian armed forces basically ended only in 1995. On the other hand, before 1999, a traditional concept of security prevailed where the guarantee of political-military security of the country was the key objective of foreign policy[27]. The formation of the armed forces of Lithuania was based on it.

Gradual transition to the new strategy is provided in the publications "The White Book" of 2000, "The National Security Strategy" of 2002 and "The Program of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania for 2001-2004" and other documents identifying a broad spectrum of threats ranging from international terrorism to uncontrolled migration, including social and economic threats[28], although these formulations have not been turned into defense policy practice.

Like in many European states, politically revised and legally established contemporary security and defense policy of Lithuania founded on a broader concept of security threats was influenced by external factors. Only having become a member of NATO, Lithuania was determined to change its fundamental concepts of defense policy.

From the retrospective point of view, the total and unconditional defense principle was relied upon too long and the army was formed with the orientation towards territorial defense due to the lack of political will and, most likely, to the interest of the military command of the armed forces to maintain the existing format of the military, because greater numbers of conscripts meant more jobs for professional military personnel and, consequently, fewer social problems. Thus, not so much the awareness of threats as their transformation into the security and defense policy dimension made an impact on the change of the structure of the military.

[27] Nekrašas E., „NATO ir Europos Sąjungos santykių transformacija ir Lietuvos užsienio politika"(Transformation of the Relations between NATO and the European Union and Foreign Policy of Lithuania ") in *Šiaurės Atlanto erdvė ir Lietuva (North Atlantic Space and Lithuania)*, Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2001, p. 17 (in Lithuanian).
[28] *Nacionalinio saugumo strategija*. Patvirtinta Lietuvos Resppublikos Seimo 2002 gegužės 28 d. Oficialus Lietuvos Respublikos leidinys *(The National Security Strategy*. Approved by the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania on 28 May 2002. An official publication of the Republic of Lithuania), Vilnius: The Ministry of National Defense, 2002, p. 7-9 (in Lithuanian).

2.2. Change of the structure of the armed forces

After the invitation, consultations with NATO on the commitments of Lithuania, as a member of the Alliance, began. The recommendations and remarks suggested that Lithuania should build smaller but more capable and easily deployable military units, modernize its armaments in order to more actively participate in both the collective defense system and peacekeeping operations.

The NDS reform begun in 2001, gained new impetus in 2003. For the first time, "The Guidelines for the Development of the National Defense System in 2004-2009"[29] were prepared and adopted not for the usual three-year period, but for a six-year planning cycle used in NATO countries. Specific measures for the restructuring of the armed forces were provided for in the Guidelines: by 2008, to downsize the armed forces approximately twofold and form one fully equipped rapid reaction brigade, by the beginning of 2005, to train one battalion completely meeting the Alliance requirements for participation in international operations[30].

In 2003, Lithuania had mixed armed forces with professional servicemen prevailing. There were 7,950 military personnel in the Army, 3,027 of which were conscripts, 650 served in the Navy (130 conscripts) and 1,150 served in the Air Force (150 conscripts). 63 per cent of the Lithuanian Armed Forces were professional servicemen and 37 per cent conscripts[31]. Reduction of the number of conscripts in the armed forces was planned and the limits were set: in 2003 – 4,500, in 2004 – 3,681, in 2005 – up to 3,500[32]. In other words, by the year 2008, the number of both professional servicemen and conscripts is planned to be reduced by half, i. e. it should constitute less than 18 per cent of the total personnel of the armed forces.

A qualitative reorganization of military structures based on calculations made by both NATO experts and Lithuanian specialists has also been provided for in the Guidelines. New tasks for the armed forces are being designed, the emphasized increase of capabilities calls for the reform of the military training system in order to make study programs compatible with the new plans of the military and execution of collective defense tasks, specialization in the areas where, according to the resources available, capabilities necessary for collective defense could be built[33]. Territorial defense units are also being reduced and reformed adjusting them to the protection of civil strategic objects and the needs of civil authorities.

In developing military capabilities of Lithuania, priority is given to the Land Forces that have been the strongest link of the armed forces since the very beginning of their restoration. It is also planned to retain the Air Force and the Naval Force,

[29] „Karšto apsaugos sistemos gairės 2004-2009 metams" ("The Guidelines for the Development of the National Defense System in 2004-2009"), http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=30319, 15 May 2004 (in Lithuanian).

[30] Ibidem.

[31] Lithuania, http://www.nato.int/invitees2004/lithuania/defence.htm, 25 August 2004.

[32] Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybė, *Nutarimas dėl Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybės 2004 metų veiklos atskaitos pateikimo Lietuvos Respublikos Seimui* (The Government of the Republic of Lithuania, *The Decision on Rendering the Account of the Activity of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania in 2004 to the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania)*, 30 March 2005. No 337, http://www.lrv.lt/13_vyr_dok/n0337.pdf, 21 May 2005 (in Lithuanian).

[33] Ibidem

though small in size, because capabilities of these branches of the armed forces are important for securing territorial integrity and carrying out missions of the Alliance.

The essential element of the Land Forces, the Standby High Readiness Brigade "The Iron Wolf", must be trained for broad-spectrum operations outside Lithuania by 2008, whereas by the end of 2004, the Algirdas battalion is to be manned by professional military personnel and trained to conduct operations outside Lithuania in conjunction with NATO forces[34].

Units of the National Defense Volunteer Forces (NDVF) are being downsized. The active reserve of the NDVF volunteers is to be cut to 4,200 men and the number of professional military personnel to 800. By 2008, NDVF must be trained to accept reinforcements of allies, execute protection of strategic state objects, render assistance to civil authorities in case of disasters, cooperate with the police in face of the threat of terrorist acts, etc[35].

Though NATO does not point out what military its members should retain, alongside increased requirements for the growth of capabilities and interoperability with NATO forces, need for well-trained personnel, capable of mastering sophisticated modern equipment, is also objectively growing.

J. Petrauskaite, who analyzed the impact of the revolution in the military affairs on the development of the armed forces of Lithuania, points out that "political analysts maintain that, in the 21st century, low intensity conflicts (LIC) or conflicts close to war will pose a standing threat. The military designated to fight against these threats will be different from that for high intensity conflicts (HIC)[36]. Since the key requirements for the military of Lithuania are collective defense and participation in broad-spectrum operations, it must have the most modern armaments and equipment while training of military personnel must guarantee their ability to operate such armaments[37]. Technology is another factor that objectively strengthens the trend of the professionalization of the military and this, in further perspective, can lead to a complete renunciation or a temporary suspension of the compulsory military service.

Though changes in the structure of the Lithuanian armed forces have just begun, it is obvious that they coincide with analogous processes in the militaries of NATO countries. Yet, the downsizing of the military and professionalization also increase social problems.

With the decreasing need for conscripts, it is planned, in the further perspective, to call young people for the compulsory military service on a voluntary basis. The institution of conscripts is rather important in Lithuania since it also helps solve social problems: civil development, unemployment, professional orientation. According to the research of the army conducted by the Strategic Research Center of the Lithuanian Military Academy since 2002, conscripts predominantly come from the population of small towns and villages, earnings per capita of half of military person-

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[34] „Karšto apsaugos sistemos gairės 2004-2009 metams" ("The Guidelines for the National Defense System for 2004-2009"), (note 29).
[35] Ibidem.
[36] Petrauskaite J., „Revoliucija karinėje srityje: įtaka Lietuvos kariuomenės profesionalizacijai?" ("Revolution in the Military Affairs: Impact on the Professionalization of the Lithuanian Military?") See: Novagrockiene, (note 2) p. 82 (in Lithuanian).
[37] Ibidem, p. 89.

nel families constitute only 400 litas per month, every fifth soldier was unemployed before the call up, slightly over 50 per cent of them had secondary education[38].

Besides, the reform in the military also determines different social problems. Because of the necessity to downsize personnel and retire a greater number of servicemen than it used to be customary, the reintegration of military personnel into civil professions and institutions has become more challenging.

Also, the National Defense System constantly experiences financing problems. Though on 23 May 2001 parliamentary parties signed an agreement on defense policy for 2001-2004, confirming the commitment of the parties to develop the National Security and Defense System of the State as part of the Common European and Trans-Atlantic Security System and allot the National Defense System 2 per cent of the GDP, but, in fact, only about 1.41 per cent[39].

Trying to maintain a balance between the necessary capabilities, international commitments and material, human and financial resources available, Lithuania, though supporting defense policy initiatives of the European Union, actually allots a smaller military package to the EU than to NATO and can practically use only forces themselves to guarantee the needs of both organizations.

According to the data of 2003, Lithuania's contribution to the EU had to be "one mechanized and one motorized company as well as a platoon-sized infantry unit, a section of military medics, an engineer platoon, a special forces platoon, one An-26 aircraft, 2 Mi-8 helicopters, 2 minesweepers, two training areas"[40]. In the future the needs of the EU might grow, but Lithuania's resources are limited; therefore, it is planned, for the time being, to use the same forces to meet the needs of both organizations.

Besides, a unanimous political opinion in reference to the abolition of the compulsory military service is also non-existent. The Social Democrat party tends to retain a mixed-format military, the Liberal and the Center Union would rather support a professional army, The Homeland Union-Lithuanian Conservatives also favor a professional army, but stand for a long-term gradual transition to it[41]. The New Union suggests that drafting to the compulsory military service be renounced and Lithuania limit itself to professional military. Nevertheless, the principle of consistent professionalization of the military is retained.

Though tasks, formulated in the Guidelines, are executed more slowly than it has been planned, it is obvious that the army structure reform changes not only the composition of the personnel, but also encounters challenges of new missions.

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[38] NovagrockieneJ., Janušauskiene D., Kaminskaite A., *Privalomosios tarnybos karių nuostatos. Ataskaita* (*Attitudes of the Compulsory Military Service Personnel.* Report), Vilnius: The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, 2002, p. 6-11 (in Lithuanian).

[39] Biudžetas (Budget), http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=33308 05 August 2004

[40]Gricius A., Paulauskas K., "Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU and Lithuania." See: *Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review 2003,* Vilnius: The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, 2004, p. 95.

[41]Interview with representatives of parties in carrying out the research "The Attitude of the Lithuanian Population to Security", 2220. About the research see: Novagrockiene J., Janušauskiene D., " The Attitude of the Lithuanian Population to Security." See: *Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review 2002,* Vilnius: The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, 2002, p. 277-298.

2.3. Change of the military mission and professional composition of servicemen

The most dramatic change within the armed forces relates to the change of their mission, that is, transition from the state defense function to the participation in combined international operations and the collective security system with NATO. Thus, the military of Lithuania has in essence to renounce or at least hold secondary the functional imperative of the late modern armed forces - to fight and defend their state from the enemy. Therefore, at present, the Lithuanian serviceman more often defends and protects people of other countries than his or her citizens. Besides, Lithuania has more often participated in peace operations that do not always call for combat skills, but rather for expertise and communication skills with local population and servicemen of multinational forces, for the capability not to defend but assist. The same applies to the militaries of all NATO countries.

Emergence of new missions is related to a certain identity crisis of the military and the military profession. Alongside combat skills other capabilities must be developed. A serviceman participating in missions must be a rescuer, know the principles of the international law and activity of international organizations, be capable of establishing and maintaining relations with local population, be proficient in foreign languages.

For example, the USA, seeking to retain its characteristic military capabilities, was quick in developing new training tasks and manuals aimed at including the experience gained during the first international operations before the end of the Cold War[42].

It is worth noting that a great part of Lithuanian military personnel, serving and living at peace time, consider participation in international missions as a real military life where they are able not only to try their skills and abilities, but also to gain a completely new experience and test themselves[43]. The number of volunteers to participate in international operations usually exceeds the demand.

The Moscos model implies that in the modern and postmodern epoch an officer-fighter is being replaced by an officer-manager, officer-scientist, officer-diplomat. It is obvious that the expanding boundaries of the officer's profession raise new requirements for the training of servicemen.

In preparation for the membership in the Alliance, personnel development was being constantly improved. The data of the year 2000 alone show that 1,000 servicemen and civilian employees of the National Defense System participated in long-term training programs in 22 foreign countries[44]. In 1999-2000, 450 servicemen completed various courses[45].

In the Guidelines for 2004-2009 it is planned to review the training of military personnel of all categories, focus attention on strengthening of capabilities for trai-

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[42] Moscos (note 21), p. 17.

[43] Maslauskaite A., Novagrockiene J. „Tarptautinėse misijose tarnaujančių karių socialinės prsicho-loginės problemos" ("Socio-psychological Problems of Military Personnel Serving on International Missions"), Vilnius, The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, 2004 (in Lithuanian).

[44]Professional Improvement, http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=9475 10 July 2004

[45] Ušackas V., *Q&A Report on Lithuania's Integration into NATO*. Washington, May 1, 2002, 5, http://www.ltembassyus.org/pdf/Q_+_A_Report_Lithuania_NATO_Hearing.pdf 04 June 2004

ning senior officers and specialists, continue teaching official NATO languages, expand the International Training Center at the Military Academy of Lithuania, participate in international exercises.

Though the concepts "officer-scientist" and "officer-diplomat" are not yet used in the military rhetoric, the concept "officer-scientist" should rather be related to servicemen who have mastered the fundamentals of scientific activity but not with researchers or officers working on their scientific theses. Beginning with 1994, when the Lithuanian Military Academy was granted the status of a higher educational institution, officers trained here acquire both military and university specialities. It is important that the multi-stage officer training system, comprising the Course for Captains, Master-degree studies, qualification improvement courses at the Baltic Defense College, a possibility to attend international courses, not only imparts and deepens knowledge but also expands the outlook of servicemen.

Diplomatic functions are more often performed by civilian employees of the National Defense System rather than military personnel. Though the military attaché corps is expanding, so far only 10 senior officers perform a diplomatic mission representing Lithuania. Thus, in this respect, Lithuania balances between *the late modern and postmodern* societies.

2.4. Key articles of the budget

In assessing changes in the military, the dynamics of the NDS expenditure structure can be analyzed as a control variable. As it has been mentioned, Moscos states that the main budget quality after the Cold War was a decrease in expenditure for personnel and an increase for procurement.
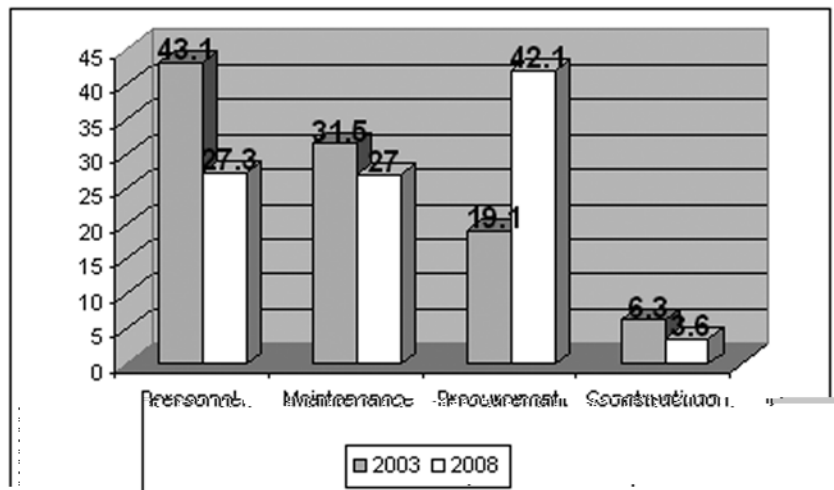

Fig.1. Planned NDS expenditure structure[46]

The Guidelines for the Development in 2004-2009 provide that expenditure for

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[46] Report by K.Paulauskas at the Ministry of National Defense on 24 March 2004.

personnel must not exceed 50 per cent of total NDS expenditure; expenditure for procurement of new armaments, military equipment and materiel including the modernization must be not less than 25 per cent; expenditure for infrastructure must not exceed 10 per cent of the total NDS expenditure. Figure 1 indicates that expenditure for personnel is to be cut almost by half, whereas procurement means are to be increased more than twofold[47].
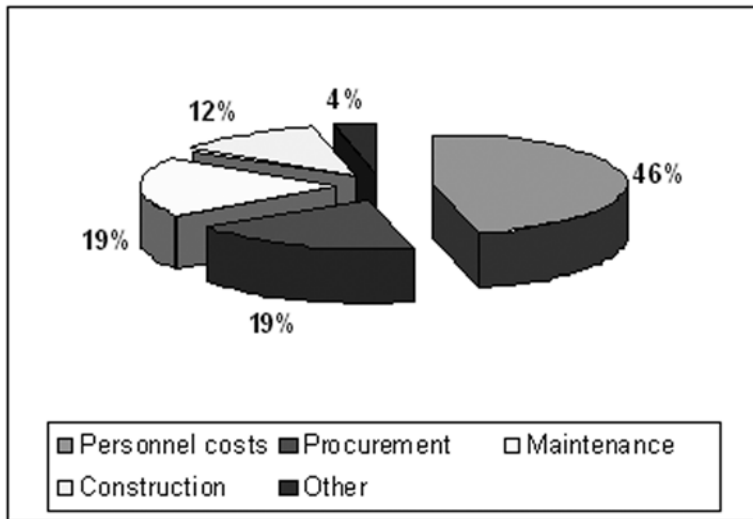

Fig.2. Allocations for the Ministry of National Defense[48]

The NDS budget structure for 2004 only partly confirms the planned trends (Fig. 2). Means allotted for personnel do not exceed 50 per cent, but those for procurement constitute 19.2 per cent of the total NDS budget. Since armaments procurements are generally assigned to the "investments" category, they are not indicated in Fig.2. In 2003, 23.6 per cent of the NDS budget was allotted for investments and armament procurement and in 2004 – 22.9 per cent[49].

As far as priorities for armaments and procurement are concerned, it is obvious that realistic acquisitions are planned, taking into consideration a small state budget and reform directions. Special attention is paid to anti-tank, anti-aircraft armaments, transport and logistic supply.

By 2008, it is planned to provide the Land Forces with short-range air defense systems, medium and long-range anti-tank systems, light infantry armaments, and means of tactical communications. The Air Force plans to obtain medium-range air surveillance systems, a short-range air defense system, equipment for surveillance and control system. The Naval Force must update the equipment of territorial sea and exceptional economic zone surveillance system.

In other words, changes in the budget structure and armaments procurement

[47] 2004 m. išlaidos krašto apsaugai (National Defense Expenditure for 2004), http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=33308 06 December 2004
[48] *Ibidem.*
[49]*Ibidem.*

confirm the postmodernization trend, though more time is necessary to draw the final conclusion.

2.5. Public opinion about the military of Lithuania

Theoretically, in the *postmodern* society, indifference or even negative attitude towards the military as a structure that is redundant because of the absence of obvious threat, alien and costly, since servicemen are sent to other countries, should grow. Yet in Lithuania, the military is an institution enjoying the highest ratings.

One of the reasons for positive assessment of the military is its fast change and improving image. At present, Lithuanian military does not bear much resemblance to the Soviet army that was infamous for bullying, or the so-called "dedovščina", disorder and corruption. Besides, a great part of the Lithuanian population considered it to be an occupation army and regarded service in its ranks not as a duty to the Homeland but as a coercive military institution.

In public opinion polls, conducted in 2002 and 2003, respondents were asked to indicate to what extent they agree with the statement that contemporary Lithuanian military is completely different from the former Soviet army. Within a year the percentage of respondents that agreed and completely agreed with the statement that the Lithuanian military changed increased from 75 to 85 and the number of those that disagreed decreased from 9 to 6.4 per cent (Fig. 3). The number of respondents that had no opinion on this issue decreased from 15 per cent in 2002 to 12 per cent in 2003.
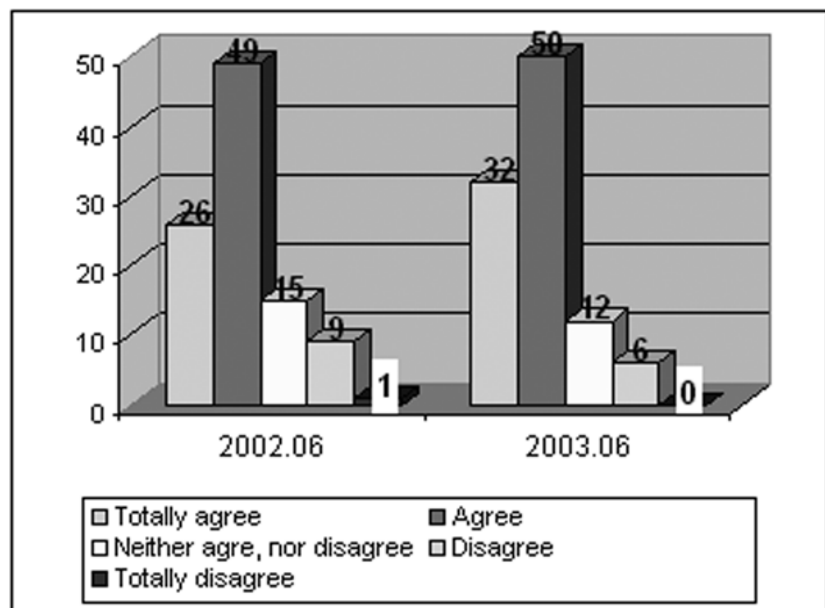

Fig.3. Contemporary Lithuanian military is completely different from the former Soviet army (%)

The dynamics of the assessment of Lithuanian military is shown in Table 3. The attitude of the Lithuanian population to the military in 2000-2004 was stable: from 65 to 68 per cent of the Lithuanian population assessed it very positively or positively.

The positive attitude to the military has been determined by historical cultural factors. From the historic point of view, the contemporary Lithuanian military is natural to the country in comparison to the Soviet army. Its restoration is related to the events of 1991, when people, in peaceful protest, opposed the assault by "the Omon", and first volunteers were ready to defend the Seimas. Later, quite a few of them became well-known officers in Lithuania.

Table3. Assessment of the Lithuanian Military in 2002-2004

How do you asses the present Lithuanian Army?	**06.2002** (%)	**01.2003** (%)	**06.2003** (%)	**11.2003** (%)	**06.2004** (%)
Very positive	6	7	5	5	6
Positive	59	54	61	59	62
Negative	18	20	13	15	16
Very negative	2	4	3	2	3
Do not know	15	15	18	18	13

Source: Reports on the opinion polls, 2002-2004. Conducted by the Lithuanian-British Market Research and Public Opinion Company "Baltic Surveys Ltd.", ordered by MoD.

Concluding, the public opinion in case of Lithuania cannot be considered as a criterion of the development of the military into the *postmodern* type because of specific conditions of its formation and relationship with the society.

2.6. Mass media and the military

The relationship of the military and mass media is multifaceted. On the one hand, military institutions usually seek to maintain good relations with journalists. On the other hand, attempts are made to avoid making *ad hoc* problems of military institutions public because of a possible damage to the image.

Mass media in Lithuania, in reference to the NDS, is internal and external. All NDS newspapers and magazines - *Krašto apsauga, Karys, Kardas, Kariūnas* - as well as several local newspapers published by certain battalions are attributed to the internal mass media which fulfils the function of both informing and educating the public and the military and also shaping a positive image of the military.

External mass media operates more effectively (dailies) and is bent on seeking for negative rather than positive NDS sides. At the time of peace no censorship is possible, except "self censorship" within the NDS.

During the Cold War period, mass media and the military were like one team, military correspondents had military ranks. In the postmodern society, as Moscos claims, a variant is possible when journalists enjoying technical possibilities outrun the military and inform the public about the events in one or another hot spot of the world faster and more accurately, whereas commanders watch the developments in the activity zone under their control on the commercial CNN television[50].

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[50] Moscos (note 21), 21.

The institution of military correspondents in Lithuania is not strong yet and information about the events from hot spots is usually broadcast by journalists of state and commercial television channels. It is possible to state that mass media has a small effect on the public opinion.

2.7. Women and homosexuals in the military of Lithuania

The integration of women into the defense sector in many NATO countries started considerably earlier than in Lithuania. Servicewomen emerge due to strengthening feminist movements and are a product of the government sex policy of Western democracies. Yet, a complete integration of women into the military was implemented gradually. For example, in Great Britain, the discrimination of women came legally to be solved only in the 70-s of the 20th century, but it was only in the 90-s that women were completely integrated into the military. After the Cold War, they constituted 7.9 per cent of officers and 5.4 per cent of regular soldiers[51].

In Lithuania, women have been working in the NDS since the beginning of its foundation, however, only in administrative structures. At present, women constitute 52 per cent of civilian employees and 10 per cent of the military personnel, that is 16 per cent of the total NDS employee body[52]. Since 2000, the Military Academy of Lithuania annually admits approximately 9 females[53]. In NATO countries, however, more women serve in military institutions and they are completely integrated into armed forces. Yet, discernible improvements in reference to this criterion make it possible to speak about the transition towards the *postmodern* military.

However, the attitude towards homosexuals in the military of Lithuania has been predetermined by the fact that the entire society treated them in a rather conservative way. Theoretically, homosexuals have a possibility to choose an alternative military service, but they are not registered, often conceal their identity though some of them do serve in the military. In this respect, the situation in Lithuania will change though very slowly. Therefore, Lithuania is rather a *late modern* society, and the situation might change only with the changing public attitude.

Conclusions

Copious empirical studies of the militaries of Western democracies helped reveal new trends and problems regarding changes in military institutions that Charles C. Moscos summarized by constructing a hypothetical model of the transformation of the military from modern into post-modern. Having analyzed the trends in the development of the Lithuanian military according to most criteria of the model, it is possible to state that its variables are suitable to methodologically study changes in the armed forces of Lithuania as well as analyze other postcommunist states.

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[51]Dandeker C., "The United Kingdom: The Overstretched Military" in Moscos C. C., Williams J. A., Segal D. R. eds., *The Postmodern Military,* N.Y., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 40.
[52] Moterys kariuomenėje (Women in the Military), http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=9473 14 June 2004
[53]Young Females at the Military Academy, http://www.lka.lt/lt/disp.php/lt_cadets/lt_cadets_female - 14 June 2004

Assessing the armed forces of Lithuania within the context of the NDS reform, it is obvious that according to most parameters they are being transformed into the category of the *postmodern* military. However, alongside this, specific features of Lithuania, determined by historical and cultural factors, are revealed.

Similarly to other NATO states, key factors inducing to review security and defense policy and transform the NDS were external. The turning-point of Lithuanian security and defense policy from the territorial defense to the collective defense was mostly influenced by the membership in NATO and the essential objective - to turn the military of the State, as far as structure, human resources and armaments are concerned, into an organization corresponding to NATO requirements and capable of executing new missions - is primarily subordinated to the Alliance's needs. Therefore, Lithuania's membership in NATO and the European Union implies more commitments and a greater dependence in security and foreign matters on the membership in these organizations.

New military missions, changes in the structure and the military profession testify to the transformation of the Lithuanian armed forces into the *postmodern* military. Participation of the military in international operations as well as modernization of the armaments within the NDS of Lithuania increase advantages of the professional military service and thus encourage a decrease of the corps of conscripts and the active reserve.

The NDS budget and armaments procurement priorities, though dependent on limited resources, also testify to the new changes.

The number of women within the NDS also indicates that the military is transforming towards the *postmodern* category. Yet, the society still cherishes rather conservative values according to which the military service is considered to be a masculine activity. Therefore, quite a few problems between the two genders within the military arise. Studies in this area have just begun.

It is likely that the integration of homosexuals into the military is going to be much slower than the integration of women because of the hostile attitude towards them both in the society and the military.

In summary, it is possible to conclude that the military of Lithuania is rapidly moving from the late *modern* into the *postmodern* with some remaining features of the former.

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Lithuania's Participation in International Peace Operations: Challenges of the NATO and EU Memberships

In 2004, Lithuania celebrated not only its accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the EU but also the tenth anniversary of its participation in international peace operations. In the last decade NATO became one of the key actors in resolving conflicts and crises in Europe; therefore, active participation of Lithuania in the operations of the Alliance contributed to its membership aspirations. However, it is not only NATO but also other international organizations that participate in the resolution of international conflicts in Europe as well as in the world; the EU is also building its crisis management force. The article analyses what challenges and problems Lithuania might encounter in executing its policy of international military participation already being a full member of NATO and the EU. Review of the expansion of international peace operations after the cold war and the development of NATO and the EU conflict and crisis management policy leads to the conclusion that the greatest challenges to Lithuania are caused by military aspects of peacekeeping and potential NATO and the EU competition.

Introduction

The year 2004 has become truly historic for foreign and security policy of Lithuania – it has successfully covered the way towards the set state objectives and joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (the EU) that should have to help guarantee the security of the country, establish the place of Lithuania on the map of the world and create premises for the prosperity of the country. One more anniversary celebrated by Lithuania is closely associated with these important changes – ten years ago, on 22 August 1994, a peacekeeping platoon of the Lithuanian Army left on the first mission and participated in the United Nations (UN) operation in Croatia.

In the summer of 2004, approximately 200 Lithuanian military personnel already participated in six international missions in the Balkans, the Middle East, the Trans-Caucasus or Central Asia. The President of Lithuania Valdas Adamkus, congratulating military personnel with the tenth anniversary of their participation in international peace operations, stated that the contribution of the country to the enhancement of international security not only granted the possibility to strengthen its international prestige and

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helped demonstrate that Lithuania is a reliable partner of Western states but also "beyond doubt speeded up Lithuania's membership in the North Atlantic Alliance".[1]

Lithuanian peacekeepers have had a chance to participate in several UN, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) peace missions in the Balkans and the Trans-Caucasus. However, in the middle of the last decade, NATO became one of the key actors in resolving conflicts and crises in Europe. Since then, Lithuanian troops have participated in almost all NATO peacekeeping operations and in 1999, when the EU began to build its own reaction force, promised to contribute to the peace initiatives of the Union.

Lithuania, declaring that it is ready to be not only the "user" but also the "provider" of security, should be interested in invigorating its peacekeeping activity and thus strengthen its authority in NATO. And not only in the Alliance, but also in the EU which forms the military component of crisis management. Threats to security that have recently emerged in the world, such as terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, inducement of ethnic, economic or social problems, instability in certain regions, preclude from thinking that opportunities for undertaking the regulation of international security problems would decrease.

On the contrary, the US-led intervention in Iraq and the post-war operation for the implementation of security and stability, that has received strong political and military support of Lithuania, testify to the fact that this might be neither an opportunity nor a possibility to choose, but a necessity predetermined by both defensive/security and political interests. Aren't these potential necessities going to become a decisive challenge for the diplomacy and the participation in peacekeeping operations policy of the state that is trying to move forward by raft made of not so strongly tied NATO and the EU logs. Finally, how well Lithuanian Armed Forces, that have so far made attempts to adjust to the increased post-cold war demand for military instruments as well as to the expansion of international military operations, having limited financial and administrative resources and undergoing a new reform, are prepared for such challenges.

1. Expansion of Peace Operations After the Cold War

After the cold war, when tension between the two hostile blocks disappeared and intensive local conflicts considerably increased, peacekeeping forces came to be more often used to contain and resolve them. However, not only the scope of peace operations increased but also their essence and the very use of military forces in resolving conflicts also considerably changed.

Peacekeeping concept was "invented" in 1956 by the Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson who, when solving the Suez Canal crisis, proposed to replace the forces of the involved countries by the contingent of the United Nations.[2] During the years of the cold war, peacekeeping was mostly associated with the deployment of small, lightly armed forces in the zone of conflict where they had to separate the warring parties. This, the so-called first generation peace keeping, got established as

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[1] BNS, *President congratulated and rewarded Lithuanian military personnel participating in international operations*, 19 August, 2004.

[2] Duffey T., "United Nations Peace-keeping in the Post-Cold War Era" in Jones C., Kennedy-Pipe C., eds., *International Security in a Global Age: Securing the Twenty-first Century,* London: Frank Cass, 2000, p. 120.

an alternative to the coercive measures of the United Nations Security Council and eventually formed key principles of peace interventions. Such operations were mainly related to the United Nations, led by the Security Council and collectively as well as voluntarily financed by member states. Peacekeeping operations could only be built with the approval and cooperation of local governments. Such operations had to be politically and militarily neutral; besides, military forces participating in them could use force in self-defence only.[3]

However, after the cold war, it became increasingly clear that such peacekeeping concept was not effective because the very nature of international conflicts had dramatically changed. Rather frequently they are caused by ethnic discord and this determines their great potential "explosive power"; in a conflict hostile parties are often not state armies, but paramilitary forces or civilian armed formations whose internal discipline is usually not rigid; therefore, they are difficult to control and might be unpredictable. Victims or targets of such conflicts are frequently peaceful population or civilian persons; conflicts might force a great number of people to abandon their homes and can cause an influx of refugees fleeing abroad. It is not infrequent that during a conflict one can observe the collapse of the political system of a state or a region causing a power vacuum.[4]

Actors involved in the resolution of conflicts have also changed – a major role in them can be played by non-governmental organizations; after the cold war, quite a few states have also conducted unilateral peace operations. The United Nations previously dominant in peace keeping came to be overshadowed by regional security organizations or coalitions of states eager for action. Changes in the substantiation and motivation of peace operations can also be discerned – the previous motive of the threat to international security came to be treated more broadly – the term *threat* is applied to humanitarian disaster, mass violations of human rights or breaking of security agreements of previously warring parties.[5]

Thus conflicts became very complicated, multidimensional and this determined a different attitude to the very resolution of conflicts. It could comprise most diverse action measures – from preventive deployment and diplomacy to the use of military forces for carrying out various tasks: provision of humanitarian assistance, separation of warring parties, restoration of political power.[6] This forced traditional peacekeeping mechanisms to change as well. Ideas were also voiced about the peacekeeping of the second and third generation.

The second generation of peacekeeping was born when geography of peace operations considerably expanded; the international impact of conflicts increased as well. Attempts were still made to retain impartiality and receive the approval of the conflicting states in such missions, but peacekeeping forces were assigned much wider functions than before. It was not infrequent that the aim of their actions was not only to maintain the existing situation but also to actively participate in resolving the conflict by peaceful means. They could use force not just for self-defence but also, for example, to secure convoys of humanitarian assistance.

As it is noted, it would be more accurate to call the third generation peacekeeping operations by the term peace enforcement operations since such missions hardly comply with the fundamental principles of traditional and second generation peace keeping: agreement of the conflicting parties to grant peacekeepers access, impartiality of the

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[3] *Ibidem,* p. 121.

[4] *Ibidem,* p. 118.

[5] *Ibidem,* p. 113.

[6] Lynch D., "New thinking in conflict management" in Cottey A., Averre D., eds., *New Security Challenges in Postcommunist Europe: Securing Europe's East,* Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002, p.112.

intervention and non-application of force.[7] International community might resort to such measures if the parties involved in the conflict do not approve of the peacekeeping mission though it is necessary to guarantee security on a broader, international scale or, say, to handle an uncontrolled humanitarian situation. It should be pointed out that peace enforcement might be combined with other more traditional peacekeeping measures, such as economic sanctions, weapons embargo or humanitarian assistance operations.

The transformation of peacekeeping is also reflected in general definitions of modern peace operations provided by the Ministry of National Defence of Lithuania (see Table 1).

The presented definition of peace keeping is much wider providing not only for the separation of the conflicting parties; the coercive nature of peace enforcement is clearly emphasized and the definition of peace building implies a new role of peacekeeping forces that emerged in the resolution of international conflicts in a post-conflict situation. At the same time, the definitions clearly illustrate the diversity of tasks that military forces participating in conflict and crisis management might be assigned and what "multilateral, complex, multinational and multicultural"[8] peace operations became after the cold war.

In combining peace keeping with preventive diplomacy, humanitarian and political objectives, a civilian component, whether it were a civilian police force or employees of non-governmental organizations, or representatives of international organizations participating in conflict resolution, began to gain a considerable importance in these missions. Thus, on the one hand, military personnel, participating in peace keeping, had to adjust not only to the increased role of civilian officials in missions of military nature, but also to the necessary closer cooperation of these two components. On the other hand, in the concepts concerning the use of military force for keeping peace, military principles and issues of military needs came to be more and more dominant.[9] From the military point of view, operations became increasingly complicated, they were often conducted in a very hostile and alien environment, more diverse military measures involving services of air and sea components came to be used. Such peace operations, particularly peace building, came very close to being a full-scale war.

Quite a few significant aspects of this transformation of peace operations were revealed in resolving conflicts that occurred in Europe, particularly in the Balkans, after the cold war. It was here that new roles of such regional organizations as NATO and the EU emerged and, alongside these organizations, Lithuania started to carry out its peace missions too.

2. NATO and EU Peacekeeping Initiatives and Lithuania

Conflicts that occurred in Europe after the cold war made the principle of security indivisibility prominent and encouraged key actors of the region to search for new forms to guarantee it. In 1991, in its new strategic concept NATO foresaw that it had to take measures to resolve crises affecting the security of its members and, if necessary, to start crises response operations.[10] As the definition indicates (see Table 1), these are various measures outside the notion of collective defence (Article 5 of the North Atlantic

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[7] *Ibidem,* p. 121.
[8] Duffey, (note 2) p. 123.
[9] Lynch, (note 6) p. 120.
[10] NATO, *Crisis management: How did policy evolve?,*
http://www.nato.int/issues/crisis_management/evolution.htm, 09 10 2005.

Table 1. International peace operations

	Definitions	Generation
UN	**Peace operations** – operations including preventive deployments, peacekeeping, peace enforcement operations; diplomatic activities: preventive diplomacy, peace making, peace building, humanitarian assistance, assistance during elections, etc.	
	Peacekeeping - political and military activities undertaken to control conflicts in presence of UN representatives (both civilian and military); execution or monitoring of agreements (ceasefire, demobilization, etc.), resolution and/or protection of rendering humanitarian assistance. Operations are carried out by the consent of all parties to the conflict.	II
	Peace enforcement – activities that in compliance with Article 7 of the UN Charter III involve employment of military force are designed to maintain or re-establish international peace and security in the situations in which according to the UN Security Council there is presence of a threat to peace, or violation of peace or international law. The operations are essentially coercive and can be carried out when the consent of the parties to the conflict has not been achieved or might be uncertain. They are designed to maintain or re-establish peace, enforce the terms specified in the mandate.	III
	Peace building – activities after the end of conflict designed to identify and support means and structures necessary to consolidate peace and rebuilt confidence between the former adversaries. The main objective is to prevent reoccurrence of conflict; it often includes organization of elections, reestablishment of civilian infrastructure and institutions, economic revival.	II
NATO	**Crises response operations** – NATO-led non–Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty operations that include rendering support to civilian authorities, humanitarian, sanctions/embargo implementation and peace support operations.	
	Peace support operations – NATO-led operations covering conflict prevention, peace making, peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace building operations.	II, III
EU	**Petersberg tasks** – the EU-led humanitarian and rescue missions, peacekeeping missions and tasks performed by combat forces in crisis management, including peace making.	II, III

Sources: The Ministry of National Defence of the Republic of Lithuania, http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=21773#apibrėžimai, 11 10 2005. Lutz R.A., *Military Capabilities for a European Defence*, Copenhagen: DUPI, 2001.

Treaty), including peace support operations that, in their turn, encompass peacekee-ping missions of all generations. In the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, the EU also agreed to form a common foreign and security policy (CFSP). However, it failed to pass the first trial. Having no effective crisis management instruments, the EU was incapable of reaching a peaceful solution in the conflict that flared up in the collapsing Yugos-lav Federation.

As it turned out, the United Nations, the main performer of peace operations in the world, was also not quite ready to fight conflicts based on ethnic issues. NATO supported the UN by various means: helping to guarantee economic sanctions and weapons embargo imposed on Yugoslav Republics, and monitoring non-fly zones. Quite a number of NATO members sent their military personnel to join the UN peace force UNPROFOR. With the help of one of NATO allies, Denmark, Lithuania also assigned a platoon to it.

However, these actions were not sufficient to stop the conflict in Bosnia. In the summer of 1995, NATO approved a military intervention to support peace efforts of the UN, including a two-week campaign of air strikes. After the Dayton Peace Agre-ement was signed, on the basis of the mandate granted by the Security Council of the UN, NATO began the first "non- Article 5" operation for the implementation of military aspects of the Dayton Agreement.[11]

In 1994, NATO began the *Partnership for Peace Program* (PfP), which helped the Alliance strengthen military relations with former communist adversaries and build preconditions for joint actions in seeking to guarantee security in Europe. Measures provided for in the Program not only encouraged states to participate in joint peace operations, but also granted the aspiring countries a possibility to come nearer to the membership in the Alliance. By establishing the Program and strengthe-ning it in 1997, NATO clearly indicated that it pays great attention to real and poten-tial participation of candidate states in peace missions.

Intensive conflicts and the following instability, uncontrolled organized crime, ter-rorism, trade in weapons, drugs or people, refugee-related humanitarian problems became evident as key threats in modern, hardly predictable world and, specifically, in Europe. Therefore, the Alliance, searching for new forms to substantiate its existence, began to regard the participation in the resolution of conflicts as one of the most significant tasks.

In the middle of the last decade, NATO turned out to be nearly the most effective structure from the existing ones in resolving conflicts frequently calling for military intervention. This was also proved by its 1999 decision to intervene, by using military measures, in the crisis in the province of Kosovo in Yugoslavia without a separate UN mandate, as well as the consequent mission in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In its Strategic Concept of 1999, NATO consolidated its role in resolving crises in Europe, while terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 against the United States and the increased exposure to the threat of terrorism in the world prompted discussions about the possible role of NATO in resolving peace issues beyond Europe too. Since 2003, the geography of the Alliance's activity has expanded not only in speeches of officials and politicians.

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[11] *Ibidem.*

In August 2003, in Afghanistan, NATO took over the command of the UN designated International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), which guarantees security in the capital Kabul and several other provinces of the State; besides it has assumed responsibility for the security during the historical presidential elections held in the autumn of 2004.[12] Though NATO, as the Alliance, did not participate in the US-led military intervention in Iraq, it supplied assistance to its ally Poland that in Central Iraq commanded a multinational contingent responsible for safeguarding security in the post-war country. At the end of June 2004, when the sovereignty was returned to the interim government of Iraq, the Alliance began, at the latter's request, a mission of training and other technical support.

However, conflicts in the Balkans have already clearly shown that in spite of military structures and the reform of national armies after the cold war, many NATO European allies do not possess sufficient military capabilities required to guarantee the security of the Alliance members under modern realities. Attention, directed towards the state of European defence systems, prompted the members of the European Union to return to its malfunctioning common foreign and security policy.

Since it became clear that the block enjoying a great economic and political power cannot exert a full international power, if its diplomatic initiatives are not supported by intervention capabilities, the EU began to form a new common security and defence policy in the framework of existing of CFSP. In December 1999, during the summit in Helsinki, the EU decided to build autonomous institutional and military capabilities that would allow the EU to independently plan and execute military crisis management operations without NATO's participation. EU heads of state and government set the objective by 2003 to be ready to deploy in 60 days a 60 thousand strong rapid reaction force which, with the aim to dispel any apprehensions of the USA and other NATO allies in reference to the collective defence and duplication of NATO and the EU military component, were assigned to carry out the so-called Petersberg tasks primarily related to peace keeping, humanitarian and rescue missions.

However, European states do not hurry to carry out defence reforms or augment spending for military purposes; therefore, the strengthening of European defence capabilities encounters quite a few problems, the development of the EU rapid reaction force is going rather slowly. Part of the problems were solved when NATO and the EU agreement on the possibility to use military means of the Alliance, if the EU decided to undertake actions in a conflict without the participation of NATO, was eventually signed in 2003 after negotiations and debates that lasted more than a year. It paved the way for the EU to start its first peace mission when in March 2003, 350 troops replaced the NATO force serving in Macedonia. Likewise, in December 2004 the EU replaced the NATO peacekeeper contingent in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[13]

Since its first mission in Croatia within the UN force UNPROFOR, Lithuania has actively participated in peace operations in Europe, seeking to demonstrate its determination to contribute to the safeguarding of security on the continent. It was

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[12] Hillier R., "Great Expectations", *NATO Review* 2, 2004. http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2004/issue2/english/analysis2.html, 09 10 2005.
[13] EU, *Activities of the European Union: Foreign and Security Policy,*
http://europa.eu.int/pol/cfsp/overview_en.htm, 09 09 2005.

a means for a small country that had recently regained independence to establish its place in international politics, its diplomatic authority and at the same time a possibility to confirm its determination to carry out would-be NATO commitments.

Meanwhile, the awareness that the independence and security of Lithuania in the present-day world cannot be guaranteed by defending its territory only, because new threats can often be deterred beyond the borders of the State, gained stronger grounds ever in the strategic discourse. The Law on the Basics of National Security, adopted in 1996, already emphasizes that regional and global stability is an important interest of Lithuania; therefore, it is ready to contribute to its strengthening. In 2002 National Security Strategy, global and regional security is called the most important, primary interest of the State. Integration into NATO and participation in conflict prevention and crisis management operations, which is an inseparable part of it, are considered to be the main means to guarantee the security of Lithuania.[14]

Geography of Lithuania's participation in international peace operations is rather wide (see Table 2). With UN, OSCE, NATO and recently EU missions, Lithuanian troops participated in resolving conflicts in the Balkans. Representatives of Lithuania also contributed to OSCE peace missions in Trans-Caucasus and to international efforts to build peace in the Middle East as well as in Central Asia – Lithuanian troops serve in Afghanistan in ISAF and also in the US-led mission "Enduring Freedom". In Iraq, they help the US-led coalition to establish stability and democratic order after the regime of Saddam Hussein was overthrown.

It is important to note that, since Lithuania's participation in international missions over the decade, its contribution, regarding the population of Lithuania, has considerably increased. Besides, troops have to participate in missions of very different complexity, sometimes in a very hostile environment. Their specialization has also considerably expanded – not only conventional infantry contingents but also special task forces, military medics and logisticians are sent on missions.

3. Challenges to the Army and Diplomatic Dilemmas

With the shift to increasingly active and diverse participation in missions beyond the boundaries of the state after the accession to NATO and the EU, Lithuania started developing a small mobile army ready and equipped for expeditionary operations, at the same time refusing massive structures directed towards territorial defence.

Instead of previously planned three brigades, by 2008, Lithuania intends to form one reaction brigade with a command head-quarters, support and combat companies, two mechanized infantry battalions, two motorized infantry battalions and an artillery battalion.[15] With the purpose of possible deployment for foreign missions, an infantry battalion is being formed in Rukla that will possess specialized capabilities for executing special purpose operations and tasks assigned to engineers and

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[14] The Ministry of National Defence of the Republic of Lithuania, http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=9673, 09 09 2004.

[15] Paulauskas K. "The Driving Logic Behind the Defence Reform in Lithuania: Building the Future Military", *Baltic Defence Review* 1 (9), 2003, p. 133.

military medics. To guarantee the flexibility of the army, its appropriate structure is being formed. According to the Army structure approved by the Seimas, by 2008, the professional component should be reinforced (in 2003 – 8,100, in 2008 – 8,311 military personnel), while the number of conscripts and the active reserve should be considerably reduced (from 4,500 to 2,000 and from 9,000 to 6,500, respectively, during the same period).[16]

Such army ready for NATO, EU or multinational expeditionary and crisis management missions dominated by professional service military personnel (or, in the future, consisting only of them) is not a cheep choice. The reform of the army itself will require considerable financial and other resources from Lithuania. However, it should not be forgotten that although NATO no longer is a clumsy military machine of the Cold War, the organization remains an alliance of collective defence. Lithuania that has been searching for an acceptable form of defence of the state since the restoration of independence can form an army directed towards reaction missions only because it is provided collective NATO security guarantees. Nonetheless, in order to make the guarantees on paper real (say, in the shape of NATO fighters guarding the Baltic airspace), there is a lot of work Lithuania has to do to be capable of taking the Alliance's support. The improvement of the infrastructure and the logistic system will also require a great deal of funds. One of the major challenges to Lithuania will be to coordinate its different military needs and find an optimal way to distribute its rather limited resources.

Resources also must be distributed adequately so that no differentiation, which might harm its overall efficiency, occurs in the army. Modern military forces must meet exceptionally high requirements. Within the country, for example, in the case of terrorist attacks, they must be ready to cooperate with civilian structures, police and, if need arises, they must be prepared to go on missions of different character and complexity, such as conflict prevention, crisis management, rescue or humanitarian ones. In post-conflict situations, they can play the role of a guarantor of stability and security as well as an assistant in the reconstruction of political processes in the societies, which are divided and not necessarily positively disposed. Such army needs perfectly trained military personnel not only in military terms, but also in linguistic capabilities, understanding public relations and diplomacy and at the same time ready to work using new information and military technologies. Such versatility and training requiring high qualifications in all areas proves to be costly and not easily attainable. It has been observed that in the armies of the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including Lithuania, units emerge whose training, equipment and "work quality" differ considerably from the rest.[17]

Allocation of considerable funds for international operations and training military personnel involved in them has so far proved to be more than the right thing – Lithuanian servicemen have often been perfectly assessed by heads and experts of foreign countries and armies; however, Lithuania will eventually have to address the problem how to prevent the differentiation of forces, one part being advanced, highly trained and experienced in international missions, and the other mostly dealing with conscripts. This might be rather difficult since, taking into consideration the political

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[16] *Ibidem.*
[17] Edmunds T. "NATO and its New Members", *Survival* 3 (45), p. 17.

Table 2. Contribution of Lithuania to international peace operations

	Operation	Capabilities	Tasks
08 1994 - 02 1996	**Croatia,** the UN-led operation UNPROFOR. About 90 Lithuanian military personnel participated.	Infantry	To assist in maintaining public order, patrol in the area of responsibility, guard at checkpoints, render assistance to humanitarian organizations, guard facilities
Since 1996	**Bosnia and Herzegovina,** the NATO-led peace stabilization operation SROR. Until February 2003 (when the Baltic States' contingent BALTSQN was transferred to Kosovo), about 700 Lithuanian military personnel served there. At present a staff officer is participating.	Infantry, staff officers	To assist in maintaining public order, patrol in the area of responsibility, guard at checkpoints, render assistance to humanitarian organizations, guard facilities
12 1998 - 03 1999	**Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro, former Yugoslavia),** the OSCE Verification Mission in Kosovo. Three officers participated.	Military representatives	To control how the then Yugoslav Federation Republic carried out its commitments to settle the conflict in the province of Kosovo
05 1999 - 09 1999	**Albania,** NATO humanitarian operation "Allied Harbour". Ten military personnel participated.	Military doctors, auxiliary medical personnel	To render medical assistance to local population
Since 1999	**Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro),** the international NATO-led peace operation "Joint Guardian". A volunteer force platoon serves within the joint Polish-Ukrainian battalion; within the Danish battalion operates the Baltic States' squadron BALTSQN to which Lithuania alongside Latvia and Estonia dispatches a company on rotation principle. In April – October 2003, a military doctor and his assistant participated in the mission. So far about 350 Lithuanian military personnel have participated in missions in Kosovo.	Infantry, military doctors	To assist in maintaining public order, patrol in the area of responsibility, guard at checkpoints, render assistance to humanitarian organizations, guard facilities
Since 2000	**Georgia,** the OSCE Georgia and the Russian Federation Border Monitoring Mission. 5 officers have already participated in this mission.	Military representatives	To observe movement across the border of Georgia and the Russian Federation

	Operation	Capabilities	Tasks
03 2001 - 07 2003	**Bosnia and Herzegovina**, a support operation to NATO-led operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the province of Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro). A Lithuanian aircraft was deployed at an air force military base in Naples, Italy. Lithuanian military aviators carried out over 1,000 flights, airlifted more than 13,000 military personnel and over 360 tons of cargo.	Transport aircraft An-26	To transport military personnel and cargo
Since 10 2002	**Afghanistan**, a Eurocorps-led international peace operation. Within the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) 6 Lithuanian military doctors have already participated. Together with them, logisticians and cargo handling specialists work in a military field hospital.	Military doctors, logisticians, cargo handling specialists	To render medical assistance to civilian population and military personnel
Since 11 2002	**Afghanistan**, US-led international operation "Enduring Freedom". Since April 2004, the 3rd Lithuanian squadron formed from special forces troops and military medics have been serving.	Special forces troops, military medics	To perform special military intelligence tasks
Since 04 2003	**The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**, the European Union-led operation CONCORDIA. One staff officer is serving.	Staff officers	
Since 04 2003	**Iraq**, the US-led military operation. Lithuanian military personnel serve in the coalition command in Baghdad, in the UK-led Multinational Division Head-quarters, the Polish-led Multinational Division Head-quarters. British- and Polish-led divisions hold a Lithuanian platoon in each. Eight logisticians and four military doctors also served in Iraq.	Infantry, staff officers	To guard communications objects, important infrastructure facilities and institutions, to maintain public order, render assistance to humanitarian aid organizations, patrol in the streets together with the Iraqi police, assist in training the Iraqi police

Source: The Ministry of National Defence, Republic of Lithuania, http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=21773#Lietuvos, 11 09 2004

context, there is no indication of a decrease in the need to participate in international peace operations. On the contrary, one can predict that it will keep on increasing.

Lithuania sees the participation of its military personnel in international missions as a contribution to international security, and its assistance in NATO or EU missions, including military ones, is perceived as "an essential part of the membership".[18] The country that has just joined NATO and the EU finds it also as a way of strengthening its situation and authority within these organizations and therefore it is concerned with its more active participation in different missions. Regarding the fact that by participation in resolving international conflicts both NATO and the EU seek to strengthen their international authority, these organizations are also concerned that the participation of their new members is very active. But Lithuania goes beyond the EU and NATO; its military personnel also take part in OSCE missions and in 2002 closer links with the UN were established – Lithuania assigned eight military medics and two ambulances to the Multinational Standby High Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG); so far they have not participated in UN missions. SHIRBRIG is part of the system of the UN Standby High Readiness Force. Military units attached to the brigade from different countries are deployed on their territories. After declaration of a mission, a brigade is formed which is sent to peace-keeping and humanitarian operations in any place of the world. The time of reaction of the brigade is from 14 to 30 days.

Lithuania's resources, however, are not inexhaustible. For example, as it has been announced, it was agreed to stop the mission of military aviators in a support operation within NATO-led operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in the province of Kosovo (former Yugoslavia, now Serbia and Montenegro) when the troops contingent in Iraq had to be increased.[19] Because of the lack of resources, it is inevitable that with the expansion of participation in some mission, participation in other missions will have to be stopped or limited; another alternative might be to distribute the available capabilities over a greater number of operations under way. However, such participation "everywhere and with everyone" without making a more considerable contribution might remain unnoticed and yield no desired diplomatic benefit. Lithuania has already faced this kind of paradox. For example, in June 2003, the Minister of National Defence Linas Linkevičius said that a record participation of Lithuania (13 military commitments and 7 international missions) demonstrates much more than a symbolic contribution to international security made by a country with the population of 3.5 million and 12,000-strong military forces.[20] Nevertheless, in April 2003, presenting his assessment of the Baltic States' membership in NATO to the US Senate, Stephen Larrabee, a representative of the RAND Corporation, pointed to their political significance, though he was rather reserved about their military capabilities and called the contribution to the anti-terrorist operation in Afghanistan as more symbolic.[21]

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[18] The Ministry of National Defence of the Republic of Lithuania, http://www.kam.lt/index.php?itemId=21773#kodėl, 09 10 2005.
[19] The Ministry of National Defence of the Republic of Lithuania, http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=21773#Lietuvos, 09 10 2005.
[20] Linkevičius L., "Life After Enlargement", *Baltic Defence Review* 1(9), 2003, p. 106.
[21] Larrabee S. "The Baltic States and NATO Membership", Testimony presented to the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in April, 2003, p. 3.

With regard to the fact that membership of NATO and the EU has so far been only something to strive for, foreign and security policy was directed towards several objectives – to demonstrate that Lithuania will be a reliable and active member of these organizations and, at the same time, to prepare its institutions and resources for the time when the membership will become a reality and it will be possible to use it "with full capability" for the implementation of the interests of the State. Having been engaged in preparation for membership in Euro-Atlantic structures, Lithuania did not formulate more specific directions of foreign and security policy apart from seeking to be a model member of the international community and contribute to strengthening NATO and the EU. However, in order to gain full diplomatic benefit out of limited recourses Lithuania can assign to NATO and the EU operations, more specific outline of international military participation policy, clear principles or even doctrine are necessary.

The issue of defining the directions that Lithuania would like to take in its foreign and security policy seems to be important also for the fact that both "political" and defence relations of NATO and the EU are far from being settled. A hint in the Treaty of the European Union about possible "collective defence" in case EU members decide upon it, strengthens the fears of competition between the EU and NATO expressed by the USA and some of its allies in Europe.[22] The division between NATO and EU defensive functions is usually argued by the fact that EU forces are assigned to execute only Petersberg tasks that are mainly associated with humanitarian and peacekeeping missions. However, taking a closer look at the concept of Petersberg Tasks (See Table 1), which emerged after WEU ministers met in Bonn in 1992, it is evident that there might be different interpretations. It does not clearly state which generation of peace keeping is meant there – the second, or maybe the third – peace building – once employment of military forces is provided for in crisis management and post-conflict situations in order to make peace. It is said that the concept of peace making, which is not given a more concrete explanation in the definitions of UN peace operations, was demanded to be included in the EU agreement by Germany, which kept a cautious position. However, there is no doubt that by it peace enforcement - undoubtedly actions of coercive nature - was meant.[23] The EU does not have a unanimous position on the Petersberg Tasks, and opinions of its members on this issue vary. According to such countries as Britain or France, the 1999 operations in Kosovo or even the 1991 military actions in the Persian Gulf might undoubtedly be assigned to them, while other countries tend to considerably limit their scope.

It seems that the real ratio of NATO and EU defence dimension can be determined only by political self-determination. As follows from the aforementioned security and defence policy pursued by the EU, it is not likely that the EU could implement any major ambitions in conflict regulation. However, the trans-Atlantic tension that has mounted during recent years has impact on this area as well. European countries not approving of the USA policy and believing that they do not have enough opportunities to manifest themselves in the USA-dominant NATO seek to employ European foreign

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[22] Heisbourg F., *European Defence: Making it Work*, Paris: ISS WEU, 2000, p. 6. (Chaillot paper 42).
[23] Ortega M., *Military Intervention and the European Union*, Paris: ISS WEU, 2001, p. 106. (Chaillot paper 45).

and security policy for the expression of their interests and opinion. Provided eventually these disagreements are not resolved and hot coals of the conflict keep smouldering threatening to flare up, Lithuania can face a diplomatic dilemma of strictly or at least more strictly choosing between NATO and the EU. Making a clear distinction between NATO as a collective defence alliance and the EU as rather an economic and political than defensive block, it has tried hard to avoid it. To Lithuania, that associates its security guarantees with NATO and its economic welfare with the EU, the perspective of this choice would be totally undesirable.

On the other hand, having become a full member of both organizations, Lithuania is granted a possibility to affect their relations. However, the country with a clearly pro-American position manoeuvring between dangerous undercurrents in the European Union where a great deal of important decisions are taken by the majority rather than by the principle of a unanimous vote can face a grave challenge. Its key task would be to factually prove that its foreign and security policy rests on two pillars – NATO and the EU – and a balance between commitments to present and future NATO and EU peace missions could contribute to that. Signs of this line of thinking are already visible in the current Lithuanian policy. In the spring 2004 Linas Linkevičius, who then was a defence minister, presented a rather lukewarm Lithuanian position on the initiative of EU battle groups and gave preference to NATO rapid reaction force.[24] In the NATO Summit held in Istanbul in June 2004, Lithuania announced about its intentions to increase its capabilities in the operations carried out (by NATO) in Afghanistan and the province of Kosovo in Yugoslavia.[25] In November, however, Lithuania confirmed that it will be participation in one of the EU battle groups together with Poland, Germany, Slovakia, and Latvia, and, most likely, will assign a small logistics unit to it.[26]

Conclusions

Participation in resolving conflicts that flared up after the Cold War and, where the intervention of military force was rarely avoidable, offered Lithuania an opportunity to demonstrate its desire to be not only a user but also a provider of security. Over the decade, the considerably expanded geography of Lithuania's international military participation as well as the growing number of its peace keepers contributed to strengthening its international authority and thus bringing nearer the aspired membership of NATO. The aspiration and, at the same time, the need to be involved in different complexity peace operations requiring specific military capabilities and competence were among the factors in developing and later restructuring Lithuanian military forces. This aspiration was also reinforced by the fact that positions of both NATO and the EU, the other block that Lithuania sought to join, on participation in resolving conflicts, which were the cause of the main threats to the security of the continent and the world, underwent changes. After Lithuania became a full member of NATO and the

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[24] BNS, *Lithuania prepares its input into NATO rapid reaction force, will not scatter about the other initiatives*, 12 February, 2004.
[25] BNS, *Lithuania is planning to increase its capabilities in Afghanistan and Kosovo, defence minister says*, 23 June, 2004.
[26] BNS, *Lithuania will participate in creating EU rapid reaction battle groups*, 22 November, 2004.

EU, the main challenges to its participation in the policy of peace operations arise from military aspects of peace keeping and a potential competition between NATO and the EU. The country that so far has associated the safeguarding of its security with NATO and its economic development with the EU in the future will have to search for a Solomon's decision how to balance its limited military capabilities in order to meet the need to participate in peacekeeping initiatives of both organizations and how to make the optimum use of financial, administrative or other resources seeking to expand and improve military means necessary for international peace operations.

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Contribution of Lithuania to the International Community Fight against Terrorism: Overview of the Official Position

Because of the unprecedented scope of terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington on 11 September 2001, democratic states began to urgently form a wide international coalition against terrorism. After the acts of terror in the USA, Lithuania faced a new challenge: to determine new objectives of foreign and security policy, review old priorities, adapt them to new realities of the geostrategic environment.

The purpose of the article is to survey and estimate the contribution of Lithuania to the fight of international community against terrorism; discuss the program against terrorism of the Republic of Lithuania; survey the joining of Lithuania to international conventions; discuss and estimate the solidarity of Lithuania with international community in fighting against terrorism.

Introduction

Never before had mass media reports on individual terrorist attacks, even the most atrocious ones inflicting tens and even hundreds of casualties, caused such an extensive response as then. It was not by chance that heads of different states pointed out that international terrorism had gone beyond all limits and started an open war against the entire civilized world. For the first time the humanity realistically perceived the true aims of terrorist organizations and states supporting them; therefore, the international community did not limit itself to strictly denouncing the criminals or urging to oppose them, but took concrete steps to fight against them.

Having restored its statehood, from the very start Lithuania paid great attention to the prevention of international terrorism and joined international conventions against terrorism. With Lithuania integrating into Euro-Atlantic structures, the threat of international terrorism to our state increased. After its integration into the EU, in the context of free mobility of people and protection of outer borders of the EU, Lithuania also assumed responsibility for the security of Europe, and because of that the threat of terrorism increased again. Drawing on international experience in fighting against international terrorism, Lithuania considers prevention of terrorism a priority. Getting ready to fight against terrorism, government institutions prepared antiterrorist action plans, approved A Long-Term State Security Strengthening Anti-

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Terrorist Programs Development and Implementation Plan. The purpose of the article is to survey and estimate the contribution of Lithuania to the fight of international community against terrorism; discuss the program against terrorism of the Republic of Lithuania; survey the joining of Lithuania to international conventions; discuss and estimate the solidarity of Lithuania with international community in fighting against terrorism.

1. Program against Terrorism of the Republic of Lithuania

Implementing the decision of 27 May 1997 by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania *"On Measures of the Implementation of 1997-2000 Action Program of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania"*[1], on 21 July 1997, the Government of the Republic of Lithuania approved *The Long-Term State Security Strengthening Programs Development Plan*; obligated ministries and other institutions which, in the aforementioned plan were designated as responsible for the development and coordination of these programs to develop and submit them to the Government of the Republic of Lithuania at the appointed time.[2] On 8 June 2000, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, following Article 5, Part 1 of the Law on the Basics of National Security of the Republic of Lithuania[3] approved *The Long-Term State Security Strengthening Programs Development and Implementation Plan*.[4]

Based on this program preventive actions on blocking up the penetration of terrorist organizations into the country were carried out. Special antiterrorist measures to be carried out by actions of the administrations of these objects minimally decreasing the probability of terrorist acts were planned and individual action plans for possible terror acts were made up. Also, operational work was carried out in criminological objects, information about conflicts among criminals and attempts to organize terrorist acts was gathered.[5] The fact that foreign capital enterprises pursuing no commercial activities are being established in Lithuania is of great concern. Having established an enterprise, its owner acquires the right to temporary living in Lithuania. For example, in 2000, 855 enterprises (79 per cent) out of 1082 established by Russian citizens, did not function. Similar tendencies can be discerned in the activities of the enterprises established by citizens of China, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Vietnam. Such "commercial" activity serves as a perfect cover for foreign terrorists, secret servicemen and members of organized criminal groups.[6]

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[1] The Decision of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania "On Measures of the Implementation of 1997-2000 Action Program of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania" *Valstybės žinios*, 1997, No. 72-1847.

[2] The Decision of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Approval of the Long-Term State Security Strengthening Programs Development Plan", *Valstybės žinios*, 1997, No. 48-1381.

[3] See "Law on the Basics of National Security", *Valstybės žinios*, 1997, No. 2-16; 1998, No. 55-1520.

[4] The 8 June 2000 Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Long-Term State Security Strengthening Programs Development and Implementation Plan", *Valstybės žinios*, 2000, No. 48-1381.

[5] The Report of 1998 On the State and Development of the National Security System, http://www.kam.lt/EasyAdmin/sys/files/Ataskaita1998.zip, (referred to on 15 September 2004).

[6] The *Report of 2000 On the State and Development of the National Security System*, Vilnius, 2001, p. 57.

Implementing the UN Security Council resolutions approved in September of 2001, Lithuania planned directions of medium and long-term activity in fighting against terrorism as well as concrete antiterrorist measures. *The significance of prevention in fighting against terrorism is very important.* Review of legal acts and procedures in order to prevent all possibilities to finance terrorist organizations is becoming a priority for Lithuanian and international communities. States should maintain close cooperation in investigating terrorist acts and carrying out other legal procedures. International community should also review conventions approved as early as the 70s and 80s that are no longer in line with contemporary issues.

After the 11 September 2001 terrorist acts in the USA, the concern of international community towards the prevention of terrorism has strengthened. Simultaneously, key problems of Lithuania's preparation to fight against terrorism became more evident. By then Lithuania had not joined all necessary international conventions for fighting against terrorism, lacked adequate legal regulations for fighting against terrorism and its prevention, and functions of state institutions then carrying out prevention of terrorist activities were not clearly regulated. Taking all this into consideration, in 2001, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania supplemented *The Long-term State Security Strengthening Anti-Terrorist Programs Development and Implementation Plan.* In the project of the Program Against Terrorism, prepared in 2001, threats posed to the State by international and national terrorism were listed, directions for fighting against terrorism were determined and a plan of urgent actions against terrorism was supplied. Institutions responsible for the implementation of the program were also appointed.[7] Considering the changes effected by the international community in fighting against terrorism in 2001-2004, the Long-Term State Security Strengthening Programs Development Plan was also amended.[8]

Implementing the decision of 22 January 2002 by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania *"On the Approval of the Program of the Republic of Lithuania Against Terrorism"* (program implementation measure No.39), on 26 June 2003, the Government of the Republic of Lithuania approved *"The Program for the Liquidation of the Consequences of Crisis Situations Caused by Terrorist Acts"* and ruled that a concrete amount of money for carrying out measures provided for in the above mentioned Program approved by this decision must be set forth while preparing the state budget of the Republic of Lithuania for the respective year, as well as municipality budgets and state investment programs.

The necessity of the program is based on: the possibility and dangerousness of international terrorism manifestations and urgency of fighting against them; probability of terrorist acts involving weapons of mass destruction; the international commitments of the Republic of Lithuania; the awareness of the risk related to terrorist

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[7] The 20 September 2001 Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Decision of the Seimas "On the Long-Term State Security Strengthening Programs Development and Implementation Plan", *Valstybės žinios,* 2001, No. 82-2837.

[8] See: The Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania (13 March 2003) "On the Supplement of the Decision of the Seimas "On the Long-Term State Security Strengthening Programs Development and Implementation Plan, *Valstybės žinios,* 2003, No. 29-1180; the Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania (15 July 2004) "On the Approval of the Long-Term State Security Strengthening Programs Development Plan", *Valstybės žinios,* 2004, No. 115-4287.

acts including those using weapons of mass destruction; the estimation of the state of each security link and determination of measures for the specification of plans; insurance of the safety of the population and stable functioning of economy.

Aims of the Program: to get ready to adequately react and liquidate consequences of crisis situations caused by terrorist acts (particularly in case when weapons of mass destruction are employed), protect the population and the environment from possible adverse consequences; carry out commitments of Lithuania in compliance with the UN conventions for fighting against terrorism, the Convention *"On the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling, and Use of Chemical Weapons and their Destruction"* and other international agreements.

Key tasks of the Program: to create an effective and reliable mechanism for the liquidation of consequences caused by terrorist acts; expand capabilities of civil security and rescue forces as well as those of state and municipal institutions, pool their efforts to get ready to respond and liquidate consequences of crisis situations caused by terrorist acts; provide conditions for supplying forces of civil security and rescue system with material resources necessary to adequately respond and protect people, assets and the environment in case of terrorist acts; guarantee the implementation of the antiterrorist policy of the UNI, the EU, NATO and the OSCE; create a training system for civil security and rescue forces as well as decision-making officials and achieve standards set for them.

The Program for fight against terrorism comprises: participation in the fight of international community against terrorism; development of common legal anti-terrorist base; protection of potential terrorist targets including important infrastructure; determination of potential contractors and executioners of terrorist acts; determination and cutting of financial sources of terrorist organizations and ways of financing them; creation of clearly defined procedures for investigating terrorist acts; permanent readiness to liquidate crisis situations caused by terrorist acts; strengthening of antiterrorist intelligence and counterintelligence.[9]

The Republic of Lithuania gives preference to concrete actions in fighting against terrorism, corruption, organized crime, trade in people, illegal drug trafficking, illegal migration, smuggling and responding to other modern security challenges, such as crime in the area of information technologies and telecommunications. Alongside other foreign partners and international organizations the Republic of Lithuania prepares, ratifies and implements documents of the international law, paying particular attention to resolutions by the UN Security Council, promotes interagency cooperation of the police force, border control, customs and special purpose services on the basis of bilateral agreements and also through such international organizations as Interpol and Europol.

In order to guarantee an adequate coordination of the activity of state and other institutions in fighting against terrorism and implementation of necessary fighting measures, on 15 February 2002, the Government of the Republic of Lithuania set up *An Interagency Coordinative Commission against Terrorism.* The tasks of the

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[9] See: The Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Approval of the National Security Strategy". "National Security Strategy", *Valstybės žinios*, 2002, No. 56-2233; the Decision of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Approval of the Program for the Liquidation of Situational Consequences Caused by Terrorist Acts" (26 June 2003, No. 850), *Valstybės žinios*, 2003, No. 64-2908.

Commission were to consider strategic and, in case of need, urgent issues of fight against terrorism and its prevention, coordinate and control the program of the Republic of Lithuania against terrorism (further- the Program). Carrying out its tasks, the Commission performs these functions: considers organizational issues, envisages urgent measures in case favorable conditions for the emergence of a terrorist threat arise in Lithuania; considers strategic issues of fighting against terrorism and its prevention, submits suggestions to the State Defense Council, the Committee on National Security and Defense of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, other state institutions and establishments; controls how responsible state institutions and establishments implement measures provided for in the Program, discusses reports submitted by them on the implementation of these measures; coordinates exchange of information among state institutions and establishments, associated with the implementation of the Program.[10]

The Government of the Republic of Lithuania took internal preventive measures in order not to become a target for terrorism or its transit corridor. Measures against terrorism provided for in the Program were consistently implemented. Prevention of financing terrorism was one of the most important directions of fight against terrorism; therefore, on 19 June 1997, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania passed *The Law on the Prevention of Money Laundering*.[11] The necessary legal basis for financing the fight against terrorism was further developed – a list of criteria of suspicious monetary transactions was expanded, *The Law Amending the Law on the Prevention of Money Laundering*[12] was prepared and passed in the Seimas in 2004.

2. Lithuania's Participation in International Conventions

Since the restoration of the State, Lithuania has been firmly supporting the fight of international community against terrorism. Lithuania has been actively participating in international organizations contributing to the efforts of international community to guarantee democracy, human rights, peace and security and expanding economic diplomacy. Alongside other foreign partners and international organizations Lithuania prepares, ratifies and implements documents of international law, paying particular attention to the UN Security Council resolutions. The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania, acknowledging the regulations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights stating that no man can be subjected to torture or treated and punished in a cruel,

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[10] The Decision of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Establishment of the Interagency Coordinative Commission against Terrorism and Organization of its Work", *Valstybės žinios*, 2002, No. 18-734; the Decision of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Change of the 15 February 2002 Decision No. 255 of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Establishment of the Interagency Coordinative Commission against Terrorism and Organization of its Work", *Valstybės žinios*, 2004, No. 136-4956.

[11] The Law of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Prevention of Money Laundering", *Valstybės žinios*, 1997, No. 64-1502.

[12] "The Law Amending the Law on the Prevention of Money Laundering" of the Republic of Lithuania, *Valstybės žinios*, 2003, No. 117-5318.

inhuman and humiliating manner, confirming the commitment to protect human rights and basic freedoms laid down in the 12 March 1991 decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania " *On the Joining of the Republic of Lithuania to the Documents of the International Charter of Human Rights*" decided: to join *the 10 December 1984 Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment and Punishment*; obligate the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania to inform Secretary General of the United Nations Organization about this act of joining and the will of the Republic of Lithuania to deposit the joining documents.[13] On 9 April 1992, following universally acknowledged principles and norms of the international law, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania decided to join the UNI *9 December 1948 Convention On the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* and *the 26 November 1968 Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against the Humanity.*[14]

In order to achieve and maintain a high nuclear security level throughout the world, strengthen international measures, including international and also technical cooperation associated with the insurance of security, create and sustain effective means of protection from potential radiological danger in nuclear facilities in order to protect individuals, the community and the environment from hazardous consequences of ionizing radiation, prevent emergencies with radiological consequences and reduce these consequences if any the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania by force of the 17 October 1995 Decision ratified the international *Convention on Nuclear Safety* signed by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania in Vienna on 23 March 1995.[15]

Due to more frequent terrorist acts against civil aviation, following Clause 16 of Article 67 of the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania and taking into consideration the 2 October 1995 Decree of the President of the Republic *"On Submitting of International Conventions and Protocols of Civil Aviation to the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania for Ratification"* on 14 December 1995 the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania ratified the UNI international civil aviation conventions and protocols: *the Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft* (14 September 1963, Tokyo); *the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft* (16 December 1970, the Hague); *the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation* (23 September 1971); *the Protocol on the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation Supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation* adopted on 23 September 1971 in Montreal (24 February 1988, Montreal).[16]

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[13] The Decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Joining of the Republic of Lithuania to the 10 December 1984 Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degradind Treatment and Punishment", *Valstybės žinios*, 1991, No. 27-732.

[14] The Decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Joining of the Republic of Lithuania to the 9 December 1948 Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the 26 November 1986 Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against the Humanity", *Valstybės žinios*, 1992, No. 13-341.

[15] The Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the Convention on Nuclear Safety". *Valstybės žinios*, 1995, No. 88-1975.

[16] The Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of International Conventions and Protocols of Civil Aviation", *Valstybės žinios*, 1995, No. 103-2304.

On 10 April 1997, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania ratified the 1972 international UNI *Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction.*[17] States, parties to this Convention, made an agreement: each state, a party to this Convention, pledges never and under no circumstances to modernize, produce stockpile or in any other way obtain and possess: microbial or other biological substances or toxins regardless of their origin or method of production and of such types and such quantities that cannot be justified by preventive, protective or other peaceful objectives; armaments, equipment or means of delivery designated for the use of such substances or toxins for adverse purposes or during an armed conflict.[18]

In 1998 Lithuania joined *two* international conventions: on 24 February the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania ratified *the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction* signed on 13 January 1993 in Paris.[19] By following the regulations of this Convention, any State, a party to this Convention, pledges to destroy any chemical weapon producing objects that it owns or controls, or which are located at any site under its jurisdiction or control. Any State, a party, pledges not to use substances designated for suppressing mass unrest as warfare means.[20] This Convention is the first multilateral agreement prohibiting all kinds of chemical weapon as a class of armament. The term for the implementation of the Convention regulations in reference to chemical weapon is 10 years, i.e. by 2007 chemical weapon must be destroyed.

At international level, the implementation of the Convention is coordinated by the Organization of Chemical Weapon Prohibition in The Hague; in Lithuania, by the Ministry of Economy. States possessing no chemical weapons must declare the production, export, import and employment of hazardous chemical substances within the country as designated in the Convention.

On 15 May 1998, having ratified the Convention, Lithuania became a member of the Organization on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. On 24 September 1998 "The Law of the Republic of Lithuania on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons"[21] was adopted, which prohibited the production, storage and employment of chemical weapon and regulated the control regime of hazardous chemical substances and their predecessors in Lithuania.

The Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania also ratified, with stipulations and statements, *The 1988 UN Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and*

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[17] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the 1972 Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction", *Valstybės žinios*, 1997, No. 59-1360.

[18] "The 1972 Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction", *Valstybės žinios*, 1998, No. 59-1370.

[19] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction" (ratified on 24 February 1998), *Valstybės žinios*, 1998, No. 35-932.

[20] The Convention "On the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction", *Valstybės žinios*, 1998, No. 35-935.

[21] "The Law of the Republic of Lithuania on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons", *Valstybės žinios,* 1998, No. 90-2480.

Psychotropic Substances.[22] The purpose of this Convention is to help states coopera-
te more effectively in solving various problems, related to illegal turnover of narcotic
and psychotropic substances on an international level. In carrying out their commit-
ments provided for in the Convention, States take necessary measures including legal
and administrative ones based on key regulations of the national legal system. States
carry out commitments provided for in this Convention following the principles of
sovereign equality, territorial integrity of States and non-interference in other coun-
tries' internal affairs. On the territory of another State, a State does not exercise
jurisdiction and functions that, on the basis of national laws of the State, are within the
competence of the bodies of that State.[23]

Approving of the activity of the UN on disarmament and weapons control,
in1999, Lithuania signed the UN Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpi-
ling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and their Destruction with
certain conditions concerning the ratification.[24] In 1999, Lithuania ratified the Trea-
ty on Universal Prohibition of Nuclear Tests[25], signed on 7 October 1996 in New
York. Participating in the fight against terrorism alongside the UN, the Government
of the Republic of Lithuania adopted a Decision on the basis of which commercial
banks of Lithuania must freeze the accounts of the Afghanistan Taliban movement.
By force of the Decision flights of the aircraft owned by Taliban over the territory of
Lithuania are also forbidden.

On 21 November 2000, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania ratified *The
International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages*, drawn on 18 December
1979 in New York.[26] States, parties to this Convention, made an agreement: 1) Any
person who seizes or detains (further- a hostage) and threatens to kill, to injure or to
continue to detain another person (hereinafter referred to as the "hostage") in order
to compel a third party, namely, a State, an international intergovernmental organiza-
tion, a natural or juridical person, or a group of persons, to do or abstain from doing
any act as an explicit or implicit condition for the release of the hostage commits the
offence of taking of hostages ("hostage-taking") within the meaning of this Conven-
tion. 2) Any person who: a) attempts to commit an act of hostage-taking, or b) parti-
cipates as an accomplice of anyone who commits or attempts to commit an act of
hostage- taking likewise commits an offence for the purposes of this Convention.[27]

In 2002, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania ratified four UNI Conven-

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[22] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania " On the Ratification of the UN 1998 Convention Against
the Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances" (ratified on 12 March 1998),
Valstybės žinios, 1998, No. 38-996.

[23] The UN Convention "Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances",
Valstybės žinios, 1998, No. 38-1004.

[24] Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Person-
nel Mines and on their Destruction (ratified on 25 March 2003),*Valstybės žinios*, 2003, No. 49-
2160.

[25] "The Law of the Republic of Lithuania on the Ratification of the Traety on Universal Prohibition
of Nuclear Tests", 1999, *Valstybės žinios*, No. 100-2888.

[26] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the International Convention
Against the Taking of Hostages", *Valstybės žinios,* 2000, No. 108-3423.

[27] The International Convention "Against the Taking of Hostages", *Valstybės žinios*, 2000, No. 108-
3430.

tions and one Protocol on the fight against terrorism: *Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*[28], *Convention on the Prevention of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomats and Punishment for them*[29], *Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation and the Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf*[30], *the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism*[31]. States, parties to this Convention, are convinced that it is necessary to urgently strengthen international cooperation of States in developing and undertaking effective measures for the prevention of the financing of terrorism and thus fight against it by prosecuting and punishing perpetrators[32].

In carrying out a long-term State strengthening program against terrorism, on 25 March 2003, Lithuania ratified *The Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Lithuania and the Government of the USA on the Prevention of the Proliferation of Mass Destruction Weapons and the Development of Defence and Contingency Relations*[33]. After the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania ratified the UNO Convention *"On the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings"*[34], Lithuania became the executor of 12 universal international law acts defining the fight against terrorism.

On 6-7 November 2003, seeking to contribute to the fight of the international community against terrorism, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the State Security Department of the Republic of Lithuania alongside the UNI Crime and Narcotics Prevention Bureau held the seminar of international experts *"Ratification of Universal Anti-Terrorist Legal Acts and their Implementation in the States of the Baltic Sea*

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[28] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the UNO Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime" (signed in Palermo on 13 December 2000, ratified with stipulations and statements on 19 March 2003), *Valstybės žinios,* 2002, No. 51-1929; " The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime", *Valstybės žinios,* 2002, No. 51-1933.
[29] See: The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Convention on the Prevention of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomats and Punishment for them" (drawn in New York on 14 December 1973, ratified with a stipulation on 19 September 2002), *Valstybės žinios*, 2002, No. 97-4252; "Convention on the Prevention of Crimes Against Internationally Protected persons, Including diplomats and punishment for them", *Valstybės žinios,* 2002, No. 97-4257.
[30] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation and the Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf" (adopted in Rome on 10 March 1988, ratified on 5 November 2002), *Valstybės žinios,* 2003, No. 8-264.
[31] "The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism" (adopted by the General Assembly of the UN on 15 December 1995, ratified with a stipulation and statements on 3 December 2002), *Vastybės žinios,* 2003, No. 8-265.
[32] The International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism", *Valstybės žinios,* 2003, No. 8-268.
[33] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Lithuania and the Government of the USA on the Prevention of the Proliferation of Mass Destruction Weapons and on the Development of Defence and Contingency Relations", *Valstybės žinios,* 2003, No. 49-2155.
[34] See: The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the International Convention on the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings" (ratified in December 2003), *Valstybės žinios*, 2004, No. 36-1174; The International Convention on the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings" (adopted in New York on 15 December 1997), *Valstybės žinios,* 2004, No. 36-1184.

Region". Issues discussed at the seminar included the advantages of using regional cooperation possibilities in the fight against terrorism, as well as problems that the countries encounter in implementing universal antiterrorist law acts.

To strengthen security and confidence in the region Lithuania undertook the role of the leader, and in 2003 was the first of the region States to ratify the 1997 Convention On the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction.

Promotion of the prohibition norms of antipersonnel mines, destruction of mine stocks, measures promoting openness and cooperation became an important direction of Lithuanian foreign policy[35].

Convinced that cooperation to effectively prevent organized crime and fight against it, particularly against illicit traffic in narcotic drugs, terrorism, unlawful transportation of people, vehicles and cargo across the State border and other crimes, is of great significance; concerned about the use of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances and the increase of their illicit traffic throughout the world; confirming its common wish to effectively fight against terrorism, in 2001 Lithuania ratified an agreement with Kazakhstan[36], in 2002 – treaties with Germany[37] and Hungary[38], in 2004 – an agreement with Turkey[39] *On Cooperation in Fighting against Terrorism, Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs, Organized Crime and other Crimes.*

Membership in the Council of Europe guarantees national security for Lithuania by indirect means. States ratify treaties form the treaty system of the Council of Europe. This guarantees that having signed the treaties, States acknowledge the same legal principles and norms. The Council of Europe is an organization possessing an effective mechanism for securing human rights. The Joint Court of Human Rights has been in effect since November 1998 and includes a Lithuanian representative. Participating in the activity of the Council of Europe, Lithuania establishes common democratic values, the State of law and makes a commitment to guarantee the protection of human rights.

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[35] The Report for 2003 on the State and Development of National Security, http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter/w3_viewer.ViewDoc?p_int_tekst_id=32820&p_int_tv_id=733&p_org=0, (referred to on 14 June 2004).

[36] The Law "On the Ratification of the Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Lithuania and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the Suppression of Organized Crime, Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, Terrorism and other Crimes" (signed in Astana on 11 May 2000, ratified on 10 July 2001), *Valstybės žinios*, 2001, No. 75-2630.

[37] The Law "On the Ratification of the Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Lithuania and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for the Suppression of Organized Crime, Terrorism and other Serious Crimes" (signed in Vilnius o 23 February 2001, ratified on 7 May 2002) *Valstybės žinios*, 2002, No. 57-2295.

[38] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Lithuania and the Government of the Republic of Hungary for the Suppression of Terrorism, Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs, Organized Crime and other Serious Crimes" (signed in Vilnius on 4 March 1997, ratified on 1 October 2002), *Valstybės žinios*, 2002, No.104-4612.

[39] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Lithuania and the Government of the Republic of Turkey for the Suppression of Terrorism, Organized Crime, Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances and other Serious Crimes" (signed on 2 June 1997, ratified on 29 June 2004),*Valstybės žinios,* 2004, No. 122-4459.

On 22 December 1994, on the basis of Article 138 of the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania ratified with stipulations *The European 1990 Convention on Laundering, Search, Seizure and Confiscation of the Proceeds from Crime*[40], signed o 3 June 1994; on 4 april 1995 – *The Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters*[41]; on 14 January 1997 – *The European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism*, signed in Strasbourg on 7 June 1996. States, signatories of this Convention, members of the Council of Europe, considering that the aim of the Council of Europe is to achieve a greater unity between its members; aware of the growing concern caused by the increase in acts of terrorism; wishing to take effective measures to ensure that the perpetrators of such acts do not escape prosecution and punishment; convinced that extradiction is a particularly effective measure for achieving this result, have agreed as follows: for the purpose of extradiction between Contracting States, none of the following offences shall be regarded as a political offence or as an offence connected with a political offence or as an offence inspired by political motives: a) an offence within the scope of the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, signed at the Hague o 16 December 19970; b) offences within the scope of the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, signed in Montreal on 23 September 1971; c) serious offences involving an attack against the life, physical integrity or liberty of internationally protected persons, including diplomatic agents; d) offences involving kidnapping, the taking of a hostage or serious unlawful detention; e) offences involving the use of bombs, grenades, rockets, automatic firearms or letter or parcel bombs if this use endangers persons; f) an attempt to commit any of the foregoing offences or participation as an accomplice of a person who commits or attempts to commit such an offence[42]. On 23 December 1997, Lithuania ratified the European Convention on the Transfer of Proceedings in Criminal Matters[43], signed in Strasbourg on 17 April 1997. Joining to these Conventions provides Lithuania with a wide arsenal of measures for fighting against international criminal structures.

In 2001, Lithuania began its presidency in the Committee of Ministers at the Council of Europe[44], actively contributed to the strengthening of the inside and outside security not only of the State but also of the entire Europe. The priorities of Lithuania's presidency at the Council of Europe are fight against terrorism, support

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[40] The Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of 1990 European Convention on Laundering, Search, Seizure and Confiscation of the Proceeds from Crime", Valstybės žinios, 1995, No. 12-263.

[41] The Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the Supplementary Protocol of the 20 April 1959 European Convention "On Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters" and the 17 March 1978 European Convention "On Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters" (ratified on 4 April 1995), *Valstybės žinios,* 1995, No. 33-762.

[42] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the 1997 European Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism", The European Convention "For the Suppression of Terrorism", *Valstybės žinios,* 1997, No. 7-116.

[43] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the 1972 European Convention on the Transfer of Proceedings in Criminal Matters" (signed in Strasbourg on 17 April 1997, ratified on 23 December 1997), *Valstybės žinios*, 1998, No. 10-238.

[44] The presidency of Lithuania was from 8 November 2001 to 3 May 2002.

for the development process of the Council of Europe, promotion of regional cooperation, enhancement of the activity of the Council of Europe. The foregoing priorities comply with the aims of inside and outside national security of Lithuania. During its presidency, Lithuania emphasized the importance of legal measures in fighting against corruption, organized crime, economic crimes and international terrorism. For the purpose of the fight against international terrorism, the international community was urged to sign and ratify key documents of the Council of Europe on the fight against terrorism.

Alongside the international community attempts were made to establish democratic values, the State of law as well as guarantee the protection of human rights. It was during the presidency of Lithuania that Protocol 13 of the European Human Rights Convention on the Abolishment of Capital Punishment was signed in Vilnius during the circuit session of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. During its presidency at the Council of Europe, Lithuania succeeded in implementing its priorities – the importance of the influence of regional cooperation on democratic stability, expansion of the cooperation with the Council of Europe and other international organizations (OSCE, UNI, the EU), increase in the number of participants of the Council of Europe were emphasized.

Having set the objective to create a modern society uniting Europe, Lithuania was seeking to establish the European identity and urged the Council of Europe members to share their experience with other organizations (OSCE, UNI).

Lithuania emphasized its interest in stability, adherence to the principles of the state of law and human rights in the Caucasus, the Balkans, states of other regions and countries seeking membership of the Council of Europe. To that end, in 2001, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania visited Ukraine, Moldova and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.[45]

The emerging new phenomena, such as *"Internet terrorism"*, promotion of terrorism ideology, force to look for new means of preventing and eliminating these phenomena. Therefore, seeking to put an end to actions directed against confidentiality, integrity and accessibility of computer systems, networks and computer databases and with the purpose of not permitting improper use of such systems, networks and data, in 2004 Lithuania ratified the Council of Europe *Convention on Cibercrime*[46] and *The International Convention against Money Forgery* and its Protocols.[47]

Lithuania took an active part in the activity of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) based on the principle of strengthening cooperation and dialog. For example, in 2001, Lithuania made an agreement with Russia and Belarus on additional bilateral measures to build confidence and security,[48] increasing transparency and predictability in the military area. Lithuania remained an active participant of OSCE

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[45] See: Report on the State and Development of the National Security System for 2001, http://www.kam.lt/catalog/ministerija ; Report on the State and Development of the National Security System for 2002, http://www.kam.lt/catalog/ministerija/NSSBP Ataskaita 2002.doc, (referred to on 10 05 2004).

[46] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On Ratification of the Convention on Cibercrime" (adopted on 23 November 2001 in Budapest, ratified on 22 01 2004), Valstybės *žinios*, 2004, No. 36-1178.

[47] The Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Ratification of the International Convention on Fight against Money Forgery and its Protocols" (signed in Geneva on 20 04 1929, ratified on 27 012004), *Valstybės žinios*, 2004, No. 40-1290.

[48] Confidence and Security Building Measures.

international forums on arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament and continued the process of joining to multilateral weapons control programs. In 2002, it submitted an application to join the Treaty on Open Skies which, together with the OSCE 1999 Vienna Document and the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty, provides a basis for multilateral measures for arms control and confidence. Lithuania, a signatory of the Ottawa Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction, supported its provisions: in 2002, it was the first in the Baltic region to voluntarily provide information according to Article 7 of this Convention; multilateral confidence and security building measures following the OSCE 1999 Vienna Document as well as bilateral additional measures with Russia, Belarus, Finland and Sweden are implemented. Lithuania actively participates in UNI and OSCE missions, thus testifying to the fact that it is not only a user but also a provider of security.

3. Solidarity of Lithuania with International Coalition against Terrorism

In the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 terror acts in the USA, Lithuania was among the states which came closer to the USA. It came closer not physically but psychologically by offering not only moral but also practical support to the victims of terror. Shortly after the acts of terror in the USA, on 12 September 2001, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania adopted *The Statement on the Acts of Terror against the United States of America* which said: " Expressing its sincere sympathy to the American nation, to the families of the deceased, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania condemns the horrendous acts of terror committed in the USA. There is no and cannot be any justification for terrorism, destruction of culture and people. At this hard for the United States of America hour we express our solidarity.

The world has not yet experienced a tragedy of this scope at peacetime. There is no doubt that it is a challenge to the entire civilized and democratic world, freedom, human community, to the principles of coexistence and humanism. It is one more horrible crime against mankind.

The Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania declares that the State of Lithuania will join anti-terrorist international and necessary decisions to punish terrorists and neutralize their hotbeds.

The Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania is convinced that everything possible must be done so that this never and nowhere reoccurs.

The Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania hopes that the democratic society of the world will further strive for progress, international security and welfare necessary for all nations, all people. Lithuania will also seek that all potential problems between states could be solved in civilized ways and will render possible humanitarian assistance.

The Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania and political forces represented in it express their solidarity with such position of Lithuania and call on citizens for calm, understanding and support of the necessary actions of the authorities within the country and beyond its borders."[49]

[49] The Statement of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Acts of Terror against the United States of America", *Valstybės žinios*, 2001, No. 79-2752.

When on 7 October 2001, the military forces of the USA and Great Britain, supported by a wide international anti-terrorist coalition, launched attacks against terrorist bases, their key concentration sites in Afghanistan and forces supporting them, on 9 October 2001, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania adopted the Statement *"On the Military Actions of the USA and its Allies against Terrorists"* which claimed that "the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, having in memory the tragic experience of Lithuania 10 years ago and being aware of the threat that terrorism and forces supporting it pose to the people of the whole world, supports military operations of the USA allies which seek to eliminate key terrorism hotbeds. The Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania expects that these operations, avoiding casualties of innocent people, will achieve the objective to destroy the foundation of international terrorism, thus providing conditions for peace and civilized contacts between states.

Seeking to relieve the situation of the Afghan people and reinforce stability in the region, Lithuania is also going to participate in international humanitarian missions of the anti-terrorist coalition."[50]

The USA had discussions with the allies of the North Atlantic Alliance and other states. Lithuania was also actively involved in this dialog and offered the USA humanitarian assistance and issued permission for USA military aircraft to cross Lithuanian air space and land at Lithuanian airports until the completion of anti-terrorist actions. It was the first time that NATO countries made a decision to apply Article 5 of the Washington Treaty that an attack against one country of the Alliance is an attack against all NATO countries.

On 6 November 2001, at the conference *"Fight against Terrorism"* held in Warsaw on the initiative of Poland, the President of Lithuania Valdas Adamkus said:

Indeed, it is highly important that our region can speak in one voice and act as an effective ally in the ongoing counter-terrorist campaign. Our countries already share an invaluable experience of cooperation that helped us to effectively address other security challenges. We must build on this experience - starting from bilateral efforts to regional cooperation and to larger international formats such as the Vilnius group.

This process already started at NATO headquarters on September 13 and was continued at a conference of Vilnius-10 democracies in Sofia a month ago. Now, I believe, time has come to launch an effective action plan that will spell out what we as a region can do as we move forward.

Our regional action also involves an important moral dimension. In times of need our nations have always looked to America for support. Now America needs our support and they must get it - lasting and unwavering.

We understand that in the ongoing campaign our democracies are facing specific threats and thus should focus on specific targets. Central and Eastern Europe is first of all a transit region. Therefore, our cooperation can be especially effective in shutting down the channels that feed terrorist networks.

Corruption, drug trafficking, money laundering, illegal migration, organized crime are just a few areas in which our countries have been working hard but rather ineffectively. A new mechanism should be developed that would allow our countries to expand cooperation in all formats and on permanent basis. Our efforts should be

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[50] The Statement of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Military Actions of the USA and its Allies against Terrorists", *Valstybės žinios*, 2001, No. 87-3034.

institutionalized and follow the principles laid down in the legal instruments of the European Union, Council of Europe and other international bodies. I believe that these are the major tasks that stand before this particular conference.

The experience gained here is going to be very helpful to my country which in a few days will take over the presidency in the Council of Europe. In this capacity we are determined, among other goals, to further facilitate cooperation in our region and thus contribute to the global campaign against terrorism.

The President of the Republic of Lithuania pointed out tree main objectives:

First of all, the counter-terrorist action has to be rationalized and made more effective. A number of European and international institutions are already involved in the development of various, often overlapping antiterrorism strategies. Thus, functions and responsibilities have to be streamlined to ensure a lasting support for the counter-terrorist campaign. Second, the existing legal framework should be upgraded to promote cooperation among the European countries in combating terrorist threats. Third, the dialogue and understanding among cultures and religions should be advanced and expanded. And last but not least, I would like to briefly highlight the human dimension of the counter-terrorist campaign. We can only welcome the initiative, put forward in the action plan of this conference, to establish the Aid Foundation for victims of terror. Those who have suffered should be supported materially as well as morally, through the solidarity of the world democracies.

However, in my view, it is no less essential to ensure that our own citizens keep faith in the victory against terrorism. We the leaders can bring down the remaining barriers and work harder together to combat the emerging threats. In fact, it is our leadership that should reinforce our people's belief in the intrinsic value of cooperation that the free and democratic world shares.[51]

In the Declaration *"On the Solidarity of the Baltic States with the International Antiterrorist Coalition"* (13-15 December 2001, Tallinn), the 19th session of the Baltic Assembly stated that after the terrorist acts of 11 September 2001, the world has changed. In this new situation, the three Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, express their solidarity with the international anti-terrorist coalition. The Baltic States wish to make their contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in the Baltic Sea region and all over the world. In this connection, the Baltic Assembly once again expresses the will and readiness of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to accede to international security organizations, first of all, to the North Atlantic Alliance. "Standing up for democratic values, as well as for human rights and the right of nations to self-determination, the Baltic Assembly expresses the conviction that no nation or religion can be considered terroristic because of its individual representatives. At the same time, one has to consistently combat terrorism and organized crime and condemn the political regimes, which favor the activities of terrorist organizations, harbour criminals and refuse to participate in the international and law enforcement cooperation. To root out terrorism, the efforts of the entire democratic world must be combined."[52]

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[51] The Speech of the President of the Republic of Lithuania V.Adamkus at the conference "Fight against Terrorism" held in Warsaw on 06 November 2001, http://www.President.lt/one.phtml?id=2484 (referred to on 08 11 2001).
[52] The Declaration of the Baltic Assembly "On the Solidarity of the Baltic States with the International Coalition against Terrorism", http://www3.lrs.lt/cgi-bin/preps2?Condition1=156468&Condition2=, (referred to on 10 09 2004).

At the meeting of Defense Ministers of the NATO Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council in Brussels on 19 December 2001 (Defense Ministers of 46 states, including the Minister of National Defense of Lithuania, participated), the issues of the international anti-terrorist campaign as well as the importance of the contribution of each country and their collective effort were discussed.

In his speech the Minister of National Defense of Lithuania emphasized that Lithuania worked out a national program of the fight against terrorism and put forth a proposal to participate in the US-led operation. Two teams of military medics provided with necessary equipment and medications were ready to join Czech Republic military medics going on a humanitarian mission to the region of Afghanistan.

In compliance with Resolution 1373 of the UN Security Council, the UN Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee was established. The Resolution obligated all 189 UN members to adopt respective laws and take action to prevent financing, supporting and harbouring of terrorists. It is also required that countries exchange respective information.

As far back as October 2001, the Committee sent an address to the governments of all countries requesting to inform about actions and measures taken or intended to be taken to fight against terrorism. The governments were also asked to indicate the actions taken to strengthen international cooperation in the fight against terrorism in the world. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania submitted a report on the activity of Lithuanian institutions in fighting against terrorism to the UN Security Council Committee.[53]

Taking into account the 12 September 2001 Statement of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania *"On the Acts of Terror against the United* States *of America"*, the 9 October 2001 Statement of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania *"On the Military Actions of USA and its Allies against Terrorists"* and following Part 1 of Article 5 and Part 1 of Article 7 of the Law of the Republic of Lithuania on International Operations, Military Exercises and other Events, on 21 December 2001, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania made a decision to send up to 12 military medics from Lithuania to take part in the international operation "Enduring Freedom" in the region of Central and Southern Asia for the period of six months from the day the invitation from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or its members is received.[54]

In the beginning of 2002, Denmark, as a member of NATO, invited Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to send to Kirghizstan ten servicemen from each country to a joint unit under the command of Danish officers. With this purpose, in the middle of March, Denmark started trainings of Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian military personnel participating in the anti-terrorist campaign. Servicemen from the Kaunas Vytautas the Great Jaeger Battalion and other special-purpose units were selected on a voluntary basis. Approximately 300 servicemen had applied to take part in the operation. Not individual servicemen but a whole team was selected for the mission

[53] Grumadaitė R. In Fight against Terrorism – Contribution of Each Country and Common Efforts are Important, Krašto apsauga. An informational publication of the Ministry of National Defense (further – *KA KAMIL*), 11 01 2002, No. 1(4), p. 11.
[54] The Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 'On the Participation of Military Medics from Lithuania in the International Operation "Enduring Freedom" in the Region of Central and Southern Asia", *Valstybės žinios*, 2001, No. 110-4001, p. 48.

because it is very important to retain esprit de corps. During the selection, previous experience in missions and service in mountainous regions were taken into account by Lithuanians that have gone to Afghanistan to act as part of a US special-purpose unit and carry out special reconnaissance. This is the first international mission in which Lithuania participates independently covering expenses related to the maintenance of its military personnel.[55]

From 15 October 2002 to 10 August 2003, 4 medics from Lithuania as part of the Czech 6th military field hospital team and 2 medics as part of German hospital personnel participated in the peace implementation mission in Afghanistan within the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). Since 11 August 2003, the operation has been led by NATO: by 10 July 2004, 10 military medics participated in the ISAF peace implementation mission in Afghanistan (8 – within the German hospital team, 2 – within the UK-led Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT), 2 cargo loading specialists, 2 logisticians, 1 traffic navigator (in the International Airport of Kabul).[56]

In June 2002, the USA put forth a concrete proposal to Lithuania to take part in the operation "Enduring Freedom" by sending Special Forces to Afghanistan. Accepting the proposal, the Ministry of National Defense sent a liaison officer to the Chief Staff Headquarters in Tampa (Florida, USA) where the above-mentioned operation was coordinated. Lithuania provided a possibility to the USA and other NATO allies to use Lithuanian airspace and airports in case of need.

On 1 October 2002, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, following Part 1 of Article 142 of the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, Parts 2 and 5 of Article 6 of the Law on International Operations, Exercises and other Military Cooperation Events, and in compliance with Decree No. 1884 of 6 September 2002 by the President of the Republic of Lithuania, the 12 September 2002 Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Acts of Terror against the United States of America", the 9 October 2001 Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Military Actions of the USA and its Allies against Terrorists", decided: to send from Lithuania up to 40 military personnel selected on a voluntary basis to take part in the US-led international operation "Enduring Freedom" in the region of Central and Southern Asia for a period not longer than 6 months from the end of the preparation for the mission.[57] From November 2002 to July 2004, 120 Lithuanian Special Forces military personnel and 2 medics participated in the US-led anti-terrorist operation "Enduring Freedom".

By this action Lithuania demonstrated to the world that its verbal commitments to join the fight against international terrorism do not differ from real actions and the country is ready to keep its promises. The decision of the Seimas to send troops to take part in the operation "Enduring Freedom" confirmed the position declared by Lithuania to take concrete actions to join anti-terrorist efforts. It was then that Lithuania began to act as an ally of NATO and the USA without waiting for the moment to become a

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[55] Lithuanian Military Personnel Take Part in the Operation "Enduring Freedom", *KA KAMIL*, 21 12 2002 – 13 01 2003, No. 25(28), p. 9-10.
[56] Lithuanian Military Personnel in International Operations, http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=21773, (referred to on 15 09 2004).
[57] The Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Participation of Lithuanian Military Personnel in the International Operation "Enduring Freedom" in the Region of Central and Southern Asia", *Valstybės žinios* , 2002, No. 98-4313.

true member of the Alliance because Lithuania's opinion will be valued not through a symbolic but real participation in the activity of NATO and its allies.

Lithuania's decision to join the anti-terrorist campaign in Afghanistan drew the attention of high-ranking NATO officials. On October 2002, at the Brookings Institution, an independent political research organization in Washington, NATO Secretary General George Robertson mentioned Lithuania and Romania as an example how non-allied countries can act in concert with NATO by sending their forces to Afghanistan.[58]

Participation in this international operation not only proved that the Lithuanian Army was ready for challenging operations, but this was also a very important step towards ensuring effective cooperation with the United States of America in the military area and was in compliance with the 1998 Partnership Charter of the USA and the three Baltic countries. In total, about 20 states take part in the operation "Enduring Freedom".

The Vilnius Group including the invited NATO members and the Alliance membership seeking candidates urged the UN Security Council to take all necessary measures to stop the threat that Iraq poses to security and peace of the international community. The joint statement issued by Ministers of Foreign Affairs of *the Vilnius Ten* in Washington on 5 February 2003 declares:

Our countries understand the dangers posed by tyranny and the special responsibility of democracies to defend our shared values. The transatlantic community, of which we are a part, must stand together to face the threat posed by the nexus of terrorism and dictators with weapons of mass destruction.

We have actively supported the international efforts to achieve a peaceful disarmament of Iraq. However, it has now become clear that Iraq is in material breach of UN Security Council Resolutions, including UN Resolution 1441, passed unanimously on November 8, 2002. As our governments said on the occasion of the NATO Summit in Prague: "We support the goal of the international community for full disarmament of Iraq as stipulated in the UN Security Council Resolution 1441. In the event of non-compliance with the terms of this resolution, we are prepared to contribute to an international coalition to enforce its provisions and the disarmament of Iraq."

The clear and present danger posed by the Saddam Hussein's regime requires a united response from the community of democracies. We call upon the UN Security Council to take the necessary and appropriate action in response to Iraq's continuing threat to international peace and security.[59]

The statement was issued after the US Secretary of State Collin Powell in New York on 5 February submitted to the UN Security Council evidence detailing Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs and Baghdad's efforts to deceive UN weapons inspectors.

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[58] The Head of NATO Singled out Lithuania from the Partners of the Anti-terrorist Coalition, *KA KAMIL*, 04 01 2002 – 18 24, No. 22, p. 1.

[59] The Statement of *the Vilnius Ten* countries which is a response to the Statement of the US Secretary of State to the United Nations Security Council, *KA KAMIL*, 25 03 2003 – 07 04 2003, No. 5(33), p. 3.

The Vilnius group states demonstrated their support to the USA after a similar statement was issued on 30 January by eight NATO countries in Europe. Meanwhile, the Alliance members France and Germany categorically opposed the military action in Iraq without the approval from the UN Security Council.

Lithuania had already confirmed that it was ready to contribute to the international military operation against Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq in case it were carried out. Over the last decade, being under the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein, Iraq was a cause for concern for the world because of its mass destruction weapons programs.[60]

On 3 April 2003, at NATO Headquarters in Brussels the US Secretary of State Collin Powell met with the ambassadors of the Vilnius Group states and thanked these countries for the support of the USA position on the solution of the Iraq crisis. The Secretary of State pointed out that "nobody wants war", however, in this case it was inevitable. He noted that no region of the world could feel safe in the face of this threat. The US official expressed his conviction that the military operation in Iraq would be a fast success, whereas humanitarian assistance and country restoration work would have widespread support. On behalf of the President of the USA, Colin Powell once again thanked for the 5 February Statement of *The Vilnius Ten*. The US Secretary of State assured that the political support that Washington received at tense time was very important and it would never be forgotten.[61]

On March 2003, after a heated debate and taking into account an official appeal of the USA for a contribution of the Republic of Lithuania towards the US-led international operation in the region of the Persian Gulf; complying with the 17 March 2003 Decision of the State Defense Council; following the 20 March 2003 Decree No. 21 by the President of the Republic of Lithuania; approving of the 20 March 2003 the European Heads of State Council Statement on Iraq; acting in accordance with the provisions of Parts 2 and 5 of Article 6 of the Law of the Republic of Lithuania On International Operations, Exercises and other Military Cooperation Events, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania decided: to send a humanitarian mission of Lithuanian servicemen to the US-led international operation in the region of the Persian Gulf for the period of 6 months where, on a voluntary basis, up to 10 cargo transportation specialists and up to 6 military medics would take part. The military personnel participating in the mission must have experience and skills in working in military conflict zones. The objective of the mission was to support the international operation and provide assistance for the victims.[62] From 9 April to 28 October 2003, 4 military medics and 8 logisticians participated in the humanitarian mission in the US-led military operation in Iraq.

When the US-led military operation in Iraq was completed, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, following Part 1 of Article 142 of the Constitution of the

[60] "The Vilnius Ten" Urged the International Community to Disarm Saddam Hussein's Regime, *KA KAMIL*, 20 01 2003 – 10 02 2003, No. 2(30), p. 11.
[61] The Message of Thanks to the Group of "The Vilnius Ten", *KA KAMIL*, 08 04 2003 – 22 04 2003, No. 6(34), p. 3.
[62] The Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania (25 03 2003) " On the Participation of Lithuanian Servicemen in the US-led International Operation in the Region of the Persian Gulf", *Valstybės žinios*, 2003, No. 54-2379.

Republic of Lithuania, Part 2 of Article 4, Parts 2 and 5 of Article 6 of the Law on International Operations, Exercises and Other Military Cooperation Events and taking into consideration the 26 May 2003 Decree No. 89 by the President of the Republic as well as the 22 May UN Security Council Resolution No.1483, decided to send, on a voluntary basis, for the period of up to 18 months up to 130 servicemen from Lithuania to take part in the US-led international operation in the region of the Persian Gulf. According to the provisions set forth in Article 1 of this Decision, the deployed military units can be transferred under the operational command and control of UNI or NATO states or institutions provided these states or institutions take over the command of the international operation in the region of the Persian Gulf.[63]

When the situation in Iraq became more critical, considerations concerning the legitimacy of the participation of Lithuanian troops in the international military mission in Iraq were voiced. On 14 April 2004, at an informal meeting of the State Defense Council all members of the Council supported the opinion that Lithuania should honorably carry out its mission to the end.[64]

The results of the public opinion poll conducted by the "Sprinter tyrimai" Company and published in the Delfi portal on 10 May showed that the majority of the citizens of Lithuania supported the participation of Lithuanian troops in the international mission in Iraq. 41 per cent of the polled citizens approved, almost 33 per cent disapproved of Lithuanian troops presence in Iraq and about 26 per cent had no opinion or did not answer the question. The majority of the respondents (79 per cent) said that service in "hot spots" should be based on a voluntary principle and conditions must be provided to all servicemen willing to return to Lithuania. The survey also showed that the majority (56.7 per cent) of Lithuanian people expressed but a little interest in the Iraq problem and had as much information about it as media provided. About 19 per cent were not interested in the developments in Iraq, whereas those who showed great interest in them amounted to 15 per cent. The Iraq crisis caused greater interest among residents of Vilnius and regional centers as well as senior people. The poll was conducted on 27-30 April. 1005 permanent residents of Lithuania in the age between 18 and 75 took part in the survey.[65]

324 servicemen from Lithuania participated in the coalition-led post-war operation in Iraq during the period from 9 June 2003 to July 2004: 43 in LITCON-1, 54 in LITCON-2, 54 in LITCON-3 within the Danish contingent in the sector under the UN command, 45 in LITDET-1, 54 in LITDET-2, 49 in LITDET-3 within the Polish contingent in the sector under the Polish command, 2 in CJTF Headquarters, 2 in MNF-1 Headquarters, 10 in the Multinational Division (South-East) Headquarters under the command of the UK, 11 in the Multinational Division Headquarters under the command of Poland.[66]

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[63] The Decision of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania (29 05 2003) "On the Participation of Lithuanian Military Personnel in the International Operation in the Region of the Persian Gulf", *Valstybės žinios*, 2003, No. 54-2379.

[64] See: Lithuania is not Going to Recall its Troops from Iraq, *KA KAMIL*, 27 04 2004 – 11 05 2004, No. 8(58), p. 9; Žalimas D. There is no Need to Doubt the Legitimacy of the Mission of Lithuanian Troops in Iraq, *KA KAMIL*, 11 05 2004 – 25 05 2004, No. 9(59), p. 1-2.

[65] Lithuanian People Support the Mission of the Country's Military Personnel in Iraq, *KA KAMIL*, 11 05 2004 – 25 05 2004, No. 9(59), p. 21.

[66] Lithuanian Troops in International Operations, http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=21773, (referred to on 15 09 2004).

The task of Lithuanian troops in Iraq is to ensure safety of the local population, prevent criminal activities, smuggling of weapons and drugs. Lithuanians help local police with guarding important administration, health care, educational and cultural buildings, industrial objects and they are involved in training local police to carry out their functions. Besides, Lithuanian servicemen ensure safe transportation of humanitarian assistance to remote villages which are in the area of their responsibility and take part in joint operations with coalition partners.[67]

In his letter to the Prime Minister Algirdas Brazauskas received on 19 April 2004, the President of the USA George W. Bush thanks for Lithuania's unwavering support and determination in the pursuit of the peaceful and democratic goal. "Our common ceaseless efforts by which we are seeking to strengthen security have been successful. The Lithuanian Army has proved its skill and courage and we are grateful for these efforts", says the letter of the USA President.

According to George W. Bush, democracy does not leave place for those who want to establish power by using force or instigating disturbances, therefore, it is indispensable to detain those who are guilty for the recently committed violence.[68]

On 28 June 2004, 26 Heads of State and Government of the 26 states of the Atlantic Alliance met in Istanbul and declared total support for the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity of the Republic of Iraq and for strengthening freedom, democracy, human rights, legitimate power and security of all Iraqi people.[69]

On 22 September 2004, speaking at the 59th Session of the UN General Assembly, President of the Republic of Lithuania Valdas Adamkus stated that

the risks and challenges of the new millennium affect us all and can only be tackled by common efforts. Threats like terrorism recognize no borders, no differentiation by race, religion, or ethnicity. The horror, devastation and fear terrorism brings are the same whether in Casablanca, Madrid, New York, Jerusalem or Beslan. Terrorism cannot be justified. And there can be no excuses and no leniency in confronting it. The fight against terrorism must remain one of the priority tasks of individual member states and of the United Nations. <...> The United Nations, for all its criticism, remains the only organization capable of embodying the principles of a truly global and effective multilateralism. The UN can offer a global reach and legitimacy necessary to bring the international community to action.

<...> Today more than ever before the United Nations has to play the leading role in building societies that follow the path of good governance, respect human rights and the rule of law. We must be able to intervene and prevent situations of massive human rights violations.

We must also be firm in our struggle against all attempts to encroach at human dignity, against all forms and manifestations of intolerance, anti-Semitism, racism, or islamophobia." The President stressed that "Lithuania is ready to contribute bilate-

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[67] Two Platoons of Lithuanian Servicemen Seen off to Iraq, *KA KAMIL*, 16 01 2004 – 30 01 2004, No. 1(51), p. 3.

[68] Lithuania is not Going to Recall its Troops from Iraq, *KA KAMIL*, 27 04 2004 – 11 05 2004, No. 8(58), p. 9.

[69] See: The Decision on Iraq signed by Heads of State and Government who participated at the summit of the North Atlantic Council in Istanbul on 28 June 2004, *KA KAMIL*, 09 07 2004 – 23 07 2004, No. 11(61), p. 20.

rally and multilaterally to the implementation of the Millennium Goals, also by sharing our experience of national reform process. Our membership in the enlarged European Union and North Atlantic Alliance enables us to play a more active role by embracing the principles of development policy and adopting the role of a donor.[70]

Lithuania takes an active part in UNI and OSCE missions, thus testifying that it is not only a user, but also a provider of security. Commitments of Lithuania, as a member of NATO, to ensuring collective security indicate that the military is increasingly becoming a major means for the implementation of foreign and security policy. The ability of the state to contribute to international commitments in reducing tension, maintaining international peace and stability has been proven - military personnel of Lithuania have been taking part in international operations for a decade already.

Over the period from 1994 to 2004, more than 1,700 military personnel of Lithuania participated in 13 international operations. During the ten years, the greatest number of servicemen was deployed in the Balkans (1,152). At present, most of Lithuanian military personnel are in Iraq (120). Lithuanian peacekeepers operated within the armed forces of other states. This allowed increasing interoperability, getting knowledge, and gaining useful experience. During the process of its integration into NATO, Lithuania was involved not only in the Alliance-led peace implementation and international security safeguarding operations, but also in OSCE, UNI missions, US-led operations, thus testifying to the continuing interest in the stability of the international system as a condition for safeguarding the security of the Baltic region as well. In 2003, Lithuania participated in four NATO, two USA, one EU and one OSCE operations. The number of international operations in which Lithuanian military personnel took part corresponds to the number of operations in which other NATO member states (e.g. Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Holland) participated.

As compared with the number of military personnel of NATO member states taking part in international operations, military capabilities of Lithuania so far have been moderate. The number of NATO member states' troops deployed abroad usually amounts to or even exceeds the number of Lithuanian military personnel that have participated in international operations since 1994. Nevertheless, every year our country increases its contribution to international operations. In 2003, 389 servicemen went on mission abroad. In November 2003, the greatest numbers of Lithuanian peacekeepers (289), i.e. 2.5 per cent of the Lithuanian Army, were abroad. According to this ratio, Lithuania surpassed many of NATO candidate states but was behind the Alliance member states whose ratio of the total number of military personnel and the number deployed abroad amounts to the average of 5 per cent. Lithuanian peacekeepers serve in missions in Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. One officer from Lithuania acts as an OSCE observer in Georgia. Lithuania consistently and purposefully supports security and territorial integrity of Georgia, cooperates in the areas of strengthening security and democracy. In the summer of 2004, on the initiative of Lithuania, the European Union Mission on the Prevalence of Law started its activity in Georgia. In the future, Lithuania will seek to be ready to maintain abroad up to 1,000 military personnel, i.e. 10 per cent of its regular forces.[71]

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[70] The Speech of the President of the Republic of Lithuania at the 59th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, 22 September 2004, New York, http://www.president.lt/lt/news.full/ 5266, (referred to on 23 09 2004).

[71] See: Lithuanian Military Personnel in International Operations, *KA KAMIL*, 29 03 2004 – 13 04 2004, No. 6(56), p. 11; A Delegation of Heads of State of the OSCE Visited Georgia, *KA* KAMIL, 23 08 2004 – 16 09 2004, No. 14(64), p. 9; Lithuanian Military Personnel in International Operations, http://www.kam.lt/index.php?ItemId=21773, (referred to on 15 09 2004).

Conclusion

As all states of the Western world recognize, terrorism today is a new type of threat; therefore, it requires new type measures and methods of fight as well as close cooperation between states. In the aftermath of the terror acts in the USA, Lithuania faced a new challenge: to set forth new objectives of foreign and security policy, review old priorities, adapt them to the new realities of the geostrategic environment.

Strengthening its national security in all areas of state governance, the Government of the Republic of Lithuania has pursued long-term state security strengthening programs which are among key means of safeguarding national security. The implementation of long-term state security strengthening programs was manifested in building security environment, reinforcing defensive capabilities, developing the crisis management system, strengthening the inside security of the state and its welfare. National security was also strengthened by the ways provided for in the National Security Strategy, the Long-term State Development Strategy, the Program of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania for 2001-2004 and the Plan of the Implementation Measures of the Program of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania for 2001-2004.

Working actively through international organizations, Lithuania contributed to the efforts of the international community to ensure democracy, human rights, peace and stability in the region and the world, was actively involved in the fight of the international community against international terrorism. Participation in the fight of the international community against international terrorism and against proliferation of mass destruction weapons is a priority of the national security of Lithuania.

Lithuania took an active part in UNI, NATO and OSCE missions and thus testified to being not only a user but also a provider of security. Its participation in international operations not only proved the readiness of the Lithuanian Army for challenging operations, but was also a significant step in ensuring effective cooperation with the USA and other states in the military area.

The terrorist attacks against the USA and their consequences turned into a possibility for Lithuania to seek a faster integration into the transatlantic security area, into NATO, and, alongside other Central and Eastern European states, to prove its readiness and capability to contribute to the maintenance of security.

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The Concept of Economic Security and the Principles of Economic Security Policy in Lithuania

The main objective of the article is a critical evaluation of the concepts of economic security which are based on the assumption of the state as a unit of analysis, how these concepts are analysed in scholarship and used to support applied measures of economic security policy.

The article also aims at answering the question what is and ought to be the concept of economic security in current Lithuanian politics. The authors do not strive to solve an old and essential problem of social sciences – the methodological choice between individualistic and collectivistic analysis. The goal of the article is just to show the main contradictions in theoretical analysis and political practices between those two approaches when dealing with the problems of economic security. The article admits the wide spread usage of the holistic approach and the fact of policies being based on this approach. However, the use of these measures often causes negative consequences – not only weakening of economic security of individuals, but, in the long run, of states as supra-individual institutions. To expose those measures and inconsistencies is another goal of the article. On the one hand, this makes the analysis more normative, on the other hand, it provides more insights on the topic.

The article discusses the concept of economic security, different levels and scope of its analysis. Two different approaches – holistic and individualistic – and their interrelations are presented in more detailed way. The main focus is on how these two different approaches understand and use the concept of threats, as well as the impact of collective measures of economic security and their impact on individuals.

Introduction

Economic security is one of the topics of interdisciplinary studies, which is popular both in public debates and in academic discourse. During the period of the rise of the price of energy resources or at the time when economic power is used to attain political ends the economic security is especially widely discussed in public debates.

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It has already become a tradition to cover topics of economic security in the literature of international relations. Proponents of realist school in international relations who usually take sovereign power as a unit of their analysis and presume the interest of such powers to preserve and expand by using not only military but also economic measures are those who usually discuss the issue most extensively. But the concept of economic security itself is to be related not only with governments (states) but also with the other units of analysis, individuals first of all. Relations between those different units of analysis not only shows interdisciplinary character of the concept itself, but also a tension between measures taken on government (state) level and their effect on citizens of those states. It also helps to analyse the impact of activities of individual citizens and interest groups on the state policies and the welfare of the majority of citizens.

The problematic of economic security is usually discussed in Lithuania as being related to the supply of energy resources from Russia. The accumulation of resources, diversification of suppliers, and other measures of economic policy are grounded by the motive of security. The problems of economic security and measures to deal with them are described in the Law on Basics of National Security of Lithuania. Those problems are also addressed in a number of previous collective volumes of this Annual. None of the works however did attempt to analyse the relation between the state and the individual economic security more deeply and the tension arising from this relation.

Therefore the main objective of this article is a critical evaluation of the concepts of economic security which are based on the assumption of the state as a unit of analysis, how these concepts are analysed in scholarship and used to support applied measures of economic security policy. The article also aims at answering the question what is and ought to be the concept of economic security in current Lithuanian politics. The authors do not strive to solve an old and essential problem of social sciences – the methodological choice between individualistic and collectivistic analysis. The goal of the article is just to show the main contradictions in theoretical analysis and political practices between those two approaches when dealing with the problems of economic security. The article admits the wide spread usage of the holistic approach and the fact of policies being based on this approach. However, the use of these measures often causes negative consequences – not only weakening of economic security of individuals, but, in the long run, of states as supra-individual institutions. To expose those measures and inconsistencies is another goal of the article. On the one hand, this makes the analysis more normative, on the other hand, it provides more insights on the topic.

The article discusses the concept of economic security, different levels and scope of its analysis. Two different approaches – holistic and individualistic – and their interrelations are presented in more detailed way. The main focus is on how these two different approaches understand and use the concept of threats, as well as the impact of collective measures of economic security and their impact on individuals.

1. The definition of economic security and its application in Lithuania

The concept of security in general and economic security in particular had different meanings in the history of humanity. It has no conventional understanding and still remains the object of theoretical discussion up until now. Economic security is understood as many different things today, e.g.:

- The stability of economic power of the state and the ability of the state to finance its defence needs;
- The provision of "strategic goods" (such as energy resources, etc.) to a country;
- Diversification of foreign trade;
- Non dependence on dominant actors in international economy;
- Security from economic espionage;
- Good macroeconomic situation;
- Security of property;
- Social security of individuals, for example, income, necessary to finance a certain level of quality of life;
- Employment, certainty of work places and profits.

Certain aspects of economic security, such as energy security or social security are also sometimes analysed in the context of economic security, sometimes as isolated topics.

It is also important to stress that economic security is one of the aspects of state security besides the military, political, social (socio-cultural), and ecological aspects. The economic security, however, is intertwined with those other aspects[1]. This may be discovered from the analysis of different concepts of economic security which were dominant in different societies over time.

It is worth to notice that economic security is usually not understood systematically, but analysed only as a part of a general concept of state security instead, where some essential economic aspects such as provision of strategic resources, social welfare, institutions to ensure market process, diversification of economic activities are stressed. Only few states have adopted detailed and systematic strategic documents on their security policies, where, among others, threats on economic security and means to deal with them are described systematically. Russian Federation may be named as a country where principles of the policy of economic security are described.

Economic security becomes one of the major fields of national security in Lithuania but also has a very broad meaning. The Law on Basics of National Security of Lithuania uses the broad concept, which links economic security not only to the defence power of the state, but also to the development of the state in general. Provi-

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[1] A. Grebliauskas states that even though the strategy of economic security has not to contradict the National Security Strategy, it is to be derived from economic strategy. The conclusion could be accepted if we accept the need to have detailed economic strategy of the state. The necessity of such strategy however is doubtful if we accept that economy is the field of action of private actors, not the state, and the state only influences economic activities by regulating them.

sions on economic security in the Law on the Basis of National Security of Lithuania and the Strategy of National Security are not derived from any explicitly defined concept of economic security. Provisions themselves are to embrace everything that is related to the topic. The law describes a number of risks and threats which may threaten economic security. Threats related to foreign territories, such as economic pressure, blockade or other hostile economic actions; dependence of the whole branch of economy on one foreign country or a group of countries; politically motivated capital investment; the takeover of the ownership or control of energy or other enterprises, institutions of strategically important sectors, main communications (railways, highways, seaport, airports); energy dependence on one or a particular group of countries; vulnerability of the functioning of energy sector; the scope of foreign debt which may destabilise financial system; destabilising interventions into financial – banking system. The dangers from inside the territory of Lithuania are also named: the reduction of working places, production or gross national product to the critical level, structural or technological backwardness of the economy; criminalisation of economic activities; uncontrolled level of economic crimes; banking and financial crises and financial panics; destabilisation of national currency; the reduction of reserves of Lithuanian bank below the critical level; the dept of the states higher than financial abilities of the state; abnormal differences in the welfare of different groups in society which may lead to social conflicts; personal insecurity of individuals.

Such a broad list of threats causes a problem of choosing proper methods to ensure economic security, because those measures are closely related to the main principles of economic policy in general. Moreover those measures are often to be implemented by others rather than the state. The attempt to look at the economic security in more systematic way reveals its close relations to the welfare. This, on the other hand, dillutes the essence of the economic security policy, which in fact becomes not so much a part of security as it is a part of economics.

Eclectic tendencies may also be noticed in the field of measures to deal with the threats to economic security. The law names four major provisions of internal economic policies:

- The Parliament has to name enterprises which have strategic impact on national security, the form of ownership of those enterprises and how private capital may be used in the ownership of those enterprises;
- The government has to provide with alternative ways to provide fuel and raw materials;
- The protection of banks and financial system from fraud and money of unclear origin;
- The restructuring of Lithuanian railways according to European standards (the harmonisation of the railway ruts to the European ruts standards).

The eclectism may also be noticed when those provisions are detailed. Let us take the Law on Enterprises and Equipments which have Strategic Impact on National Security and other Objects important to National Security, which in the essence has a goal to name those objects which may not be privatised, as well as objects where the government has to retain its decisive powers as an example. The law is not grounded on any analysis or explicit goals and there are no criterions to answer why some

objects may not be privatised. Those provisions rest on unproven hypothesis that security may be provided by retaining public ownership, limiting activities of private enterprises and active role of government. The fact that the importance of the object has nothing to do with the statement that national security is better ensured when this object is governed by the state is completely ignored. From the long run perspective public ownership itself may become a problem and national security may be reduced because of ineffectiveness of public enterprises or politically motivated governance of those enterprises, for example, using them just to attain political ends or being captured by interests groups.

2. Methodological differences: "sovereign" (holistic) and individualistic approach to economic security

Several levels of analysis are identified in international relations. M. Hollis ir S. Smith systematise them into three levels: 1) International system *versus* national state; 2) National state *versus* bureaucracy; 3) Bureaucracy *versus* individual[2]. The tension connected to the issues of economic security emerges on all those levels.

The essential difference between two main schools in social sciences which treat the unit of analysis differently – holistic (holistic analysis in this case is related with the concept of sovereignty of the state) and individualistic - becomes evident in analysing economic security no less than in analysing other social issues. According to the holistic approach security is analysed from the perspective of the state, according to the individualistic approach - from the perspective of the individual. This methodological dividing line causes differences in both understanding of economic threats and goals of economic security policy. Holists base their analysis on the understanding that economic security is security of a state from other states or other kind of threats. According to the opinion of the proponents of individualistic approach economic security has to ensure safety of individual interests from economic threats. To sum it up holistic and individualistic approaches differ according to two essential criterions: 1) whose security is taken into account (individual or state); 2) what kind of methodology is used to analyse those questions.

Holistic concept is dominant in international relations studies up until now, especially in the works of one of the dominant schools – (neo)realism. This school analyses mostly the issues of security of the state as such while the other branch of the discipline of international relations – international political economy, especially European integration or nongovernmental organisations studies, focuses on the internal politics and its actors: business interests groups, bureaucratic institutions, nongovernmental organisations or on supranational bodies. The holistic approach is used in international studies mainly because international relations are treated as relations among states and other collective entities, and only in some special cases, usually not related to security but rather to economic relations in general, with individuals and their associations from different states.

[2] *Hollis M., Smith S.*, Tarptautiniai santykiai: aiškinimas ir supratimas [International Relations: Explaining and Understanding]. Vilnius, 1998, p. 17 (in Lithuanian).

Holistic approach faces two kinds of problems. From the descriptive point of view it is not accurate because the reluctance to take an individual as a starting point of the analysis and hypostatic understanding of social institutions makes it impossible to analyse the issue theoretically, and the only possibility remains to rely on observations and correlations and to analyse the data using only interpretation but not theory in the strict sense. In other words, the concept of security in this case will always be historic, and political science will be dependant on many circumstances when dealing with security. No apodictic statements may be produced in this case.

The other problem related to holistic methodological approach is of a more normative character – the approach does not correspond much with the principles of liberal democracy and civil society because those principles acknowledge primacy of individual, not the state. This means that state interests are not above those of individuals. This may be treated not as a serious methodological disadvantage especially having in mind the insights of public choice school that public institutions act in the interests of those individuals who take decisions (political elite, bureaucracy, etc.) but not in the interest of all individuals (dispersed interests). But we have to stress that political declarations state just the opposite. This undercovers basic contradiction when policies, which declare the primacy of individual with respect to the state and its institutions grounds its policies on theory which contradicts the essence of these declarations.

In order to choose the proper methodology to deal with security and to describe the object of the security in a proper manner it is important to stress that only the individual is a member of society, the final, undividable, decision making and acting subject. Popular phrases, such as "interests of the state", "security of the state", "government decision" and others, are methodologically misleading, even though they are simple, user friendly and therefore attractive. On the other hand it is to be acknowledged that individualistic approach to security may be related to many different aspects. Contrary to holistic approach, it almost always looses its international character and becomes essentially the problem of internal politics. Individualistic approach is more widely used to analyse different aspects of internal economic and social policy. Individualistic approach is also more often declared (but not necessarily used) in analysing liberal democracies.

Individualistic methodology does not mean that those wide spread phrases to name social institutions and their activities may not be used. The most important thing is to understand the lack of the methodological precision of such phrases that imply collective actors and to pay attention to several particular aspects.

First, as it has been shown by a public choice school, even those decisions which are taken in the name of the state are still decisions of individuals, state interests are usually just interests of individuals or interest groups. The state itself may act only through individuals, who act in their own interests even if they are in a position of bureaucrat or a politician[3].

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[3] Mueller, D. C. Mueller, D. C., *Perspectives on Public Choice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Second, not only (and usually) state and its institutions, but individuals and their economic units are actors in economic relations. In other words, there is no such thing as trade among states. There is trade among individuals belonging to jurisdictions of different states and firms settled in different states. Trade among states is just a useful simplification of language or statistical concept. This does not mean that activities of the state, such as duties, subsidies or non tariff barriers, are not important in economic relations. These activities do have direct impact on economic decisions and welfare. But if this practice is taken onto methodological level it is very easy to make wrong conclusions that states do trade and compete and to accept wrong and costly to the citizens of the state measures in foreign trade (such as custom duties, which benefit some interest groups but harm all citizens).

Third, it is understood that the state is to serve people in the civil society, not the vice versa. This goal is very important in the field of economic security as well. This means that state economic security is just the outcome of the economic security of its citizens.

It is obvious that individual economic security may be harmed by collective (including state) action. In order to avoid certain risks there is also a need to take collective action. The collective action is also very important because, as it was mentioned before, the state is usually treated as the main actor in international arena[4]. The economic security of the state may be analysed, but it has to be taken into account that threats are always threats to certain individuals. The tension between individualistic and holistic approach is also softened if we treat the state as an association of individuals[5]. The similar approach is taken in the National security strategy of Lithuania. It is stated there that Lithuanian Republic treats its security as, among others, "economic security of economic units and inhabitants", and this is the only economic aspect of national security explicitly named in the Strategy. This position is relevant to the dominant approach in social sciences since the end of Cold war, when the individual and nongovernmental groups (corporations, nongovernmental organisations) have been treated as more and more important objects of security or threats to security[6].

Economic security is always security of individuals. Of course, it depends on many factors what threats and what groups of individuals have to be analysed in order to cover important aspects of economic security. The starting point may be related to two aspects. First, the threat to individual economic security may be analysed on national level when this is a threat to a group of individuals, to which all or most of individuals in the country belong (for example, consumers, workers, tax payers, etc.). In other

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[4] Even though the tendency of the weakening of the states is observed national sovereign states try to keep their status of main actors in international arena. Even international treaties and international organizations are used to attain this goal. One of the theoretical discussion points among scholars of integration and globalisation is whether globalisation and integration weakens or strengthens the sovereign states, and what kind of international or regional organisations and treaties are used to strengthen the possibility of their control over societies.

[5] It has to be acknowledged in this case that decisions of the state as of association of individuals (public policy) are compulsory and enforceable – its members have no choice not to obey the regulations or other decisions. They may only leave the state by choosing to obey jurisdiction of another state.

[6] Janušauskienė D., Novagrockienė J., "Perception of Security Issues by Lithuanian Population", *Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review 2002*, Vilnius: Lithuanian Military Academy, 2003, p. 297.

words, economic security of particular enterprises or their employees which has no direct effect on the economic security of the majority is not to be analysed on national level. Second, factors affecting individual economic security are to be analysed as economic security issues when these factors are closely related to the state as an institution.

3. Guidelines for the Economic Security Analysis

The concept of economic security is directly related to the concept of economic threats. Security is even being described as the absence of threats[7]. This definition, however, is problematic, because the majority of situations related to economic threats and economic security do not fit into a simple scheme where threats either certainly do exist or certainly are absent. Threat as a potential risk for important negative turn in the course of events is always a feature of any given situation. From the dynamic point of view the situation looks similar – none of the actions can be treated as either unambiguously reducing or unambiguously increasing insecurity. Even measures reducing some particular threats usually create or increase other threats. Despite this after concluding the analysis the security of whom ought to be analysed the analysis has to be started with the concept of threats.

The level and the nature of the analysis have to be decided when analysing economic security. The economic security may be affected by many different forces: foreign or domestic state as such, particular institutions of the state (domestic or foreign), non state institutions, individual actions, factors not related to human activities.

3.1. Foreign States

(Neo)realism which is one of the leading schools in the studies of international relations does not distinguish between security in general and the external security of the state the security in international relations being understood as a balance of powers of states as the main actors. Even though the role economiy is more and more widely acknowledged, economiy is subordinated to the state and treated as one of the aspects of the power of the state ("economic power of the state").

States are de facto not the sole or even main players in international relations, and economic relations depend more on individual and interest groups interests than on national interests. The approach that the state as such is very powerful tool in influencing economic security is however correct. The state being the tool which is often used to implement group interests often imputes its will on actors of economic relations. Those actors have to adjust their actions and relations to other actors, especially residing in foreign states. The great number of nation states also still directly participate in making economic decisions. Thus the motivation of economic actors directly depends on the policies of the state and this may also negatively affect the economic situation in foreign countries.

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[7] *Ibidem*, p. 298.

When speaking of the state it is important to draw a proper attention to the fact that even though the state is usually treated as a unit (it is especially characterist to realist school), this precondition has to be evaluated critically. It is important that the state as such is not undividable unit, but rather consists of institutions, which are also the actors and decision makers limiting or determining the state. This essential hypothesis of the analysis on the role of interests groups and institutions onto political decisions and the results of the policies is already taken into account in major works on international relations. The best examples of such analysis are the usage of the game of two or more levels when analysing the process and the outcome of international relations. Thus the state is a sophisticated mechanism and its effect on economic security of other states is determined by those interests of interests groups which may be more effectively (from the point of those interests groups) realised with the apparatus of the state.

The threat of other states on the economic security of a particular state is often overestimated or interpreted incorrectly. First of all, none of the states is able to isolate itself from the world economic order. Even if it is possible, those measures would cause painful consequences to have this kind of policy for a long period. The attention is drawn since the 1970s that the state is not so important actor in international relations as it used to be[8]. The attention is also drawn to the fact that states are loosing their factual sovereignity because they are forced to comply with the rules of international economic order. Those states who try to resist integration are not able to ensure growth any more.[9] It is also evident that state internal policies have also to be subordinated to economic order and the state usually even has no possibility to act differently.[10] At the moment maybe only North Korea is trying to act in an opposite manner and not comply with the economic rules (with all following negative consequences being obvious). It certainly does not mean that all other states are acting the same way and are evenly economically open. We may observe that the economic order we are speaking about has more and more features of capalistic societies, and those societies who do not follow the capalistic model either collapse or decide to take this model as their own.[11] This role of this historical excurse is just to illustrate theoretical conclusions on better efficiency of the market comparable to the attempts to introduce different economic systems.

Taking into account the growing number of international initiatives (the World Trade Organization being among the most important), which reduce the possibilities for domestic interest groups to use the state as their instrument, also the increasing state interdependence and the growing opportunities for choice of supply, the threat from other states for country's economic security is decreasing. Even the organized

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[8] Hollis M., Smith S., (note 2) p. 43.

[9] Hollis M., Smith S., (note 2) p. 44; Gilpin R. *Tarptautinių santykių politinė ekonomija*. [*Political Economy of International Relations*], Vilnius: Algarvė, 1998, p. 101 (in Lithuanian).

[10] Strange S., "Politinė ekonomija ir tarptautiniai santykiai" in Booth K., Smith S, sudar., *Tarptautinių santykių teorija šiandien* ["Polical Economy and International Relations" in Booth K., Smith S, eds., *International Relations Theory Today*], Vilnius, Algarvė, 2000, p. 157 (in Lithuanian).

[11] Halliday F., "Šaltojo karo pabaiga ir tarptautiniai santykiai" in Booth K., Smith S, sudar., *Tarptautinių santykių teorija šiandien* ["Cold War End and International Relations" in Booth K., Smith S, eds., *International Relations Theory Today*], Vilnius, Algarvė, 2000, p. 60-61(in Lithuanian).

economic sanctions against certain states are becoming increasingly rare and less effective. The use of economic pressure also becomes increasingly less likely.

The response to economic sanctions is also often overstressed. The traditional response to such measures – the use of such economic instruments usually does not hurt the state from which the threat originates, but its citizens which often have little to do with the sanctions applied. If we assume that to threaten with economic policy measures (blockade, trade restrictions) to other states is in the interests of narrow groups rather than dispersed interests (most of society), the response with similar measures (trade wars, or tit-for-tat policy) will have little impact on the unfriendly state which started the threat and application of sanctions. Most importantly the counter-measures which are taken in response to economic sanctions will not only hurt the interests of citizens in the threatening, but also in the home country.

3.2. State domestic institutions

The absolute majority of military conflicts these days are not the interstate wars but the intrastate, domestic conflicts, which, as some studies claim, originate out of inability to integrate certain social groups into the political processes[12]. This observation is even more valid when we analyse the economic security – economic insecurity, even if often related to foreign states, essentially depends on domestic state policies and structures. This observation is also important because it can constructively direct the analysis towards the concrete measures of increasing economic security. In addition, this domestic risk factor of economic security is important due to the fact that state has a power to control and regulate significant share of economic relations, structure them in a way which can be only beneficial to narrow interest groups rather than the whole society. Besides, the state still often participates directly in the market. The more extensive is the regulation and direct participation of the state in the economy, the more important become potential threats to economic security which are linked to its domestic institutions and politics.

3.3. Non-state Non-commercial Units

As it was mentioned before, non-state actors have become increasingly important both on international and domestic arenas, while the dominant role of state has been decreasing. This has become particularly important after the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Usually threats posed by non-state actors are of a military rather than economic nature, therefore they should be analysed in a different discussion than the one of economic security. Sometimes non-state actors use economic measures directed against certain state economies or particular enterprises (boycotts of certain products, campaigns against certain companies, disclosure of confident information, etc.), but such activities are relatively unimportant. By the way, particularly often such measures are justified by environmental security objectives. In many states,

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[12]Tickner A.J., "Saugumo re-vizijos" in Booth K., Smith S, sudar., *Tarptautinių santykių teorija šiandien* ["Re-Visions of Security" in Booth K., Smith S, eds., *International Relations Theory Today*], Vilnius, Algarvė, 2000, p. 175(in Lithuanian).

governmental institutions privilege certain non-state actors and interests groups at the expense of other groups and often dispersed interests. In such cases the influence and the impact of non-state actors is more significant and should be analysed accordingly.

Market-related factors. During the second half of XXth century (though less so recently) the relations between transnational corporations and states have become the focus of policy analysts and practical policy decisions. Often the concern about the growing power of transnational corporations has been linked to the pressure that they can exercise on the state policies by taking advantage of technological opportunities and international mobility as well as the incentives of the governments to attract foreign investments. Such pressure can be directed at reducing taxes or applying more flexible regulatory norms. Although this pressure is often seen as a threat to economic security it should be noted, that such as competition between states has its benefits which strengthen the economic security of citizens. Due to such pressure state institutions are pressed to rationalize economic policies and use the budgetary resources more efficiently and effectively, to take into account the societal interests (if we talk about regulatory competition) and not to exchange the economic opportunities and welfare for the political interests.

Discussing not only international economic relations but also domestic market activities, it should be remembered that individual activities which take place in the market produce the results which are not only beneficial to them but also produce common benefits. This is the insight which has been articulated centuries ago by A. Smith who formulated it as an "invisible hand" which combines individual and social benefits of individual activities in the market. However, such individual activities can go against the narrow interests of certain groups[13]. This is linked to several factors. First, the new competitors which enter the market reduce profits, wages and employment, i.e. the problem is seen in the working of markets. Second, it is feared that those who have dominant positions in the market will abuse them in such a way hurting others. Third, it is feared that dominant players will act not according to the market rules and despite the economic motivations, will act in a way damaging others' interests despite at the same time hurting their own interests. Fourth, in market the goods and other values are allocated according to the benefits that they produce to the consumers, which might negatively affect certain interests groups.

Market relations imply risk and responsibility for decisions made, and this causes dissatisfaction of some people. Besides, markets imply uncertainty – nobody can forecast exactly the economic developments and the outcomes of planed activities. By the way, this is not only the inherent feature of market relations. State planning and any other intervention does not avoid uncertainty about the future. The difference is that in the market the future uncertainty is an acknowledged fact and in the market every actor contributes to responding to new challenges in a decentralized way. When the state aims at ensuring stability, it produces a monopoly in this field, or such a monopoly is created due to distorted markets. In such a way the decentralized opportunities for individuals to deal with uncertainty are reduced. The state should therefore focus on legal system and law enforcement first if its is to strengthen the stability and in such a way contribute to economic security of its citizens. The uncer-

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[13] Gilpin R., (note 9) p. 51-52.

tainty in the market itself should not be seen as a source of economic insecurity but as a fact of contemporary economic environment. When there are opportunities to adapt quickly and relatively easily to the change, the change should not be seen as a threat to individual economic security, also, in a broader sense adapting to change increases the adaptive abilities of a society.

Market threats are often only a rhetorical façade to cover the powers of state institutions. The analysis of such threats to economic security should also take into account the possibility that trying to cope with such threats can create more threats to other social groups than producing benefits in solving problems. In a broader sense this is related to the causal link between the state measures to privilege (help) certain social groups and the costs of such measures that are produced to other groups. In such a way a state can itself become a source of economic insecurity (in introducing new taxes or regulations and thereby changing the rules of the game and opportunities of individuals). Most measures aimed at increasing economic security and more particular aspects of safety (safety at work, etc.) have their price and it is the individuals that have to pay for such type of security. In the world of scarce resources this is an economic aspect of security.

It is equally important to stress that economic security is secondary to physical security and should be treated accordingly – in a way that threats are not directed at the direct appropriation of property, and are avoided by using economic measures. This directs to the observation that the analysis of economic security should be separated from the analysis of physical security. Otherwise it would be difficult to set the limits of the analysis[14].

One aspect of threats to economic security needs a separate mentioning. This is the issue of dominant market actors. Of course, the monopolistic suppliers aim at getting the monopoly profits. However, in considering the action plan to deal with such monopolists it should be taken into account that most monopolies can not keep abusing their position, because this would create incentives for the entry of competitors (sometimes quite unexpectedly when a new competitor offers the consumers non-homogenious product). Therefore even monopolists are forced to act in such a way as if there are competitors, unless there are regulatory or other barriers to the market entry for potential competitors. For example, the oil crisis in 1970s produced stronger competition due to higher oil prices which restricted more the possibilities for OPEC cartel to manipulate oil prices, which currently depend on other economic and political factors. To be sure, in such cases the time dimension of the market change is important. Some measures can pose short term threats to economic security, but in the long term they can produce a move towards creating measures to deal with a problem more effectively and thereby increase economic security.

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[14] Due to such reasons, although the physical security of airports is closely linked to economic issues, it is not an economic threat and should not be researched as a part of economic security. The same can said about the diffusion of information, the security of infrastructure or large scale objects which are important for the economy and environment.

3.4. Other Factors

A number of other factors can influence negatively economic security: technical and natural disasters, terrorist activities and others. However, as its was said about some of them (non-state actors) such threats should be seen in their own category. Although they are related to economic security, they do not originate from the economic processes and therefore should be analysed separately.

It should also be noted that by attempting to cope with one set of threats other treats can be produced. For example, enhanced border control can hinder legal trade activities, stricter environmental norms – produce additional costs to consumers and market entry barriers, etc. Therefore, although the economic security should be analytically separated from other types of security and its threats, this type of complexity should be taken into account.

4. The conditionality of threats to economic security

As it is noted by Barry Buzan, the threats to security are perceived subjectively and depend on particular society and historical setting[15]. Depending on the personal experience of society members and country's history some threats can be given either too much or too little importance. Taking into account the history of Lithuania, it could be concluded that the treat of Russia manipulating the energy resource supply to Lithuania can be overstated. On the other hand, taking into account the political developments in Russia and the close connections between state institutions and infrastructure companies, the dominance of Russian supplied oil and natural gas can create at least short-term risks for Lithuanian economy. Also, some threats to economic security might not be appropriately assessed and articulated or certain issues might be underestimated. For example, the issues of energy security of supply are usually linked with the need to satisfy the existing demands of the economy rather than phrased in terms of creating conditions for competition and the choice of supplier which could reduce the costs of energy resources to future potential consumers.

It can be maintained that perceived threats to economic security and the public discourse on related issues differs significantly in different societies. Moreover, the perception of economic security and its threats depends on the approach and historical experiences. For example, due to the lack of extensive direct threats linked to trade wars with other countries, such measures are not seen as very damaging and threatening to economic security, although deeper analysis could reveal the importance of such measures. Taking into account the relative nature of perceived economic security, its analysis should aim at two objectives: to reveal the threats to economic security taking into account the discourse and the process of "securityzing" certain economic issues and the reasons why certain measures are seen as enhancing or reducing the security; assess the economic reasoning and consistency of public

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[15] Buzan B.,. *Žmonės, valstybės ir baimė*. [*People, States and Fear*], Vilnius: Eugrimas, 1997, p. 186 (in Lthuanian).

debates about the threats to economic security and the ways of dealing with them. It should also be stressed that certain degree of uncertainty always exists and is a fact of life, therefore analysis should be limited to the issues which are crucial to majority of society members, their economic security and are not related with the usual market situation.

5. The connections between economic security and welfare

The Lithuanian National Security Strategy maintains, that the country's welfare is one of the three essential interests. On the one hand, such an understanding widens the concept of economic security, because any threat to welfare becomes a treat to economic security. On the other hand, it allows to conclude that welfare and conditions for its growth is the target of economic security policy. In the absence of welfare there is no object of economic security. To put it differently, one can conclude that logically security is derived from welfare.

The decrease in welfare is often the consequence of economic insecurity, but not every reduction of welfare can be seen as the result of economic insecurity. This qualification is necessary in order to separate general economic issues from the issues of economic security. Only threats but not the unfavourable situation can be assessed as the object of economic insecurity. And only in cases when the welfare of many people decreases suddenly and on the large scale it can be seen as the realization of a threat to national economic security.

6. Measures of increasing economic security

Taking into account international economic situation and expanding international markets, economic security has to analysed in the context of market economy. In addition, only in the functioning market economy the increase of general welfare rather than benefits to narrow business or party interests can be expected. However, markets also imply certain threats to economic security. First, markets accumulate goods and values which can become the targets of threats. Second, markets due to their nature imply certain degree of insecurity, because when markets are open no individual can be certain about the future. Here is also the market paradox related to economic security: market is a necessary environment for generating welfare and economic and social security, but at the same time it creates uncertainty about the future developments and related insecurity. This reminds us that economic security is an important goal but it should be implemented taking into account other objectives. In other words, economic security has its price and it should not be aimed at regardless of its price (otherwise such policy measures generate insecurity). In addition, the measures of economic security become meaningful only when there are values to be secured. Economic security is derived from welfare and welfare can not exchanged for security.

Economic security can be achieved by state policy measures or by private initiatives. Although private initiatives are often ignored in writings on economic security, but they represent an important factor in strengthening conditions for the

increase of economic security. Although, as it was mentioned, markets imply future uncertainty and therefore a degree of insecurity, they also provide the basis for dynamic process of creation and innovation, during which individual needs are satisfied, including the need for security. In practical terms this includes insurance services, future contracts, financial instruments of capital accumulation and savings and others means. But the indirect effects are even more important, because markets provide the conditions for the development of products which reduce the levels of economic insecurity: alternative sources of energy, better means of transport and communications and other similar products not only increase general welfare but also widen the possibilities of choice in in such a way contribute to the increase of economic security. Moreover, human motivation leads individuals to the activities which contribute to solving the problems of economic security when they become relatively important. This has been quite evident during the time of economic blockade in Lithuania in the beginning of 1990s. In this sense, it is important that the state creates adequate conditions and infrastructure for the developments of markets that can respond without distortions to the needs of economic security of country's citizens.

The state economic policy has important indirect and direct effect on economic security. Its indirect effect is in affecting the motivations of individuals and the conditions for market entry and innovation. Its direct effects can be felt when the state itself takes part in economic relations through direct ownership of production and provision of services. The influence of a state is relatively more important in small economies which are more affected by the degree of openness to external environment.

National economic security when provided by state economic policy measures can be and often is supplied by using the methods anchored in contradictory concepts. According to one concept, economic security is related to independence from outside environment (other states, external markets), i.e. secure society is a closed society. According to another concept economic security is related to open and close relations with other countries, i.e. secure society is an open society. At the same time, openness implies changes some of which can not be foreseen and this in turn creates the atmosphere of insecurity. Currently the issues of economic security must be analysed in the context of functioning markets, because closure from the outside world is practically an impossible option, in particular for small states. But markets directly imply economic interdependence which is also a fact in contemporary world economy[16]. That is why the concept of economic security can not be expressed as the idea of equilibrium as it is sometimes suggested[17] – the idea of equilibrium itself (as well as ideas of perfect competition and of absolute availability of information) is only a theoretical abstraction the practical implementation of which can lead to stagnation and slow down of progress. More problematic, however, is asymmetric economic interdependence because it can create possibilities for less dependent (usually larger) state to abuse its position with regards to the smaller state, even if such measures are economically costly to the former as well.

Even if there is still a theoretical choice between closure and openness to the outside environment, the latter must dominate the economic policy measures, becau-

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[16] Gilpin R. (note 9), p. 47 – 48.
[17] E.g,, Grebliauskas A., "Analysis of Threats for Economic Security of Lithuania", *Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review 2002*, Vilnius: Lithuanian Military Academy, 2003, p. 280.

se in the long run closure leads to imagined security which can eventually result in the economic collapse. The growing economic interdependence must be accepted as a fact. It plays a role of a balancing factor in international economic relations which leads to more rational state economic policies This could be observed in various areas: states can not impose very strict restrictions on imports (conduct an economic blockade) from other countries because such measures affect negatively domestic industries using imported products and consumers in the protectionist states; its is ineffective to use price discrimination because this could lead to the emergence of new alternative products that could eventually push the discriminators out of the market. Thus, as it is rightly underlined in the Lithuanian National Security Strategy, globalization in the contemporary world must be accepted as an objective phenomena. Of course, in absolute terms it is not objective, but de facto no state has a choice other than reducing obstacles to external economic relations (otherwise they would become increasingly costly and eventually would reduce national economic security). The main issue is the issue of tactics – what methods should be used (mercantilistic way of mutually or multilaterally negotiated reductions of barriers or unilateral strategy to decide to abolish restrictions), and how long should this process take.

Another issue is what type of economic interdependence contributes to increasing economic security. It is often assumed that since in most cases economic interdependence is asymmetrical, it increases the security of less dependent state and decreases the security of more dependent state. However, often the fact of asymmetry is overestimated. It is natural that states are linked with economic relations that are different in their nature, this is part of what produces benefits from international trade. But this qualitative asymmetry in natural, historically and technologically developed endowments does not produce quantitative asymmetry. For example, sometimes even when a country buys energy resources from one strategic supplier, this does not mean that supplier has a strong power towards the buying country because it may be the essential consumer of this resource. This example could be used in the case of Russia and EU interdependence in natural gas sector. Of course, if one state is much smaller than the other such an interdependence can result in different outcomes, because small states are usually not the only consumers of certain products supplied by the larger country. However, what is important is that small states have a possibility of alliances and jointly defending their interests. If we continue with the same example of natural gas, we could say that Lithuania's integration into the EU is an instrument to reduce possible threats related to the supply of energy resources from Russia (although it is still too early to make conclusions if this instrument has been used effectively and if by being a member of the EU Lithuania managed to reduce its asymmetry of dependence on Russian supplies and increase its bargaining power with respect to Russia).

It is sometimes maintained that free trade is a method to substitute direct inter-state conflicts and power competition with more subtle economic dominance and this is the strategy which is mainly associated with USA policies[18]. However, it should be underlined that for large states free trade is not as vital as for small states,

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[18] E.g.: Urbelis V., "Changes in the US Global Security Strategy and its Implications for Lithuania", *Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review 2002*, Vilnius: Lithuanian Military Academy, 2003, p. 37-68.

because: first, the size of the large domestic market still allows for certain division of labor and specialization which is less viable in small countries; second, large states are not so dependent of external supplies of raw materials and other resources. For example, the observations that small countries have become prosperous partly due to their openness, while at the same time the protectionist policies of the relatively liberal US indicates that openness to the external world is relatively more beneficial to small states. Besides, as the studies of international competitiveness indicate, it is small and open countries which dominate among the most competitive and prosperous world states (for example, see the studies of the World Economic Forum).

Conclusions

1. Economic security is closely related with other dimensions of human security. First, physical security has an important impact on the conditions for economic security, although the analysis of the two should be separated. Economic security is secondary and derived from physical security (the security of property is a basic condition for the functioning of the market). It can be separated when the threats are not related with direct violation of property rights and when such threats could be avoided by using economic means.

2. The national (state) economic security can be analysed under the condition that threats arise not only and not so much for the state but for individuals, while the state is seen as an association of individuals which serves the common goals.

3. The concept of economic security is multidimensional. The economic security of national importance is the set of issues which are related with the economic security of the majority of state citizens rather than with the narrow interest groups.

4. Some degree of uncertainty and insecurity exists in any society. Trying to predict the future is an impossible task. Economic security should be seen not as an absence of such uncertainty but as the opportunities to develop new instruments dealing more effectively with such uncertainty and to adapt more successfully with changing environment. The focus of state activities in this area is first of all in providing stable legal environment and the enforcement of property rights while minimizing the incremental regulatory and tax policy changes which increase uncertainty.

5. The goal of economic security can not be attained regardless of other objectives. For every individual this goal exists together with other objectives. It is first on the individual level that the choice between economic security and other objectives can be taken. When the national economic security measures are adopted by the state, their costs should be taken into consideration.

6. The perception of threats to economic security depends to a large degree on particular social context and experience. The analysis of economic security should have two objectives: first, to assess the underlining reasoning of public perceptions regarding threats to economic security; second, not only to evaluate the threats which are publicly discussed, but also the threats which are underestimated, but which are important to majority of citizens (and are not related to usual market situation).

7. Although nation states are seen as the main actors in international economic relations, it should be taken into account that other actors can also pose threats to

economic security: in addition to foreign and domestic state institutions these can include interest groups, non-state organizations, individuals. In order to assess adequately these factors, the motivations of particular individuals and their groups should be analysed.

8. Openness, not closure from outside environment strengthens economic security. Therefore increasing economic interdependence should be seen as an opportunity rather than a threat to economic security. Private actors also play an important role in strengthening conditions and providing measures to deal with threats to economic security. State is not the only actor in this area. More problematic is the situation of asymmetric interdependence which also is paralleled by the direct links of state institutions and economic actors in a larger country and allows to manipulate economic relations with smaller country even when it is costly to both countries. In such a situation the focus should be on providing opportunities for alternative sources of supply.