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The Issues that Shape Middle Eastern Politics

Editor's Analysis

With Mitchell Belfer and Isabella Nardone of Formiche

Three main issues have come to dominate global headlines in the first quarter of 2019: the Iran-US relationship, Israel and its parliamentary elections and the ever-changing dynamics in Libya. The outcome of each of these will impact regional and trans regional relations and understanding aspects of them is essential. In the following analytical snapshot — a Q & A — information of these three situations is teased out via conversation.

Nardone (*Formiche*) — What could happen internationally following Israel's elections (re: in case of a change in the executive)?

Belfer — Given that Netanyahu's most formidable opponent is Benny Gantz, Israeli and indeed regional politics are set to change considerably. First, if Netanyahu is successful and retains his position as Prime Minister, his coalition would have taken a further shift to the right bringing in known Jewish extremists and ideologues. This will frustrate budding relations with the Arab World, including in the Gulf, and make peace with the Palestinians much more difficult--if not impossible.

Also, it will, de facto, recognise the controversial annexation of Golan. An empowered Netanyahu -- given his recent brushes with the law -- will also be a more bullish Netanyahu. Alternatively, a Benny Gantz leadership will likely reach out to a wider consensus in Israel to rekindle proper negotiations with the Palestinians and to better exploit the newfound influence Israel wields in the region now that Iran is being checked by the Arab Gulf states, Russia and the US. Gantz is a security heavyweight and will not be soft on security provisions. But, as

a soldier, he knows the consequences of reckless politics and will be more guarded. He may be the right type of leader to encourage a more robust engagement with the Arab World.

Nardone (*Formiche)* — What do you think about the situation in Libya? Is it possible that Haftar's advance has been facilitated by external support? What are your expectation for the future?

Belfer — Libya was in a state of suspended animation and Haftar is rapidly moving to break the 8 year impasse and consolidate a power-position for his Misurata militiamen. The momentum is needed. While Italy had previously sought a more inclusive solution, others (re: Qatar, Turkey) attempted to infuse national politics with an Islamist flavour based around the Muslim Brotherhood. This has failed and Haftar, although an unapologetic military man is not an Islamist. It is about time for Libya to stabilise and hopefully this latests bout will produce the ingredients to do so.

Nardone (*Formiche)* — Is the withdrawal of US troops from Tripoli a sign of weakness and acquiescence to Haftar's plans? Is there the possibility that Washington transforms Libya into a 'new Syria' (re: comparing US-Haftar relations with Russia-Assad relations)?

Belfer — I think that the US withdraw is short sighted and reflects the lack of US strategic awareness. I do not think that a 'new Syria' is on the horizon. But then again, Middle Eastern politics is unpredictable.

Nardone (*Formiche)* — Last year Donald Trump reassured Italian PM Giuseppe Conte about Italy's leading role regarding Libyan dossier. Did Italy lose the opportunity to manage this role?

Belfer — I would not say that Italy lost the opportunity, but rather that the Libyan's took it over themselves. Since the Palermo talks, the momentum shifted back to the Libyan militias themselves and the European role has been eclipsed ever since.

Nardone (*Formiche)* — Italy's Interior Minister Matteo Salvini has asked the EU to reject any Turkish attempt to join the Union. Since Turkey stands with Serraj, shouldn't Italy revise its position on this issue?

Belfer — Turkey is a 'wild card' in the wider region but its ambitions are rather clear -- to establish a stronger presence by using Qatari money and Muslim Brotherhood organisations. Italy and Turkey may have agreed on Serraj's leadership, but they did not agree on why. For Italy he represented a voice of reason and for Turkey a voice of Turkish power projection. Salvini is right to reject Turkey's EU membership bid... at least until it changes its behaviour to better reflect European interests and values. And, of course, it ceases its occupation of Cyprus – an EU member state.

Nardone (*Formiche)* —The US has listed Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps as terrorists. What is the reason behind this decision and what will be the consequences?

Belfer — The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corp (IRGC) is one of the main engines for terrorist activities internationally. Hezbollah in Iraq, Lebanon, Bahrain, Yemen, Syria, Europe in addition to the Badr Brigades, PMUs, Houthis and Islamic Jihad Palestine all owe their funding, leadership and direction to the IRGC and its Al Quds force. Increasingly, the IRGC has been operationally focused on attacking US interests and allies and by ascribing them to the US terror list it is hoped that their economic lifelines in Europe will be interrupted. It is also hoped -- like Hezbollah -- that other international actors follow suit and recognise the IRGC as a terrorist group: its activities fall nothing short. Of course, this can be reversed if Iran ends its policy of intervening in and destabilising its neighbours especially those allies of the US and Europe such as Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Israel. The IRGC's true leader is Ayatollah Khameini and by pinching his armed forces, the US may be able to clip the wings of the Islamic Republic of Iran on its ambitions to consolidate its position in the East Mediterranean and throughout the Arab Gulf.

This interview was first published on 09 April 2019 in the original Italian with ***Formiche*** and is available at: https://formiche.net/2019/04/belfer-libia-israele-iran/.

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Ukrainian State-Building Redux

Triangular Role Performance Under Kuchma

Vladislav Strnad, Nik Hynek

The article systematically analyses the Ukrainian behaviour within the EU-Ukraine-Russia triangle during the presidency of Leonid Kuchma (1994-2004). As it is shown, this was a period to which the origins of many recent, and tumultuous, developments can be traced. We utilise an interdisciplinary Foreign Policy Analysis role theoretical framework, and through the means of triangulated content analysis apply it to the empirical material containing, inter alia, primary data in the Ukrainian language. As we demonstrate empirically, Ukraine followed a certain behavioural pattern of roles based on its national characteristics, collective cognition, discursive uses of historical developments, and specific internal political, economic and social considerations. An extensive analysis of presidential speeches reveals that the prominent role of 'Internal Development' had fluctuating levels of intensity and multiple manifestations. Taking advantages of conceptual vocabulary and theoretical subtleties associated with role theory, we conclude that the performed research of these sets of behavioural norms and their dynamics allows for better understanding of Ukrainian collective identity and behaviour within this strategic complex.

Keywords: Ukraine, Russia, European Union, role theory, strategic balancing, foreign policy, content analysis.

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Since the declaration of independence in 1991, Ukraine (UA) has built its statehood and national identity on a complex, and oft-contradictory, set of economic and political conditions.[1] Ever since, the country has sought a viable development strategy and geopolitical positionality. Largely, it has carried an image of a problematic entity in wider European politics, with a notably unstable domestic political scene.[2] Observers have pointed out that the Ukrainian society has not sufficiently consolidated around its identity, and that the external position of the country has been incoherent and inconsistent at best.[3] In addition, the elite's attitude has evolved from nationalist romanticism to political pragmatism in oscillating between the two notable centres of geopolitical influence - the EU and Russia (RU).[4]

Within this geopolitical triangle (EU-UA-RU), Ukraine – as an actor on the international scene – performs a certain set of roles based on its national characteristics, historical development, and specific internal political, economic and social situations. These roles represent social positions that provide a state with a perception of identity and selfhood which is crucial for its sense of purpose in the international community.[5] Essentially, 'international social order is what states make of it, and thus what roles they play'.[6]

Through the application of the interdisciplinary role theoretical perspective, this article analyses foreign-political behaviour which Ukraine performed in the triangle EU-Ukraine-Russia during the Leonid Kuchma's presidency. The Foreign Policy Analysis role theoretical framework provides a meaningful analytical tool[7] for understanding and explaining national foreign policies due to its rich language[8] for a conceptualization of agent's 'socially recognized positions in the world and the normative structures of expectations'.[9] In addition, this approach bridges the gap between agency and structure, and considers material and ideational factors as determinants of state's foreign policy behaviour.[10] We argue that the systematic research of these sets of behavioural norms (roles) and their dynamics through an extensive empirical analysis enables us to better understand Ukrainian identity and behaviour within this strategic complex, the EU-Ukraine-Russia triangle.

Specifically, the article analyses the roles of Ukraine during the presidential period of the second President of independent Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma (1994-2004). This decade was selected due to its richness in far-reaching political and economic changes and reforms which

were accompanied by initial prospects of Ukrainian transition towards liberal democracy and democratization. However, democratic regression, patronage, growing corruption, and the strong authoritarian tendencies of Kuchma sabotaged this development. Therefore, by the end of his second term, it was possible to define Ukraine as a hybrid state with a competitive authoritarian regime.[11] In fact, many of the current internal and external problems of Ukraine have their origin in this decade, which makes such an analysis timely and important.

During Kuchma's presidency, Ukraine survived a severe economic crisis,[12] adopted a new constitution,[13] and also established a political scene and a political opposition.[14] Moreover, the country strived to enter the European Economic Area and actively participated in European security policy as well. It ambitiously endorsed membership in the EU and NATO,[15] concurrently, it restored relations with Russia.[16] However, due to the failure of meeting the agreed reforms, Ukraine was neither included on the candidate list of the EU or NATO.[17] As a consequence, UA-EU relations had cooled down and were not intensified until after the Orange Revolution in 2004.

Kuchma's presidency was an era of passive foreign policy. He promoted a multi-vector foreign policy: (1) balancing between the strategic European integration course, while concurrently deepening its strategic partnership with Russia; and (2) balancing between neutrality policy and the wider Euro-Atlantic cooperation. Indeed, relative profit-seeking and the entrenchment of Kuchma and his collaborators in the position of power were important driving forces as well.[18] For a long time, this policy served as an instrument for the protection of the state's independence. Furthermore, it had a significant impact on the country's development, on the foreign influence and the relations with other actors in the triangle of the EU-Ukraine-Russia.[19]

The analysis of roles performed by Ukraine during Kuchma's presidency is conducted through the application of a role theory framework developed by Kalevi Holsti.[20] Its essential assumption is that states are actors on the world stage that operate consistently in specific roles they identify with. Main creators and definers of these roles are leaders who are following subjective perceptions of their nations.[21] By nature of the Ukrainian political system, which provides the President with substantial powers, as well for historical developments of this presidency, we consider Kuchma himself to be the main source of the roles produced and performed during the researched period. Holsti's take

on role theory puts emphasis on strong leaders as facilitators of countries' roles, which is more suitable for this researched case.[22]

Our data set in the Ukrainian language consist of eleven crucial speeches by President Kuchma delivered in the Ukrainian parliament – the Verkhovna Rada. They represent his perspective on the situation in the country and the regional political, economic and strategic complex. These speeches address the internal and external situation of Ukraine and assess past domestic and foreign policy moves. Additionally, they offer key coordinates for the subsequent activities of the government and public administration. In other words, these documents related to problems of the state and society as well as the critical issues of the nation's life.[23]

Role dynamics were studied by means of systematic content analysis.[24] Using the combination of inductive and deductive coding, this research technique provides 'objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication'.[25] Importantly, to make this research more robust, the analysis is triangulated by qualitative analysis of additional relevant primary text documents such as further political speeches, as well as texts of treaties and declarations.

Theoretical part

Role theory as a foreign policy framework

Roles are social positions which provide actors with a relatively stable sense of identity and selfhood. They are crucial for actors' perceptions of purpose in the international community[26] and define 'who does what, when, and how'. [27] Without them, states 'cannot order their environments and consequently find social behaviour intolerantly difficult to understand and manage'.[28] Roles are necessary for the creation of foreign policy preferences, as '[t]he articulation of a national role betrays preferences, operationalizes an image of the world, triggers expectations, and influences the definition of the situation and of the available options'.[29]

These definitions follow the logic of role theory, which is an analytical framework developed by Kalevi Holsti. It does not represent an individual theory, but rather 'a family of theories, an approach, or perspective'.[30] It assumes that states are actors who operate consistently with specific roles with which they identify themselves.[31] Unlike analytical and prescriptive foreign policy studies based on terms such as national preference and national interest, role theory uses national

role conceptions, which share some resemblance with concepts such as identity, self-image, and norms,[32] nevertheless they are quite distinct.[33]

The core part of role theory is national role conception (NRC) defining what 'we want and what we do as a result of who we think we are, want to be, and should be'.[34] It represents policymakers' perception of 'the appropriate orientations or functions of their state'.[35] Essentially, these are inherently shared beliefs and views regarding 'the proper role and purpose of one's own state as a social collectivity in the international area'.[36] Despite a considerable degree of elasticity in principle, these intersubjectively shared constructions indicate a degree of stability.[37]

Actors have several different roles in the system and its subsystem[38] that vary in meaning and situation for which they are relevant.[39] Roles, as social positions, are constituted by internal (Ego) and external (Alter) expectations (prescriptions) which provide the actor with an identity, create an idea of the meaning and the purpose of its existence. A set of roles can create role sets[40] which can be defined as a 'web of mutual roles' in the system.[41] Role sets especially entail a potential for conflict within a role (intra-role conflicts) and between roles (inter-role conflicts).[42] An important part of role theory are role prescriptions, which Holsti defines 'as norms, beliefs and preferences concerning the performance of any individual in a social position relative to individuals occupying other positions'.[43] Prescriptions and conceptions affect role performance that reflects the actual foreign policy behaviour regarding decisions and actions.[44] A systematic analysis of presidential addresses and other speeches in a semi-presidential system is seen as a particularly suitable research strategy to ascertain role conceptions and their foreign-political significance.

The application of role theory on Kuchma's Ukraine

The positionality of Ukraine within the strategic triangle, EU-UA-RU, is related to the country's national role conceptions. These, in turn, were the results of a heterogeneous bundle of national(ist) ideas related to the internal and regional situation of the country (see Figure 1). This positionality began already in the period of the Ukrainian declaration of independence. Creating a consistent foreign policy strategy in the context of new geopolitical priorities was an important moment in the development of Ukrainian statehood.[4]

The nationalist vision of the role Ukraine should play and a nationalist concept of the Ukrainian position, which it 'deserved' from the

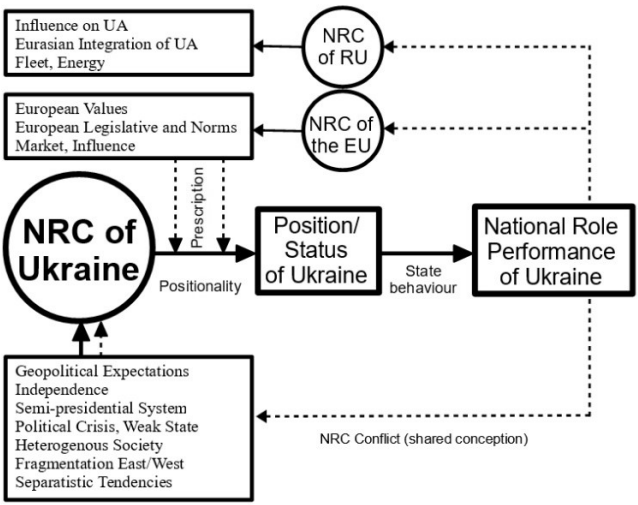

Fig 1 The forming of Ukrainian NRC and its positionality in the triangle EU-UA-RU.

geopolitical and historical point of view was strongly influenced by the newly received status of a sovereign entity. Therefore, the defence of Ukrainian independence became a priority. Closer integration or a membership of Ukraine in international structures was considered as a loss of sovereignty and ability to play an important role externally.[46] Important components of the Ukrainian NRC formation were internal political and social conditions. The development of Ukraine's NRC reflected the process of statehood formation. Imperfections in the semi-presidential model of the state with persistent elements of authoritarian control lead to corruption and the participation of economic elites (oligarchs) in the governmental structures.[47] Thus, political decisions were often based on personal interests and not pursued from the perspective of national interest factoring in wider and more universal public goods.[48]

Another important source of the NRC's formation was the multi-ethnic composition of the Ukrainian society, and fragmentation of the country on the pro-European North–West, and pro-Russian South-East.[49] Every Ukrainian re-calibration of leanings, however temporary, towards the EU, or Russia, caused social unrest. Therefore, the Ukrainian leaders relied on the posture of strategic hedging, discursively referred to as neutrality (i.e. out-of-block approach) or multi-vector foreign policy.[50] Hence, to maintain the status of an

equal player between two rivals, primary entities, it was necessary for Ukraine to have an adequate economic and military potential, and room to manoeuvre. Simultaneously as the strategic hedging served the interests of the power elite, Ukraine's lack of focus on delivery of public goods to its society strongly contributed to undermining of its position, internally and externally alike.

The main document, which specifies this internal and external policy of Ukraine is the Constitution. In accordance with the then-new Constitution of Ukraine (28 June 1996), Article 18 describes the Ukrainian foreign policy as an activity 'aimed at ensuring national interests and security'. Cooperation with the international community should be 'peaceful', 'mutually beneficial' and based on 'generally accepted principles and norms of international law'.[51] Equally important is Chapter V stating that the President has the dominant position in the country. The head of the state is a guarantor of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and respect for the Constitution, rights and freedoms of citizens. The President makes decisions in matters of national security and independence, represents the state in international relations, administers the foreign policy of the state, negotiates and concludes international agreements.[52]

Based on the constitutionally and de facto strong position of the President in the researched period, what Wilson[53] even termed 'hyper-presidentialism', Kuchma is considered the source of Ukrainian national role conception guiding the roles performed by the state in the 1994-2004 period.

Methodological premises

Data collection

This article investigates role dynamics during the Kuchma presidency. Since Kuchma is considered to be the primary source of the roles during this period, it was necessary to choose primary data appropriately highlighting his beliefs, attitudes and perspectives and in turn leading to the formulation and performance of roles. Through purposive sampling, eleven speeches by the President were selected for the analysis of Ukrainian role dynamics through the decade.[54]

These speeches represented official documents by the Head of State. They featured economic, political and social developments and Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy situation. Texts were either sent to the *Verkhovna Rada* of Ukraine or were personally delivered. Either

way, they became valid official documents and served as the main orientation for the work of the government, ministries and other central executive bodies. These addresses were accompanied by drafts of appropriate laws/projects preferentially discussed by the Parliament.[55] Specifically, the analysed sample contains two inaugural speeches, eight annual speeches and one speech devoted to the European selection of Ukraine. The introductory part of the speech (the speech of the President in the Parliament) and the section dealing with foreign policy and foreign economies were used for content analysis excavating the role dynamics. The analysis of the situation in the year 1995 is obtained from the repeated summary in the rest of the analysed speeches as this was the closest way to bringing it to the standard of the other examined years.

Data analysis

For successful analysis, it was necessary to select and conceptualize the researched roles. In 1970, Holsti outlined the use of the role theory concept, together with the roles of 71 countries during the Cold War period. By using content analysis, he processed 972 sources and derived 17 roles (e.g. Regional protector, Mediator-integrator, Bridge, Faithful ally) that various states performed. For the purposes of this article, the role of 'Internal Development' based on Holsti's conceptualisation was selected. This role suggests that 'most efforts of the government should be directed toward problems of internal development'.[56] The selection of the role is based on (1) preliminary abduction analysis of presidential speeches: we searched for role with the greatest relative salience; (2) the selected role is highly relevant for Ukrainian state-building and protection of narrowly defined power interests; (3) we prioritized an analytical depth and rigorousness of the analysis (the role is analysed in three steps, see below).

Dynamics of Internal Development was analysed through the application of content analysis. In general, content analysis can be used for 'making replicable and valid inferences from texts [...] to the contexts of their use'[57]. It enables a systematic, objective and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication through inductively or deductively generated code lists. The frequency of a passage or a word can determine the importance of specific content.[58]

Research design

The role of Internal Development was processed through a three-step analysis. Firstly, we conducted a chronological analysis of the researched documents. This enabled us to put the role into a context. Essentially, the first round of coding was ensured by this advancement as we inductively allocated keywords relevant to each of the roles. During the next round of coding, these keywords were differentiated into categories based on inductive reasoning, as well as in relation to the theoretical model.

In the second part, we applied content analysis by which we quantitatively processed the documents based on the codebook created in the first part. It was necessary to adjust the frequencies of keywords (see Equation 1) as the analysed documents differ significantly in their word count (analysed texts varied between 3,092 – 21,016 words). To obtain these adjusted frequencies for each of the conditions, we calculated adjustment scores, which represent conditions that characterize the internal or external activities of the state during performance of a particular role. This approach indicated how intensively a certain document deals with a particular condition.

$$\text{adjusted frequency (a)} = \frac{\text{role condition (r)}}{\text{adjustment score (x)}}$$

Equation 1

The final part of the analysis shows the dynamics of the role 'Internal Development'. Data for this part were drawn from the previous chronological and content analysis.

The role of 'Internal Development'

The role of 'Internal Development' includes domestic political, economic and social development of the state. Performance of this role entails that, in certain situations, the state has a priority to fulfil its core functions and to address internal problems.[59] Examples span functioning of the economy and state institutions, providing the necessary life minimum, ensuring safety and protection of its citizens. This role is fostered by the 1996 Ukrainian Constitution stating that 'a person's life and health, honour and dignity, inviolability and security' in Ukraine has 'the highest social value' (Article 3). Likewise, the state must ensure and guarantee the 'rights and freedoms' of citizens, must create conditions to guarantee everyone a 'right to work' (Article 43), 'social protec-

tion', 'state social insurance' to secure a 'living minimum' (Article 46), free 'healthcare' (Article 49) and 'education' (Article 53). In brief, the performance of Internal Development refers to internal political and economic activity of the state, which is generally a priority, and more so during the state-building phase.

Chronological analysis of Kuchma's perspective towards the domestic political, economic and social development of Ukraine (1994-2004)

Leonid Kuchma became the President of Ukraine during a period of instability and uncertainty. Inflation in Ukraine was among the highest in the world, its foreign debt and unemployment were dramatically rising, and the technological and infrastructural conditions were dilapidating. The stagnating economy, combined with its social, scientific and technical underdevelopment, was slowing its recovery. Essentially, the country did not have 'real resources to improve the living standards of the people'.[60] During this period, Ukraine experienced transition 'from a centrally-planned to a market economy'.[61] As Kuchma argued, this transition required a direction towards radical economic reforms. It was essential to stabilise and kick-start the economy, reform the banking system, start with economic privatisation, develop and nurture high-tech potential, and to adopt a new agrarian policy. Kuchma was committed to leading Ukraine into a new stage of development that either 'provide[d] a chance to survive and to ensure a dignified life' or would 'definitely throw the state far back', depriving it of the 'one last chance to keep up with modern civilisation'.[62]

The majority of the Ukrainian citizens neither 'want[ed] a return to the old system of social values, nor did they support the political extremes'.[63] The nation was disappointed by the failures in the social sphere and by constant political conflicts between different levels of the government. For this reason, Kuchma argued that priorities of the Ukrainian development must match a 'broader spectrum of social interests' and reflect the 'historical experiences of the people, their mentality and traditions'.[64] Discursively, he presented market reforms, not as a self-goal, but rather a tool to increase the welfare of the people.

President Kuchma emphasised the hopelessness of rescuing the economy by the 'old methods'. Hence, Ukraine needed a new socio-economic and political strategy. The 1994 presidential program, 'The way of radical economic reforms', defined the basic logic of de-

velopment and mechanisms to overcome the crisis. Specifically, it outlined six basic directions of reforming the state: 1) stabilisation of the financial-monetary system (the establishment of the national currency Hryvnia); 2) reform of the property relationship (privatization); 3) economic liberalization; 4) agrarian reform; 5) maintenance of a hi-tech potential; and 6) support of the needed parts of society.[65]

Furthermore, he assumed that political parties would support his policies; otherwise, Ukraine would not have a chance to rescue the economy, and, more dramatically, 'to preserve its statehood'. Equally important, he argued that the radical left-wing forces should not hope for the revival of the Soviet Union because the 'loss of statehood is equal to a civil war'. According to Kuchma, Ukraine was 'and remain[ed] a sovereign and independent state', however, the question was its democratic, social and legal extent.[66] The President defined social issues as the top priority, in particular, to stop the catastrophic decline of living standards, to prevent mass unemployment and the progressive decay of the social sphere. Likewise, he argued that Ukraine must urgently address the issue of growing corruption and crime. At the same time, various unified (language, learner, cultural) policies contributed to a further division of the nation into the West and the East.[67]

The efforts of the first Ukrainian President to strengthen statehood and economic independence through 'the cardinal refocusing of politics from the East to the West' were considered by Kuchma as one of the reasons which led to the critical situation of Ukraine.[68] 'The anti-Russian actions in politics, usually lead to anti-Ukrainian economic consequences [...] It is necessary to negotiate [with Russia], steady and solidly', argued Kuchma,[69] with strategic-hedging considerations in mind. Indeed, there was a persistence of Ukrainian-Russian relations from the times of the common Union State economy. Ukrainian incomplete technological cycles, heavy industry or the military-industrial complex could not have functioned without the import of Russian raw materials and technology. This was deepened by strong scientific-technical, cultural and human ties between these two countries. Last but not least, there were unresolved questions about the division of the joint debt, common borders and armed forces, as well as the question of the (nature of) presence of the Russian Federation's (RF) Black Sea Fleet in Crimea.[70] The significance of this relationship was underlined by Ukraine's complete dependence on RF's energy resources.[71]

During the first term of Kuchma, Ukraine managed to form the main attributes of the national economy: monetary, financial, credit, taxation, customs as well as banking. In 1995, the reform of price liberalization was adopted, and the reform in 1996 relatively stabilized the exchange rates. Consequently, it led to some growth in industrial production and investments. The conditions of foreign trade activities improved, and the volume of exports increased. In addition, enterprises underwent re-structuralising and started to adapt to competitive market conditions. Given these developments, in June 1996, the EU recognised the status of Ukraine as a country with a transition economy.[72]

According to Kuchma, the economic situation was 'controllable'. Nevertheless, it remained 'challenging' due to the political conflicts, financial crisis, the loss of businesses and entire sectors, and increasing the budget deficit.[73] Consequently, Kuchma perceived the integration of Ukrainian economy into the 'international economic space' as vital. This signified the acceleration of 'solving the essential priority tasks from the previous period of development', evolution and innovation of the economy. According to the President, the 1998 economic situation showed 'signs of a positive development', and in 1999, there were even 'signs of economic stabilisation'.[74] Nevertheless, Kuchma admitted that Ukraine had not reached the accepted model of the democracy yet. The 'low responsiveness of the state', imbalance and rivalry between the bodies of state power, lack of sense of belonging to the Ukrainian population, and separatist sentiment in some regions were some of the factors, which limited the development and democratisation of the state.[75]

In 1998, Ukraine decided to follow the 'European model of development' and adopted the law on the Strategy of Ukrainian Integration into the European Union.[76] Therefore, the 'European choice' became the basis for all economic, political and social reforms. Based on this model of development, the country's objective was to 'socially reorient its economic policy' and build an 'effective socially-oriented market economy'.[77] This reform strategy for the period 2000-2004 was elaborated on in the 1999 presidential electoral programme. Stabilisation and sustainable growth of the economy, reforms of the state administration and emphasis on strong social policy counted among its priorities.[78]

The positive impact of the reforms on the national economy was still seen as insufficient. The financial system was not robust enough

to be competitive and structurally reconstructed. Besides, the agricultural sector was in a critical state, the profitability of industry and labour productivity was poor, and the long decline in production made it impossible to achieve tangible improvements in social policy. From 1994 to 1999, the standard of living was on a decline.[79] To obtain resources, it was maintained that Ukraine needed to enhance its competitiveness. As a result, innovation and modernisation of its economy, development of information technology, reforms of the energy, transit and the agrarian sector were necessary. Kuchma argued that market mechanisms were insufficient, and the state would need to actively stimulate the key sectors. He argued for a 'strong state' activating its 'regulatory functions' while simultaneously maintaining the market vector.[80]

Supposedly, at the end of the century, Ukraine established the foundations of a modern state system. State power was based on the principle of power division, parliamentarism, an independent judiciary and regional government. Ukraine also had the foundations of civil society, and its culture was discursively seen as the basis for national spiritual development.[81] Even though the year 2000 neither became a turning point in social relations nor a year of a 'real improvement in the welfare of the population masses', Ukraine made progress in its development. In a relatively short time, the country was said to have transitioned from 'a fraction of the former Soviet Union' into a 'self-sufficient organism' with its functioning economy, financial and monetary system, armed forces, political and cultural-educational institutions.[82]

From another perspective, wide-scale reforms represented obstacles of the unreformed political system. State power was neither coordinated/transparent nor controllable, and the judicial system was not in line with EU norms and standards. Adoption of laws in the Parliament was often blocked by conflicts and dissensions. Moreover, there was an apparent lack of legal basis for various civic associations, trade unions and organisations.[83] The lack of competitiveness of the economy prevailed as the key unresolved problem. There was a continuous lack of innovation, favourable investment and business climate. Kuchma proposed greater openness of the economy to the East and the West simultaneously, exactly in line with the strategy of hedging. He sought to stimulate competitiveness and profit from foreign investments.[84] Therefore, both presidential speeches from April and May 2002 were structured in this context.

The speech 'European Choice - Strategy of economic and social development in Ukraine until the year 2011' offered 'a complex of systemic reforms' to ensure the establishment of a 'socially oriented market economy of the European type'.[85] In the transition towards a market economy, Ukraine was struggling with a lack of experience and qualified personnel. Conditions for financial assistance from foreign countries according to Kuchma were not always adequate for objective circumstances and specifics of the ongoing transformation processes. The economy was prioritised at the expense of institutional and social reforms during the development.

Conditions within the state provided the possibility of creating oligarchic capital, which penetrated into the state administration. Corruption remained a significant problem. There was a lack of political will to break the connections between oligarchic capital and the state bureaucracy, with an ostensible aim to restrict the grey economy and the outflow of the capital abroad.[86] The President reiterated the importance of the state's power and 'regulatory functions' while keeping the 'market vector'.[87] According to Kuchma, Ukraine became a 'fully-fledged entity of the international community' by 2002 and entered into the 'second phase of its development' modelled on the European social and political standard. 'Full and equal' membership of Ukraine in the EU was seen as crucial in this context. An important task identified for the second phase was to 'ensure the safety and protection of the state and its citizens', including protection of borders and national interests, environmental protection and public safety. Ukraine wanted to become 'a democratic constitutional state with a socially-oriented market economy'.[88]

Economic growth continued to compensate for the losses caused by the crisis from previous years. Ukraine lacked a legal framework for an efficient and transparent management of enterprises and joint stock companies. However, stabilisation and economic growth did not bring an improvement of living standards. Shadow capital penetrated all spheres of social life and the state's apparatus - shadow politics, shadow lobbying, shadow elections and personnel policies, contracts, medical services.[89]

Economically, the year 2003 was the most successful. GDP grew as well as industry, export and import, investment, competitiveness, macroeconomic stabilisation of the Ukrainian economy and innovative potential. This signified an 'entry into the community of devel-

oped countries'. Thus, European integration was conditional for the continuation of reforms. Its success was dependent on 'political will' and 'consolidation of the society'.[90] The dominant feature of the 2003 development was political reform and the changes in the Constitution. The new Constitution closed the period of nascent political system and a transitional period of societal development. In the first years of the state's independence, a presidential-parliamentary system played a major role. The concentration of power assisted in the implementation of complex systemic reforms in all spheres of public life and ensured the stability of society and the state. Later, this system became a drag of reforms, as there still existed a conflict of competences and powers between the President, the Parliament and the government.

Following the model of developed democratic countries, Ukraine was said to be preparing for the transition to a parliamentary-presidential model. According to the President, only a 'consolidated democracy' would unite the Ukrainian nation. It was recognised that the consolidation of the Ukrainian nation, the development of Ukrainian culture and spiritual traditions, as well as the development of ethnic and cultural identity of national minorities remained sensitive issues.[91]

Yet, Ukraine was not successful in its effort to achieve the status of a country with a market economy. The transition was incomplete; health care and education were under-funded, and the lack of state funding and the imperfections of law and justice dragged Ukraine into a state in which the property differentiation of the nation exceeded the 'critical level of social stability'. Ukraine was missing the middle class, i.e. the bedrock of political stability.[92] A summary of the President's policies during his second term, his visions of reforming the state were presented in the study on the strategy for the economic and social development of Ukraine in 2004-2015 titled 'Towards European Integration' (May 28, 2004). This document was prepared in collaboration of the government, the President of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and presented Kuchma's 'innovative model' of economic, political and social development.[93]

Content analysis of domestic political, economic and social development of Ukraine (1994-2004)

Based on the initial familiarisation with documents and the chronological thematic analysis, three coding frames ('Crisis', 'Correction', Vigour') were created for the content analysis of the internal political

and economic situation, and the activities of Ukraine during Kuchma's presidency. Each of the categories includes keywords closely associated with the researched role. These words were identified in connection with the underpinning role theory, chronological analysis, as well as the authors' background knowledge of the topic. To illustrate, the coding frame 'Crisis' included keywords used to describe a situation of crisis and phenomena related to it (e.g. catastrophe, crisis, decline, destabilisation, corruption). The keywords from the frame 'Correction' reflected the objectives and measures that the state adopts to deal with the crisis (e.g. overcome, transformation, reforms, stabilisation), whereas the condition 'Vigour' focused on the radicalness of reforms and measures taken (e.g. necessity, restructuring, anti-crisis). In addition, to determine how intensively documents deal with the international situation in the state, we calculated the 'Adjustment' condition. It contains keywords such as 'situation, state, standard, it must'. Table 1 summarizes the results of the content analysis.

Conditions	Presidential speeches (Σ of raw/adjusted frequencies in concrete years)										
	1994	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002/4	2002/5	2003	2004
Adjustment (x)	45	76	47	49	8	58	89	45	66	198	126
Crisis (r)	43	92	53	58	8	59	38	26	39	85	45
Crisis (a)	**0,96**	**1,21**	**1,13**	**1,18**	**1**	**1,02**	**0,43**	**0,58**	**0,59**	0,43	0,36
Correction (r)	273	497	367	325	152	617	985	504	580	1838	1396
Correction (a)	6,07	6,54	7,8	6,63	19	**10,64**	**11,07**	**11,2**	**8,79**	**9,28**	**11,08**
Vigour (r)	82	100	106	115	37	105	182	100	110	413	246
Vigour (a)	1,82	1,32	2,26	2,35	4,63	1,81	2,05	2,22	1,67	2,09	1,95

* Raw values (r); Adjusted values (a).

Table 1 Internal Development – role dynamics

The conducted content analysis of Kuchma's speeches indicates the temporal dynamics of crisis within the state. As shown in Table 1, there is a distinct difference between the development of 'Crisis' condition during the first and the second Presidential terms. While in 1994, there was a perception that the state suffered from an economic crisis, the speeches after the year 2000 laid emphasis on its management. This was corroborated by the fact that the year 2004 was economically the most successful out of the examined decade. The dynamics of the tasks and state's measures in dealing with internal economic and political problems ('Correction') shows the increasing volume of tasks where state involvement and resolve was seen and promised. The score in the

year 1999, which corresponds with the inaugural speech of the Presidential re-election, is extremely high. In contrast, scores from 2000-2004 indicate the perceived stabilisation of the Ukrainian economy. However, the pace of growth was not sufficient to compensate for the losses from previous years, and economic developments did not affect the living standards.

The President considered the end of 2003-2004 as a transitional period for the Ukrainian development and was ready to enter its next stage. Ukraine needed financial resources and political will -- without them it was impossible to reform and maintain sustainable growth. The economy needed modernisation and innovation. However, these plans remained mostly of declarative character until 2005. Scores of the third condition ('Vigour') indicate that, in the year 2000, the President was convinced about the crisis being solved and the economic situation improving. However, Ukraine was not able to execute more robust reforms, even when the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) entered into force in 1998. An important step was Ukraine's declaration of entry to the EU. This strategic objective required significant activity - Ukraine had to, first and foremost, deal with internal conflicts.

Dynamics of the role 'Internal Development'

Based on the content analysis, it is possible to argue that 'Internal Development' represents an important role which Ukraine played continuously throughout the analysed period. According to the speeches of President Kuchma, this period can be divided into two segments. In the first part, this role overcame a profound economic crisis; in the second one, it represented an effort to stabilise the Ukrainian economy and to reform the Constitution.

During the period of crisis, Ukraine built its state institutions, political structures, consolidated the Ukrainian nation and addressed the transition to a market economy. Due to the complexity of such a task, the pace of transition did not keep up with the original expectations, as the duties were suspended and transferred to the next period. The process of economic development was thus inadequate and did not compensate for the losses from the previous period. The standard of living was in decline and the dissatisfaction of society was growing.

The Ukrainian choice of the 'European model of development' was a strong incentive for its own development. Ukraine wanted to

build an open and socially-oriented market economy and integrate it into the European area. For this reason, Ukraine and the EU signed the PCA agreement in 1998. Further, Ukraine adopted the Strategy of Ukrainian integration into the European Union (1998) and the Program of Ukrainian Integration into the EU (2000). The country's elite argued that it needed a promise of membership to the EU as a stimulus for development. Consequently, Ukraine idled away time and a chance to catch up with other countries of the post-communist bloc. Internal political disagreements were combined with the lack of consolidation of the Ukrainian nation. Prevailing energy and industrial dependence on Russia had slowed down the development of the state. The entry into the WTO and recognition of the status 'state with a market economy' was delayed. Ukraine was lagging behind in the democratisation process as well as in economic development.[94]

Until 2004, Ukraine remained the presidential-parliamentary system with elements of authoritarian rule. Kuchma argued that Ukraine must choose 'a presidential or parliamentary-presidential republic [...] The Russian or European variant'. While he personally believed that 'the second choice is better', he was not ready to fully pursue this objective. Additionally, the position of the President was enhanced in 1995 when the Constitutional Treaty between the Supreme Council of Ukraine and the President became approved and powers of the President were enshrined in the 1996 Constitution. According to Kuchma, the firm position of the President 'preserved the integrity of the State, overcame hyperinflation and lead the economy on a trajectory of a high and stable rate of growth' during times of deep crisis.[95]

The internal environment of Ukraine, as a weak and non-operational country, led to a creation of an economic elite of oligarchs. Corruption had grown into all spheres of the society, public administration and justice.[96] The identically crucial problem was the inability of the state to consolidate the Ukrainian nation. As a result, the separation between the pro-Russian East and pro-European West had deepened.[97]

Kuchma's internal policy was characterised by an effort to stabilise the economy and to reform its Constitution. The President proposed a new concept of development based on modernisation and innovation of the national economy, socially-oriented market economy, strengthening the state and its regulatory functions, political reforms and consolidation of the Ukrainian nation. Despite having nominated seven

prime ministers during his mandate, Kuchma was unable to resolve the constant conflicts between the legislative and executive power.

The second term of the President was associated with the suppression of press freedom, the murder of opposition journalist Georgiy Gongadze, and arms sales to Iraq. It was a period of a moderate development of the economy, high levels of corruption and the grey economy, as well as low reinvestments of capital into the Ukrainian economy. This development increased the impact of Ukrainian oligarchs within the state power.[98]

The prominence of the 'Internal Development' role tips towards the second term of the President, marked, however, by his loss of support. Under the guidance of leaders of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Socialist Party and the block BYuT (Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc), protest actions called 'Ukraine without Kuchma' and 'Arise, Ukraine!' were staged. These leaders demanded an early presidential election.[99] Consequently, the Supreme Council repeatedly initiated impeachment procedures against the President.[100] Instability, conflicts and social unrest placed Ukraine in the position of a state with potentially cumulating conflict.

In conclusion, the role of 'Internal Development' was filled during the economic crisis. Ukraine had to deal with its inner development while it lacked pace and vigour of reforms. The transition to a market economy had not been completed, and the reforms remained mostly declarative. Also, this role was affected by ego and alter factors, such as political disagreement, fragmentation of the nation, the complexity of the task and lack of experience and finance. The triangular strategic hedging between the EU and Russia, directly and indirectly, affected the performance of this role. Ukraine's domestic political strategies were directed towards European integration and the European model of development. To some extent, the EU engaged financially and methodically in the internal reforming of Ukraine. However, the interconnection of the Ukrainian and Russian economy, trade and energy co-dependence of Ukraine provided Russia with tools to wield influence in Ukrainian domestic affairs.

Conclusion

Building on the role theoretical perspective, this article analysed the role performed by Ukraine within the EU-Ukraine-Russia triangle during the presidency of Leonid Kuchma (1994-2004). Role theory was

chosen to highlight that the state, as a primary actor, follows a certain behavioural pattern of roles based on its national characteristics, collective cognition, discursive uses of historical developments, and specific internal political, economic and social considerations. In particular geopolitical and temporal confines, the role showed fluctuating levels of intensity and were either temporary or latent in given subperiods within the general research period of 1994-2004.

The analysed role of 'Internal Development' was performed by Ukraine through the entire Kuchma presidency. The enactment of this role correlated with the overcoming of a difficult economic crisis, an attempt to transition to a market economy model and the necessity of social and political reforms. Within the analysed period, persisting conflicts among the main pillars of state power hindered economic development and the implementation of needed political reforms. Economic stabilisation and slight growth did not translate into increased living standards; the ownership differences exceeded the critical threshold of social stability.

Additionally, the performance of this role was connected to the growth of the socio-ethnic and politico-ideological cleavages in the country. Disenchantments from the low, if any, moral qualities of the political elite became the fundamental reason for the escalation of social unrest, leading to the Orange Revolution. While it seemed to have helped to resolve many problems at first, a more nuanced examination shows that it managed to create a plethora of new ones. The role of 'Internal Development' had the primary importance for Ukraine and was tied to the external political orientation of the country.

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Messianic Narrations in Contemporary Russian Statecraft and Foreign Policy

Ostap Kushnir

The article aims to uncover the nature and distinctive features of the contemporary messianic narrations in the Russian public discourse, as well as estimate their impact on the actual policy-making. For this reason, the article scrutinizes the political philosophy of Aleksandr Dugin, Nataliia Narochnitskaia, Egor Kholmogorov, and Vadim Tsymburskii. Their major messages are contrasted and compared to a variety of recent developments in Russia's domestic and foreign policies. The hypothesis is put forward that the messianic narrations are furtive, though unalienable factors which propel and justify Russian domestic and foreign policies. Therefore, it is always worth considering Russian policy-making through the prism of the nation-wide religious self-identification, as well as acknowledging a number of 'eschatological duties' which derive from this self-identification. Finally, the article provides an overview to the Western scholarly perspectives on Russian messianism with a specific emphasis on British and US contributors.

Keywords: Russian foreign policy, Russian messianism, Russian expansionism, Third Rome, Dugin, Narochnitskaia, Kholmogorov, Tsymburskii.

Orthodox backbone of the Russian state

The fall of Constantinople became a great occasion for the Grand Dukes of Moscow to strengthen the geopolitical stance of their fief-

Ostap Kushnir. Messianic Narrations in Contemporary Russian Statecraft and Foreign Policy. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 1: 37–60.

dom.[1] Filling the vacuum of power, they proclaimed themselves heirs to Byzantine Emperors which automatically 'converted' the land under their rule into the mythical Third Rome. In a deeply religious medieval European society this made a lot of sense. According to the Second Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians, there should always be a harbour of virtue in the world of sin to withstand the arrival of Antichrist.[2] As both Roman and Byzantium empires had fallen and, thus, had failed to become such harbours, the Grand Duchy of Moscow remained the only power capable of succeeding.[3] Morini defined this as Milleniarism in the Russian political and religious culture – belief in the imminence of Judgement Day and getting ready for it.[4] The idea of their Duchy as the salvation of humankind had started to take shape.

Along with the Third Rome, the salvation of humankind had also much to do with the theological concept of Katechon (from the Greek *ὁ Κατέχων*, 'the withholding'), which the Grand Dukes of Moscow also applied to their fiefdom. As one of the interpretations of the Second Epistle, Katechon originally emerged in the times of the Roman Empire and stood for the kingdom of vigour and true faith which protected the world from the advent of the Antichrist.[5] To be efficient with this task, the kingdom should have secured a *symphony* between political and religious powers.[6] In the early Russian tradition, Katechon became a euphemism of Moscow as the Third Rome thus providing additional justification for such a heredity. With the flow of time the concept of Katechon evolved and embraced imperialistic flavour; apart from defensive and protective it also acquired offensive connotations.[7]

The religious component has always been – and still remains – of notable importance in interpreting Russian approaches to political reality. This becomes especially apparent in the light of Western secularism and clear separation of religion from politics. Engström is one of the researchers who systematically connects historical and contemporary Russian policy-making to the state's unique self-proclaimed messianic mission. The latter serves as a legitimization for Russian 'hard' and 'soft' geopolitical expansion into other states, as well as nurtures neo-imperial ambitions.[8] In contemporary domestic policies, as Engström claims, the religious component manifests itself in at least two dimensions. Primarily, it serves as an ideological substitute to the communist idea of the 'bright future' which proved to be fruitless. Secondly, it is commonly perceived as a backbone to a 'sovereign' and 'Russian'

alternative to a non-adjustable liberal democracy. In short, the new domestic political narrative is evidently conservative, strongly messianic, and full of anti-Western – or specifically anti-American – sentiment.[9]

In his turn, Sidorov argues that Christianity – in its Orthodox branch – is much more than a religion for Russians. From the very early times it directly impacted the construction of an indigenous worldview. As for today, according to Sidorov, Russia conducts 'Orthodoxy-related geopolitics' which resides in adjusting the church's historiography for geopolitical construction of 'various Orthodox, quasi-Orthodox or even secular currents in post-Soviet Russia'.[10]

The article puts forth the hypothesis that religious self-identification and messianic narrations are unalienable constituents of Russian domestic and foreign policies. They should always be considered by political scholars and practitioners when interpreting and predicting the Kremlin's advancements. Apart from this, the article argues that Russia has never been restrained by frameworks of a post-Westphalian sovereign state. Instead, in the cases of need and opportunity, it has frequently justified its assertive policies through self-branding itself as the 'force for good' – or the Orthodox Katechon – which uses its sovereignty as a tool to perform a global eschatological mission. One may speculate about the overall efficiency of this kind of a self-branding, however, its social impact cannot be disregarded, especially within Russia itself. The idea of struggling and fighting for the Orthodox Christian values has always worked to rally thousands of Russians around the flag. This idea continues to reoccur in contemporary public discourse and remains in the centre of attention of numerous Russian political philosophers and masterminds.

The article introduces the following research questions:

1. What is the nature of contemporary Russian messianic narrations?
2. Who are the major masterminds of Russian messianic narrations and what are their messages?
3. What is the real impact of Russian messianic narrations on practical politics and public discourse?
4. How do the Western academia react to the Russian messianic narrations as a justification for the state's assertive policies, specifically foreign policies?

As methodology is concerned, it will be based on Østbø's assessments of dominant religious narratives and 'messianic schools' in con-

temporary Russian political thought. Based on the diversity of interpretations of the Third Rome concept, Østbø pointed out four major 'schools' and highlighted crucial messages promoted by their masterminds (see Table 1):

> Dugin is the founder and leading ideologist, as well as arguably the most outspoken popularizer, of neo-Eurasianism … Kholmogorov is a prominent 'young conservative' and ideologist of Orthodox nationalism. Tsymburskii was also affiliated with the 'young conservatives,' but never departed from his irreconcilable isolationist stance. He is arguably the most innovative writer and the most respected academic … Narochnitskaia is a leading neo-Slavophile and pan-Slavist, she wrote a best-selling history book, has been a parliamentary deputy and participates in Kremlin-supported 'soft-power projects' (i.e. think tanks) abroad … Based on their general views I have classified Tsymburskii as 'core oriented' and 'less Orthodox'; Dugin as 'imperialist' and 'less Orthodox'; Narochnitskaia as 'core oriented' and 'Orthodox'; and Kholmogorov as 'imperialist' and 'Orthodox'.[11]

Østbø's framework of four 'schools' each with its philosophic essence and leadership will provide the methodological backbone for assessing contemporary interpretations of Russian messianism, expansionism, and statecraft in this article. Østbø's framework allows us to clearly highlight the connection between the transcendent justifications and indigenous policy-making in Russia on both international and domestic levels. With Østbø's framework looking overly simplistic at first glance, there exists no apparent necessity to complicate it or introduce more specifications into it; at least not in this article (see Table 1).[12]

		Territory	
		Core-Oriented	***Imperialist***
Religion	***Less Orthodox***	Tsymburskii	Dugin
	More Orthodox	Narochnitskaia	Kholmogorov

Table 1

Masterminds of Russian messianism and their visions of statecraft

Speaking of the first school defined by Østbø (neo-Eurasianism), one of its most outspoken representatives today is Aleksandr Dugin, a Russian national conservative. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Dugin continued to perceive the assertiveness of Russian foreign policy – especially in the Asian dimension – as something natural and unavoidable. From his perspective, Russia as the major land-power finds itself in an eternal struggle with the global maritime Carthage, which is the US. Russia is the new pivot of history, ideologically strong and consistent, legatee of all ancient Rome's virtues while the US is a global demagogue, embodiment of the Carthage vices, which seeks to secure its geopolitical objectives at all costs.[13] Thus, no other power after the fall of Constantinople – the Second Rome – possesses enough power to redesign the world order and make it fair once for all. Here one may find similarity to Toynbee's reflections on Russia's struggle with the Franks; the latter is used as the collective term for Western states.[14] However, Toynbee's struggle was a kind of an eternal civilizational competition while Dugin goes as far as propagating the total destruction of opponents; he often cites Cato the Elder and his famous 'Carthage should be destroyed'.[15]

It is worth noting that the category of Christianity is not specifically emphasized in Dugin's picture of Russia as the Third Rome or in assessing Russian messianism.[16] From his perspective, that was not religion, but lifestyle and cultural flexibility of the title nation which allowed the Russian empire to emerge, expand, and embrace heterogeneities.[17] Going further with this argument, Christian faith did not prevent the fall of the First Rome as the global defender; historically, many early Christians desired this to happen.[18] Therefore, as Dugin deduces, the value of Orthodoxy should not be overestimated in justifying Russian expansion and messianism.

Dugin argues that Russia has no other way to exist except for being victorious and a constantly growing Empire: 'The whole history of Russia is the history of the construction of the Empire. Russia either becomes the Empire or disappears'.[19] In order to prosper and fulfil its mission, Russia should build reliable alliances with Germany, Iran, and Japan; Dugin defines this as the New Empire.[20] Apart from this, Russia is doomed to establish firm control over Belarus, Ukraine, Mongolia, parts of China and other neighbouring states. This will allow it to

strengthen its position as the heartland and jockey for commanding the world, as MacKinder provisioned it.[21]

According to Dugin, Russia, as the only geopolitical entity combining true Orthodox faith with true political leadership, should unite and lead other nations – especially the above mentioned Germany, Iran, and Japan – against Carthage.[22] Criticizing the superiority of religion in empire-building, Dugin strongly supports the idea of inseparability of altar and throne in his reflections; he calls it a natural symphony. Dugin also belongs to the cohort of supporters of the Katechon idea. However, his understanding of Katechon is imperialistic in a sense that Russia should 'liberate' and 'lead' other nations against a global enemy. Thus, Russian expansion throughout history was nothing else but a geopolitical manifestation of a sacred mission aimed at the unification of giant Eurasian territories into an eschatological and apocalyptic type of state.[23] Continuing with this point, Østbø concludes: 'Since the Russians are a chosen nation and a God-bearing people, no rules that apply to other nations concern the Russians ... Consequently, to kill for the Third Rome is not a necessary evil, but a moral imperative'.[24]

In a word, the utter objective of the Russian sacred messianism resides in an annihilation of the enemy – the pure evil – defined as the Carthage and currently represented by the US and Atlantic sea powers. In its turn, the utter objective of Russian imperialism resides in scrupulous organizing of other nations – the pure good – under one leadership, even if they are not aware of the eschatological mission.[25] The religious kinship of Russia's immediate European neighbours serves as a proper ground and proper justification to meddle into their affairs. Russia's statecraft is seen as a perpetual 'hard' and 'soft' expansion.

Nevertheless, Dugin's narration often looks paradoxical and even mind-bending. While reading his books, one should be ready to encounter unexpected deductions, some of which are hard to believe in. Apart from this, his books contain a plethora of contradictions and may be regarded – in some respect – as a masterpiece of elegant demagogy. Umland defines the overall Dugin philosophy as a very dangerous one, as it demonstrates clear appreciation for fascism.[26]

Similar to Dugin, Nataliia Narochnitskaia also stresses the importance of unique spirituality in understanding Russia and its historic mission. However, she is not as statist and Eurasia-charmed as Dugin; she represents the conservative Orthodox wing of Russian nationalists, who predominantly share pan-Slavist and Europeanist views.[27]

She constructs her narration on the dichotomy between Orthodox Russia and the Anglo-Saxon West, treating the latter *a priori* as God-alienated and heretic. According to Narochnitskaia, the history of humankind is a by-product of interactions between different religious groups and ideas.[28] Thus, it is impossible to interpret history by removing the spiritual element, as the West does it. Europe loses its identity by secularization and inappropriately replacing spiritual virtues with liberal democracy. Moreover, total secularization makes the West unavoidably hostile towards Russia. As Østbø summarizes Narochnitskaia's major ideas: 'The Russian state's expansion was for the most part in self-defence and can be justified by international law … [The Western view on Russia – O.K.] is stereotypical and essentially false, partly because important research on Russia is not objective. It is rooted in heretical and inhuman thought and misunderstandings and is closely related to geopolitics, i.e. to the desire to conquer and annihilate Russia'.[29]

Narochnitskaia argues that Russia managed to preserve its spiritual identity because it avoided Renaissance frivolity, Descartian rationalism, the revolutions of the 18th century, and the growth of Protestant ethics of labour and wealth. Since the very beginning, the Orthodoxy as a true faith existed in Russia in its purest form, which makes Russia a unique and superior nation, especially as its spiritual morality is concerned. This perspective allows Narochnitskaia to present her narration as ultimately truthful and notoriously uncompromising.

The Third Rome concept in the understanding of Narochnitskaia is solely a religious one. Third Rome is not imperialist, but imperial; it is more spiritual than secular; it should not be regarded beyond its historical context. This said, the Anglo-Saxon West misinterprets the whole idea of Russia as the Third Rome. It is not about building a strong mega-state – the global empire – where Christians could feel secure, but an attempt to build a strong community imbued with Christian religion.[30] Autocracy in such a community – which may, but does not have to, surpass state's borders – is the only truly form of governance. The existence of such a community is a dire need for the salvation of all humankind.[31]

Coming back to geopolitical issues, Narochnitskaia perceives the struggle of global super-powers for control over the space between the Baltic and the Black Seas as of the paramount importance. The Anglo-Saxon West tries to enroot itself there by all means possible seek-

ing for acquisition, in MacKinder's terms, the access to the Heartland. From this perspective the democratization of the post-communist European states is an artificial process; it neither reflects indigenous nation-forming trends, nor should be regarded as some kind of liberation. Narochnitskaia defines it as a straightforward implementation of Anglo-Saxon strategies aimed at penetration into the traditionally Orthodox area.[32] These arrogant moves undermine the overall geopolitical architecture, question the pivotal role of Russia, and lead to some very grave consequences. For instance, the recent geopolitical frictions on Anatolian peninsula, Balkans, in the Middle East, and Eastern Europe emerged because of the Western negligence.[33]

Narochnitskaia goes even further stating that the Anglo-Saxon accusation of Russia in expansionism serves as a mask for the former to hide its imperialist desires.[34] Therefore, the majority of Russia's troubles derive from Western hostility towards Slavs, or even towards the whole Orthodox world. In this light it is perfectly moral, right, and dutiful for the Russian leaders to withstand assaults from the Anglo-Saxons. Apparently, this requires the construction of an authoritative sovereign entity capable of securing the Orthodox faith on lands where it has been practised for ages; here Narochnitskaia arrives with the term Russian fiefdom to define these lands.[35] The unification of all Orthodox peoples – Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Greeks, and others – is necessary to address the geopolitical, demographic, and ideological challenges of the modern world, which have much do with the Western vices.[36]

According to Narochnitskaia, Russia does not expand into third states, but defends what has traditionally been Orthodox and Byzantine. If, to paraphrase, Russia always strengthens its presence in lands which are targeted by the Anglo-Saxon West; it prevents the latter from erasing the rich spiritual culture in these lands for the sake of heretic emptiness and liberal democracy. Acting assertively in the international arena, Russia ruins Western deceptive plans and reinforces the organic Orthodox regimes whenever necessary. By doing so – predominantly in the European dimension – Russia indirectly changes the way the world looks like. This has always been the role of Russians in the global history.

Thirdly, Østbø defines Egor Kholmogorov as a self-proclaimed nationalist and partisan of a self-invented theory of pragmatic imperialism. His views emphasize the unquestioned superiority of Orthodox Christianity and can be – in some respects – defined as fundamentalist.[37]

Seemingly flexible and inclusive, Kholmogorov's nationalism nevertheless is very dichotomic. Its nature can be best illustrated through the structure of concentric circles. In the core of the structure the title Russian nation resides, which shapes and spreads the only correct version of Russian identity. Other ethnicities – or distinctive social groups such as Oldbelievers, Pomors, and others – simply orbit around that sense-awarding core; some farther, some closer, but none willing to exist on their own. Kholmogorov argues that Russia is a political imperial nation which unites citizens who recognize Russia as the worthy state to live for and live in.[38] This inclusiveness provides an appropriate environment for a hassle-free coexistence.

Kholmogorov admires the imperial order and awards it with numerous positive features. For him, the empire represents the ultimate religious form of governance and thus serves as an appropriate tool to convey God's grace to Earth. In particular, this applies to Russia and the sacred mission of its nation; Russia needs to be an empire to fulfil itself.[39] Going further with this argument, it is only Russia who can ever become a true Holy Empire, the Third Rome, or the Katechon, which possesses enough strength and vigour to act for the good of humankind.[40] That said, Russia has a transcendent right to expand in order to strengthen itself and create some kind of a sacred space inhabited and governed by Russians;[41] thus, expanding and Russification – in its wider meaning – is the only justified and appropriate geopolitical behaviour. According to Kholmogorov, 'Russians always "defend", even when it might seem that they attack'.[42]

Imperialism and Orthodoxy in foreign policy are complementary for Kholmogorov. One should not only apply a 'setting' of religion to understand Russia, as Narochnitskaia argues, but Russia is the only power which applies religion properly in the world context. Global affirmation of Orthodoxy serves as a shield against physical and metaphysical threats. Even the Western heretic and "anti-imperial" states are protected by Russia from the destructive elements which can simply not break through the vast Russian heartland: starting from Mongol invasion ending with the contemporary Islamic terrorism; these and others symbolize metaphysical evil in its physical incarnation.[43] Kholmogorov argues that if Russia fails, there will be no Fourth Rome, but instead the Apocalypse. He is also sure that Russians should apply all means possible – including the nuclear destruction of the world – to prevent evil from coming into our dimen-

sion. As Engström presents Kholmogorov's understanding of Russia as the Katechon:

> Katechon "stands on the bridge between the Antichrist and the world and which does not let the Antichrist into the world. Nowadays it is not a bridge but rather a manhole, the lid of which is removed from time to time, and some vampires, or werewolves or murderers come out of this hole. The Russian tarpaulin boot stamps on that lid, and restores the silence for some time. The crawling beast knows that if it shows itself too much, the Russian will not hesitate to blast it together with the whole world. Because 'there shall not be the fourth one', and if before us there was the Flood, after us there is only the Apocalypse."[44]

Following this logic, contemporary Orthodoxy is not purely a religion, but the uncompromising justification for Russia to become the empire-defender and the ultimate stabilizer of global processes. The doom of this mission penetrates the Russian military-industrial complex and forces it to be ready for the intrusion of global evil – under various guises. As no other options exist, Russia should be strong enough to face its predefined future any moment and in full arms.[45] Developing this argument, Kholmogorov arrives with the concept of Nuclear Orthodoxy. The latter requires from Russia to possess enough nuclear weapons to defend Orthodox values – and thus defend the whole world from transcendent evil – as only the truly Orthodox state can do.[46] Naturally, the empire-defender should be governed by authoritarian leaders with almost unlimited control over their people; in their turn, people should be conscious enough to mobilize against evil at the very first request.[47]

Kholmogorov's philosophic reflections are utterly dichotomous and ultimately Russia-centric. He claims that it is only Russia who can fight global evil (which is visible only for Russians). Fighting that evil is the self-proclaimed Russian mission for the sake of all humankind. This type of apocalyptic thinking – which also justifies unlimited and pragmatic Russian expansion – does not inspire trust. On the contrary, it appears extremely worrying if one assesses Kholmogorov's elusive rationale for using the Russian nuclear arsenal.

Finally, Vadim Tsymburskii can be defined as the most consistent anti-imperialist and isolationist. Østbø writes that the philosophy of Tsymburskii represents the views of a new generation of moderate Russian nationalist intellectuals.[48]

Tsymburskii favours a civilizational approach to explain global processes. That said, he regards Russia as a unique civilization which emerged as early as the 16th century.[49] Since that time Russia as the Third Rome – which he defines as the locked spiritual community of Orthodox people – has existed in the environment of apostates. Actually, Russia became an isolated Orthodox island which is foretold to stand alone in the ocean of disbelief.[50] It is separated from the West by a belt of geopolitically 'unstable' states and cultures – the so called *Great Limitrof* – which prevent careless penetration of all Western ideas into its heartland.[51] This transforms Russia into a self-organized 'stable' geopolitical system with its unique geopolitical memory and identity.[52]

As a civilizationalist, Tsymburskii criticizes globalization and the impact it has made on international relations. He specifically disapproves the agility of the Western states to violate national sovereignties in the name of protection of human rights and other values. Tsymburskii claims that civilizational uniqueness – nurtured within the borders of the state – sees its utter enemy in any invader who crosses the border under any alien justification. The NATO bombardment of Yugoslavia in 1999, thus, was a severe crime from Tsymburskii's perspective; this crime stirred the indigenous ecumene, caused a domino effect, and indirectly brought to life another atrocity, the 9/11 attacks. In a word, the isolationist civilizational approach makes Tsymburskii praise the self-containment and self-sufficiency of every state. These features – at least in the Russian case – constitute the source of power which may hypothetically attract states-'straights' from the *Great Limitrof* to the Third Rome in future.[53]

As one can see, Tsymburskii, unlike all three of the above mentioned philosophers, does not clearly support any kind of expansionism. He also speaks against a profound Russian engagement into European affairs, which includes – among other issues – the transplanting of ideas from Europe onto Russian soil. According to Østbø, 'an ardent anti-imperialist, he argued that Russia's historical obsession with expansion into Europe had been destructive, as expansion was always followed by forced retreat. At the same time, he was much less preoccupied with Slavicness, ruralism and even Orthodoxy than other non-imperialists.'[54]

In the light of his anti-imperialism, Tsymburskii deduces that Russia became 'more Russian' by removing the 'burden' of the Soviet Union

from itself and alienating itself from the non-Slavic republics on its borders. This is the same as when the Grand Duchy of Moscow became 'more Orthodox' after the fall of Constantinople. Therefore, Tsymburskii argues that Russia should not 'expand' to bring Orthodoxy to others and thus fulfil its mission; its mission is different as it resides in erecting a spiritually strong Third Rome within its borders. By doing this Russia will undergo its civilizational purification and return to the old Slavic roots.

To present Tsymburskii's philosophy in a nutshell, he argued that Russia's post-Cold War borders were adequate and there was no need to project power onto new territories. Moreover, he condemned imperial expansionism, claiming that it brings more negative than positive effects; especially as the expansion into Europe is concerned. Russia, according to Tsymburskii, is a civilizational island and should always keep its distance from the outer world. Those states and nations situated on the periphery or on the borderlands between civilizations are likely to drift towards Russia by themselves. Even if they do not, this should not become a major issue of Russia's concern[55].

Drawing conclusions on the general features of contemporary Russian messianic philosophy it is worth referring to observations of Khrushcheva:

> Although Russia's position in the world could never exist in a vacuum, with a remarkable consistency the country insists on defining its global role on its own, as a unique and special nation. The Russians insist that their destiny to rule the world isn't influenced by other international conditions, such as economy, war, or energy and natural resources supply and distribution.[56]

Three of the four addressed above philosophers portray Russia as an outstanding and mysterious entity endowed with some kind of a transcendent aureole. Because of this, the state takes global responsibility for shaping fates of other nations and civilizations, either through coercion or attraction. The burden for Russians here resides in the necessity to fulfil their mission regardless of the worlds' protests; thus, Russians pertinently struggle, but stubbornly proceed because they understand that their mission is *a priori* incomprehensible for the logic of non-Russians. These and other similar messages are being regularly sent into the Russian public discourse. Only selected philosophers, such as Tsymburskii, favour a more cautious approach.

It is also worth stressing that the reflections of the four mentioned above philosophers can hardly be defined as properly academic. Their work with facts and arguments, so crucial for Western science, sometimes lacks consistency and accuracy. At the same time, their narration may look excessively metaphoric. This is especially common for Kholmogorov who, actually, may not have even acquired the proper higher education qualifications.[57]

Western views on Russian messianism and statehood

Addressing the Western philosophic and geopolitical views on Russia, one may hardly encounter any understanding of its messianism, exceptionalism, or 'duty' before humankind. On the contrary, Russia's aggressive foreign policy is defined by many in the West as an existential threat.

As early as the age of Enlightenment, Montesquieu claimed that Russia was a huge prison lead by the autocratic monarch whose rule – as well as the rule of his favoured nobility – was based on fear. Rousseau and Diderot shared a similar opinion.[58] Moreover, Diderot condemned the autocracy as a major obstacle for any progress. Even if the monarch decided to implement political reforms, they would not reflect the will of the people and thus cease to exist in the short run. The reforms of Catherine the Great were exemplary in this regard. Inspired by the ideas of French philosophers, she provided common people with more liberties, but this resulted in anarchy and increased social tensions. Thus, she reversed reforms and awarded the nobility with even more power than ever before; paradoxically, this turn reflected one example of absolutist misconduct which led to the revolution in France.[59]

A fair number of the contemporary British and US assessments of Russian messianism and statecraft are in line with what was argued during Enlightenment times. Specifically, as Russian interpretation of the Third Rome concept is concerned, Arnold J. Toynbee should be named as one of the leading scholars here. He stated that throughout centuries, Russians cherished the feeling of their belonging to the Byzantine civilization, which had always conflicted with the Western one. The latter, in its stead, was perceived as akin to Byzantine, but much more aggressive and defective, and thus should be resisted and contained. It was, however, more technologically advanced. Toynbee argued that Russians lived in constant stress that their Byzantine belonging may be overridden by non-welcome Westerners. To relieve

that stress, Russians applied tactics of borrowing the newest technologies, incorporating them into the indigenous discourse, and turning them afterwards against the West. For instance, this was the case with the atomic bomb. Toynbee claimed that the Russian aggressiveness and expansionism was, above all, a counter-offensive of a 'spiritually holistic' and conservative society against the threats coming from its 'heretic' and protean arch-rival. From a wider perspective, this had always been a traditional way of policy-making between the Byzantine and Western civilizations; the competition of the Heirs of the Promise with whom the future lay: 'When Byzantium and the West are at odds, Byzantium is always right and the West is always wrong'.[60] Thus, Russia's alignment to the Byzantine legacy – which envisages the subjugation of the church and society to the state's interest – will always be criticized by the West. In turn, the West – because of its pragmatism, secularism, and feeling of superiority – will always be misunderstood by Russia and remain impenetrable for its values. Above all, the West will never go along with Russia's dictum of its spiritual exclusiveness and certainty of being the only 'true doer' regardless of circumstances.

Unlike Toynbee with his moderate approach, Harvard historian Richard Pipes claimed that Russia had always favoured brutality and primitivism in its foreign policy. There existed no reasonable justification behind its messianic idea, except from its overinflated ego. According to Pipes, the Third Rome brand and respective 'obligations' were unilaterally adopted by the Dukes of Moscow and popularized among their nationals. No one actually knew what stood behind the brand, but that did not discourage Dukes from awarding it with some transcendent meaning and starting conquests. As Pipes writes:

> Heady ideas now began to circulate in the towns and villages of north-eastern Russia. Princes, whose ancestors had to crawl on all fours for the amusement of the khan and his court, now traced their family descent to Emperor Augustus and their crown to an alleged Byzantine investiture. Talk was heard of Moscow being the 'Third Rome,' destined for all time to replace the corrupted and fallen Romes of Peter and Constantine. Fantastic legends began to circulate among the illiterate people, linking the largely wooden city on the Moskva river with dimly understood events from biblical and classical history.[61]

Because of his staunchness, Pipes became the major target for Narochnitskaia, who constantly accuses him of utter misinterpretations

and distortions of the history of Russia. According to Narochnitskaia, Pipes is the classical example of a secularized Anglo-Saxon scientist who lacks the appropriate tools to assess Russian civilizational complexities fully and obtain a consistent picture.

Daniel B. Rowland also raised the issue that Western academia and statesmen had always perceived Russia as an inherently aggressive state. From its very dawn, the whole idea of Russian statehood imminently implied readiness to conflicts and wars. As Rowland presented it:

> This idea, which sometimes seems like the only idea that the general public knows about Muscovite Russia apart from the imagined character and reign of Ivan the Terrible, has helped to create the impression that Muscovite Russia was exotic and expansionist, a worthy predecessor of the 'evil empire' that occupied people's attention in the 1980s and before. This image of Muscovy, in turn, promotes the notion in the minds of Russians and foreigners alike that Russia is destined by her Muscovite past to behave in certain ways.[62]

The US ambassador to the Soviet Union and one of the Cold War architects, George F. Kennan, stated the following of the Soviet Communists: 'From the Russian-Asiatic world out of which they had emerged they carried with them a scepticism to the possibilities of permanent and peaceful coexistence of rival forces. Easily persuaded of their doctrinaire 'rightness,' they insisted on the submission or destruction of all competing power'.[63] As one may see, Kennan reiterated the idea of Russians perceiving themselves as 'true doers' under strong unchallenged leadership, which often entailed the destruction of external competitive forces.

More recently, Robert C. Blitt also notes that the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church on the contemporary Kremlin policy-making goes beyond its spiritual domain. The only Patriarch Cyryl enjoys very good connections to state officials and plays a notable role in shaping and promoting the Russian foreign policy objectives. Blitt unequivocally points to the amalgamation of the religious and political agendas – regardless of their formal constitutional separateness – in Russian *modus existendi*, which makes the Kremlin advocate the Orthodox 'traditional' values on the domestic level and overseas.[64] This amalgamation can never be regarded positively as it leads to positioning the religious institutions above law and sovereignty. Here is how Blitt presents his conclusions in a nutshell:

> To be certain, the unfolding relationship [between the Church and the government – O.K.] has fomented a counter-intuitive situation, whereby a constitutionally declared secular state promotes a particular religious agenda as part of its foreign policy on the global stage. The consequences of this partnership have serious implications at the international level, manifested in efforts to supplant universal human rights norms and legitimate the rationale that certain select "traditional" or "major" religions merit greater influence in the formulation of international rules than others… [Apart from this] Russia's neglect of explicit constitutional directives in the foreign policy context compounds the already negative treatment afforded to domestic human rights protections intended to safeguard.[65]

Finally, Daniel P. Payne adds to Blitt's conclusions that the Russian Orthodox Church has established a profound symbiosis with the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Church provides support – institutionalized through the respective working group in 2003 – for the Ministry's strategic activities. In particular, Payne underscores three layers of this support. Primarily, the Church contributes to the development and implementation of national security objectives, specifically 'spiritual security'. Secondly, the Church serves as the intermediate and mechanism to re-acquire the lost Soviet property which the Kremlin perceives as rightfully theirs. Thirdly, the Church serves as a magnifier of the Kremlin's influence in the world through the use of its networks and the promotion of Russia's strategic interests. The latter also entails keeping the broadly understood 'Russian diaspora' under one centralised cultural and political umbrella. Payne argues that if Russia aims to restore its superpower status – and there is no apparent evidence to deny this – than an appropriate tool is needed. The Russian Orthodox Church with its geopolitical 'messianic' potential and non-subjugation to the foreign 'secular' agendas can easily become such a tool.[66]

Bearing all of the above mentioned in mind, the rivalry between Orthodox Russia and the 'Carthaginian' West should never come as a surprise; it cyclically reappears in history. Haukkala stresses that even if Russia tries, the principles of Western coexistence and democratic identity cannot be incorporated genuinely into the state's nature.[67] Instead, centuries-old Russian traditional expansionism seems to constitute a much more efficient and rational *modus operandi*. One may find

the latest proof in the post-Cold War experience. Deliberate attempts under President Yeltsin to preserve and enhance Russian geopolitical importance through democratic mechanisms were faulty.[68] Therefore, Putin's return to assertive outward-looking policies was predictable; it is the return to Byzantium roots which successfully nourished the Russian Tsardom, Russian Empire, and the Soviet Union.

Repercussion of Russian messianism on real-life policy making

The impact of messianic narrations on the Russian public and political realities is paradoxical. Even if people do not recognize themselves as conscientious practitioners, they do agree, nevertheless, to the pivotal role of religion in a society. According to the most recent Levada Center survey *Russians about Religion*, 35 percent of Russians do not attend religious institutions or services at all, 16 percent attend them once a year, and 13 percent attend them less than once a year. Overall, these are 64 percent of the state's citizens who do not practice their faith according to all canons and traditions. Apart from this, 62 percent of Russian Orthodox and Catholic Christians do not find it necessary to receive Communion at all. The paradox here is that 68 percent of respondents all across Russia define themselves as Orthodox Christians.[69]

Speaking of the state's leaders, they regularly reiterate that Russian identity is incomplete without its religious constituent. Specifically, Putin himself stated a couple of times that the Russian state, people, and Orthodoxy are indivisible. As van Herpen presents: 'In August 2011, after a visit to a monastery in a Solovki Islands in the White Sea, he said that Russia is "the guardian of Christianity", and he recalled that his country was traditionally known as "Holy Russia". Without the Orthodox religion, he said, "Russia would have difficulty in becoming a viable state. It is thus very important to return to this source"'.[70] Additionally, Blitt cites Minister of Culture Alexander Avdeev, who underlined the connection of Russian culture with Russian Orthodoxy even earlier, in 2009: 'Russian culture will flourish and remain the centre of the national idea only if it will be in very close dialogue with the Russian Orthodox Church, if it is connected with the understanding that the spiritual and historical value are both sacred values'.[71]

In general, Russian leaders and decision-makers appear to be very sympathetic to the messianic narratives as popularized by political philosophers and masterminds. Moreover, they cautiously support

and reinforce the symbiosis of a state with the Orthodox Church. For instance, looking at the 1999 National Security Concept of Russian Federation, one may find a 'spiritual security' objective among others. It stands for the intention to defend traditional values in the light of 'aggressive expansion' of the Western world. This justifies utilization of networks and parishes of Orthodox Church as instruments for moderating inter-cultural experiences within selected communities and territories.[72] Apart from this, Elena Mizulina, one of the most charismatic State Duma MPs, proposed in 2013 to add a provision to the Constitution of Russian Federation that Orthodoxy constitutes an exclusive feature of the national cultural identity.[73] Evgenii Fedorov, another MP, submitted at the same time a wide number of amendments to the Constitution which appraised the spirit of Orthodoxy and justified the introduction of a dominant national ideology. Amongst other issues, Fedorov advocated the necessity to remove any reference to the 'alien' norms of Western-originated international law, which would make the latter inapplicable in the Russian judicial system.[74]

As for the most recent updates, it was in December 2016 that Putin signed the Doctrine of Information Security of Russian Federation. In a few of its provisions – in particular III.12. – one may find a clear reference to the uniqueness of moral and spiritual values of a multi-national Russian population; the values which require defence as being eroded and distorted by external foes.[75] It is also important to mention that the Doctrine constitutes a part of the military policy of Russia aimed at prevention and prompt resolution of armed conflicts through information means.[76]

Speaking of the individual engagement of the contemporary 'messianic' philosophers into the state's political affairs, one should bear in mind that Kholmogorov cooperated with Putin's United Russia party in 2007. He led the 'Russian Project' in the media and tried to stimulate public discussion on the nature of patriotism and faith.[77] Narochnitskaia was appointed in 2008 as a chair of the branch of the Institute for Democracy and Cooperation in Paris, a Kremlin-supported think tank, which conveys Russian cultural messages to the West.[78] She also served as an active contributor to the Presidential Commission to Counter Attempts to Falsify History to the Detriment of Russia's Interests (active 2009-12).[79] Not to mention that between 2003 and 2007 Narochnitskaia, as MP, represented the interests of the national-conservative party *Rodina* in the State Duma. As of Dugin, he is considered to have a sig-

nificant influence on Putin's advisers Yakunin and Glazyev. He cannot boast, however, of a direct connection to the President. Dugin's major impact on Russian policy-making is through his publishing activity, media presence, networking, and establishing international connections.[80]

The linchpin between messianism and statecraft in Russia can also be observed in the evocation and circulation of the Nuclear Orthodoxy concept.[81] The concept as such belongs to Kholmogorov. In its core, it advocates the necessity for the Orthodox narratives to constitute an ideological filling for the national military and, in such a way, justify Russia's transformation into an ultimate defender of humankind, the 'force for good'. Russian leadership seems to regard this concept with certain sympathy. For instance, Putin once stated that the Orthodox faith and the nuclear shield became the guarantors of Russian sovereignty and provided the backbone of Russian security on the domestic and international levels.[82] Apart from this, Patriarch Cyryl has chosen Holy Great Martyr Barbara to be the heavenly protector of the Russian nuclear deterrent. As the Patriarch stated, Holy Barbara is the only saint to inspire soldiers and officers with clear minds, love for their motherland, and feeling of responsibility before God and their nationals.[83] It is needless to reiterate again that President and Patriarch are on very good friendly terms.

Conclusion

The hypothesis outlined at the very beginning of this article proved to be correct. The religious self-identification and messianic narrations are unalienable constituents of Russian domestic and foreign policies. They should be taken into consideration by scholars and politicians when attempting to analyse the Kremlin's policy-making.

In their essence, messianic narrations are the multifarious messages which circulate nationwide and convey transcendental justifications for pursuing certain external and domestic policies, often expansionist, imperialist and irrational. These narrations portray the target nation as the one chosen by the God to withstand the unceasing assaults of the 'global evil' (usually vaguely defined) and secure the preservation of humankind. In this light, messianism appears to be the ideology – or the mass-shared belief – which advocates the perception of the target nation as an ultimate 'true doer' or the tool of God. For messianism to gain momentum, it requires a certain political order – usually with elements of authoritarianism – to come into being.

Russian messianic narrations and understandings of statehood have evolved significantly from the Middle Ages but continue to be intertwined and to praise similar political convictions. These are necessary to regard Russia as the mythical Third Rome, heir to Byzantium, unceasing empire, and the last harbour (Katechon) of true religion, which is the Orthodoxy. Four of the most outspoken masterminds who develop this field of political philosophy are Aleksander Dugin (conservative and Eurasionist), Nataliia Narochnitskaia (neo-pan-Slavist), Egor Kholmogorov (nationalist and pragmatic imperialist), and Vadim Tsymburskii (isolationist). All of them were defined by Østbø as providing the most valuable and consistent impetus to the development of the four "schools" – more or less formalized – of Russian messianism. The differences in their views reside in the degree of interconnections between Orthodoxy and statehood, the degree of secularity of Russian messianic mission, and the degree of tolerance towards the West.

Three out of the four mentioned philosophers portray Russia as an eternal voluntary defender against 'global evil' – or even a metaphysical Antichrist – which may take different shapes and reveal itself in different ways: starting from development of 'heretic' technologies ending with the 'apocalyptic' trans-boundary terrorism. Non-Russian people may simply not understand the defensive Russian mission and mistreat its good intentions. Moreover, in case of resistance such people become minions of the global evil, and thus foes. As paradoxically this may sound, Russia operates overseas for the sake of humankind; accepting this statement as an axiom one can better explain the regularities in Russian foreign policy. Recalling Dugin, Russia has its own truth which is different from the Western one and the West should accept it.[84] It is only Tsymburskii who favours Russian isolationism and claims that Russia in its post-Soviet borders returns to its true Orthodox identity.

It would be incorrect, however, to overemphasize the role of messianic narrations and religious self-identification in propelling Russia's assertive foreign policy. The Kremlin's strategies and approaches are much more sophisticated, with the Orthodox leitmotif immanently present though frequently implicit, furtive to a degree, and perhaps even deliberately disguised. Thus, at times deeper scrutiny is needed to uncover it, properly identify it, and assess its impact on Russian political realities. That said, the impact is observable: the actors involved are not only the Kremlin's elites but include a wide variety of recognizable

figures and opinion makers who highlight the dogma of Orthodoxy in their public activities. There also exists a close institutional link between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian Foreign Ministry. Finally, the Russian media also reiterates certain religious messages and shapes public opinion appropriately.[85]

Addressing the Western philosophic and geopolitical views on Russia, however, one may hardly discover anything related to the acknowledgement of messianism, exceptionalism, or a duty before humankind. Russia's aggressive foreign policy was defined by numerous scholars and decision-makers as an existential threat. Some of the philosophers portrayed Russia not as a saviour, but as a nomadic barbarian. Bearing this in mind, the rivalry between Orthodox Russia and the secular West should never come as a surprise; it cyclically reappears in history.

Western disapproval is often perceived by Russian philosophers as a heretic deed. It is nothing but a deceptive measure of the disguised evil to undermine the true doing of Russian leaders in their attempts to strengthen the empire-defender and reinforce the Orthodox shield for the good of all humankind. Once again, three out of four addressed Russian philosophers reiterate that the assertiveness of their state is a way to fulfil a transcendent mission, which should not be criticized by secular Western thinkers as they simply do not understand it properly.

Having accumulated enough resources, contemporary Russia attempts to promote its kind of world view globally. For this reason, in December 2013 a new International Information Agency Russia Today (IIART) emerged and embraced its predecessor, the RIA *Novosti*. That was not an ordinary re-branding, however; an informational giant delivering uniformed messages domestically and externally came into being. Apart from this, the RT television network continues to broadcast in dozens of Western states and enjoys immense financial support from the Russian budget. For instance, in 2014 – after the Crimean annexation – state funding of the RT rose to 450 million US dollars.[86] Apparently, such generous investments allow the Kremlin to let the world know about Russian view on global affairs, as well as portray Russia as a dedicated, underestimated, struggling, but nevertheless ambitious and independent sovereign player.

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Japan's Security and the South Sudan Engagement

Internal and External Constraints on Japanese Military Rise Reconsidered

Michal Kolmaš

The article aims to understand the practical relevance of Shinzo Abe's recent security changes and their role in Abe's general security strategy. It argues that although Shinzo Abe's goal is a revision of Japan's post-war security posture, there is still a plethora of legal, normative (popular) and practical constraints that prevent him from doing so. In order to illustrate these constraints, the article analyses the first practical implementation of the new security legislature: Japanese peacekeeping operation in South Sudan in 2016 through 2017.

Keywords: Japan, constitution, peacekeeping, South Sudan, United Nations, security.

Introduction

Since Shinzo Abe's victory in Japan's national election in 2012, the Prime Minister has introduced a number of expansive changes to Japan's security strategy. In 2013, Abe passed a 'secrecy law', which gives the government more power to pursue intelligence leaks that, according to Abe, 'threaten national security, diplomacy, public safety and anti-terrorism measures'[1]. In 2015, Abe drafted a proposal to create a new

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'Mi-6-like' agency specializing in foreign intelligence, which would mark a transformation of a Japanese decentralized intelligence model with limited collective capacity to a more robust centralized system with in-house capabilities[2]. In the same year, Abe finally pushed his long-planned security legislature through both houses of the Japanese Diet. The laws that came to force in March 2016 effectively circumvent the post-war ban on Japanese engagement in collective security. In June 2017, the Diet finally approved Abe's new 'anti-conspiracy law', which robustly broadens police's investigating capacity.

Although these changes paint a clear picture of a 'normalizing' Japan, there is no visible consensus on how much these new security developments symbolise true security realignment and how much they simply follow in a trend started in the aftermath of World War II. A portion of academics as well as political commentators believe that Abe's security changes are just a sign of Japan's incrementalism, and do not possess a radical change to Yoshida's low-key security posture[3]. These authors mostly build on domestic sources of foreign policy making and focus on the vital role of the post-war peaceful Constitution, sedimented peaceful identity and institutional breaks that forbid Abe from transforming the country into a "normal" military power. Other, similarly strong part of academics and commentators[4], believe that Abe's revisionist security agenda marks a radical shift to Japan's post-war posture and that the 'Abe doctrine' virtually replaces the Yoshida doctrine enacted in the 1950s. These authors illustrate the changes of the 'peaceful Japan' narrative and show how Japan's national identity has been transformed from a "pacifist" into a "normal" one. They show how Abe has dismantled the institutional constraints placed on Japan's foreign policy and believe that constitutional and other domestic restraints play virtually no role in Japan's policymaking anymore.

This debate provides us with a good starting point for understanding Abe's motivation and changing position of Japan in contemporary world. It is, however, much more focused on the symbolic meaning of the security change rather than on the very practical policies that define it. Although the aim of this article is to highlight just how much is Japan changing - similarly to most of the studies mentioned earlier - I will try to do it the other way around. Instead of analysing the reforms in order to define Abe's ideological and/or political agenda, my main focus will lie in the way these new laws are being implemented in practice. In short, I aim to appraise shifts in Japan's security policy

under the Abe administration by looking at the practical implementation of this policy.

In order to do this, I will first build on the above-mentioned debate by defining domestic and external sources of Japanese foreign policymaking and showing how these sources have developed over time. I will then steer my attention to illustrating the empirical developments on Japan's security role in Africa and in South Sudan in particular. The reasons for this case study are twofold. First, Japan's increasing engagement in the world has seen a rapid rise in its involvement in Africa. Over the past three decades, Japan has emerged as an important partner for African economic development. More importantly, Japan has recently carried out significant security reform by dispatching troops in unprecedented operations in the Horn of Africa and establishing a first full-scale long-term overseas base in Djibouti. Secondly, Africa was the first destination for Japan's peacekeeping troops operating under the new legal framework. Japan has dispatched Ground Self-Defence Forces (GSDF) to South Sudan initially in 2012, but since 2017, they became operational under new security laws. This provides us with an opportunity to both investigate the practical implementation of the security legislature and place it into a broader discussion of Japan's foreign policy development. Throughout the empirical analysis, I will argue that although Shinzo Abe proposes a true revisionist agenda, there are significant legal, practical and popular constraints that prevent him from reconstructing 'normal' Japan with a 'regular' army. I will build this argument on the analysis of relevant primary materials and treaties, and on a set of research interviews that I carried out at the Japanese Ministry of Defense (MoD) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) in September 2016 and July 2017.

I. Sources of Japanese foreign policymaking

In general, we can distinguish between two broad categories of sources for Japanese foreign policy making. The first one accounts for domestic sources and the second to foreign/external sources. Domestically, various influences on Japan's security posture have been identified, namely the role of elites[5], institutional dynamics/bureaucracy[6] and social perceptions/domestic identity[7]. External factors influencing Japan's foreign policy include assimilation of external norms into domestic policymaking, foreign influence and changes in international environment[8].

Both of these categories have been emphasized as influential over the course of the 20th century, but there is no consensus on which of them plays a key role in foreign policy making and how they influence the changes that are being carried out under the Abe administration. Classical studies of Japan's foreign policy have largely focused on structural approaches, either in domestic and international decline, and neglected individual actors/elites. In the domestic arena, many studies have focused on the role of the "iron triangle" (combining the bureaucracy, LDP and the business (*zaikai*) community) or emphasized the role of specialized bureaucracy and intra-ruling party decision making system (led by the Policy Affairs Research Councils). Overemphasis on bureaucracy has prevented more interest into the role of elites and the Prime Minister in particular, albeit his role has returned to prominence since the electoral and administrative reforms in the 1990s[9]. Another group of authors including Peter Katzenstein,[10] Thomas Berger[11] and Andrew Oros have highlighted the role of ideational factors of domestic policymaking and argued that the post-war peaceful Constitution sedimented into Japanese politics and society and created an 'pacifist identity' that influences the behaviour of policymakers.

In the international sphere, some authors have downplayed the role of domestic factors and argued that Japan's foreign policy is dependent on foreign actors (i.e. the United States) and virtually devoid of own agency[12]. Other scholars have built on structural IR theories and argued that Japan's foreign policy is a mere product of changes in the international system, or a combination of particular domestic responses to it[13]. Lastly, a group of scholars have argued that Japan's foreign policy is intertwined with its search for new national identity and thus interacts and shapes the leading narrative on Japan's role in the world.

It is not the aim of this article to argue which one of these sources is the key one for defining Japan's security policy. The sources will, however, give us conceptual background for appraising shifts in Japanese foreign policy. In order to better understand them, I now turn to the historical evolution of these sources and show how their interaction guided the formation of Japan's foreign policy.

The development of foreign policy sources in the post-war era[14]

The domestic sources of Japan's foreign policy have been largely dependent on the Constitutions that were promulgated after Japan's defeat in WW2. The constitution defines Japan's pacifism through the

well-known war-outlawing Article 9, which used to be interpreted as banning Japan from taking part in military operations abroad. In order to achieve its own security, Japan signed a bilateral defence treaty with the United States, which ensured an American defence guarantee (not vice-versa). Nonetheless, with the nascent end of American occupation of Japan, Tokyo took steps to reconstitute its own military forces. In 1950, Tokyo established the National Police Reserve. Following the establishment of Japan's Defence Agency in 1954, the reserves were transformed into Japanese Ground-Self Defence Forces (GSDF), with the aim (along with Maritime SDFs MSDF and Air SDFs ASDF) of defending the homeland from external aggression. The role of the SDF army was fairly limited in the first decades following the war. Japan's foreign policy was defined by the 'Yoshida doctrine', named after the four-term-serving Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, and consisting of low-profile policies and focus on economic growth.

In 1956, Japan joined the United Nations. The government came to use Article 51 of the UN Charter to modify its interpretation of Article 9 and justify the existence of the SDF for 'exclusively defensive defence' (*senshu boei*). In 1957, the Japanese government adopted the 'Basic Policy for National Defence' to support the activities of the UN and promote international cooperation[15]. Although these changes were still understood to symbolise and comply with Japan's pacifist Constitution, they marked the first steps towards reinterpreting the role of the newly created SDF. In 1960, Japan revised the US security alliance, removing US forces from any role in Japanese internal security and increasing Japan's role in its self-defence. Gradually becoming less pacifist and more independent, Japan's defence posture was nonetheless guided by anti-militarism in the 1960s[16].

But there was also a visible external source for the evolution of Japan's security strategy. In the light of the war in Vietnam, the United States adopted the Nixon doctrine in 1969. The doctrine called on America's Asian allies for a bigger commitment to sustaining Asian security. The 1970s 'Nixon shocks' - China rapprochement and the dismantling of the Bretton Woods currency system - disconcerted Tokyo and made it reconsider a more robust role for the SDFs in providing state security. In 1978, the US–Japan 'Defence Guidelines' added sea lanes to the SDF's jurisdiction. The 1981 Reagan–Suzuki communiqué extended Japan's commitment to defending sea lanes out to 1000 nautical miles. In 1983, Tokyo exempted the USA from its export ban on

arms technology, paving the way for alliance cooperation on defence research[17]. Although this decade also brought trade frictions between these two countries, military cooperation - and reliance - undeniably grew, as enshrined in the famous Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's quotation that Japan will be 'America's unsinkable aircraft carrier'.

The dissolution of the Soviet empire provided an ultimate impulse to redefine Japan's Cold War security posture. Japan was struggling with internal economic problems and was caught unprepared for new security challenges. The 1991 Gulf War was the first major test of Japan's involvement in the global security. The George Bush Sr. administration gathered international support including the Security Council approval and although Japan was a major financial supporter (Tokyo disbursed approx. 13 billion USD), its reluctance to send troops to the operation was met with dissatisfaction from the United States and other allies[18]. As a result, the Diet passed the Peacekeeping Law (Act on Cooperation for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Other Operations) in 1992, which authorized the use of the SDF abroad, albeit only in non-combat situations, on UN-mandated peacekeeping missions. It included the so-called Five principles for the participation of Japanese contingent in peacekeeping operations:

1. Agreement on the ceasefire among the parties of the conflict
2. The consent of all conflict parties including territorial states
3. Strict impartiality of the peacekeeping force
4. The option by the government of Japan to withdraw the SDF troops if any of the conditions is 'not satisfactory'
5. Use of weaponry limited to the minimum necessary to protect the lives of personnel[19]

A year later Japan dispatched around 1000 troops to UNTAC mission in Cambodia and SDFs have subsequently operated in other missions around the world including Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique, El Salvador, the Golan Heights and Timor-Leste[20]. There were, however, another important factor in promoting these changes, and that was the changing role of the public perception of Japan's role in the world. In the 1980s and 1990s, there was a significant increase in public support for the Self-Defence Forces (see Figure 1) and also a growing public interest in Constitutional revision (Figure 2). Due to various factors including the worsening of Sino-Japanese relations, security changes in the Asia-Pacific region and the re-emergence of the 'autonomous country' narrative that was muted for the most part of the 1950s

through 1980s, the majority of the Japanese supported constitutional revision for the first time in three decades. Although the reasons did not revolve around a push for a militarization, but rather around the fact that the 1947 Constitution was written by foreigners, in a foreign language and was seen as obsolete in the changed security environment. In any case, the changing societal dynamics played a significant role in the promotion of the new security legislature.

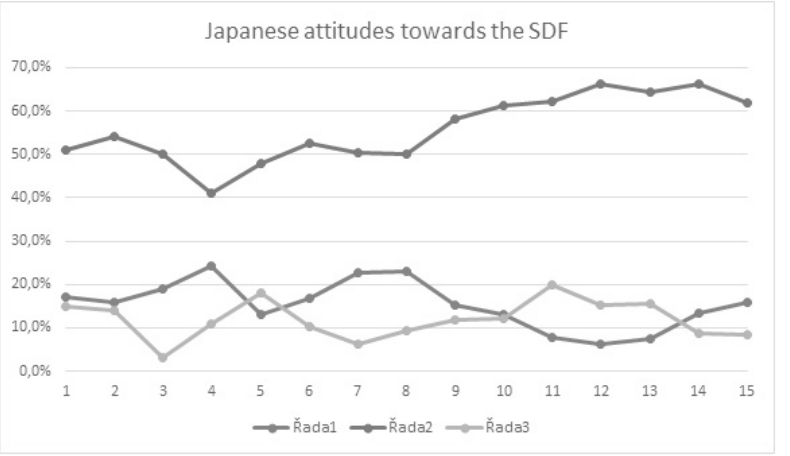

Figure 1: Japanese public support for the Self-Defence Forces[21]

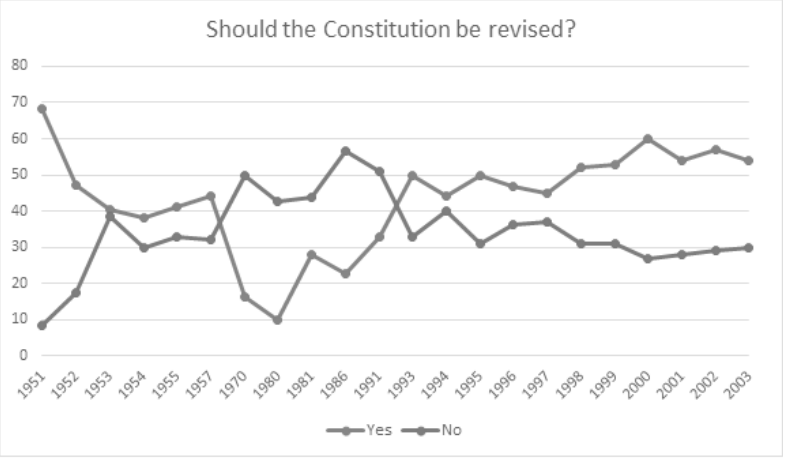

Figure 2: Should the Constitution be revised?[22]

The 9/11 Terrorist attacks marked another important development of Japanese security legislature. In October 2001, Japanese Diet passed the Special Measures Antiterrorism Law, allowing the SDF to provide logistical support, supplies, transport and communications assistance to US-led forces, but requiring that Japanese vessels operate only in noncombat areas. Since then, Japan has dispatched the MSDF ships to provide support for the United States' vessels in Indian and Pacific Ocean, including during the US-led war in Afghanistan. Two years later, the Koizumi cabinet passed the Law concerning the Special Measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq, which allowed it to widen the SDF mandate, send 1000 troops to Iraq, and, in the long term, to 'demonstrate Japan's political desire to actively participate in and tangibly contribute to the international effort to strengthen peace and security in the world'[23].

The expansive trajectory of Japan's SDF role continued into Abe's first term as a Prime Minister. In 2007, Japan's Defence Agency was upgraded to the Ministry of Defence, giving it greater authority over defence planning and implementation, and generally raising the status of the military. After Abe stepped down following a set of scandals that hit his popularity, his successors Aso and Fukuda were much less successful. The Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) secured a majority in the Upper House in 2007 and blocked the extension of the Anti-Terrorism Law involving the MSDF refuelling mission in the Indian Ocean. Likewise, DPJ opposition prevented the passage of a permanent law on dispatching the SDF overseas[24]. After the DPJ came to power in 2009, the Hatoyama government pledged commitment to an 'East Asian Community', in his attempt to broaden multilateralism and steer away from strict bilateral reliance on the United States. The move was appreciated by China and lead to strengthened cooperation with India, South East Asian countries and Australia, yet it did not mark a radical shift of Japan's evolving security posture. In 2011, Japan opened a first foreign base since the world war, in Djibouti, and the DPJ joined the coordinated fight against piracy off the coast of Somalia.

II. Foreign policy sources and Shinzo Abe

In the first months of Abe's second term in power, the Prime Minister seemed to be lodged in an existing institutional structure that prohibited his policy revisionism. Despite Abe's intent to review the government's statement on the 'comfort women' (*jūgun ianfu*) issue,

Abe backed away from the plan in early 2014. He also refused to join three of his hard-line conservative ministers in visiting the controversial Yasukuni Shrine on 15 August 2013 and instead as Hughes wrote, Abe 'seemed content to stress his revisionist credentials with photo opportunities sitting in a Ground Self-Defence Force (GSDF) main battle tank and Air Self-Defence Force (ASDF) trainer jet'[25].

Although Abe proposed a fairly strong stance against China in the tensions regarding the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, he did not pursue hard-line security options that were present in LDP's election manifesto, but instead called for a dialogue with China and stressed Japan's attachment to 'proactive contribution to peace' (*sekkyokuteki heiwashugi*). The revisionist agenda has become more apparent since autumn 2013. Although he was earlier discouraged by negative foreign reactions, Abe visited the Yasukuni shrine in December 2013, stirring negative comments from commentators as well as politicians across Asia. Quite interestingly, a MoFA official told me that they had 'no idea that Abe will visit the shrine'. 'We advised him not to go to Yasukuni, but he only informed us after the event, not before. We basically saw it on TV and had to do much to calm the waters afterwards'. It gradually became apparent that Abe's posture was toughening.

Among the first security changes of the Abe administration was an important institutional transformation in the establishment of the National Security Council. A concept that he promoted in his first term and was agreed to by the Diet in November came to force in December 2013. The council originally consisted of the Prime Minister, chief cabinet secretary and foreign and defence ministers, but has evolved into a form resembling a 'small ministry' with a number of officers and significant political influence. It was designed to function as the new control tower (*shireitō*) of Japan's foreign and security policy, integrating information amongst key security agencies in order to 'overcome past inter-ministerial sectionalism and enable improved security crisis management'[26]. The formation of the NSC expanded the role of primarily the Defence and Foreign affairs officials and was met with satisfaction of their respective members. 'It helps us a lot. Not only gave us [the Ministry of Foreign Affairs] the possibility to make use of military intelligence, but it also engaged the Ministry of Defence more in foreign policy preparation. Before the NSC, they were preoccupied with intrastate defence, now they are more willing to participate and discuss external defence and foreign policy', an official of the MoFA explained.

The strengthening elite role in foreign policymaking is also visible in the level of support that Abe enjoys from the ministries. Officials from both Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence strongly support Abe's program and leadership, because they feel that it strengthens their position and appreciates their duties. 'He brings unity to our offices and thus confidence,' another MoFA official told me. 'Under Abe, we know that our proposals will be dealt with in the best possible manner and that he will fight to implement them even though there is outside pressure against it'. In another interview, Abe's adviser and a professor at Takushoku University Takashi Kawakami told me: 'The civilian side of the MoD along with the MoFA is now running Abe's security strategy. They support Mr. Abe and have confidence in his policies'.

Parallel to the NSC formation, Abe established an Advisory Panel on National Security and Defense Capabilities, which produced Japan's first National Security Strategy in December 2013. The strategy is based in Abe's concept of 'proactive contribution to peace' and the 'values-based diplomacy' (*kachikan gaikou*) he promoted in his first term in office. The NSS offers an analysis of the contemporary international system in Asia and identifies a variety of threats to Japanese security stemming from the rise of China, proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction (WMD), terrorism, and risks of global commons to human security issues. In response, the NSS defines three objectives for Japanese security policy, namely to 'strengthen the deterrence necessary for maintaining its peace and security and for ensuring its survival', to 'improve the security environment of the Asia-Pacific region, and prevent the emergence of and reduce direct threats to Japan, through strengthening the Japan-U.S. Alliance' and to 'improve the global security environment and build a peaceful, stable, and prosperous international community by strengthening the international order based on universal values and rules and by playing a leading role in the settlement of disputes, through consistent diplomatic efforts and further personnel contributions'[27]. There are visible efforts to contribute to means of collective security exercised either through the US-Japan alliance or the United Nations framework and its Peacekeeping missions (PKOs).

In order to do so, Abe introduced a variety of programs to strengthen the training and equipment of Japanese SDFs. Japanese MoD released defence programs (National Defence Program Guidelines for

FY 2014 and beyond[28] and Mid-Term Defence Program of 2014-2018[29]) that confirmed the provisions and targets of the NSS. The goal was to 'build a comprehensive defence architecture and strengthen its posture for preventing and responding to various situations. In addition, Japan will strengthen the Japan-U.S. Alliance and actively promote bilateral and multilateral security cooperation with other countries while closely coordinating defence and diplomatic policies. Japan will also seek to establish an infrastructure necessary for its defence forces to fully exercise their capabilities'[30]. These guidelines eased cooperation between GSDF, MSDF and ASDF. Abe's administration further improved the position of the army by adding the necessary hardware (such as Izumo-class helicopter carriers) and raising the budget to 1 percent of GDP.

Abe's general policy regarding armed personnel thus pushes for a smoother cooperation between strands of the SDFs, as well as between the ministries of defence and foreign affairs. But there are also some visible foreign sources of his decision making. Abe's defence strategies have focused on combat readiness and preparation for a possible Chinese and North Korean threat, but the administration has tried to find also other ways how to improve the potential and capability of its defence forces. In December 2013, the administration passed a controversial State Secrecy Law (came into force one year later). The law, which was opposed by 80 percent of the Japanese public, for the first time imposes strict controls and severe penalties on the handling of sensitive information. It enables the ministry officials to withhold information that they deem sensitive and imprison anyone leaking or seeking information classified for the purposes of national security. The main impetus for the passage of the law was a desire to share more information with the United States as the security situation facing Japan becomes more concerning. Japan has historically been known as a 'spy heaven,'[31] and thus needed to be considered as an equal partner by its allies. A MoFA official explained: 'The Americans were reluctant to share intelligence with us, because our laws regarding state secrets were very weak. In this sense, the law was primarily designed to help us become a sensible partner to the United States'.

By securing Japanese intelligence, Abe believed he can strengthen the cooperation with the American allies and pave the way for stronger Japan involvement in planning and executing security operations with its allied partners. At the same time, the laws marked the first

step in developing Japan's own intelligence community. As a reaction to the Islamic State hostage crisis in January 2015, during which Japan depended on Jordanian and Turkish intelligence, the administration started drafting a proposal to create a new agency specializing in foreign intelligence. To address Japan's dependence on outsiders, the new system will shift away from a decentralized model with limited collection capacity to a centralized system with in-house capabilities[32].

In another controversial intelligence-related act, the Abe administration pushed through both houses of the Diet the 'anti-conspiracy bill' in June 2017. The law criminalizes the plotting and committing of 277 acts and as such amends an existing law against organized crime syndicates. It bans the procurement of funds or supplies and the surveying of a location in preparation of any of these offences. Basically, according to this law, the police can hold entire groups of people liable for surveillance and prosecution based on unsubstantiated suspicion of planning or preparing criminal activity. Abe legitimized the bill by saying that it will allow Japan to "firmly cooperate with international society to prevent terrorism", but many commentators, activists as well as a big part of Japanese public voiced their discontent with what was perceived as a hammer on Japan's opposition and civil society. Some went as far as to depict similarities between this law and the pre-war Public Security Preservation Laws of 1925 and 1941, through which the authorities criminalized all forms of political dissent and outlawed the socialist and communist parties, jailing over 70,000 people between 1925 and 1945[33].

Clearly, there are visible changes in both the elite role and institutional dynamics. Abe has exercised a successful leadership skill both in policy making process, initiating and implementing a variety of policies, and in steering the institutional dynamics. Abe has succeeded in creating a positive atmosphere in the ministries by inter-ministerial information sharing within the NSC and by giving them greater leverage through support for ministry-related policies. Doing that, Abe has achieved greater support in overcoming structural constraints, such as the pressure of the United States and bureaucratic coordination.

Constitution and the collective self-defence

Arguably the main goal of the Abe administration is to rewrite the 1947 Constitution and its Article 9. This goal has, however, been held back by both Abe's coalition New Komeito party unwilling to approve his

changes and the need for a public referendum to ratify them. This has led Abe to switch his attention to a way of informal revision of the Constitution through changing interpretation of its provisions, and most notably, the ban on the exercise of the right of collective self-defence (*shūdanteki jieiken*). As shown before, throughout Japan's post-war history, the right of collective self-defence was deemed unconstitutional, banning Japan from joining allied security operations such as the Gulf War. The passing of the IPCL in 1992 allowed troops to take part in peacetime PKOs in logistical and reconstruction activities but were not allowed to use weapons/force for anything else but their self-defence (for instance, for protection of other troops, known as *kaketsuke keigo*). The 2001 and 2003 Anti-terrorism law allowed for a limited quasi-collective security capability by building on the Preamble of the Constitution and its sentiments regarding Japan's obligations to maintain an 'honoured place in international society'. These were exercised in Afghanistan and Iraq, but again were able to do so only by stretching interpretations rather than by complete reinterpretation of the Constitution and with still considerable restrictions on the types of operations permitted for the JSDF[34]. Abe has, however, regarded the breach of the ban as a principal aim of his security strategy. The right of collective self-defence, he argued, is absolutely necessary to 'safeguard the lives of the Japanese people' in situations, when 'an attack on an ally is an attack on Japan':

For example, suppose a conflict suddenly arose overseas. And suppose that in the conflict, the United States, which is our ally and has capability, came under attack in the sea near Japan when rescuing and transporting Japanese nationals trying to escape from where the conflict had occurred. Although this would not be an attack on Japan itself, the Self-Defence Forces (SDF) would protect the U.S. vessel in order to protect the lives of the Japanese nationals. What makes this possible is the Cabinet Decision made today. I cannot possibly believe that the Constitution of Japan, which was created in the hopes of bringing happiness to the people, requires me to renounce my responsibility to protect the lives of the Japanese people in such situations.[35]

In order to overcome opposition from within the Diet as well as from the public, the Abe administration employed a variety of methods and legal strategies. Among them was the reformation of Prime Minister's Advisory Panel on the Reconstruction for the Legal Basis of Security (*Anpo Hōseikon*), which was asked, among other things,

to consider scenarios in which Japan could use the right to collective self-defence. The panel's report from 2014 recommends referring to collective self-defence in four cases: 1) Defence of U.S. vessels on the high seas; 2) Interception of a ballistic missile that might be on its way to the United States, 3) Participation in U.N. PKOs and other international peace operations and 4) Logistics support for the operations of other countries participating in the same U.N. PKOs and other activities[36]. In the first two cases, exercising collective self-defence was necessary for acquiring Japan's own security, whereas in the latter two cases, collective self-defence was necessary for the purposes of Japan's *kaketsuke keigo* - international contribution/help in cases, when allied PKO troops are under attack (abandoning the concept of *ittaika*). In these four scenarios, the panel argued that "new interpretation in an appropriate form, and an amendment to the Constitution is not necessary", because they either refer to the protection of Japan, or are carried out within the United Nations framework (and Japanese SDFs thus are not deemed to fight within regular military missions). At the same time, the panel proposed a brake (*hadome*) on the government's capability to exercise collective self-defence by tying down the ad-hoc JSDF deployments to National Diet approval.

After receiving the report in May 2015, Abe carried out a press conference, in which he indicated that the government will push forward with the intended legislature. Instead of the report's extensive version of collective self-defence (the 4 scenarios), Abe came up with a 'limited version' of the proposal, reassuring that 'the JSDF will never participate in such warfare as the Gulf War or Iraq War for the purpose of the use of force'[37]. That being said however, Abe did not completely discard using the SDF for collective security missions, especially in cases where the Preamble of the Constitution could be referred to, or through the UN PKO framework. In any case, the legislature defined three new conditions' that have to be met were the Japanese soldiers to be sent to collective security operations[38]: 1)There is an armed attack against a country that has a close relationship with Japan, and the situation threatens the existence of Japan and presents a clear danger to citizens' lives, freedom and happiness; 2) There is no other alternative but to use force to protect the sovereignty of Japan and its citizens and 3) The use of forces must be confined to the minimum necessary. Interestingly, these conditions are similar to 'limited' Just war conditions and MoD officials I interviewed agreed that they are based on it. Although these

conditions stipulate that there is an 'armed attack against a country in a close relationship to Japan', according to the MoD officials, there is basically no way it could apply to 'anyone else but the United States'.

The legislation (called Cabinet Decision on Development of Seamless Security Legislation to Ensure Japan's Survival and Protect its People), which effectively breaches the post-war ban on the exercise of collective self-defence, was finally released on 1st July 2014 and subsequently passed in both houses by September 19, 2015. It came into force on March 26, 2016. Although it was played down by the Prime Minister as a simple continuation of Japan's proactive pacifism, it poses, so far, the most radical advance in Japan's security normalization.

III. Japan's African engagement and the South Sudan mission

Japan first came to base its foreign mission on the new legislature during its peacekeeping mission in South Sudan. It is perhaps of little surprise that Japan sought to expand its international role on African grounds. Although Africa was for most parts of the 20th century neglected by the Japanese – being constructed as a dark and distant continent unfamiliar to Japan – it has emerged as one of the key areas for Japan's international engagement in the last couple of decades. In the second part of the 1960s, Japan initiated a rudimentary Official Development Assistance (ODA) program to sub-Saharan Africa. Initially provided only to a few African countries and with a limited amount, the ODA was doubled following the oil shocks in 1973. While majority of the ODA was still being sent to Southeast Asia, by the beginning of the 1980s, ODA to Africa had already reached 10 percent of Japan's development aid[39]. The numbers rose sharply from the mid-1980s, which reflected not only the rise of overall Japan's ODA, but also its renewed interest in Africa (supported by American push for Japan to reinvest some of its economic surplus).

The economic cooperation began to transform into political cooperation in the 1990s. In 1993, the Japanese government co-organized (with the UNDP) the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), which aimed to bring together policymakers in order to encourage African states to pass economic and political reforms and to restore international consciousness in Africa[40]. Japan played a key role in the conference, which adopted a Tokyo Declaration in 1993 forming a base for reformation of sub-Saharan states. The conference was complemented with another increase in Japan's ODA,

and later supplemented with further initiatives, diplomatic meetings and follow-up events (including TICAD II, III and IV). Since the turn of the millennia, Japan has focused its economic and political resources on African peacebuilding in post-conflict African societies and on the promotion of human security in line with the 1994 UNDP strategy.

These initiatives marked the transformation of Japan's foreign policy in the 1990s to the so-called 'comprehensive security' approach (discussed before). The policy aimed to contribute to the international community (*kokusai koken)* and since the PKO bill was accepted in 1992, has included security assistance in Japan's peacebuilding efforts. In 1993, Japan contributed 50 SDF personnel to UN operation in Mozambique and in 1994 to a humanitarian mission in Rwanda. Although the government justified these steps on the basis of the requests of these states and foreign pressures, the involvement in African peacebuilding shows the transforming self-perception of Japan as a contributor to international affairs (and an input towards Japan's push for UN Security Council seat).

Since the initiatives taken in the 1990s, Japan has continued to contribute to African affairs. It has carried out TICAD II-IV conferences, focusing on a variety of aspects including humanitarian assistance, refugee protection etc. During 2003 and 2005, Japan donated 920 million USD to peacekeeping in Africa[41]. More importantly, though, in 2009, Japan dispatched the SDF to an unprecedented counter-piracy operation in the Gulf of Aden, in 2011 established its first ever overseas base since the end of the war in Djibouti (including barracks, hangers and equipment for approximately 300 SDF personnel[42]) and in 2012 sent peacekeepers in what was to become a longest-participation UN mission in South Sudan. These marked an all-important change to Japan's security posture and provided leverage for Abe's security transformation since his second stint in power. The base in Djibouti has provided the Japanese with an important geostrategic location at the southern entrance to the Red Sea on the route to the Suez Canal. Since 2011, around 180 troops occupied the site and have operated maritime patrol aircraft as a part of an international force and Japan has also used the base in extracting personnel from South Sudan. Recently, Japan has agreed to build up the base by acquiring extra 3 hectares of empty land for SDF use (from the original 12 hectares) and in 2017, the SDF conducted a drill to practice rescuing Japanese nationals[43].

The South Sudan mission

The Japanese mission to South Sudan was originally established in 2012 as a part of the United Nations mission in South Sudan (UNMISS). The mission came a year after South Sudan gained independence following a referendum in order to build conditions for development of this emergent nation. Japanese participation in the mission over the 5 years included more than 4000 GDSF troops stationed in the capital Juba until 2017, when the mission was returned home. Most of the troops were engineers and other logistics personnel with a limited mandate and rules of engagement, and their dispatch was guided by Japan's long-term promotion of human security and peacebuilding. Their main goal was to build infrastructure in Juba and surrounding areas. Other soldiers coordinated efforts with IUN and local governmental agencies, and with Maritime and Air SDF to provide transportation and supplies for other units. That said, the size of the mission and its prolonged statute was a novelty, especially in the previously relatively neglected region of Africa. The dispatch was in line with Japan's international contribution and symbolized Japan's new initiative in international arena.

Originally, the mandate of the troops sent to South Sudan was based on Japan's previous PKO legislature. After the Legislation on Peace and Security came to force in 2016, the Japanese Ministry of Defence started with preparations for its implementation. The procedure was, however, rather slow and very cautious from the government's side. According to a MoFA official, Shinzo Abe was concerned with rather significant popular protests against the new legislature. It was estimated that up to 100 thousand people marched against it in Tokyo only. 'For instance, we did not start with new training procedures for many months after the law came to force, because we were afraid that it might cause another public upheaval, if, for instance, soldiers shared the information about the training with the press,' the official explained.

Eventually in September 2016, 350 troops were deployed in South Sudan with a widened *kaketsuke keigo* mandate under the new legislation (albeit these soldiers did not receive a proper training according to the new law[44]). This was perhaps due to the general difference of UNMISS to Japan's previous comparable peacekeeping efforts in East Timor (UNTAET) and Cambodia (UNTAC). While in the two mentioned missions there was a general ceasefire in place, South Sudan was

far riskier. While the separation from Sudan was officially confirmed, there were disagreements about the ownership of the Heglig oil field, which Sudan had taken over with force in April 2012. The district was far away from the capital, but once the Sudanese army declared that it would march towards Juba, it became highly likely that the ceasefire would be broken[45]. Although this conflict was soon soothed, there were other occasions of violence that broke out in the region. In December 2013, an armed conflict arose between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, loyal mostly to the vice-president Riek Machar and President Salva Kiir's guards. The conflict was regarded as coup d'état by the president and ended in removing the vice-president from the office.

Although the Japanese soldiers were not directly harmed, there was a fear that the UNMISS would be involved in the conflict. Because of that, the South Korean unit made an official request to the UN headquarters for additional ammunition to handle the conflict, and the UN passed the request for support to the Japanese government. Lending and borrowing ammunition was not necessarily unusual among PKO units, but for Japan this would mean breaking the restraints on Japan's arms transfer under Japan's Three Principles on Arms Export[46]. The principles were established in 1967 under Prime Minister Eisaku Sato in order to prevent arms export to 1) communist bloc countries, 2) countries subject to arms exports embargo under UN SC resolutions and 3) countries involved or likely to be involved in international conflict. In 1976, Prime Minister Takeo Miki updated these principles to include ban on arms transfer to 'other regions in accordance with the Constitution' and the export of 'equipment related to the production of arms'[47]. This basically meant that Japan was constrained from arms exports not only to communist countries, embargoed countries and countries in conflict, but also others.

Transferring ammunition to South Korean troops would break these provisions. Shinzo Abe however, decided that the transfer was in line with the 'proactive contribution to peace' and decided to transfer 10 thousand rounds of ammunition. He argued that it is necessary because of the necessity given by 'humanitarian nature of the situation'. This was another breakthrough for Japan's security posture. It is highly possible that any such request would not be considered in the past. Interestingly however, the decision did not make much difference, because there emerged a strong criticism within South Korea which argued that Japan's arms transfer was an exercise of collective self-de-

fence, and the Koreans ended up returning the ammunition back to Japan. Thus, even though there was Abe's push to break another constraint on Japan's foreign policy, the practical implementation again highlighted the limits to Japanese options.

The conflict muted for a while but intensified in 2016, when Japan's revised PKO law came into force and by the summer of 2016, South Sudan was effectively in a civil war taking place in the capital of Juba. In July 2016, more than 300 people, including two Chinese PKO personnel died during violent clashes between the rival factions. Reports from Juba by the Center for Civilians in Conflict[48] described how 'the parties to the conflict killed and injured civilians in displaced persons camps with indiscriminate gun and artillery fire, committed widespread sexual violence against women who left those camps in search of food, and attacked international and national aid workers in a hotel and apartment complex'. The report further stipulated that 'when confronted with the challenging operating environment, UNMISS peacekeepers were unable or unwilling to leave their bases to protect civilians outside and at times even underperformed in protecting the 37,000 civilians sheltered on its bases'. This de facto civil war forced Japanese civilians and diplomats to evacuate on Air Self-Defence Force C-130 transport planes sent from Japan[49].

The government tried to downplay the severity of the security situation in Juba. The defence minister Tomomi Inada repeatedly refused to acknowledge any local combat action. The ministry of defence only stated that there were 'armed clashes' taking place at the time, but that the overall situation was 'relatively stable and safe'[50]. However, in early 2017, combat logs of GDSF soldiers deployed in Juba were found, which read that they had to be 'wary of being drawn into sudden fighting in the city'[51]. But describing the situation as 'fighting' would mean that Japan violated the five conditions of the peacekeeping operations law, which enables Japan to enter peacekeeping mission despite constitutional restrictions. Peacekeepers can only be placed in missions where ceasefire agreement among parties is maintained[52], which was clearly not the case in South Sudan. To make matters worse, the MoD initially said the GDSF logs had been 'entirely discarded' when journalists asked about them in September 2016. The ministry later backpedalled and admitted it had 'found' the logs and made them available in February[53]. The opposition Democratic party later suggested that the defence minister Inada resign for concealing the situation, but the

minister opposed by arguing that 'In a legal sense, there was no fighting in South Sudan even if the logs said there was'[54].

Shinzo Abe tried to downplay the dangers and when announcing the withdrawal of the PKO troops in May 17, 2017 and said that summoning the troops back was because of their 'major contributions to nation-building', which has now come to a 'new stage'. But it was clear that the danger to the mission was the main reason why Abe finally decided to send the soldiers home. One foreign ministry official confirmed this claim: 'Of course we were worried that something could happen to them, or that they might die. There was already a lot of negative attention after the law was passed, so it was prerogative that its implementation does not end in a tragedy'. Obviously, although the new laws were finally put to effect, their implementation did not bring any significant change to the ongoing Japanese operation in South Sudan. Quite to the contrary, Abe's decision to withdraw the troops from the area mirrors that the peacekeeping operations still conflict too much with existing laws, the constitutional constraints and even popular perceptions, making it very difficult to change the status quo in Japan's international engagement. According to professor at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies Kenji Isezaki, who lead UN disarmament program in Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and East Timor, it became apparent that even existing Japanese laws hardly qualify the SDFs for contemporary UN peacekeeping operations, since they now presuppose wider engagement including protection of local residents. 'With this bulletin the PKO became the entity to wage war, which is not in line with Japan's five PKO principles, or the Constitution', said Isezaki in May 2017[55].

The options and possibilities of the Japanese PKOs thus remain rather limited notwithstanding the new security legislature. There remains a set of constraints on both the domestic and international level. Domestically, while the elite level is set for security reform, the public opinion and the institutional dynamics prevent major security reconstruction. Internationally, there is a significant opposition towards Abe's security reconstruction, particularly in Japan's Asian surroundings, as it was visible in South Korean reaction to the ammunition transfer. That said, Abe's revisionism aims at easing these constraints – both domestically, by supporting and cooperating with the bureaucracy (as shown in the formation of the NSC, the reconstruction of the defence ministry etc.) and internationally, by persuading

Japanese allies of the peaceful nature of Japan's 'proactive contribution to peace'. These constraints very well limit the possibilities of the Self-Defence Forces and can be lifted only through a thorough security reformation including the revision of the post-war constitution, which Abe seeks.

Conclusion

It is without a doubt that Shinzo Abe is trying to reconstruct a 'normal' security policy for Japan. The amount and severity of changes his administration has carried out far exceeds the ongoing incremental change that Japan has been experiencing basically since the Constitution was signed following the Second World War. Abe is not afraid of proposing unpopular measures that his predecessors shelved, such as the intelligence and secrecy laws. He managed to breach a variety of legal constraints unheard of prior to his rule, such as the 1954 ban on collective self-defence and the 1967/1976 ban on arms export. This is indeed important. Shinzo Abe is the first Prime Minister to actually reinterpret the Constitution rather than just to stretch the existing interpretation. This creates a precedent for Abe as well as any other future administration, which may very well try to grant the military larger power despite the constitutional restraints. In this sense then, I would consider Abe's mandate and revisionism different from the previous administrations and not basically fitting to the incrementalistic discourse presented by authors mentioned in the preceding text.

That being said, as the case of South Sudan have illustrated, the practice of Abe's constitutional reinterpretation remains very distant from Abe's ultimate revisionist agenda. In fact, albeit the new security legislature relaxes some preconditions for the dispatch of SDF and grants them with a wider mandate in peacekeeping missions, the constitutional and institutional restraints seem to be as strong as ever. The system of brakes that was included in the legislature, including the necessity of Diet approval on every single SDF deployment, along with the necessity to comply with the existing legal framework, have significantly constrained the options and possibilities of Japanese military under the new laws. Furthermore, Abe is concerned with popular voice regarding the security laws, which seems very reluctant to see the changes implemented in collective security operations. All in all, if the aim of Abe's revisionism is to recreate a 'normal' army for Japan, this goal has not been reached by a mile. The only way that seems to

grant this, would be a 'proper' constitutional revision, which seems like Abe's ultimate political goal. This goal has not materialized yet, as it requires not only two-third approval of both houses of the Diet, but also a majority in a referendum. Abe might very well try to propose that in the future provided his position is stable and that he believes he has a chance of succeeding. Deteriorating security situations in East Asia causing people to worry would certainly help him in this regard.

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Notes

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The Role of Non-governmental Organisations in Development Tourism Sector

A Comparative Study Between Bulgaria and Egypt

Petya Ivanova, Mahmoud Khalifa

There are two main parts of the article that present the Bulgarian and Egyptian non-governmental organisations in the field of tourism.

The legislative framework and conditions for registration of such organisations as well as their role in the overall management of tourism in both countries differ.

Special attention is paid to non-governmental organisations, which are created in Bulgaria and Egypt on a trade, product and territorial basis, and their roles in development tourism sector.

Keywords: Bulgarian and Egyptian non-governmental organisations, tourism associations, development of tourism.

A review of the Universal Declaration of the Right to Development reveals the basic details of it, which is at the heart of popular participation and fair distribution of the benefits of development, which is directly related to non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

- NGOs are like any organization that is primarily intended to support or advocate for or engage in an activity of public or private activities without any business or profit goal.

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- The Universal Declaration of the Right to Development establishes commitments for Governments to promote and boost participation and the provision of fundamental rights, which indicates the basic responsibilities of governments for participatory mechanisms in general and NGOs in particular.
- The NGOs have emerged as a mechanism for economic transformation on the one hand, for dealing with marginalized groups, and for breaking the centralization of the state on the other hand.
- The NGOs are often charitable or service organizations and their administrative structure is usually a non-profit, cooperative or informal enterprise, and are now a partner in international life in the social, cultural and humanitarian fields as well as their role in promoting development.

Hence, the researchers focused on the role of NGOs in the tourism field, so the argument of this paper revolves around the main question "*Are there any differences between Bulgaria and Egypt in that role for these organisations in tourism?*"

The article hopes to reveal that answer based on a comparative study of both countries, which highlights the similarities and differences between Bulgaria and Egypt. The choice of comparison was based on the similarities and rapprochement between the two countries, where each country is a tourist destination, and the researchers rely on a series of steps in order to access the scientific facts related to both countries, by comparing legal frameworks for NGOs and analysing their roles in the tourist development sector.

I. Bulgarian nonprofit organization and tourism

Conceptual background

One of the reasons for the vague definition of NGO is that NGOs are a diverse group of organizations that defy generalization, ranging from small informal groups to large formal agencies. NGOs play various roles and take different shapes within and across different societies[1].

NGOs should meet the following criteria: to have an institutional structure, to be of private nature, to not share profit, to be self-governed, to be managed by volunteers. Like all organisations, NGOs vary greatly in terms of mission, size, mode of operation and impact[2]. NGOs are non-profit groups, organized by societies or individuals to see and find all basic needs that are not being achieved by either the government or private sector. Some provide goods, while some render

services, or both[3]. These organizations are involved in socio-economic development, are altruistic and do not distribute profits. They are prohibited by law to distribute any excess income to executives and board members. A nongovernment organization is not controlled by either the government or the private sector and is not inspired by profit generation[4].

Because there are many definitions of NGOs, the research uses 'legal entities whose primary objective is one other than generating profit through their activity and allocating that profit among their members'. These could be organizations established on a voluntary basis which are independent from the government and the power structures within a country. NGOs are engaged in various entrepreneurial activities, provided that these activities are in line with and intended to meet the objectives which the entities were set up for.

In addition to the public bodies which are in charge of tourism governance, the Bulgarian Tourism Act (TA) provides for the establishment of other organisations which engage in tourism governance at a regional level and of tourist information centres[5].

The organisations for regional tourism governance (ORTG) are voluntary organisations which operate by applying the principles of mutual assistance and cooperation to the benefit of their members and the public and engage in activities related to the creation of regional tourism products, regional marketing, and advertising on a specific territory that is identified as a tourist region. *Tourist information centres* are established to provide information to tourists and to advertise and promote tourism on a specific territory. Tourist information centres operate within a national network by applying common standards[6]

The rules for the establishment, registration, structure, activity and termination of non-profit legal entities are set in the Bulgaria's Non-profit Legal Entities Act (NPLEA)[7]. Non-profit legal entities are organisations established as associations or foundations to engage in the implementation of activities to some public or private benefit. The structure of non-profit legal entities is determined in their statutes and constitution.

Tourism associations must be established, registered, managed, transformed and terminated in compliance with the Non-profit Legal Entities Act[8]

Tourism associations must be entered into a public register which is part of *the National Tourism Register*[9] kept by the Ministry of Economy,

Energy and Tourism. The scope of activities of tourism associations includes activities designed to coordinate the creation and marketing of tourism products and to provide information to tourists; to develop and implement various tourism-related initiatives and projects; to protect the interests of and to represent their members as provided for by the law.

Tourism associations may be established[10]:

- On a regional or local basis;
- According to the branch they operate in;
- According to the product they offer;
- According to their trade.

Tourism associations may be members of the organisations for regional tourism governance which operate in the territory of their headquarters.

The Tourism Act stipulates that branch tourism associations shall bear a specific name; act as an association of persons on a branch principle; avoid engaging in any activities which are misleading or are in conflict with moral standards. Branch tourism associations may be established by entities operating as:

- Hotels and restaurants;
- Tour operators and travel agents.

Bulgarian non-governmental organisations in the sphere of tourism

Tourism associations in which government power structures are not involved are also called non-government organisations (NGOs) in the sphere of tourism. They are established on a voluntary basis and are independent from the government or its power structures. The rules for the establishment, registration and operation of such entities are set in the Non-profit Legal Entities Act. The first non-government tourism organisation which was set up in Bulgaria was the Bulgarian Tourist Chamber (1990).

National tourist associations are established on the basis of their physical location (territory) and the trade they operate in. They could be classified into three major groups:

Group one: Branch and trade tourist associations

The Bulgarian Tourist Chamber (BTC)[11] is a non-profit association of Bulgarian and foreign legal and physical persons. The majority of

branch organisations are members of the association, which determines its significance as an organisation. The Bulgarian Tourist Chamber has commissions which provide consultancy in hotel and restaurant management, staff training, financial and economic issues, and business programme development. The Chamber assists small and medium-sized companies in obtaining funds and loans. The main objective of the association is to offer solutions to strategic and current problems faced by the tourist business and to defend the interests of employers and business owners in the sphere of tourism.

The Bulgarian Hotel and Restaurant Association (BHRA)[12], is an association of hotels, tourist complexes, family hotels and restaurants. The Bulgarian Hotel and Restaurant Association cooperates actively with a number of government and non-government organisations. It processes and provides information to Bulgarian and foreign business partners; ensures the participation of its members in all tourist fairs and exhibitions which are held at home and abroad; selects and disseminates statistical and other data which would be useful to the members of the association; and provides legal assistance on tourism-related issues. The association is actively involved in organizing and promoting different tourism-oriented events. It was also the first professional organisation in the sphere of tourism to bestow awards for hotel and restaurant management (the annual BHRA awards have been given out since 1996).

The Bulgarian Association of Travel Agents (BATA)[13] is a member of the Universal Federation of Travel Agents Associations and is actively engaged in international tourism-related activities. It was also a co-founder of the Balkan Federation of Travel Agents Associations (BAFTAA). BATA has standing committees which deal with tourism legislation, relations with ministries, municipalities and NGOs, international cooperation, membership, work with new members, training and qualification, transport and ticketing, professional ethics and protection of members.

Group two: Product tourist associations

The Bulgarian Association for Alternative Tourism (BAAT)[14] was established in 1998 to promote the development of different types and forms of alternative tourism. The Bulgarian Association for Rural and Ecological Tourism (BARET)[15] is an entity engaged in promoting the development of rural and ecological tourism in the rural regions

of the country. The Bulgarian Association of Balneotourism (BAB)[16] was established in 2000 in Pomorie to protect the interests of and to provide information to all its members. As the name of the organisation suggests, its primary objective is to preserve the traditions in and promote the further development of balneotourism in the country.

Group three: Regional tourist associations

The Regional Tourist Association Stara Planina was established in 1992 with the assistance of the Swiss Embassy as a union of five municipalities in the Stara Planina region and was later joined by another three municipalities. The focus of its activity is on sustainable tourism development and tourist destination management[17].

The Pirin Tourist Forum (PTF) was established in 1997 as a result of the implementation of a three-year Project on environmental and sustainable tourism in the Pirin and the Rila Mountains, funded by the British Know-How Fund on an initiative of the Ministry of Environment. Its members include 12 municipalities from the Pirin mountain region[18].

The Rhodope Regional Association was established in 2003 in Smolyan to promote sustainable tourism development in the District of Smolyan. The association is also engaged in preserving the natural, cultural and historical heritage in the Rhodope Mountain and tailoring that heritage to meet the needs of modern tourism, thus ensuring livelihood and income for local citizens[19].

The Bourgas Regional Tourist Association was established in 1998 as a union of tourist associations and regional branch organisations in the district of Bourgas. The aim of the Association is to support and encourage tourism development in the Bourgas region. The association organizes and holds the Regional Tourism Forum and the 'Your Vacation' Tourist Fair.[20]

The Bourgas Regional Chamber of Tourism was established on 17 April 1992. Its activities focus mainly on issues related to illegal (unregistered) tourism companies and unlicensed transport operators, the quality of the tourist product which is offered, and protecting the environment and the cultural and historical heritage[21].

The Varna Chamber of Tourism was established in 1991 to unite, on a voluntary basis, branch organisations, and physical and legal entities operating in the sphere of tourism as well as schools and universities which provide training in tourism or tourism-related professions. This

chamber was also the founder of the Black Sea Tourism Forum and Tourexpo-Varna[22].

II. Egyptian NGOs and tourism

We can divide the status of tourism in Egypt in four stages, as follows:

Phase 1: This period, which lasted from 2000 to 2004, witnessed a significant decrease in the number of workers in the tourism sector out of the total number of workers in Egypt, ranging between 3% and 3.8%. This was primarily due to this period of serious incidents at the local and international levels, including the terrorist attacks in Egypt and September 2001 in the United States of America [23].

Phase 2: This period was from 2005 to 2008. The number of employees in the tourism sector witnessed a significant increase in the number of employees in the other sectors, ranging from 5.8% to 6.4%[24]. In addition, the tourism sector ranked fourth in terms of capacity to generate new jobs (12% potentially), which led to a high rate of expenditure on goods and services in the country[25].

Phase 3: This phase continued from 2009 to 2011, saw the growth of the tourism sector continued in terms of its ability to absorb employment, reaching a peak of 12.6% of the total labour force in 2010[26].

Phase 4: This phase continued from 2012 to 2014 and was accompanied by a fall in the number of workers, which reflected on the tourism sector negatively and then the decline in the size of employment in this sector, due to the impact of the revolution of January 25, 2011 and aftermath of violence and instability owing to the revolution of 30 June 2013[27]. The year 2013 in Egypt was the worst of its kind due to the follow-up of political and security events related to the stability of the state, forcing some foreign countries, especially European ones, to ban travel to Egypt. Decreased hotel concerns and cancellations of bookings, along with less tourism as reflected in employment (regular and irregular) in general soon followed.

There are some important results through those stages mentioned earlier; the decline of the Egyptian tourism sector after the events of June 30, 2013 decreased the number of foreign tourists, including Russians

coming to Egypt (although most of them wish to visit Egypt after the stability of the political situation in the country)[28].

Egypt has traditionally been a popular destination for Russian tourists. In 2010, more than 2.5 million Russians visited it, but numbers fell sharply after the January 25, 2011 and the Russian plane crash in 2015 (the tourism sector in Sharm el-Sheikh has lost $4 billion over the past two years since the crash of a Russian passenger jet)[29]. The official Russian data revealed that the number of tourists heading to Egypt in the first quarter of year 2011 rose nearly 42% compared to the same period in 2012 and reached 575,000 tourists.[30]

The latest data showed that the number of tourists in the first half of July 2013 fell to 378 000 tourists compared to 515 000 in the same period of 2012. The situation has gone from bad to worse, and it seems that the dream of approaching the pre-revolutionary rates when Egypt received nearly 15 million tourists is out of reach.[31]

The Egyptian NGOs Law and its restrictions

The NGOs need funding to achieve their desired goals. However, Law No. 84 of 2002 on non-governmental organizations prohibits them from obtaining local funding without the permission of the government. This has resulted in a lack of financial independence of these organisations and accepting aid from the Ministry of Social Affairs, which has extended its influence and control over those organisations.

At the same time, we find most of the charitable work in Egypt. Rarely outside the religious framework, these organisations rely on external funding (although the Egyptian regime accepts foreign aid, it denies that right to NGOs). In that regard, Act No. 84 for 2002 was enacted Non-governmental organizations are also prohibited from obtaining external funding without the permission of the government. This means that only the country and some NGOs affiliated with it are entitled to external funding after obtaining permission from the government.

And in the case of establishment of NGOs through foreigners, there is the condition of holding a permanent or temporary residence permit, in addition to other main requirements.[32] In addition, violation of this law obliges the Ministry of Social Affairs to dissolve the organisation and reserve its property and funds. As for NGOs which are not registered with the Ministry of Social Affairs and accept foreign funding, they are subject to law.

The new law of 2017 provides for the establishment of the 'National Organisation for the Regulation of the Work of Foreign Non-Governmental Organisations'. It includes representatives of the main national security services in Egypt, the General Intelligence, the Ministries of Defence and the Interior, as well as representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Central Bank[33]. This organisation oversees the work of non-governmental organisations, including any funding or cooperation between Egyptian associations and foreign entities. The law prohibits Egyptian government agencies from entering into agreements with NGOs without the approval of the National Organisation for the Regulation of the Work of Foreign NGOs.

Egypt Tourism and Environment Development Association and its role in Development in Tourism

The first Egyptian association to develop tourist communities to create generations of incubators for tourism, the Egypt Tourism and Environment Development Association is also the first Egyptian institution to implement the principle of sustainability in tourism. The Association has major objectives to achieve them at the level of the tourism sector, because of its great importance to the national economy and contribution to raising the rate of development within the community. It was established in 2006 in order to 1) contribute to the promotion of tourism and environmental awareness and attention to training and human resources development 2) work to communicate with civil society organizations and institutions that work in marketing the Egyptian tourist industry through the establishment of festivals, and 3) provide training courses and research work to improve the level of performance and raise the quality of the Egyptian tourism product and create a community dialogue[34].

Since its establishment, the Association has been monitoring and following up the management of environmental projects that may serve Egypt as a country with developmental ambitions in the field of the environment, which could bring it to the forefront of the world in this area, especially as the Egyptian environment is in need of research and development projects in order to achieve the development goals for contributing the creation of new projects for a better environment and tangible progress. The Association works to establish 'the principle of production and

progress' in two main areas, tourism and the environment; both are generating huge profits, create new projects and contribute to the employment of millions of young people[35].

The Association launched a 'Social Networking Project with the Bedouin of Nuweiba (South Sinai)' – the first stage started in Jan 2013 and ended in April 2014 - this is considered the first sustainable tourism project in Egypt. The project is under the supervision of the Ministry of Tourism and the Governorate of South Sinai and the Egyptian Tourist Revitalization Authority in partnership with the Ministries of Culture, Environment, Social Solidarity, Education and Health, Chambers of Tourism, hotel companies, and the Egyptian Union of tourist chambers. The project aims to narrow the convergence of views between state institutions and Bedouin society, highlight the importance of the tourism creation to the national economy, spread awareness among the people of South Sinai, face behaviours that may negatively affect tourism, develop the communication skills of the Bedouin citizen, and encourage communication between Bedouin culture and other cultures[36].

A cooperation protocol was signed between the association and the Egyptian Tourist Revitalization Authority in January 2015 to implement the second phase of the project in January 2015. The vision of the implementation of the second phase (January 2015 to December 2015) is the following:[37]

1. Workshops with Bedouins to promote tourism, cultural, environmental and health awareness.
2. Tourism seminars and human development within youth centres.
3. Practical courses in hotels (training Bedouin youth to work hotel).
4. Field visits to Bedouin communities in Nuweiba and valleys.
5. Bedouin dinner to communicate with the people of Nuweiba.
6. Training Bedouins on handcraft works to raise the quality of the production and to establish workshops (Nuweiba - Tarabin - Almzina) and marketing the Bedouin products.
7. Trips for young Bedouins to Cairo and other provinces inside Egypt.
8. Support young people and gifted children in sports and art.
9. Cleaning campaigns and planting trees.
10. Medical convoys.

11. Agricultural development of Nuweiba and interest in planting medicinal plants.

The third phase began in January 2016; the objectives of the third phase are creating productive entities within the Bedouin community and highlighting the institutions of the tourist, environmental and cultural sectors, in addition to creating a new tourist product, and developing the communication and educational skills of the Bedouin, encouraging its interaction with other cultures and societies, and providing them with services in various fields.

In 2017, the Association held seminars and workshops in Wadi Magra for tourism and environmental awareness for children and adults in order to create generations of incubators for tourism and preserve the beauty of nature and rationalize the consumption of energy and natural resources.

The Association also held a series of seminars and workshops at the Nuweiba Culture Palace for Bedouins and schoolchildren for tourism and environmental awareness and organized a cultural competition aimed at promoting national belonging and encouraging young people to excel and succeed in practical life after studying to serve Egypt.[38]

Conclusion

There are many challenges in Egypt such as a lack of policies in the tourism sector in general, and a development mechanism besides the Ministry of Tourism in particular. We can conclude that there is a weakness in public policy performance in adopting policies supportive of NGOs with the government, and this is clear through the Egyptian law regarding the NGOs, which impede their works and progress.

The NGOs play a vital role in society by focusing resources and providing services to community needs without regard to profit. They do not distribute profits or dividends. Instead, they retain any earnings or surplus revenues to achieve its goals. NGOs aid in the development and upkeep of the economic and society aspect of the tourism sector. In general, NGOs have strong connections to their local communities and through these ties and communications, non-profits are able to accomplish local development and outreach in the field of tourism.

If we compare Egyptian and Bulgarian NGOs, there is a significant lack of the Egyptian NGOs numbers which operate in the field of tourism, and this is due to the numerous restrictive laws regarding these organisations. By contrast, there are many NGOs in Bulgaria, and this

is due to the existence of fixable laws and regulations which support tourism and other fields.

For instance, the new Egyptian law No. 70 of 2017 regulates the work of NGOs and other institutions which are in the field of civil work. All associations are prohibited from engaging in activities that 'harm the national security of the country, public order, morals or public health'. From the provision these are vague and loose terms that could be misused in restricting legitimate activities such as tourism.

In Bulgaria, these organizations with the Ministry of Tourism are playing a role in development and promotion through many plans implemented in the tourism sector, and the Egyptian government has to do the same. The Bulgarian experience should be used in this area, although Bulgaria is a small country and has a small population compared to Egypt.

The Egyptian Tourism and Environment Development Association has focused on communication with the Bedouin (South Sinai) in its project and did not work on international marketing for tourism industry and focused on internal issues, and this is clear in its policy as well as its objectives, but it needs to concentrate on how to make a real marketing effort to attract tourists whether inside or outside Egypt.

Finally, Egypt, a large country and a significant tourist destination, cannot rely on the government alone to tourism back again but must give permission to those organisations to work together for this.

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Small States in Great Power Politics

Understanding the "Buffer Effect"

Ksenia Efremova

This paper deals with the concept of "small states" as opposed to "great powers". Both concepts are considered to be ideal types with peculiar behaviour characteristics. It is argued that in certain circumstances (i.e. within a "buffer system") small states may affect the behaviour of great powers in a way that mitigates the latter's rivalry. It appears that a buffer state jammed between two rivals is not a pawn but a pivot in great power games, which may choose from a range of strategies (balancing, bandwagoning, leaning to a third power, staying neutral, or hedging risks) to sustain its survival as an independent unit. By applying the game theory approach to analyse great power relationships, the paper demonstrates how a "win-lose" game transforms into a "win-win" game, and what is the role of small buffer states in this transformation. Touching upon the problem of unequal powers' interactions, this piece of research contributes to the extant literature on asymmetry in international relations mainly in a theoretical way, drawing attention to a virtually forgotten sphere of international relations — buffer systems — mostly overlooked by the current IR discourse.

Keywords: small states, great powers, buffer system, power asymmetry, interstate relations.

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Unequal power distribution among sovereign states that determines their difference in power projection capabilities is a fundamental feature of international relations. There is a widespread assumption that the global international system and its regional subsystems are formed primarily by interactions among greater states, which pursue their national interests, while smaller states have to accept the resulting balance of power and imposed rules of the game. Yet the reality is counter-intuitive: power asymmetry does not necessarily lead to absolute subjection of the weaker side to the stronger one. As Womack explains,

> Asymmetric relationships are by definition unequal, but they are far from constituting a simple pecking order of domination.
>
> An asymmetric relationship is one in which the smaller side is significantly more exposed to interactions than the larger side because of the disparity of capabilities, and yet the larger is not able to dictate unilaterally the terms of the relationship. [1]

For the last fifty years the IR theory was enriched by plenty of scholarship, which demonstrated the ability of smaller states to resist great powers pressure. While being inspired by classic works on small states,[2] this article aims to integrate their findings with some recent research on power asymmetry.[3] It discusses specific conditions, under which smaller states may influence the politics of greater powers. This article contributes to abundant literature on this topic in two ways: first, by conducting of a broad survey on (predominantly Western) small state theorising; and second, by applying the "prisoner's dilemma" model to the study of small buffer states behaviour. The game theory approach provides a useful tool for better understanding of asymmetric interactions (in particular, it explains the shift from "win-lose" to "win-win" game strategies of the great powers), thus adding more value to this work.

The article addresses several research questions: What is a small state? How is it fitted into the buffer system? What opportunities the latter provides for a small state to get "oversized", i.e. to exert some influence on greater powers, which otherwise it could not exert? The narrative proceeds as follows: first, the notions of "small states" and "great powers" are clarified; second, their interactions within the "buffer system" and the "buffer complex" are analysed. In conclusion, some practical implementations and theoretical implications of the analytic model presented here are discussed.

Small states and great powers

The phenomenon of national power stands at the core of academic discourse in International Relations and some adjacent disciplines (e.g. Geopolitics, International Security). However, there is hardly any consensus on terminology of unequal powers, which is "imprecise and subject to judgements."[4] In dozen of works analysed in this article, mighty states were (sometimes interchangeably) denoted as: "*powers*", "*major powers*", "*great powers*", "*big powers*", "*strong powers*", "*powerful states*", "*large states*". Less mighty states were defined as: "*minor powers*", "*small powers*", "*small nations*", "*small countries*", "*small states*", "*weak states*", "*weak powers*" and suchlike. As Long rightfully indicates, all these definitions are conventional by their nature, since the notion of national power is conventional too.[5]

Starting from two different perspectives on national power, Mosser distinguishes between two types of definitions: absolute and relative. Absolute definitions consider national power a nation's essential attribute. Power-as-attribute is a quantitative feature that may be summed up to certain numbers reflecting the nation's geographical, demographic, military, political, social, economic, cultural, and other characteristics.[6] Absolute definitions imply quantitative criteria (such as size of territory, population, or national income) to separate more and less mighty nations. The easiest way to do so is to draw a line where "small states" become big enough to qualify for a higher status: for instance, the Commonwealth adopted the criterion of population less than 1.5 million for a country to be considered a "small state".[7]

Though power-as-attribute approaches may have their logic, yet they seem to produce inappropriate analytical tools. As Baehr noted,

> Most authors who want to use the concept of "small states" for purposes of analysis struggle at length with the problem of definition. First of all, there is the problem of which criteria are to be adopted… Once the criteria are set out, the problem remains where to draw the line among "small" and "large", or possibly "small", "middle", and "very large". Often the preferred solution may be clear and unambiguous, but at the same time arbitrary and intellectually difficult to defend; more sophisticated definitions, on the other hand, are often more ambiguous and difficult to apply to concrete cases.[8]

Thus we see that the main obstacle to a wider use of absolute definitions is the absence of clear quantitative criteria, which mark the

transition of a state from the category of "objects" to "subjects" of international politics. As Bjøl fairly pointed out,

> It is undoubtedly possible to establish a sort of international stratification by quantitative criteria: GNP, area, population, armed forces, etc. It is, however, highly questionable how useful this is... Since international politics consists by definition of interactions within social systems, what is of analytical significance, are relationships between various components, which may be equals and which may be unequals. In the latter cases it may be reasonable to speak of small state [and great power] *roles*. [9]

The latter point clearly demonstrates the relative nature of national power. Contrary to the power-as-attribute approach, which implies that national power is a *constant* that can be measured separately for every nation, power-as-relation definitions consider national power a *variable*, which takes greater or lesser values depending on what nations are being compared to each other. Therefore, "small states" and "great powers" are not substantial entities per se, but labels given to nations, which reflect different international roles assigned to the latter according to their respective power levels.

There are three types of relative definitions. Definitions of the first type underline qualitative power differences between nations. Thus, Vandenbosch defines the "small state" as "a state which is unable to contend in war with the great powers on anything like equal terms." [10] The diplomatic weakness of "small states", their insignificant role in world politics make them "stakes" rather than "players" in great power games. They have to "take", rather than "make", rules and norms of global governance.[11] What is peculiar about "small states" is their inability to protect themselves against aggressors; they have to rely on other states or international organizations to sustain their sovereignty.[12] In other words, "the small states are consumers rather than producers of security."[13]

Similarly, Vital suggests that "a small state is more vulnerable to pressure, more likely to give way under stress, more limited in respect of the political options open to it, and subject to a tighter connection between domestic and external affairs [than a great power]." He draws the line between "small states" and "great powers" at a government's (in)ability "to induce other states—or governments—to follow lines of conduct or policy which they might otherwise not pursue."[14]

Another relational understanding of national power is presented by Rothstein. Acknowledging that "a definition of small powers based on tangible 'elements of power' is unsatisfactory," he offers a qualitative criterion of power distribution that emphasizes a state's (in)ability to survive on its own, without entering alliances with others. He calls "a mall power" "a state, which recognizes that it cannot obtain security primarily by use of its own capabilities and that it must rely fundamentally on the aid of other states, institutions, processes, or developments to do so."[15] Therefore, "small powers" and "great powers" do not just differ in size, but form two separate classes with different qualitative characteristics.

Developing Rothstein's arguments, Handel points out that the national power of small states bases mainly on external factors (such as international regimes or alliances), while great powers enjoy wide spectrum of internal sources of power (such as geographic location, natural resources, industrial development, human capital, organizational capabilities, etc.). As a rule, small states become vassals, satellites, or clients of greater powers; yet,

> Even if one agrees that the nature of the international system is primarily determined by the number of great powers and their interrelationships, weak states are by no means impotent, helpless victims of the system. On the contrary, they are quick to take advantage of the opportunities arising from the nature of any given international system. They learn to manipulate the competition between the great powers to their own ends, and in this way they exert a considerable influence, even if not a critical one, on the system itself. [16]

Buzan distinguishes between "weak states" and "weak powers". He argues that "[a] strong state defines itself from within and fills the gap between its neighbours," while "[a] very weak state may be defined more as a gap between its neighbours." Small powers, in their turn, are "weak" in comparison to surrounding nations. Their weakness "is relative to the capabilities commanded by other states... and frequently stems from the fact that they are relatively small and/or poorly organised."[17] Here we see a more elaborated relative approach, where differences in power projection capabilities are explained through qualitative characteristics of the states.

Definitions of the second type base on differences in threat perception and foreign policy behaviour of more and less mighty powers. Thus,

Baker Fox denoted "[s]uccess or failure in securing its own demands or resisting the demands of other states" as the key criterion for separating "great powers" and "small powers". She suggests that "small powers" are "local" by their nature, because their "demands are restricted to their own and immediately adjacent areas," while "great powers" "exert their influence over wider areas."[18] Similarly, Bjøl points out that power disparity between "small states" and "great powers" results in difference of their foreign policy behaviour: the former's national interests are narrow, sometimes bilateral; the latter have much broader international agenda, which is defined primarily by considerations of prestige. But the most important factor in distinguishing between unequal powers is their approach to national security. Political elites of "great powers" understand national security primarily as capacity for power projection far abroad, while the leadership of "small states" consider national security as capability to effectively resist external interference.[19]

Raeymaeker states that "small countries lack both the capacity and the political will to act offensively and to exert a decisive influence on other nations... The foreign policy of small states therefore aims at withstanding pressure from the great powers." However, contrary to many scholars who explains the specific perception of security by "small states" in terms of absolute criteria (small territory, little population, underdeveloped economy, etc.), Raeymaeker insisted that

> There is no definite and well-defined hierarchy of states. Small states may in certain circumstances behave as if they were great and vice versa. Whether a state can be considered small, great, or medium, depends on the level of analysis. Thus, a state great or medium on the regional level can be small on the global level...[20]

Analysing the relationship between "powerful states" and "weak states", Singer notes the relational and contextual nature of national power. He explains that states *A* and *B* are to be considered "great powers" compared to the "small state" *C*, if *A* and *B* are able to exert their influence on *C*, notwithstanding that 1) *C* may have enough power to resist their influence; 2) *C* may have enough power to exert some influence on *A* or *B*; 3) *A* may have enough power to exert its influence on *B* as well as on *C*; 4) *B* may have not enough power to exert its influence on *A*. According to Singer, the difference between weak and strong powers is manifested in their specific international roles: more powerful states tend to behave like mentors for less powerful ones.[21]

Bogaturov observed other peculiarities of foreign policy behaviour intrinsic to more and less mighty states—in his wording, "leaders" and "outsiders" of international system. A typical "leader" prefers unilateral actions, initiative diplomacy, offensive behaviour; it seeks to exert greater influence on international processes, forcing the international society to accept its dominant role. Other states, the "outsiders", lack foreign policy ambitions. Contrary to the "leaders", they demonstrate passive, defensive behaviour. The "outsiders" may acquire some political weight only in coalitions.[22] In other words, the difference in their international behaviour is determined by the premise of whether a country has to "take" or can "make" rules and norms of global governance.[23]

Relative definitions of the third type focus on systemic roles of smaller and greater states. Thus, Modelski, speaking in terms of national interests, distinguishes between "great powers" and "small powers" on the systemic level: "great powers tend to have world-wide and small powers only subsystem-centred interests". He notes that the "great powers" impact on international politics is the key to understand dynamics of regional subsystems, which are formed by interactions among "small powers". "Small powers", in their turn, share peculiar characteristics of foreign policy behaviour that allows treating them as a separate class of states opposed to "great powers". [24] For Modelski, this distinction is fundamental for understanding intrinsic laws of international system's functioning and development.

A similar approach is advocated by Young, who distinguishes between two groups of international actors (primarily, nation-states) according to their importance for global international system and their regional subsystems: "global" or "universal" actors are able to exert influence on a global level, while "regional actors" are confined by their respective regional subsystems. [25]

Another analytic prism is offered by Domínguez, who classified unequal powers from a neo-Marxist perspective. According to Domínguez, "major powers" (the core of world-system) are characterised by their ability to lay impact on other states at the global level; "second-order powers" are important because "major powers" have to consider their reaction while implementing their foreign policies; and "peripheral countries" have only marginal importance to "major powers", since they are unable to exert influence beyond their respective subsystems. [26]

The most detailed classification of states depending on their role in the international system is elaborated by Keohane, who distinguishes four types of them, namely: "system-determining states", "system-influential states", "system-affecting states", and "system-ineffectual states". "System-determining states" (empires and superpowers) play the major role in the formation of global international system. "System-influential states" cannot dominate the international system, but have the capacity to influence its configuration both unilaterally and multilaterally. "System-affecting states" cannot affect international system acting alone, but can exert significant impact on it by working in groups or international organizations. And finally, "system-ineffectual states" are so weak as to become insignificant for the international system; they have to conduct foreign policy that is "adjustment to reality, not rearrangement of it." These four types correspond to "great", "secondary", "middle", and "small powers", respectively. [27]

To conclude this short review of absolute and relative definitions to unequal powers, let's underline some common features, which are noted by the majority of scholars. First and foremost, as Väyrynen fairly emphasizes,

> Small states are not just large states writ small: their objectives, means, and systemic functions are qualitatively different. [28]

Second, we have to keep in mind that the antinomy of "more powerful" and "less powerful" states is relative rather than absolute: the notion of "small power" implies comparison to a greater power, and vice versa. As Panke puts it,

> Size is inherently a relational concept. Big or small only takes on meaning if it characterizes one actor or object *relative* to another in a particular context. [29]

And third, the opposition between "great" and "small" is a systemic feature: since a state may fell into the category of "great" at the regional level, but "small" on the global level, power (dis)parities should be considered only within a certain subsystem of asymmetrical relations. As Long suggests,

> IR scholars should stop defining and re-defining the concept of 'small state' and set it aside as an analytical category. What matters is not 'size,' however defined, but the relationships between states. Instead of talking about small and large states, it would be more effective to think in terms of asymmetry. [30]

Now let's proceed to the analysis of the "buffer system" and "buffer complex" to see how "small powers" may employ systemic asymmetry in relationship to exert influence upon "great powers".

Buffer systems and buffer complexes

A "buffer system" is formed by interaction between adjacent "great powers" roughly equal in their power projection capabilities, and a "small" buffer state. Basic parameters of the buffer system are defined by three factors: geographic proximity, balance of power, and foreign policy orientation of corresponding states. A buffer system exists, if

1. The buffer state is situated between the great powers;
2. There is roughly equal power distribution among the great powers, and, simultaneously, a substantial power disparity between them and the buffer state;
3. There is a rivalry between the great powers over the buffer state, which tries to resist their pressure and retain sovereignty.

A convenient geographic location of the buffer state induces rival powers' aspirations to set control over its territory. From a military point of view, the buffer area constitutes a steady foothold for invasion: placing military bases across the border and conducting military operations from the buffer's territory reduce the risk of human casualties and devastation on the part of the aggressor. In that sense, a buffer state, though unable to infringe anyone's security, may produce grave security threats to the adjacent powers. Moreover, the buffer state may attract rival powers due to strategic oil and gas logistics, abundant natural resources, free space for demographic, economical, and ideological expansion, etc.[31] Here the interests of adjacent powers may collide, but also may correspond to each other, making necessary prerequisites for their mutually profitable collaboration. At last but not the least, the "buffer state" may take on the role of "bridge" between two or more centres of influence, acting as a mediator in great power conflicts and stimulating multilateral cooperation in the spheres of security and international trade.[32]

One of the key features of the "buffer system" is power asymmetry between its elements. According to Partem, within the "buffer system" the rival powers take on the roles of "large states", while the buffer behaves as a "small state", i.e. in a bilateral conflict any of the "large states" may conquer the "small state", while the latter has no chances to win unless supported by an outside power.[33] If this fixed pow-

er distribution changes to the favour of the "buffer state", the "buffer system" will transform into the classical multipolar system, where the former "buffer state" becomes one of the poles. Contrary to that, if the "buffer state" is too weak to justify great powers' lust for annexation, it will provoke aggression and be destroyed.[34] To guarantee the buffer system's stability, the "buffer state" must have a certain margin of safety, which allows withstanding the pressure from the adjacent "great powers". At the same time, rigid logic of the "buffer system" requires that any "great power" must not acquire essential dominance over the other one. Breaking up of the strategic power parity leads to dissolution of the "buffer system"; and otherwise, a prolonged existence of the "buffer system" testifies that the power balance is still functioning.

Generally, a buffer state is not strong enough to influence the result of great power competition; however, it possesses strategic value that greater powers have to take into account while planning their policies toward one another. Obviously, the existence of an independent and neutral "buffer state" meets the needs of greater powers, which want to be assured that the buffer's territory would not be used to launch an aggression against any of them. It may be argued that from a great power's perspective, to dominate (or to annex) the buffer state is a more reliable (and less risky) way to guarantee geostrategic advantage over the rival power. However, a great power's efforts to extend its influence over the buffer state usually evoke immediate response from the other party, who considers such actions a direct threat to its national security. This is how buffer states survive amidst great powers. But, if this systemic mechanism of deterrence malfunctions or fails, the buffer state may lose its independence or even its sovereignty to a stronger nation.[35]

To protect itself from great power rivalries, the buffer state may become neutralised, i.e. declare its neutrality either unilaterally (by domestic laws), or multilaterally (by international treaties). It may voluntary commit itself not to interfere in great power conflicts or not to host foreign military forces on its territory, though, to be effective, the neutrality of the buffer state must be recognized by other countries.[36] Here comes the dilemma of survival: in order to retain sovereignty, the buffer state must abide by the policy of neutralism and equidistance; on the other hand, as a "small state", which is unable to protect itself, it tends to lean towards a stronger power. This incline may take the form of a military alliance or less formal patron-client relations, and may

vary from symbiosis to exploitation. Anyway, the patron state acquires some kind of control over the foreign (and sometimes domestic) policy of its client, thus infringing its sovereignty.[37] Moreover, the buffer state's tight relationships with one of the rival powers may provoke the other one's unfriendly response, up to a military invasion. Therefore, the buffer state has to balance the interests of adjacent great powers, maneuvering between Scylla of isolation and Charybdis of dependence.

It is a widespread assumption that the foreign policies of rival powers determine the configuration of the "buffer system", while the "buffer state" is unable neither to change these policies nor to resist them. The powers take the majority of key political decisions, sanctioning neutrality or initiating division of the buffer state. However, it must be noted that the buffer state is capable of making some corrections to great power politics within the buffer system. A game theory model of the "buffer system" clearly demonstrates that the buffer state plays a pivotal role in great powers' interactions.

Let's assume that the main objective of both rival powers is constant expansion, until establishing full control over the buffer's territory. It is obvious that geopolitical interests of the powers will collide. Suppose next that each power has to choose between two diplomatic strategies: cooperation (readiness to compromise, giving up one's claims on the buffer territory) and confrontation (readiness for conflict, claiming the buffer territory). Both powers try to predict the opponent's reaction while planning their policies towards the buffer state. Depending on concrete circumstances, each power faces one of four alternatives, more (+) or less (–) acceptable to it:

1. to extend one's control over the whole buffer territory (+1),
2. to prevent establishing the rival power's control over any part of the buffer area by giving up one's own claims (+½);
3. to guarantee one's control over a part of the buffer area, allowing the rival power's control over the other part (–½);
4. to lose the opportunity for controlling the buffer area, giving it up to the rival power (–1).

Obviously, every great power tries to maximize its own gains by minimizing the gains of its rival, yet it has to take into account similar aspirations of the other party. This game is known in the game theory as "the prisoner's dilemma".[38] Here every player can minimise his/her losses by acting egoistically, but he/she may receive a small (but not

maximal) gain if cooperating with the other player. However, if one chooses to cooperate, and the other does not, the former loses everything and the latter hits the jackpot. Therefore, the payoff matrix for this game is as follows:

		State B	
State A	**strategy**	cooperation	confrontation
	cooperation	(+½ ; +½)	(−1 ; +1)
	confrontation	(+1 ; −1)	(−½ ; −½)

The payoff matrix demonstrates that, depending on great powers' strategies, there are three variants of bilateral interaction:

1. **Mutual cooperation**. This is the optimal variant, when either party cannot guarantee further gains while not worsening the position of its opponent. It can be achieved only when the parties trust one another.
2. **Mutual deterrence**. This is the "minimax" variant, when neither party can achieve better gains if the opponent's strategy does not change. "Minimax" is reached when both parties do not trust each other and try to minimise their maximum losses, if the opponent resorted to unilateral actions.
3. **Unilateral actions**. The variant when one party gains full advantage over the other one, who had not expected the opponent to defect.

The paradox of this game is in its output. The better outcome for both players (+½ ; +½) is unstable, for there is always the temptation for one player to achieve his/her very best outcome (+1) by refusing to cooperate. But, if both parties opt not to trust each other, they will both lose (−½ ; −½), though they receive less harm than in the case when one party is betrayed by the other (−1). The dilemma lies in the fact that "when both parties play it safe by choosing their dominant strategies of non-cooperation, they end up worse off than had they trusted each other."[39]

Taking into account the list of the game's outcomes mentioned above, it is easy to predict that both powers will try to establish their control over the buffer state (the "mutual deterrence" variant). Yet, this interaction output is disadvantageous for both parties, because if the buffer state is eliminated they have to share a common boundary

that decreases their respective security levels. The optimum here, undoubtedly, is the "mutual cooperation" variant, when both parties are assured that the buffer's territory will not be used as a foothold for invasion by the opponent. But if one party agrees to neutralize the buffer state, and the other one breaks the agreement, then the latter will gain decisive advantage over the former (the "unilateral actions" variant). Therefore, trying to get more benefits, the power that agreed to cooperate will lose everything to its uncooperative rival. Considering that control over the buffer is a strategic priority for both powers, each one prefers to share the buffer territory with the other rather than to neutralize it hoping for the other's conscientiousness. Ultimately, when mutual mistrust overcomes bona fide, the rival powers will invade the buffer area and put an end to the very existence of the buffer state.

However, there is the third party in this game, i.e. the buffer state itself, which ultimate interest lies in sustaining its own sovereignty and territorial integrity. Due to its pivotal geopolitical location, which functions as an additional power resource, [40] the buffer state plays an essential role in the strategic triangle. It is the buffer state, who can guarantee its neutrality and equidistance, stimulating mutual cooperation between adjacent powers. Besides, it can somehow resist the great powers' pressure, thus multiplying costs of its possible annexation. Within the buffer system, the buffer state conducts mediator's policies, mitigating the great power rivalry and preventing open collision of their interests. Simultaneously, being aware of its own vulnerability, the buffer state seeks external support, which it can rely upon if great power conflicts escalate.

To protect itself from great power's pressure, the buffer state resorts to a combination of strategies, which Partem identifies as "neutralism", "bandwagoning", and "relying on support of third states". [41] According to Karsh, the neutralist strategy implies a course on sustaining neutrality and equidistance that combines "positive" and "negative" elements. Positive neutralism comprises a series of measures aimed at alleviating fears of the possible damage that may be caused to adjacent powers by the buffer state's neutrality, on the one hand, and steps intended to enhance their interest in the continued preservation of neutrality in question, on the other. Negative neutralism, in its turn, may be subdivided into two elements: the defensive strategy, which implies an attempt to deter the great powers from violating the buffer's neutrality by maximizing its internal strength, and the offensive strategy, which

means the waging of an active and initiative diplomacy aimed at safeguarding neutrality through the exploitation of the great powers' weak points. [42]

The bandwagoning strategy constitutes the policy of making alliances with one of the adjacent powers (the strongest one, as a rule) in hope for patronage. Thus patron-client relations are formed and maintained by the weaker party in order to obtain protection. [43] This policy is justified, when the other power conducts a provocative or unfriendly policy toward the buffer, but in the long run it may lead to a conflict escalation and even war between the two great powers. In this case, the buffer state has nothing to do but to rely upon third states, be it an extra-regional great power or a regional coalition of lesser states. [44] The latter case is preferable, because it allows escaping from dependence on a mighty ally.

Any of these strategies, when applied exclusively and consistently, may eventually become disadvantageous, infringing sovereignty or threatening the very existence of the buffer state. Therefore, when it comes to their practical realisation, the buffer state usually employs the tactics of mixing them to reduce inevitable risks associated with a wrong choice. This option is known as "strategic hedging". As Kuik explains,

> Hedging is... an insurance-seeking behavior under high-stakes and high-uncertainty situations, where a sovereign actor pursues a bundle of opposite and deliberately ambiguous policies vis-à-vis competing powers to prepare a fallback position should circumstances change. The aim of these contradictory acts is to acquire as many returns from different powers as possible when relations are positive, while simultaneously seeking to offset longer-term risks that might arise in worst-case scenarios.[45]

In other words, this tactics exemplifies behaviour which is "simultaneously less confrontational than traditional balancing, less cooperative than bandwagoning, and more proactive than buck-passing". [46] Strategic hedging allows for continuous and delicate fine-tuning of the buffer state's relations to the adjacent great powers, ranging from acceptance to rejection of their domination, or retaining neutrality (depending on certain circumstances).

The analytical model of asymmetrical interaction within the buffer system discussed above clearly shows that the role of "small states"

in great power politics, though not decisive, should not be ignored. Given a pivotal geopolitical location, a small state may sometimes essentially correct relationships between adjacent great powers in a way that meets its own needs. Surely, the foreign policy of the buffer state cannot be considered an independent variable, because its resulting strategy is reactive to those of the great powers, and its sovereignty is subject to their amities and enmities. The only chance for the buffer state to survive lies in skilful balancing between its giant neighbours and strategic hedging of anticipated risks, for any awkward move may lead to loss of its independence. Therefore the buffer state has nothing to do but to push the great powers toward adopting the strategy of mutual cooperation.

The same situation is found on the regional level, where a group of "small states", which share common anxieties over certain issues of regional security, can be treated as a collective actor due to striking similarities in their foreign policy behaviour vis-à-vis surrounding great powers. This system of relations is known as the "buffer complex", which is characterized by the so-called "buffer effect". According to Knudsen,

> The buffer effect may be defined as the degree of "resistance" of a buffer area to outside encroachments, superficially observable as the persistence over time of the small states of the buffer system as independent political units... A central point of a strong buffer effect is that neither great power attacks or encroaches on the state in between, because they deter each other. [47]

The buffer effect is strongest at the centre of the buffer complex, blurring at the periphery, where the small states get under the influence or partial control of the opposing great powers. The model of "buffer complex" implies that the influence and control exercised by the great powers decline gradually as the distance from their own borders increases. It means that the buffer effect may "spill over" from the core of the buffer area to the surrounding small states. The stability of a buffer complex "hinges on the success of each small member in resisting unilateral great power pressures." Thus,

> In confronting the surrounding great powers, the small states of the [buffer] complex derive added protective strength from the aggregated effects of mutual relations among themselves. To the extent that they are actively cooperating with each other, and are strongly committed to preserving their inde-

pendence, their protection from great-power control may be enhanced.[48]

Nevertheless, some kind of great power control over the peripheral buffer states is inevitable, since the latter are exposed to direct influence (and pressure) of the adjacent great power, which are less balanced than in the classical trilateral buffer system. However, these states "tend to prioritise their mutual peaceful relations over and above their individual bilateral relations with their respective great powers," thus strengthening the "regional solidarity", because if a buffer state places its patron's interests over the collective interest of lesser powers, the "buffer effect" will shrink that may ultimately lead to elimination of the buffer area and its division among great powers.[49]

The concept of the "buffer complex" has much in common with the "spatial" model developed by Bogaturov. As has been already mentioned above, he distinguishes between the "leaders", which set the rules of the game, and "outsiders", which form the so-called "regional space" whose function is to sanction the leaders' actions. In a highly integrated regional space small states play the role of mediators, acting as a feedback channel between the rival great powers. By supporting or condemning political moves of the leaders, the "space" countries regulate their foreign policy behaviour.[50]

It is worth noting that both the "spatial" model by Bogaturov and the "buffer complex" model by Knudsen underline the pivotal role of the small states, which consolidate their efforts to find the right balance between the rival great powers. From the small states' point of view, great powers' involvement into regional affairs results in projection of their rivalries onto the regional ground, rise of intra-regional confrontation and, ultimately, formation of antagonistic military-political alliances. To neutralise negative impact of great power rivalries, the small states coordinate their efforts aimed at balancing the former's interests. Coordinated policies are worked out at intergovernmental consultations, conferences, and summits, as well as at informal meetings. They are of grave importance to the buffer complex's survival, because "the greater the amount of small-power conflict, the weaker their position in the overall buffer system, and the weaker the buffer effect of the complex itself." To promote regional solidarity, small states have to engage the "renegade" countries, which prefer closer relationships with their respective great power, because their egoistic policies may "trigger demands for compensation on the other great-power side".[51]

These theoretical arguments can be illustrated by contemporary security dynamics in Southeast Asia, where ASEAN (which may be conceptualised as a "buffer area" between three major powers — China, India, and Australia) adopted the policy of "national and regional resilience" to protect itself against any encroachments on its members' sovereignty and territorial integrity. "National resilience" implies that every Southeast Asian country should be strong enough to rebuff potential invasion by military and diplomatic means, while "regional resilience" assumes that all of them together would formulate a common position on regional security issues and support each other vis-à-vis surrounding greater powers (thus enhancing the "buffer effect"). To secure its survival, ASEAN developed a concept of its own "centrality", taking on the role of catalyst for regional economic integration and mediator of great power rivalries. This role was eventually accepted by its greater partners, which benefited from ASEAN-driven peace and stability in the region. Thus, ASEAN established diplomatic mechanisms to promote the great powers' dialogue, contributing to their mutual cooperation.

On the state-to-state level, ASEAN countries employ a variety of strategies to deal with regional and extra-regional powers, which follow the logic of "hedging". Kuik identifies five of them, namely: 1) indirect balancing, aimed "to minimize security risks by forging military alignment and increasing armament, but without directly targeting any power, at least not explicitly"; 2) dominance denial, aimed "to minimize political risks of subservience by cultivating balance of political power in the region"; 3) economic pragmatism, aimed "to minimize economic risks of dependence by diversifying economic links and to maximize economic benefits by pragmatically forging direct commercial links"; 4) binding engagement, aimed "to maximize diplomatic benefits by engaging and binding a big power bilaterally and multilaterally"; and 5) limited bandwagoning, aimed "to maximize political benefits by selectively giving deference and/or selectively forging foreign policy collaboration." This bundle of strategies, situated between pure balancing and pure bandwagoning, helps to reduce risks such as "the danger of betting-on-the-wrong-horse, the hazard of entrapment, the peril of abandonment, the burden of alienation and the liability of corresponding domestic costs." [52]

To sum up, a buffer system (buffer complex) is a kind of asymmetrical relationship, where a small state (or a group of small states) is

exposed to pressure of two (or more) greater powers. Despite power disparities, the weaker side of the inequality is able to exert some influence onto the stronger sides, given their desire to win strategic competition over the buffer. The latter may push the rival powers toward cooperation by guarantying that no one of them will ever control its territory, thus transforming a "win-lose" game to a "win-win" game. However, the buffer's foreign policy is reactive by its nature and depends on politics conducted by the greater powers. To survive within the buffer system, it has to choose from a limited set of strategies ("neutralism", "bandwagoning", and "relying on support of third states") or their mixture ("strategic hedging"). In most cases, the small state's behaviour choice is informed (not to say determined) by that of the rival powers, be it "mutual cooperation", "mutual deterrence", or "unilateral actions".

Conclusion

This article provides an analytical framework for the study of "buffer systems", which constitute a specific pattern of interstate relations between major and minor powers. The findings of this article can be summarised as follows: "small states" and "great powers" are not ontological phenomena, but international roles, which states take on according to their respective power equations. In general, the "great powers" form and transform the international system, while "small states" support and sustain the resulting international order. Nevertheless, although the interaction between "small states" and "great powers" is asymmetrical by its nature, it does not exclude the possibility of reverse influence by the former on the latter. A game theory analysis has shown that in certain cases a buffer state can affect foreign policies of the adjacent great powers. The paradox of the buffer state lies in the fact that its foreign policy, being reactive to those of the great powers, is crucial for survival of the buffer system as a whole.

It has been found that the foreign policy of a "buffer state" and countries of the "buffer area" (taken as ideal types) follow the same patterns, namely:

a. To neutralise one's territory, resisting great power rivalries;
b. To sustain friendly and equidistant relations with all the great powers concerned;
c. In a conflict between great powers, to ally with the potential winner;

d. Facing aggression by a great power, to ally with its opponent;
e. In order to protect oneself from great power pressure, to unite with other small powers;
f. To solve bilateral issues between oneself and great powers within multilateral institutions dominated by small states.

Small states within the buffer system may exert their influence on greater powers by well-known means, such as making concessions in order to get diplomatic and military protection, threatening to "lean away" in hope to obtain economic preferences, or defining international forums' agenda to secure their political interests. What these diverse strategies have in common, is that they are initiated by the weaker side of the asymmetric relationship and aimed to affect the stronger sides' behaviour. Thus, an abiding patron-client relationship may be mutually beneficial, notwithstanding that the lesser power loses some of its sovereignty to the greater one, if the former comes under pressure of its patron's opponent. And, vice versa, the smaller nation may look for neutrality and equidistance if it feels that its giant neighbours are willing to maintain its independence, or may adopt strategic hedging when their intentions are unclear.

By touching upon the problem of unequal powers' interactions, this article contributes to the extant literature on asymmetry in international relations mainly in a theoretical way, drawing attention to a virtually forgotten sphere of international relations — buffer systems — mostly overlooked by the current IR discourse. It helps to explain the dynamics of contemporary buffer systems, e.g. the one which is found in Southeast Asia, where the ASEAN countries form a "buffer area" between their giant neighbours — China, India, and Australia. By trying to balance the major powers' interests, the buffer states mitigate their rivalries, thus enhancing the regional peace and stability. However, this research leaves some important questions unanswered: To what extent is the buffer model relevant to different parts of the world? Are the unique experiences of buffer states comparable to each other? These questions make the base for further study.

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Post-ISIS Iraq and the Shia Armed Groups

Kardo Rached, Ahmed Omar Bali

The political environment of Iraq in the period from 2011-2014 experienced a great degree of turbulence. Many Sunni tribes in the Anbar, Ramadi and Salahadin regions organized a daily protest against the central government, accusing it of being sectarian. Gradually, these protests become more popular, and the Baghdad government became fearful that it would spread into the other regions of Iraq. In order to control the protests, the government used force, and many were killed. Simultaneously, in Syria, and especially during 2013-2014, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) controlled more land and more people, and to take advantage of the Iraqi people's dissatisfaction with their government, ISIS crossed the border between Iraq and Syria in June 2014. Mosul as the second most heavily populated city was seized by ISIS and the Iraqi army could not fight back, which meant that the Iraqi army retreated from most of the Sunni areas. Even Baghdad, the capital of Iraq, and the city where the central government operates, was threatened. While the Iraqi army was unable to fight against ISIS, the Shia religious supreme leader Al-Sistani called for self-defence and to stand against ISIS. Sistani's call became a cornerstone for the creation of the so-called Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF) with the aim of the fighting against ISIS. In this article, we assess the PMF from different perspectives, for example, using the Weberian theory that the state is the only entity that has a monopoly on violence, considering Ariel Ahram's model of state-sponsored and government-sponsored militias, and finally the devolution of violence to these armed groups.

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Introduction

Kardo Rached Ahmed Omar Bali

The period in 2003 following the removal of Saddam Hussein and the Baath Party resulted in a power vacuum that was difficult to fill. During two months from March to May 2003, the role of the coalition forces in Iraq changed from fighting against the Baathist regime to being a service provider for the Iraqi population. In order to control the chaos that was widespread across Iraq, the US diplomat Paul Bremer was chosen by the White House to lead the US-led coalition. Bremer's role was to create a new Iraqi regime based on the American ideal[1]. The main idea of Bremer's plan was to reform a new Iraq under the concept of 'ethnic power sharing'. From this point on, Iraq has been divided into three main sects: Kurds, Sunnis, and Shias. The re-creation process of the new Iraqi political system has resulted in the reinforcement sectarianism found in Iraqi society since 2003[2].

The first step in this direction started with the so-called Iraqi governing council (Majlis Alhukem) replacing Saddam Hussein's government. Majles Hukem consisted of representatives from the main Iraqi ethnic groups, and the intention was to create a roadmap for a new constitution and the formation of a new government. Ironically, many members of the Majles Hukem had only returned to Iraq via the American and British forces and were unpopular among the majority of Iraqi society. Through the Majlis Hukem, Shia politicians could impose their conditions on the other ethnic/religious groups. In the beginning, they were able to achieve an agreement with the Kurds regarding the senior positions in the Iraqi government. For example, the Shias should be given the prime minister's position because they were the majority, but the Kurds could receive the president's position. The division of the highly important positions between the two groups left the Sunnis feeling excluded from the political process. Another exclusion policy that was used was that of de-Baathification and disbanding the Iraqi national army, which resulted in many thousands of Sunni citizens becoming jobless[3].

Therefore, the majority of the Sunnis chose to support the rebel groups against the coalition forces and the Iraqi government. The development of sectarianism in Iraqi society became the basis for the reconstruction of state institutions, and this was reflected in all state

apparatus. For example, the new Iraqi military and the intelligence agency were the under control of the Shias, and the country's foreign affairs were in the hands of the Kurds[4].

The turning point for Iraqi society was June 10, 2014, when ISIS took control of the second largest city in Iraq, Mosul. The Iraqi government thus lost the majority of its Sunni cities and population to ISIS. Moreover, the Iraqi military lost its willingness to fight in many Sunni areas because the population did not consider the Shia soldiers to be a national army. This new phase of political turbulence and the expansion of violence started when the Iraqi army lost its morale in the fight against the insurgent ISIS fighters. This resulted in calling for the organization of the Shia people into the so-called Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF) (in Arabic the Hashed Shabi) against ISIS.

Framework

In this article, the authors try to highlight the importance and the influence of the newly emerging Shiite armed groups on the political system in the Middle East and the role these armed religious will have both locally and regionally. We have chosen to focus on post-ISIS Iraq and the emerging non-state armed groups such as the Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF). In short, the aim will be:

1. To describe the nature of the composition of the militias, their structure and the extent of their impact on other institutions within the state.
2. To illustrate the transformations of the structure of the Iraqi military establishment after the entry of the militias into this institution.
3. To draw attention to the militias and to which role these armed groups will play in post-ISIS Iraq. Additionally, to consider how the Iraqi state will look in a post-ISIS era and how the post-ISIS Iraqi state can coexist with the PMF.

It may seem difficult to adopt a single approach to cover and analyse all dimensions of this phenomenon, i.e., the formation of units of the militias and their annexation to the military institution. Therefore, the article is based on several approaches presented by the analytical approach and the description, definition, and composition of militias and factors that led to their establishment. Moreover, in some respects, the article will rely on a historical approach, especially in the aspects and the emergence of militias. Furthermore, it will adopt a comparative ap-

proach when necessary, e.g. in a statement of similarities and differences in the structure of the militias such as the Lebanese Hezbollah and with the Iranian Basij. The article is based on the hypothesis that the formation of Shiite militias in Iraq and their inclusion in the military establishment will be a factor for stability, security and security. However, if they do not reintegrate into the Iraqi security apparatus, they are likely to lead to chaos and control of the military establishment by these groups.

The composition, arming, budgeting and annexation of militias to the military and within a legal framework through the Iraqi Parliament has resulted in a variety of violent reactions by Iraqi parties and sects, especially the Sunni community. The question is whether these groups will merge with the military establishment or remain an independent institution parallel to the military establishment. Alternatively, will it entail power over power?

The Militias and the Weak States

According to Richard Jackson, insecurity in a weak state is one of the reasons for the creation of militias. The majority of Middle East states were defined as weak, and the common characteristic among them is the insecurity challenge. Buzan claims that there are three elements central to the existence of a strong state[5]:

1. The idea of the state
2. Institutional capacity
3. A physical base

For Buzan, the idea of the state is essential to having a peaceful society, and he claims that society will reach a consensus regarding the state and identify with it. In the case of Iraq, it is difficult to find a broad and appropriate social consensus regarding the Iraqi state. For example, after the collapse of Saddam's regime, the majority of the Sunni boycotted the political process under the observation of the US. This led to resistance against both the Iraqi state and the US presence and finally led to the creation of Sunni insurgents[6].

A measurement and identification of the insecurity in weak states is that they are to a high degree more vulnerable to internal threats than to external threats. The Sunni insurgents and their disagreement with the Iraqi state exemplify the most difficult internal threat against the Iraqi state. Another perspective regarding the creation of the militias is from Max Weber. The Weberian theory assumes that the state is the only entity that has a monopoly of violence:

> Today, however, we have to say that a state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. Note that 'territory' is one of the characteristics of the state. Specifically, at the present time, the right to use physical force is ascribed to other institutions or to individuals only to the extent to which the state permits it. The state is considered the sole source of the 'right' to use violence[7].

When the Iraqi state's establishments were unable to protect its internal and external security, then the existence of the militia became a natural consequence: "...Weberian accounts of militias as constitutive of state failure"[8].

For example, consider Lebanon when it became classified as a failed state. Consequently, militias such as the Hezbollah act as a state and present themselves as an alternative to the state. In so doing, they addressed many issues such as providing jobs by investing their money in small industries and offering free health care for poor people. The real cause of the existence of militias in Middle Eastern societies is the states' weakness and lack of legitimacy.

The Shia revival in post-Saddam regime

After the collapse of the Iraqi regime in 2003, The U.S.-led coalition forces decided to recreate a new regime by so-called 'ethnic power-sharing':

> Most foreign policy makers currently seem to favour a power sharing arrangement for the future Iraq, such as the so-called consociational democracy[9].

This meant that the Kurds, the Sunnis, and the Shias should participate in ruling the country. The Iraqi governing council (IGC), which was established three months after the occupation of Baghdad, was based on this principle. The IGC consisted of 25 members, and its ethnic and religious breakdown included 13 Shias, five Sunnis, five Kurds (also Sunnis), one Turkman and an Assyrian[10]. On June 1, 2004, the IGC dissolved after the creation of the new Iraq interim government (IIG) as a caretaker government to govern Iraq until the drafting of the new constitution. The Iraqi transitional government replaced the IIG from May 3, 2005, until May 20, 2006, and it arranged an election to choose the national assembly on January 30, 2005. This assembly drafted a permanent constitution, which was then submitted for approval

by the Iraqi people in a general referendum. The new constitution was approved, and the Iraqi legislative authority was vested in two bodies: The Council of Representatives and The Council of Union. The post-Saddam period may be described as a rising of the Shia sect in Iraq and, at the same time, the exclusion of the Sunnis[11]. The turning point for the Shia revival began with Said Ali Al-Sistani's (the most influential and famous Shia cleric) call for the Shias' active participation in the first parliamentary election in 2005. The majority of the Shia political parties combined themselves into a bloc to participate in that election with the aim of winning as many seats as possible – which they succeeded in doing[12]. Even the majority of the Iraqi transnational government were Shias, and its prime minister was Ibrahim Jafari (a Shia politician), though this did not mean a return to stability for Iraq. This was because the majority of the Sunnis felt excluded and blamed for Saddam's brutal policy in Iraq, and this pushed the Sunnis to cooperate with terrorist groups such as Al-Qaida to fight against both the Americans in Iraq and the Iraqi government. Iraqi society under Jafari's cabinet faced a terrible period, and there was a high level of sectarian conflict. The instability in Iraq continued until an unknown Shia politician (Nouri Al-Maliki) came into power. In an article published in *Washington Post* in 2014, Ali Khedery, an American Special Assistant to the US Ambassador and a Senior Adviser in Iraq (2003-2009), explained the process of choosing of Al-Maliki for the role of a replacement for Jafari. According to Khedery, Al-Maliki was unknown to the former American Ambassador (Zalmay Khalilzad) and most Iraqi people, but Khalilzad, after recommendations from Khedery and Jeffrey Beals, a former American diplomat, succeeded in garnering support among Iraqi leaders for giving Al-Maliki the position of prime minister[13]. On May 20, 2006, Al-Maliki became prime minister for Iraq and stayed in power until 2014. In the next part of this article, I will highlight the sectarian policy that was used by Al-Maliki during his eight years as prime minister against the majority of Sunnis in cities such as Anbar, Salahadin, Tikrit, and Mosul.

Sectarian policy during the Al-Maliki government

Nouri Al-Maliki could, with support from the US, Kurds, Sistani, and Iran, return stability to the majority of Iraq. It was part of his political program to disarm Sunni and Shia militias in Baghdad, which he succeeded in doing.

> Al-Maliki said Iraqi society must be cleansed of terrorism, the government must be rid of 'administrative corruption' and factional militias must be disarmed. "We must also address the issue of government centrality and the centrality of the armed forces and that weapons must only be in the hands of the government and the people must be disarmed," he said.
>
> He said that "no militia in Iraq can share authority with the government's armed forces".[14]

During his first term (2006-2010), Prime Minister Al-Maliki centralized power into his own hands and succeeded in transforming Iraq to single-party rule, and the majority of Shias supported his policy against the Sunnis. Ultimately, this resulted in the ethnic cleansing of Sunnis, especially in Baghdad, for example:

> Baghdad went from some 45% Sunni in 2003 to only 25% Sunni by the end of 2007. Al-Maliki's sectarianism led to the transformation of Baghdad into a largely Shiite city[15].

The Shia monopoly corrupted the police, military, and court institutions. These institutions allowed only for candidates adhering to Shia principles and, especially during the Al-Maliki period, these candidates also had to be loyal to his party.

Consequently, Sunnis were excluded from these establishments. In Sunni-dominated cities such as Al-Anbar, Al-Salahadin, and Mosul, people considered the police and court institutions to be a tool in the hands of Shias to eliminate Sunnis. This was the main cause of the dramatic seizure of power of these cities by ISIS, and the Sunnis observed their chance to get rid of the Shia tyranny. At this point, Iraq entered a new phase in which large parts of Sunni cities were under ISIS control, and the police and army were powerless to fight back. One of the most important tasks of the nation-state from its beginning was to protect its internal and external security. The same idea exists in the new modern nation-state:

> The differentiation between internal and external security, and between police and military, has been a core principle of the modern nation-state[16].

Internal security is the responsibility of the police, but external security is a task for the military. This does not, however, mean that the state should only protect its external security using its military. Many countries today do not protect their external security with a national military; instead, they tend to outsource it. The idea of outsourcing national security has attracted democratic states such as the USA and the

UK. The US government has contracted with many private American military companies and security consulting firms, such as Blackwater, to provide security for their representatives in foreign countries[17]

Considering Iraq's internal and external security, it was difficult to see who was responsible for protecting the country's internal security due to the misuse of security institutions. Under the former Prime Minister Nouri Al-Maliki, both the police and army were controlled by his Shia party, and all top positions in the defense system were directly affiliated with Al-Maliki.

John Kerry's plan for Iraq

After the unexpected collapse of the Iraqi military system in 2014, Sistani issued a fatwa for the Shia population to defend their city against ISIS. This fatwa transformed Shia identity toward a feeling of greater commitment to their sect than to their nation and generated a renewed desire among them for revenge[18]. Simultaneously, the Iranian regime welcomed Sistani's fatwa, supplying the Iraqi government with intelligence and providing Hashed Shabi with training and new weapons. After the creation of Hashed Shabi, the Iraqi army's role changed from defending the country from any threat against its sovereignty to supporting and assisting the Shia militia. In contrast to Sistani's fatwa, and to get Sunnis involved in the war against ISIS, the US foreign minister John Kerry came up with a new idea, using a 'National Guard' as part of the US plan for fighting against ISIS in Iraq:

> ...On Wednesday, Mr. Kerry held a whirlwind series of meetings in Baghdad with Haider al-Abadi, the new Iraqi prime minister, and other top Iraqi officials. Afterward, Mr. Kerry told reporters that Iraqi leaders had made sufficient political progress toward forming an inclusive government to warrant further cooperation with Iraq against ISIS, including efforts to help train Iraqi security forces. "We stand by Iraq as it continues to build a government that meets the needs of each of Iraq's diverse communities", Mr. Kerry said.
>
> Mr. Kerry hailed the Iraqis' decision to create new National Guard units that would be recruited locally and given the main responsibility for security in their home areas. "The United States is prepared to provide technical advice and assistance in order to help the Iraqis move this very important initiative forward", Mr. Kerry said[19]. (Gordon & Schmitt, 2014)

The same idea/plan was used by Americans in 2006-2009 when they organized Sunni tribes in the Sunni-dominated cities under the so-called *Al-Sahawat* movement (Awakening Councils) to fight against *Al-Qaida*. In contrast to the *Al-Sahawat*, the National Guard should be an inclusive entity with representation from among all Iraqi ethnicities. The National Guard in Iraq represents the US strategy to combat ISIS and then reconstruct Iraq's security sector.

The main goals of the National Guard were the following[20]:

1. The National Guard should replace the Iraqi army institution, and it should protect Iraq from sectarian divisions.
2. Kurdish fighters (*Peshmerga*) should also integrate at this time within the National Guard because they were well-trained in comparison with Sunni and Shia fighters.
3. The integration of the Sunnis into the National Guard was one of the most important goals because, first, the Sunnis did not feel that they were allowed sufficient participation in the national army and the institution was used by Nouri Al-Maliki over 2006-2014 to consolidate his power. Second, this would eliminate the excuse used by ISIS that they were fighting for Sunni rights and their future in Iraq.

> US officials said al-Abadi had promised to create a national guard of local fighters to secure Iraq's 18 provinces – each run by a governor. That would ensure that the Iraqi army and its mostly Shia force would not be in charge of security in Sunni regions. That would bring salaried jobs, government pensions and other benefits to areas of Iraq neglected during Al-Maliki's eight years in power and which proved a fertile breeding ground for ISIS[21].

The Iraqi Parliament passed a new law establishing the National Guard, though this has not yet been approved because of the impossibility of gaining broad agreement between different fractions. There are many critics of the National Guard because, on the one hand, it gives legal permission to create a militia for each one of Iraq's 18 provinces and, on the other, it would militarize the whole of Iraqi society[22].

The criteria for militias (PMF as a militia)

In this section, the so-called Hashed Shabi and the proposal for a National Guard are evaluated according to militia criteria.

> ...it can describe anything between a dozen individuals armed with hunting rifles, to a force of millions equipped as well as a professional army[23].

The above definition is one of the broadest explanations of the militia and, to some extent, it is difficult to use it to identify Hashed Shabi. Therefore, I think it is necessary to have another and more limited definition of militia. For an academic approach, Saeid Golkar's identification is used[24]:

1. Maintaining local defense.
2. Upholding law and order.
3. Violating human rights and fostering insecurity.
4. Controlling security in weak states.
5. Recruiting members from local communities.

The Shia militias can be identified by all these criteria. After the sudden collapse of Iraqi security in 2014, many cities of Iraq needed protection. Therefore, young men with access to guns organized themselves and took control of their communities. The militias in Iraq not only protected their cities but also began to attack other cities in revenge. For example, Shia groups such as the League of the Righteous, after they conquered the city of Tikrit, began to loot and kill the survivors[25]. Also, it is crucial to categorize these Iraqi militias in order to reveal to which militia type they belong. According to Ariel Ahram's book (Proxy Warriors: The Rise and Fall of State-Sponsored Militias[26]) there are five types of militias, and they have a deep impact on the peaceful coexistence of society: (See table 1)

The Shia militias in Iraq can be seen as pro-government. This is because groups, such as Bader, League of the Righteous, Hezbollah in Iraq, and Sadr, were financed by the central government in Bagdad, show their loyalty to the central government, and coordinate their actions with the government[27]. The coordination with the Iraqi government came about following a push from the US, as the leader of coalition forces against ISIS in Iraq. The coalition forces were concerned about the Shia militias' activities in the Sunni areas and their behavior toward the Sunni population. In addition to this, the US showed their concern with Iranian involvement and Iran's influence on these militias[28].

Finally, this argument underlines that the groups (Bader, League of the Righteous, Hezbollah in Iraq, Sadr) could be identified as pro-government concerning the classification below by Sabine Carey, Neil Mitchell and Will Lowe[29]:

1. is identified as pro-government or sponsored by the government (national or subnational)
2. is identified as not being part of the regular security forces

3. is armed
4. has some level of organization

The future of Iraqi state as a hybrid state

According to many political scientists, such as Joakim Ekman, Jean-François Gagné, and Leonardo Morlino, the hybrid state is a phenomenon where the state is trapped between two structures: one is a non-democratic framework and the second is democratic[30]. The state's institutions have difficulty adopting democratic behaviors because of their authoritarian background. The legitimacy of the state is not wholly lacking; instead, its legitimacy is acquired and exploited in dubious ways and often remains contested[31]. This is one of the most critical drivers of the creation of militias in many Middle Eastern countries, including Iraq, Syria, Libya, Lebanon, and Yemen. According to Joakim Ekman, states that fit the hybrid regime profile can be identified based on the following characteristics[32]:

1. Elections that are not too flawed and that have the potential to make a difference;
2. Significant levels of corruption, particularly in the judicial and electoral areas;
3. A lack of vital components of democratic quality, such as checks and balances and government accountability;
4. A problematic press freedom situation, typically including incumbents' desire to control the media, particularly television;
5. A poor civil liberties situation, including limits on the freedom of expression and the freedom to form organizations and trade unions; and
6. A problematic rule of law situation, including a lack of judicial independence.

Also, Amin Massoud, a Tunisian researcher, emphasizes four components that result in a hybrid state[33]:

1. The militias replace the military system.
2. Central government consists of sectarian cantons.
3. The legislative system is more than customary laws and less than constitutional provisions.
4. The political class (in power and the opposition alike) is made up of more than the advocates of communities and less than modern state builders and owners of institutional reform projects.

Iraq has transformed into a hybrid state because the central government in Baghdad was dominated by the Shia party. This means that the majority of Sunnis and Kurds did not see the central government as a cohesive national government, and many parts of this government's institutions such as the police, courts and the military therefore lacked legitimacy. When citizens lose their trust in the integrity of state institutions, they try to find alternatives[34]. The Kurds have their own almost independent state, and they do not have strong ties to Baghdad. The Sunnis had already organized their tribal committee, which worked as a microgovernment in their areas before ISIS appeared in Mosul and Al-Anbar[35]. The process of dividing Iraq is as likely to occur today as it has in the past. The catalyst behind this process is the Shia militias that fight against ISIS. These militias have a legitimate right to use force against those they identify as Sunni, or at least the Sunni majority. In the following section, the focus will be on the criteria for creating a militia and evaluating the Shia's militia as a threat to peaceful coexistence.

The War for Geographical Expansion

According to an article from the Al-Rawabet Center for Research and Strategic Studies located in Amman, Jordan, there are approximately 67 armed Shia groups, and they operate in different regions of Iraq and Syria. Each has its name, leader, territory and religious marja (authority)[36]:

As we can see from table 2 (for the rest of this table see the supplement), these Iraqi Shia militias have been used in the regional conflict and are now fighting to gain as much territory as possible. For example, groups such as the League of Righteous People (Asa'ib Ahl al-Haq), also known as the Khazali network, have their field of operation in the city of Duz (also spelled as Tuz Khurma and Tuz Khormato or just Khurmatu). It is the central city of Tooz District in Saladin Province, Iraq, located 55 miles south of Kirkuk and the majority of its population are Kurds (Sunnis), and the minority are Turkmen (Shia). This group has been involved in heavy fighting against the Peshmerga (Kurdish fighters), and many from both sides have been killed. The presence of the Khazali group in Duz was not to fight ISIS since the city was protected by Peshmerga and ISIS was not present. Instead, the overall aim of the Khazali group was (and still is) to dominate more areas[37]. Their different fields of operation provide significant evidence of their struggles for more land and more control. Another aspect of these groups is

that the majority of them have the current Iranian supreme leader and Muslim cleric Ayatollah Khamenei as their religious authority, meaning that they are unconditionally loyal to him. In other words, they are part of the Iranian policy in the Middle East, and they are now part of the proxy war in the region[38]. They have been supported by external regimes such as Iran, which means they are directly under the influence of Iranian policies, and they will be working in favor of Iran's betterment. Finally, Shia fighters have been part of the war in Syria, and some of them have been killed. The intervention of the Shiite militias in the Syrian conflict is considered to be the most dangerous transformation. During this transformation process, these groups have evolved from being local militias to regional militias and finally to being mercenaries, which means they can be used in any conflict in the Islamic world, such as in Syria, Yemen and, most likely, in Bahrain[39].

Conclusion

Post-ISIS Iraq is moving dangerously in the direction that the Iraqi political system is unlikely to remain unified. The Sunni era in post-ISIS is now controlled and ruled by the different militias. The concept and feeling of a unified national government have almost vanished. The Shia militias are now acting as a legitimate institution, and their capability to run the government is limited due to their lack of legitimacy. As mentioned in this paper, the majority of these Shia armed groups are directly under Iranian influence, and they are acting in according to Iran's national interest. It makes difficult for the central government to monopolise its authority over them, and they remain a tough challenge against the national government. However, after the defeat of ISIS by the people's mobilization force in Mosul and the change in the control of this city, these Shia armed groups will not accept any power that tries to push them out of the Iraqi political system. For the parliamentary election of 2018, the PMF organized themselves into a political alliance under the name Fatah Alliance, also translated as the Conquest Alliance which is led by Hadi Ameri, and they could win 45 seats of the Parliament. The future of post-ISIS Iraq is either to have a weak central government in Baghdad under the control of the Shia armed groups or a soft partition of this country into three different countries.

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The Legal Mechanisms of Ensuring Regional Cooperation in Combatting Crime Within the Framework of the Council of Europe

Experience of Ukraine

Andrii Voitsikhovskyi, Oleksandr Bakumov, Olena Ustymenko, Mykola Marchuk

Implementation of legal reform in Ukraine, the content of which can be defined as a gradual movement towards a democratic and rule of law state, makes the problem of counteraction to crime especially relevant. Nowadays it is the object of broad regulatory measures, in particular, international and legal regulation of cooperation between states in combatting crime.

The multifaceted nature of modern international relations in one way or another causes expansion of the spheres of cooperation between states in counteracting crime, which requires universal and regional international cooperation. It is quite clear that universal international cooperation cannot cover all aspects of the cooperation of states. Regional international cooperation helps to get more effective cooperation between states located in the same geographic region.

Cooperation of the states at the regional level in combatting crime is mainly carried out in the framework established by regional international organizations of both general and special competence. The

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regional level of international cooperation allows the states to react promptly to any manifestations in the criminal sphere that pose a threat of the international nature. In this case, the mechanism of such a cooperation and elements of control, as a rule, have a great degree of specificity and details.

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Regional international organizations in Europe have a great deal of experience in intergovernmental cooperation in the field of combatting crime, which is explained by the historically established process of economic and political integration. [1] The problem of counteracting crime is given considerable attention within the Council of Europe, which is the most representative European intergovernmental organization established on May 5, 1949, aimed at achieving greater unity between its members in order to preserve and realize the ideals and principles that are their common good, as well as to promote their economic and social progress.[2] The Council of Europe is a purely European organization, with 47 Member States.

Keywords: international cooperation, combatting crime, the Council of Europe, Ukraine.

For more than half a century, the Council of Europe has played a leading role in strengthening international cooperation in the field of criminal law on the European continent. Within the Council of Europe, the Member States cooperate in the area of crime prevention, combatting it and prosecuting offenders. The main role in this activity is played by the European Committee on Crime Problems (CDPC), which was set up by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 1957 to analyze the state of criminal law, the level of crime, the effectiveness of preventive measures and other measures related to the study of various aspects of criminal and legal system.

Particular attention within the activities of the European Committee on Crime Problems (CDPC) is paid to the issues of combatting certain types (categories) of crime such as terrorism, illegal drug and fire arms trafficking, legalization (laundering) of proceeds of crime, human trafficking, illicit migration, cybercrime, etc. The increase in drug trafficking in Western Europe has led to the establishment in 1971 of the Co-operation Group to Combat Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking in Drugs, also known as the Pompidou Group[3].

In 1980, the Pompidou Group gained official status and was included in the Council of Europe. Currently, the Pompidou Group has 37 states and one observer-state (Mexico). The Pompidou Group's main task is to counteract illicit drug trafficking and drug addiction by supporting the development of an effective policy on using narcotics in the Member States of the Group. The main objectives of the Pompidou Group are: combining politics, practice and research; establishing communication on drug policy issues in Europe and beyond; creating a platform for open discussion of drug-related issues; being as an innovative analytical center; facilitating the exchange of knowledge through training and capacity-building, as well as providing a mechanism for regular consultations between major European and international stakeholders. [4]

In its activities, the Pompidou Group addresses several issues of general interest, namely the problems of counteracting illicit drug trafficking; development of cooperation of European states in counteracting drug smuggling; prevention, treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts in prisons; counteraction to illicit drug trafficking on the high seas; and the effectiveness of the control services at major European airports etc.

Through the efforts of the Pompidou Group, seminars, international and practical conferences are regularly held, where the experts and other professionals exchange practical experience. [5] So, on May 21-23, 2012, the regular international conference with the participation of representatives of the Pompidou Group and the State Service of Ukraine for Narcotics Control (now the State Service for Drugs and Narcotics Control) was held in Kyiv. The participants of the meeting discussed the main directions of further bilateral cooperation and the possibility of implementing joint projects on the prevention of drug addiction and drug crimes, as well as exchanged views on the content of the State Policy Strategy on narcotics up to 2020.

The increase in drug trafficking in Ukraine for the last 10 years is one the most relevant social problems in Ukraine, which is a possible cause of human aggravation, negative influence in the social sphere and the security threat to Ukraine. According to social research, 35 % of first year students in professional and technical colleges and 25 % of university students have tried drugs recreationally. Due to this fact, the aim of the Strategy of State politics on drugs on 2020 is to solve the problem of drugs in society to protect human interests, public health and state security from the threat of widespread drug addiction and

drug crime. The Strategy of State politics on drugs on 2020 is based on the Ukrainian Constitution, Ukrainian legislation and international documents of the United Nations, the Council of Europe and the European Union. [6]

Ensuring Regional Cooperation in Combatting Crime

The Pompidou Group has implemented a special program of cooperation with Central and Eastern European countries, which provide training and information exchange in the fields of drug demand limitation and criminal law. Ukraine and the Pompidou Group are striving to develop and deepen a mutually beneficial cooperation – the possibility of Ukraine gaining membership in this international organization is being discussed. Nowadays it is possible to state the presence of significant opportunities for Ukraine's integration into this pan-European drug control sphere.

In accordance with the Resolution of *Verkhovna Rada* of Ukraine dated from May 14, 2015, No. 413-VIII, the *Verhovna Rada* approved the Recommendations of the Parliamentary Hearings on the 'Perspectives of the European Union's introduction of a visa-free regime for the citizens of Ukraine', which recommended the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine submit for consideration by *Verkhovna Rada* of Ukraine the bill 'On the Accession of Ukraine to the Council of Europe's Extended Partial Agreement on the establishment of the Co-operation Group to Combat Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking in Drugs (the Pompidou Group)'. [7] Ukraine's accession to the Enhanced Partial Agreement on the Establishment of the Co-operation Group to Combat Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking in Drugs (the Pompidou Group) will significantly expand the existing regional level of international cooperation, will open up additional opportunities for attracting international technical assistance, studying and implementing international experience in the field of combatting illicit drug trafficking, and will give the right to directly participate in the work of specialized groups and networks to prevent drug trafficking.

In the case of combatting crime and the implementation of criminal justice, the contractual and legal (conventional) mechanism of cooperation between the Member States of the Council of Europe is of great importance. The existence of a large number of international treaties between the Member States of the Council of Europe, which contain the conditions for extradition of individuals, the possibility of providing legal aid in criminal cases, has created the need to unify international norms related to this area.

One of the first issues faced by the European community was the legislative gap in the regulation of the surrender of a foreign citizen (the institution of extradition). In order to solve this problem, the European Convention on the Extradition of Offenders was approved in 1957, and the Additional Protocol to the Convention in 1975 and the Second Additional Protocol to the Convention in 1978 were also adopted (signed by Ukraine on May 29, 1997, ratified on January 16, 1998). The Member States to the Convention undertake to surrender to each other (taking into account the provisions and conditions set forth in the Convention) all persons prosecuted by the competent authorities of the requesting state for the commission of an offense or who are wanted by said authorities for the purpose of executing a sentence or a detention order.

In 1959 the European Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters was approved (signed by Ukraine on May 29, 1997, ratified on January 16, 1998), as well as the Additional Protocol to the Convention in 1978 (signed by Ukraine on May 29, 1997, ratified on January 16, 1998) and the Second Additional Protocol to the Convention in 2001 (signed by Ukraine on November 8, 2001, ratified on June 1, 2011) were also adopted, which mainly regulate the issues of the execution of requests for the conduct of certain procedural actions because of criminal prosecution.

The next stage in the integration processes was the adoption of the European Convention on the International Validity of Criminal Judgements and Sentences in 1970 (signed by Ukraine on June 8, 2000, ratified on September 26, 2002). The basis of this Convention is the principle of recognition of sentences of foreign courts; it is used to enforce them in order to exclude the possibility of repeated conviction for the same crime and to establish certain legal consequences of the conviction (conviction, recidivism, abolition of conditional sentence and conditional release).

An institute for transferring criminal prosecution is an integral part of the contractual and legal mechanism of cooperation between the Member States of the Council of Europe in the field of decriminalization. In 1972, the European Convention on the Transfer of Proceedings in Criminal Matters (Ukraine joined the Convention on September 22, 1995), which defined the scope of competence of the Member States and regulated the conditions for the transfer of criminal proceedings along with the grounds for requesting such a transfer, was approved.

Within the scientific research of the European regional mechanism on combatting crime, we should pay special attention to the activities of the Council of Europe in developing regional cooperation of the Member States of the Organization in counteracting certain types (categories) of crime. Such crimes that are recently widespread and are of great concern both for European countries and the rest of the world include: cybercrime, human trafficking, corruption, terrorism, legalization (laundering) of proceeds of crime, etc.

The widespread usage of modern information technology in state and non-state structures, as well as in society on the whole, put forward new issues to the Council of Europe concerning information security. The growth of information technologies has already led to the progressive changes in the economy and to the appearance of the new forms of computer crime. It is manifested in the fact that criminals actively use the latest computer tools and new information technologies in their criminal activity. The spread of computer viruses and child pornography, fraud with cryptocurrency, the theft of funds from bank accounts and computer terrorism is far from a complete list of similar crimes, which have received the common name 'cybercrime'.[8] According to the UN data, today the losses from computer crimes are equal to the proceeds from the illicit drugs and weapons trafficking. [p.338][9]

The number of crimes committed through the global Internet computer network is proportionally increasing to the number of users. According to Interpol statistics, the increase in crime in the world network is the highest among other kinds of crime in the world [10]. Unfortunately, the degree of the threat of computer crimes is not yet fully understood and assessed in society. But even the insignificant experience that already exists in this area, and even more so the experience of the most developed countries of the world (USA, France, Great Britain, Spain, etc.) highlights the vulnerability of any state.[11]

To illustrate this, on June 27, 2017 Ukrainian government agencies (the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, the National Police of Ukraine, etc.), Boryspil Airport, the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, Ukrainian banks, energy companies, state-owned Internet resources and local networks, Ukrainian media and a number of other large enterprises suffered from the largest hacker attack that spread the Petya.A virus that blocked the operation of computer systems. This cyberattack also infected computers around the world (US, UK, Germany, Poland, India, Lithuania, etc.), and inflicted losses of approximately $8 billion[12]. Nowa-

days, experts from the Cyberpolice Department of the National Police of Ukraine, the Security Service of Ukraine and other specialized services, together with leading specialists of Ukrainian IT companies and international organizations, are working to overcome the consequences of damaging Ukrainian computer networks with malware. In order to investigate the facts of unlawful interference into computer systems, the European Police Office (Europol) has set up an urgent focal point.

Taking into account the factor of globalization of cybercrime, it becomes more and more obvious that no state is capable of opposing this danger independently. In this regard, the urgent problem is the need to intensify international cooperation in this area. In order to prevent and respond to cyber-attacks, governments have begun a number of actions, both at the global and regional levels.

One of the important measures to combat computer crime was the development and adoption by the Council of Europe on November 23, 2001 of the Convention on Cybercrime (signed by Ukraine on November 23, 2001, ratified on September 7, 2005) and the Additional Protocol to the Convention of 2003 on the criminalization of racist acts and xenophobic nature committed through computer systems (signed by Ukraine on April 8, 2005, ratified on July 21, 2006). The Convention on Cybercrime of 2001 was the first international treaty to counteract crimes committed through computer networks. This document was the result of joint work of the Council of Europe experts with the participation of the United States, Canada, Japan and other non-member countries. The Convention on Cybercrime of 2001 is not limited to the European continent, and many other countries are expected to join it. It has been already signed by Canada, Japan, the Republic of South Africa and the United States. To the present time, the Convention has been signed by 46 countries, including 4 countries that are not members of the Council of Europe, and 23 of these countries have already ratified it. Reforms in the field of crime prevention on the Internet, based on the guidelines of the Convention on Cybercrime of 2001, are also being implemented in Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, India, Nigeria, Pakistan and the Philippines. Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime of 2003, concerning the criminalization of racist and xenophobic acts committed through computer systems, is signed by 34 countries and ratified by 13 of them. [13]

The main purpose of the Convention on Cybercrime of 2001 and the Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime of 2003 is to

prioritize general policy in the field of criminal law aimed at protecting society against computer crimes, particularly through the adoption of relevant legislative acts and strengthening of international cooperation.

Considering the issue of counteracting cybercrime through the prism of the Convention, one can evaluate this document and determine its international significance for solving this problem. One of the main conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis of this Convention is the fact that a clear definition of 'cybercrime' has been made and a general standpoint on the issue what kind of acts involving the use of computer systems should be criminalized. [14]

From a legal point of view, the general principles relating to international cooperation as defined in the Convention are of great importance. It is a matter of extraditing computer criminals and providing broad mutual legal assistance while investigating criminal cases, including the collection of electronic evidence. In addition to joining the international legal mechanism to combat cybercrime in accordance with the Convention on Cybercrime of 2001 and the Additional Protocol to the Convention of 2003, Ukraine also actively participates in the CyberCrime@EAP project on cybercrime issues within the framework of the Eastern Partnership Program. [15] In the context of Ukraine's cooperation with the Council of Europe on March 15, 2016, the Cybersecurity Strategy of Ukraine was approved, which defined certain strategic priorities for cybercrime and evaluated the measures taken in this direction. [16]

Some unsolved issues related to cooperation in the area of combatting cybercrime are considered in the scope of further projects, such as the completion of legislative reforms to combat cybercrime (procedural law and related guarantees), finishing the development of training strategies on cybercrime in the field of justice, strengthening the potential of international cooperation and supporting the implementation of the cybersecurity strategy project. Besides this, the Council of Europe cooperates in the field of criminal justice against cybercrime on the basis of the Convention on Cybercrime of 2001, including support for the departments combatting high crime and law enforcement agencies in order to establish cooperation with Internet service providers, measures against child pornography and effective international cooperation. [17]

Since the end of the 20th century, the Council of Europe, as a regional intergovernmental organization, has become a focal point for counteracting human trafficking. This crime is a transnational type of

crime and ranks third in the world after trafficking in drugs and weapons. In the area of counteracting trafficking in human beings and related issues, the Council of Europe has implemented several initiatives: the development of legal standards and strategies, research activities, legal and technical cooperation, and monitoring.

On October 6, 1987, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe approved the first document on combatting contemporary forms of slavery –Recommendation 1065 (1987) on the sale of children and other forms of exploitation of children. The Parliamentary Assembly stated in the document that the international sale of children for the purpose of prostitution, pornography and slavery had become striking, and society was obliged to protect children and to concern itself with their interests.[18]

In compliance with the Recommendation of the Parliamentary Assembly, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe prepared and approved on September 9, 1991 Recommendation No. R (91) 11 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on sexual exploitation, pornography and prostitution, and the trafficking of children and young persons. [19] Particular attention in this Recommendation was focused on counteracting trafficking in children, namely the increased monitoring of potential child trafficking intermediaries – adoption agencies; providing children with access to educational and medical facilities, etc.

Concerned by the facts of women trafficking and forced prostitution widespread in European countries, the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly adopted on April 23, 1997 Recommendation 1325 (1997) on trafficking in women and forced prostitution in the Council of Europe Member States. [20]

The Parliamentary Assembly recommended the Committee of Ministers develop the Convention on combatting women trafficking and forced prostitution, which would be open to non-member States of the Council of Europe. The Convention focuses on human rights, determining repressive measures to combat trafficking in human beings through harmonization of laws, coordinating efforts and cooperation between law enforcement agencies and judicial power, providing a mechanism for monitoring compliance with the provisions, and coordinating further actions at European level in this area.

In accordance with the provisions of the Recommendation of the Parliamentary Assembly, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of

Europe adopted Recommendation No. R (2000) 11 to Member States on combatting trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation in May 2000. [21] The Member States of the Council of Europe were encouraged to take appropriate legislative and practical measures to ensure the protection of the rights of victims of human trafficking, especially women, adolescents and children.

In 2000, the attention of the Council of Europe was drawn to the problem of interconnectedness of trafficking in human beings and illegal migration. The circumstances prevalent in the territory of Europe again prompted the reaction of the Parliamentary Assembly in the form of Recommendation 1467 (2000) on illegal migration and the fight against traffickers. [22] The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in this document has demonstrated its conviction that besides increasing security measures at European borders with a view to detaining illegal migrants, Member States must step up their cooperation initiatives providing effective measures against human trafficking.

At the beginning of the 21st century, a new problem emerged on the European countries' agenda, related with the emergence of a new form of slavery – domestic slavery. In this regard, on June 26, 2001 the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted Recommendation 1523 (2001) on domestic slavery. [23] On January 21, 2002, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted Recommendation 1545 (2002) on a campaign against trafficking in women [24], which tasked the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to establish a European Center for the Study of Trafficking in Women, which was to include a group of experts in the field of prevention of trafficking in human beings.

The Council of Europe's next document on combatting trafficking in human beings was Recommendation 1610 (2003) on migration related to trafficking in women and prostitution [25], which was approved by the Parliamentary Assembly on June 25, 2003. The Recommendation noted that migration which has developed into international criminal trafficking of women cannot be overcome by the Member States themselves. The Committee of Ministers was urged to start work on the draft of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings as soon as possible.

The Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings was opened by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe for signing by the Member States in Warsaw on

May 16, 2005. At present, the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings has been ratified by 34 Member States of the Council of Europe, 43 are the signatories. The Convention entered into force on February 1, 2008 after its ratification by 10 countries (in accordance with Article 42 of the Convention).

The resolve of the Member States of the Council of Europe to implement the provisions of this legally binding international document into national legislations was prepared by the preliminary long-term work of the organization at the level of the Committee of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

On November 11, 2005, Ukraine signed the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, which was ratified on September 21, 2010. The Convention entered into force for Ukraine on March 1, 2011. [26] According to the conclusion of the Main Scientific and Expert Department of *Verkhovna Rada* of Ukraine, the ratification of the Convention provides Ukraine the opportunity to implement modern international and legal standards in the field of combatting trafficking in human beings, which will further assist to overcome the status of a transit state, through which the 'live goods' are supplied. [p. 451][27]

The Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings of 2005 is aimed at preventing human trafficking, protecting victims, ensuring effective investigation and prosecution, facilitating coordination of national actions and international co-operation. The Convention is applied to all forms of human trafficking, whether they are national, transnational, related to organized crime or not; all victims of trafficking in human beings (women, men and children); and all forms of exploitation (sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery, enslavement, removal of organs).

It should be noted that other international legal instruments exist in combatting human trafficking, but the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings of 2005 is not intended to compete with other international and legal documents adopted at the universal level.

It is also important to note that the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings of 2005 created an independent monitoring mechanism to assess how fully its provisions are implemented in practice. This monitoring mechanism consists of two elements Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Hu-

man Beings (GRETA) and the Committee of the Parties (the Committee of the Parties of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings is composed of the representatives on the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe of the member States Parties to the Convention and representatives of the Parties to the Convention, which are not members of the Council of Europe).[28]

Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (GRETA) is responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Convention by the countries that have ratified it. GRETA reports contain the analysis of the situation in each country regarding the taken measures to combat trafficking in human beings, as well as recommendations for the proper implementation of the provisions of the Convention. Based on the reports and conclusions of the GRETA Group, the Committee of the Parties presents recommendations to individual countries regarding the steps to be taken to implement GRETA's conclusions.

The value of the monitoring activities carried out under the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings of 2005 is to: assess and promote the implementation of the far-reaching commitments under the Convention; ensure individual recommendations for solving problem issues; create a forum for international cooperation for sharing information and experience, etc.

In September 2014, the Secretariat of the Council of Europe promulgated the Report on accomplishing by Ukraine of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings of 2005, which was compiled on the basis of the evaluation mission of the Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (GRETA). In its report, Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (GRETA) stated the important steps taken by Ukraine in combatting trafficking in human beings.

Moreover, the main tasks of GRETA are:

1. training and professional development of relevant specialists on issues related to combatting human trafficking;
2. identifying and aiding people who have suffered from human trafficking, counteracting trafficking in human beings by police officers and border guards;
3. adopting the standards for the provision of social services to people who have suffered from trafficking, which enables them to provide better assistance to victims;

4. functioning of a coordinated mechanism for establishing the status of a person who has suffered from human trafficking; developing international cooperation in the field of combatting human trafficking;
5. raising the general level of public awareness of trafficking in human beings, etc.

Although the legal and institutional frameworks for dealing the problems of human trafficking were endorsed by the GRETA Group, the report noted the areas that were to be improved, in particular raising awareness and taking measures to stop trafficking in human beings for the purpose of labor exploitation, domestic trade, and to establish control over the entry of foreigners to Ukraine [29].

Effective cooperation between Ukraine and the Council of Europe in combatting human trafficking can be achieved with the full implementation of the Convention of the Council of Europe on actions against trafficking in human beings of 2005, which is an effective instrument for combatting trafficking in human beings, prosecuting traffickers and protecting victims.

It should be noted that over the last year Ukraine is no longer a country where human trafficking is flourishing. This was stated by the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs on European Integration after the annual report of the US Department of State titled 'Human Trafficking 2017', which was presented on June 27, 2017. The improvement of Ukraine's position in the report is the evidence that today law enforcement officers and the Government of Ukraine can fight effectively against human trafficking. [30]

It is important to note that the Council of Europe's activities in the sphere of combatting crime are very important for the development of European legislation, the harmonization and improvement of the legal systems of all Member States based on the Council of Europe's common standards. The organization aims to encourage the creation and development of democratic institutions and procedures at the state, regional and local levels, as well as to promote the principle of human rights respect while accomplishing criminal prosecution, the rule of law, presumption of innocence, inevitability of punishment, etc.

By acquiring membership on the Council of Europe, Ukraine has undertaken a number of commitments in the area of reforming the current legislation based on the norms and standards of the Council of Europe. In the context of Ukraine's cooperation with the Council of

Europe, the Ministry of Justice and other executive agencies pay great attention to the expansion of the international legal basis and the accession of Ukraine to the treaties concluded within this international organization aimed at combatting crime. [31]

Ukraine cooperates with all the working agencies of the Council of Europe to improve international cooperation in investigating criminal prosecution, court hearing and prevention of crime. Ukraine collaborates with such Committees of Experts of the Council of Europe as:

- **European Committee for Legal Co-operation (CDCJ)**. The Committee's achievements include many agreements and recommendations prepared for the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. The CDCJ Committee fulfills its tasks through: supervision and work organization of the committees, expert groups, colloquiums and conferences; adoption of drafts of the conventions, international treaties, protocols or recommendations; monitoring the functioning and implementation of international mechanisms stemming from its competence, as well as assisting States in addressing their specific problems and interaction with the relevant convening committees; preparation of conferences of European ministers of justice in conjunction with the European Committee on Criminal Matters (CDPC) and bringing them to their logical conclusion; co-operation with other Council of Europe agencies, in particular with the European Committee on Criminal Matters (CDPC), the CCJE, the Committee of Experts on the Efficiency of Justice (CEPEJ) and the Committee of Experts on Terrorism (CODEXTER), the Steering Committee Bioethics (CDBI), and European Committee for Health Care.
- **European Committee on Crime Problems (CDPC)**. The Committee is responsible for supervision and coordination of the activities of the Council of Europe in crime prevention and crime control. The CDPC Committee defines the areas of intergovernmental legal cooperation, makes proposals to the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on areas of criminal and criminal procedural law, criminology and penology. It also develops conventions, treaties, recommendations and reports, organizes criminological scientific conferences and criminological colloquiums, and conferences for the heads of the prison administration.
- **The Committee of Experts on the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse (PC-ES)**. The Committee

is working under the auspices of the CDPC to develop new and implement existing international treaties on the protection of children from sexual exploitation and abuse. This Committee can contact and consult with governmental and non-governmental organizations and experts, as well as to organize public hearings and provide written explanations.

- **The Committee of Experts on the Operation of European Convention on Co-operation in Criminal Matters (PC-OC)**. The PC-OC Committee is a forum where, since 1981, experts from all Member States and observer countries, as well as representatives of international organizations, are working together to develop the ways to improve international cooperation in criminal matters and to find ways to solve the practical problems outlined in the declarations to the Convention of the Council of Europe in this area.
- **The European Commission for the Efficiency of Justice (CEPEJ)**. The aim of the CEPEJ Commission is to improve the efficiency and functioning of judicial agencies in the Member States, as well as to improve the implementation of the documents adopted by the Council of Europe. The CEPEJ Commission prepares conclusions, collects and analyzes information, defines measures and means of evaluation, prepares documents (reports, recommendations, directives, action plans, etc.), develops contacts with qualified specialists, representatives of non-governmental organizations, research institutes and information centers, organizes public hearings, and expands the network of professionals in the legal sphere.
- **The Committee of Experts on the Evaluation of Anti-Money Laundering Measures and the Financing of Terrorism (MONEYVAL)**. The Committee was established in 1997 to monitor the effectiveness of the fight against money laundering, terrorist financing, and compliance with relevant international standards in this area. The main task of the MONEYVAL Committee is the development of: appropriate documents on situations concerning relevant issues; reports on the implementation by the Member States of the Council of Europe that are not parties to the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) of the provisions of the relevant documents on combatting (laundering) proceeds from crime and taking into account the standards for terrorist financing; recom-

mendations to countries that have been evaluated in order to improve the effectiveness of their measures on combatting (laundering) proceeds and terrorist financing activities.

The Group of States against Corruption (GRECO). According to the Statute, the GRECO Group's tasks are to monitor compliance with the 'Guidelines for the Fight against Corruption' and to implement the Civil Law Convention on Corruption of 1999, the Criminal Law Convention on Corruption of 1999, and the Additional Protocol to the Convention of 2003. The main task of the GRECO Group is to improve the ability of its members to fight against corruption by monitoring their commitments in this area through the deployment of an active process of mutual audits and accomplishment of pressure. This assists in identifying gaps in the national anti-corruption policy of the states and accelerating the implementation of the necessary reforms for this at the legislative, institutional and practical levels. The GRECO Group also provides a platform for the dissemination of best practices in preventing and detecting corruption. [32]

Ukraine is very active and widely involved in the anti-corruption process and has signed a number of important international anti-corruption agreements adopted by the Council of Europe. In particular, the Civil Law Convention on Corruption of 1999 (signed by Ukraine on November 4, 1999, ratified on March 16, 2005), the Criminal Law Convention on Corruption of 1999 (signed by Ukraine on January 27, 1999, ratified on October 18, 2006) and the Additional Protocol to the Convention of 2003 (signed by Ukraine on May 15, 2003, ratified on October 18, 2006).

Since the entry into force of the Civil Convention of the European Council on the fight against corruption of 1999, Ukraine starting from January 1, 2006 has become the fortieth member of the GRECO (today, GRECO comprises 49 European countries). [33] By joining the GRECO Group, Ukraine has committed itself to participating in the mutual evaluation process within the Group. At the plenary meetings of the GRECO Group, reports are periodically approved for Ukraine's implementation of anti-corruption recommendations of this international organization. These recommendations are provided to Ukraine according to the rounds of assessment. The specified evaluation rounds focus on the activities of the specialized agencies involved in the prevention of corruption, the issues of the immunity of officials in relation to criminal prosecution, as well as on the detention, seizure and

confiscation of proceeds and other property obtained as a result of corruption, prevention of corruption in the system of public administration, and liability of legal entities for corruption crimes.

In the context of European integration, it is important for Ukraine to implement European standards, because Ukrainian presence in the Council of Europe and attempts to get closer to European values require promotion and support from state institutions.

The Council of Europe provides broad support to Ukraine in the process of carrying out tasks aimed at conducting internal reforms within key areas. The cooperation is provided according to the Action Plans, which were signed by Ukrainian representatives and the representatives of the Council of Europe. The first Action Plan was established in 2005. The implementation of the Action Plans contributes to the fulfillment by Ukraine of its statutory and individual commitments as the Member State of the Council of Europe and includes a package of priority measures for the adaptation of Ukrainian legislation, institutes and practices to European standards on human rights, the rule of law and democracy. This includes combatting corruption, counteracting the legalization (laundering) of proceeds from crime, reforming law enforcement agencies and judicial power, etc.

On March 18, 2015, with the participation of representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine and European structures, specialists of Ukrainian ministries and departments (primarily of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Ministry of Justice of Ukraine) prepared another joint Action Plan of the Council of Europe for Ukraine for 2015-2017 (total budget – 45 million euros). [34] The Action Plan reflected the priorities of the country, as well as the issues determined in the recent reports of the Council of Europe's monitoring agencies, resolutions and recommendations regarding Ukraine.

One of the most pressing issues in the Action Plan was the continuation of the reform of the agencies of the National Police of Ukraine and the penitentiary system. The main aim of this Action Plan is cooperation in different spheres such as preventing tortures and ill-treatment, counteracting impunity, human trafficking, protection human rights, protection of national minorities in Ukraine, prevention of discrimination and domestic violence, the freedom of media etc.

On 21 February 2018, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe approved the new Action Plan of the Council of Europe for Ukraine 2018-2021.The total budget of this new Action Plan is

29,500,000 euro. According to this Action Plan, the Council of Europe will render Ukraine assistance in reforming law enforcement agencies and the judicial system, the realization of the court's decisions, the issues of decentralization and combatting corruption. Moreover, particular attention is paid to the protection of internally displaced people and the journalist's safety. [35]

Recently, the Ukrainian government with the assistance of the Council of Europe has made very important legislative steps in the sphere of combatting corruption. In October 2014, *Verkhovna Rada* adopted a package of anti-corruption laws, as well as the Anti-Corruption Strategy for 2014-2017 [36], and authorized the creation of the Anti-corruption Bureau. [37]

The Council of Europe intends to continue cooperation in the area of effective governance and counteracting corruption in line with the recommendations of GRECO. Currently, specially developed training on the liability of officials for corruption offenses is organized. By supporting Ukraine's anti-corruption activities, it will be encouraged to create transparent and accountable institutions. The Council of Europe will also work to strengthen the ability of Ukrainian government to prevent corruption and, at the same time, increase the institutional capacity of law enforcement agencies to investigate violations and bring the perpetrators to justice in corruption-related crimes. The members of the Ukrainian Parliament will receive support in combatting corruption through a series of events and the involvement of experts from GRECO, the Parliamentary Assembly and the Venice Commission. Apart from this, some measures to share experiences, lobbying the regulatory base and staff training will be accomplished.

In a recent preliminary report on the situation in Ukraine, the Committee of Experts on the Evaluation of Anti-Money Laundering Measures and the Financing of Terrorism (MONEYVAL) states that Ukraine has achieved concrete results in its efforts to counteract (laundering) illegally obtained proceeds. However, further efforts are necessary in the field of liability for criminal offenses and terrorism, as well as some explanations regarding the crime prevention regime, in order to comply with the Key Recommendations of the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF).

The Council of Europe focuses a lot of efforts to counteracting ill-treatment and preventing torture in Ukraine. In particular, together with the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhu-

mane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, they conduct training courses for judges and lawyers to increase their awareness of ill-treatment problems.

The recommendations of the Council of Europe formed the government's approach of protecting against ill-treatment. The Council of Europe, in particular the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, provided several recommendations to Ukrainian authorities regarding the establishment of an independent agency specializing in the investigation of complaints against law enforcement officers and other officials. Creating the State Bureau of Investigations can be considered as a good opportunity to implement these recommendations. The policy of 'zero tolerance' for torture and ill-treatment was officially declared as the government's priority and in line with the recommendations of the Council of Europe is systematically mentioned in the strategic documents on human rights in Ukraine.

Conclusion. As a result of this research, it should be noted that regional organizations, such as the Council of Europe, help countries such as Ukraine to develop effective cooperation in the sphere of combatting international crime. Within this organization, many international and legal agreements were approved, and the system of agencies and institutions whose activities are related to solving problems of cooperation between the states in the field of crime prevention and prosecution of offenders, was created as well.

International cooperation on countering crime, carried out within the framework of the Council of Europe, offers wide opportunities for coordination of anti-criminal efforts of states. Participation of the states in this regional cooperation on combatting crime is carried out in two forms: legal (participation in international and legal agreements) and institutional (participation in the work of the main agencies and special institutions of the Organization).

Ukraine has become a contracting party, one to the main regional international and legal agreements in the field of combatting crime, which allows national law enforcement agencies to determine the mechanism for the establishment and development of effective international cooperation in combatting crime with the Member States of the Council of Europe. According to the authors, each of these acts contains deontological principles regulating the said cooperation of the Member States of the Council of Europe, including Ukraine.

Ukraine's participation in the work of the main agencies and special institutions of the Council of Europe greatly extends the regional level of international cooperation in combatting crime and raises the partnership relations between the Member States of the Organization on a qualitatively new level. Despite the positive recommendations of the Ukrainian Parliament, Ukraine has not joined the Group for Cooperation in Combatting Drug Abuse and Illicit Drug Trafficking (the Pompidou Group). The authors of this study fully support the point of view that it is precisely the accession of Ukraine to the Pompidou Group that provide additional opportunities for regional cooperation in the field of combatting drug addiction and illicit drug trafficking.

The study focuses on the fact that the Council of Europe provides broad support to Ukraine in the process of carrying out tasks aimed at conducting internal reforms of national law enforcement agencies and judicial power, combatting certain types (categories) of crimes, etc. Such cooperation is carried out on the basis of the Action Plans, which is a package of expert and technical assistance to the Member State. The Council of Europe positively grades Ukraine's achievements in carrying out internal reforms in the framework of the Action Plan and emphasizes the important role of these results in the implementation of effective regional cooperation in the field of countering crime.

Thus, the conducted study made it possible for the authors to conclude that the Council of Europe, as an international organization, plays a leading role in strengthening regional international cooperation in combatting crime. The Council of Europe has a significant regulatory and organizational arsenal for effective cooperation between the member states. Ukraine, as a member of the Council of Europe, obtained the opportunity to join the common European efforts to find new approaches to fighting crime. Scrupulous implementation of Ukraine's commitments will positively affect the existing European and international image of Ukraine.

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Terrorism Situation and Its Challenges to European Union

A Longitudinal Statistical Analysis

Zeren Langjia, Jian Shi

Terrorism is increasingly threatening world peace and stability, not least during the post-9/11 era. In particular, viewed from Europe's geographical proximity to areas of conflicts, terrorism is a greater menace to European continental peace, security and stability. As a natural consequence, terrorism becomes a top concern of the European Union (EU). In practice, it comes to be not merely necessary but also important to have a better and clearer idea about terrorist landscapes in Europe so that future counterterrorism will be well grounded in a faithful representation of reality. The authors, drawing upon data selected from the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), have categorised the terrorist incidents according to the different scales of casualties, provided a longitudinal overview of completed terrorism attacks from 1970 to 2015 with a special focus on the most terrorism-stricken Member States (MSs), and statistically analysed the terrorist situation within the EU and counterterrorism challenges. In doing so, authors have intention to find the ins and outs of terrorist incidents, to probe the motivations of perpetrators, and to clarify the faulty generalisations about terrorism. The article concludes that an increasingly stronger sense of nationalism is emerging, Islamic terrorism is not rising at a dramatic speed but in a more destructive way, and more importantly civilians

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are becoming the dominant target group of terror attacks. It is further argued that these three factors are not only the tough challenges but also top concerns of counterterrorism.

CEJISS 1/2019 *Keywords: EU, terrorist incidents, perpetrators, challenges, statistical analysis.*

Terrorism is unprecedentedly challenging regional and global peace, security and stability. No one can get rid of it. In particular, Europe's geographical proximity to areas of conflicts explicitly indicates that the EU cannot turn a blind eye to terrorism and its causes but instead must face it. However, terrorism could be either a touchstone of or a stumbling block towards European integration. All depends on how the EU and its Member States (MSs) respond to it. In the past few years, Europe has experienced consecutive terror attacks that have dramatically increased social tension, but unfortunately no one can predict when and where the next attack is going to happen. People feel intense uncertainty about their security due to the unpredictability of terror, which is further intensified by its multiple and intertwined causes. Therefore, historically following the trend of attacks, longitudinally collecting terrorist data, and statistically analysing the data come to the fore.

To longitudinally collect terrorist data and follow the variation of the times can make valuable contributions to better understanding of contemporary terrorism. A more direct observation and recognition of contemporary terrorism could be drawn through statistical data analysis of the variation in the number of incidents. The selected data are from a reputable open-source database called the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), which includes systematic data on domestic and international terrorist incidents and detailed information on the incidents.[1] The article is thus developed in an effort to provide an overview of the terrorist landscape in Europe, to explore underlying problems behind the diverse terrorist acts with a view to clarifying faulty generalisations and viewing terrorism correctly, and to eventually propose some possible suggestions for counterterrorist challenges and policies.

To start with, terrorism is a very controversial term to define. As various scholars and institutions have attempted to define the term *Terrorism*, its definitions vary from one to another and thus there does not exist an agreed-upon definition.[2] That said, there are at least 212

different definitions of terrorism all around the world.[3] These definitions can be further categorised into legal and non-legal definitions of the term because non-governmental and governmental institutions define terrorism differently. Of all these definitions, the authors' understanding of terrorism is grounded in Mareri's research result of the three common elements existing in the legal definitions of the US, Britain and Germany: the use of violence, political goals, and causing fear and terror in the targeted groups.[4] This finding is in consonance with the result achieved through a social science approach. According to a content analysis of over a hundred definitions by Schmid and Jongman (1988), the three elements are also the top three components of terrorism, of which violence emerges in 83.5% of definitions, political purpose in 65%, and terror impact in 51%.[5] As these two descriptions about terrorism are also highly aligned with GTD's definition of a terrorist attack, which is defined as 'the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation',[6] the authors will consistently employ such definitions throughout the article.

Statistical Analysis of the Number of EU Terrorist Attacks

Data talk. The number of terrorist incidents and their perpetrators is an important indicator of terror threats, and to know about them is an essential prerequisite of having a good overview of the terrorist landscape in Europe. To the end, the GTD database is used considering its high credibility and information quality. Based on the GTD[7], the authors collected, categorised and statistically analysed the data of terrorist incidents that occurred in EU member states[8] from 1970 to 2015. The data selection is based on three GTD criteria without giving a single set definition of terrorism:

1. The act must be aimed at attaining a political, economic, religious, or social goal;
2. There must be evidence of an intention to coerce, intimidate, or convey some other message to a larger audience (or audiences) than the immediate victims;
3. The action must be outside the context of legitimate warfare activities.

Apart from these criteria, the authors exclude not only all the ambiguous cases that cannot be ensured to meet all aforementioned cri-

teria for inclusion as a GTD terrorist incident, but also those unsuccessful attacks that were attempted but not successfully carried out. In addition, the GTD database does not include acts of state terrorism. Moreover, in order to have a clearer overview of distribution and destruction of terror incidents, the casualty scale of single incident is grouped into four levels: level I (from one to ten casualties), level II (11 to 50 casualties), level III (51 to 100 casualties) and level IV (over 100 casualties). This categorisation of casualty level is conducive to having a thorough overview of terror scale on the one hand and is necessary for analytical simplicity on the other.

Based upon such criteria, 2273 incidents can be counted as GTD terrorist attacks in all EU MSs with one casualty at the minimum scale in a single incident since 1970. Taking the year 2001 as a watershed in contemporary terrorist history, eighty-nine percent of these incidents took place before 9/11 while only 11 percent (353) happened during the post-9/11 era. In general, there has been a dramatic drop in the number of completed terrorist attacks (see figure 1).

Figure 1: EU Terrorist Incidents

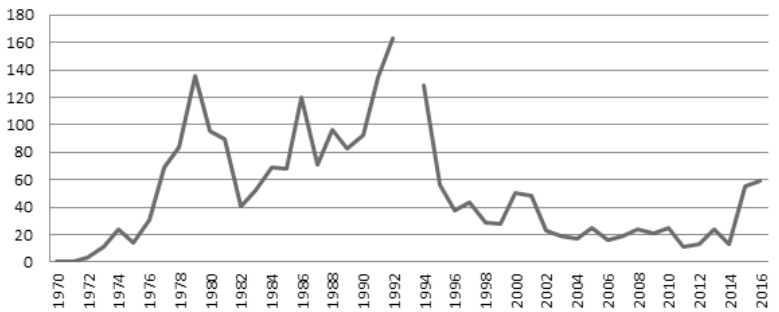


Fig 1 GTD doesn't have data of year 1993. EU Terrorist Incidents with minimally one casualty in each case. There are 2273 incidents. In Western Europe there are 2052incidents with one to ten casualties and 213incidents with over 10 casualties since 1970 and in Eastern Europe 8+6 incidents since 2004.

This does not, however, necessarily signal any reduction in the casualties, attack scale and destruction. Attacks after 2001 are actually more lethal when compared with those that occurred during the last three decades of 20th century, of which injuries count for the majority of the casualties. Another outstanding phenomenon is that the overwhelming majority of the incidents occurred in Western EU MSs while Eastern MSs face much less terror both before and after joining the

Union in 2004. Hence, there exists a disparity in casualties between Western and Eastern Europe (see figure 2).

Figure2: Incidents Comparison in the EU, Western and Eastern EU Member States

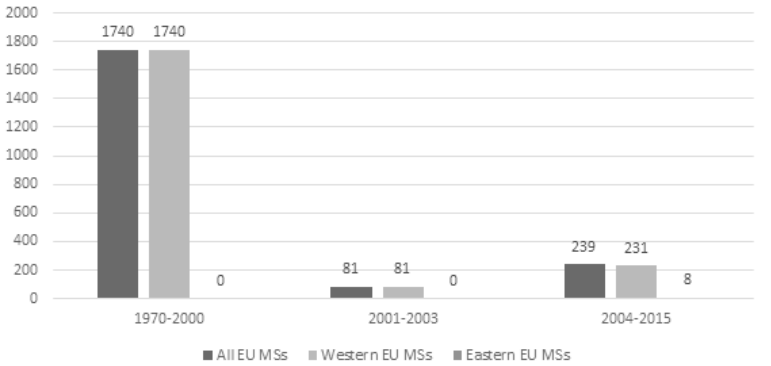


Fig 2 The number of incidents in each year refers to the total number of the then EU Member States (from level II).

Of 2273 incidents, the overwhelming majority of attacks (2059 incidents) belong to level I. Seven percent (166) are with casualties at level II. The incidents at this level mainly occurred in the UK, France, and Spain, accounting for 37 percent (61), 20 percent (33) and 20.5 percent (34) respectively (see figure 3). There are 32 incidents with 51 to 100 casualties in each case, of which six incidents (19 percent) happened in France, 12 (38 percent) in the UK, five in Greece, three (nine percent) in Italy and Spain individually, and less than three in other member states (see figure 4). From 1973 to 2015, 16 incidents at level IV occurred in all member states, seven before 2001 and nine after 2001, of which the UK accounts for nine cases (56 percent) (see figure 5). All these 16 major attacks took place in the UK, Italy, France and Spain.

There is a dramatic drop in the number of terror incidents before and after 9/11. The total number of post-9/11 terrorist incidents is actually smaller than that of pre-9/11 ones (figure 1), which corresponds to the situations in the most terror-stricken EU MSs (figure 6). The majority of terrorist incidents happen in Western EU MSs both before and after 9/11 (figure 2). The number of pre-9/11 incidents at casualty level 11-50 and 51-100 is much larger than that of post-9/11 (figure 3 and 4), while the number of pre-9/11 incidents at casualty level over 100 is smaller than the number of post-9/11 incidents (figure 5). The comparisons have indicated that the

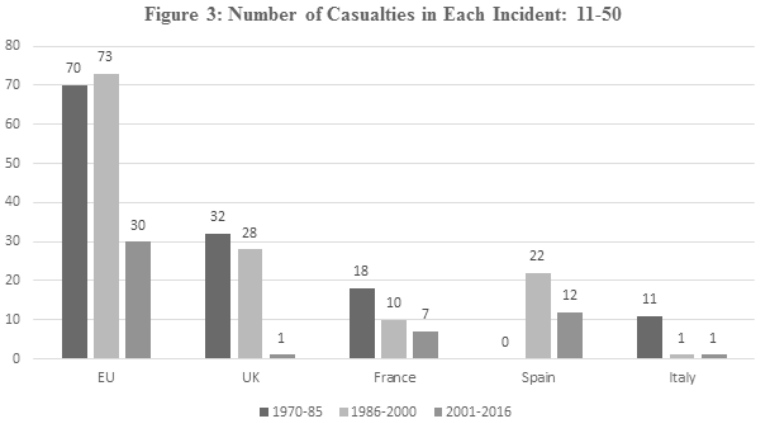


Fig 3 The casualties range from 11 to 50 and here are 166 incidents at this level.

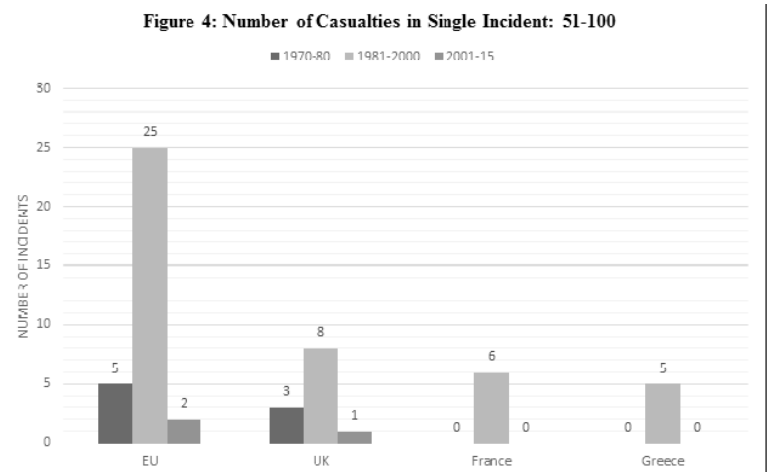
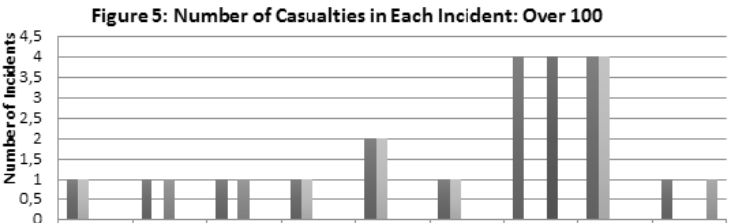


Fig 4 The casualties vary from 51 to 100. These incidents mainly occurred in France, The UK, Greece, Spain, and Italy.

post-9/11 terrorist incidents are more targeted and destructive in terms of casualties, though the number gets relatively smaller. The finding is helpful to correct the false impression that terror attacks are ubiquitous and dramatically increasing. What undeniable is that media coverage of terrorism has made much contribution to such an impression, though terrorism should not be underestimated. On the other hand, these variations have also reflected that as counterterrorism policies become tougher over time, post-9/11 terrorists become more prudent and the terror incidents tend to be more well-organised, destructive and imperceptible.



	1973	1980	1984	1988	1996	1998	2004	2005	2015
The EU	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	4	1
The UK	1			1	2	1		4	
Italy		1	1						
Spain							4		
France									1

Fig 5 All the major terrorist attacks took place in the western EU member states.

Statistical Analysis of Perpetrators: Member States Case Studies

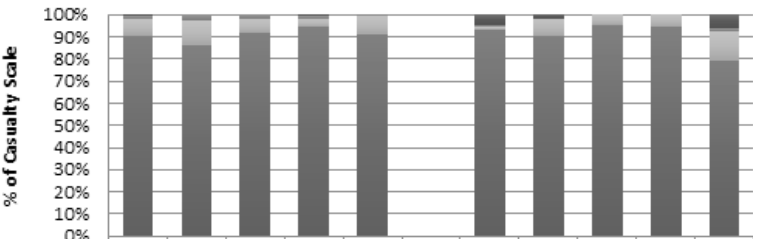
In 1970s and 1980s, Western Europe became the main theatre for terrorist incidents. The main reason for expanding terrorism is 'its recognition as a form of low-intensity warfare that is safe and cheap to activate and dangerous and costly to counter'.[9] The number of incidents of each category can clearly show the distribution of terror attacks and threats in EU MSs before and after 9/11. More importantly, it visualises in a very direct way the scale and the seriousness of terror attacks over the years. In doing so, the authors assume that these figures can help people better perceive terrorist European landscape in an easy way. There is a discrepancy between major MSs and others regarding the number of terrorist incidents. The overwhelming majority of terror attacks are concentrated in the few big MSs. This is the main reason why the paper focuses on terrorism in the following EU MSs.

The number of incidents at casualty level 1-10 is quite large, and they produce much negative impact on the social order at local and regional levels. These attacks are also concentrated in the few major MSs. The UK encountered 821 incidents, of which only 84 incidents occurred in post-9/11 era. Of the 84 incidents, 18 events produced one or two fatalities in each case. Spain suffered from 341 incidents, of which 42 incidents result in fatalities ranging from two to five and 117 incidents cause two to ten (very rare) injuries in each event. Of the 42 incidents, only three occurred after 9/11. Italy ranks third with 321 incidents, of which only 18 incidents happened after 9/11 with only three events causing one fatality respectively. All 18 incidents that re-

sult in over two fatalities took place before 9/11. France experienced numerous terror attacks with 260 incidents, of which three cases produced over five fatalities in each case, 22 incidents with two to four fatalities, and 95 incidents with one fatality in each event. Relatively speaking, of the five EU MSs, Germany is the least terror-stricken country with only 109 incidents, of which eight incidents caused two to four fatalities and other 25 events with one fatality in each case. All eight incidents happened before 9/11.

In the MSs' case studies, all the incidents with at least five casualties in each incident are included. The selection is based upon three rationales: first, to select all the major attacks and main perpetrators from the innumerable cases makes it easier to closely analyse the nature of terrorist organisations and the possible relationship between different perpetrators; second, once the selection criteria are lowered, too many incidents have to be included, in which case the perpetrator groups are too diverse to categorise, and consequently it is slightly possible to designate the complex relationship between them; and third, there is not much significance in nuancing perpetrators who mostly launch attacks once only with a very few casualties or none.

Figure 6: Most Terrorism-Stricken EU MSs



	UK 19732001	Fr 19732001	Ge 19732001	It 19732001	Sp 19862001		UK 20012015	Fr 20012015	Ge 20012015	It 20012015	Sp 20012015
C 100+	5	0	0	2	0		4	1	0	0	4
C 51-100	11	6	2	3	2		1	0	0	0	1
C 11-50	61	29	6	12	25		1	4	1	1	9
C 1-10	731	213	90	300	286		84	47	19	18	54

Fig 6 For comparison, the time zone is divided from 1 January 1973 to 11 September 2001 and from 12 September 2001 to 31 December 2015 in all cases except Spain.

Spain and its Basque separatist terrorism

Since Spain joined the Union in 1986, four major incidents at level IV occurred. It was in 2004 that Abu Hafs al-Masri Brigades launched four

attacks in Madrid causing about 200 fatalities and 2000 injuries. From 1986 to 2015, there are only three incidents at level III, and Basque Fatherland and Freedom (ETA) waged all three in 1987, 1991 and 2001; during this period, there are 34 incidents at level II, of which ETA initiated 28 with nine incidents before 9/11 and 19 incidents afterwards. Besides this, Terra Lliure was held responsible for two cases, Fatah Uprising and Free Galician People's Guerrilla Army each for one case, and perpetrators of the other two cases were 'unknown' (i.e., unidentified by the GTD). Meanwhile, at level I, ETA were responsible for five of six incidents with over five casualties in each incident.

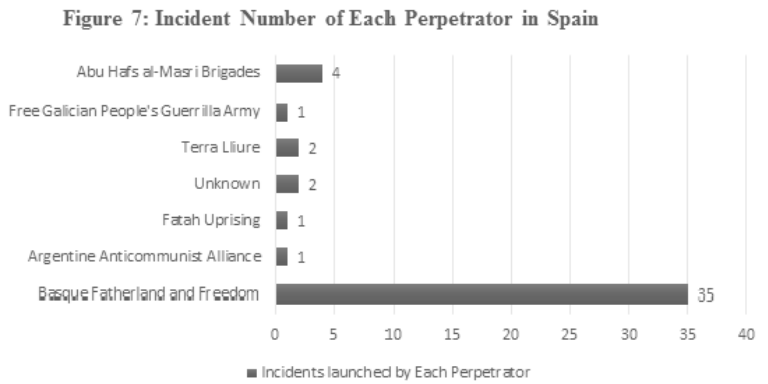


Fig 7 Incident number of each perpetrator in Spain.

The ETA, founded in 1959, is the most active nationalist terror group in Spain. It was initially founded to fight against General Francisco Franco's repression of Basque identity during and after the Spanish Civil War and for Basque independence, but ETA 'lost its *raison d'être*' when the country became a democracy in the late 1970s and its three Basque provinces gained sweeping autonomy.[10] However, having believed that Spain's transition to a democracy is incomplete, radical nationalists continue to support ETA's violence.[11] Achieving nationhood has become their motivation behind the attacks. ETA is responsible mainly for pre-9/11 terrorist attacks and Islamic terrorist groups for the few latest but lethal incidents. As an armed Basque nationalist and separatist organisation in northern Spain and southwestern France, ETA commits transnational crimes. The group's aim shifted from being originally a purely nationalist organisation to one with a socialist Marxist dimension;[12] from the initial promotion of traditional Basque culture to 'establishing an independent homeland based on Marxist

principles and encompassing the Spanish Basque provinces of Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa, and Alava, as well as the autonomous region of Navarra and the southwestern French Departments of Labourd, Basse-Navarra, and Soule'[13] through intensive involvements in violent acts such as bombing, assassinations and so forth. During that time, the ETA repeatedly stated that it would only be satisfied with independence.[14] With such an end, ETA became a paramilitary group, playing an important role in the Basque National Liberation Movement and also being an active participant in the Basque conflicts.[15]

In 1974, the ETA split into two organisations: political-military ETA (ETApm) and military ETA (ETAm), of which the latter emphasises the incompatibility between politics and armed struggle and is responsible for 93 percent of the total killings (832).[16] Some ETA supporters, however, came to doubt its violent methods. They even created a new party called EH Bildu and adjured violence.[17] In October 2011, ETA group declared a permanent ceasefire and later disbanded. In a statement, ETA leaders have expressed that 'It is now time to close the era of the armed conflict (...) to offer all our strength to foment the political process'.[18] Thus, ETA has given way to the Basque peace process and steps upon the channels of democratic politics. People credit ETA's decision on abandonment of armed struggle to various factors. Counterterrorism efforts from the Spanish and French security forces, a slow but powerful mobilisation of civil society against ETA acts, changes set in motion within ETA's political base, and limited but essential assistance by international actors have made their contributions to the fading and disbandment of ETA group.[19] Nevertheless, notwithstanding the abandonment of physical forces, the conflicts between Basques and Spaniards continue to exist but in different parameters. Nationalism is the dominant ideology behind ETA acts, which will not disappear but linger. In particular, nationalism recently has tended to increase all around the world, and it still needs to be treated in very cautious approaches so as not to trigger unnecessary conflicts. Right-wing parties in various MSs have become increasingly active, the revival of nationalism is inevitable and nationalist voice has become stronger in policy-making mechanisms. Meanwhile, while ETA's abandon of violence could be regarded as a great progress of EH Bildu and as a success of counterterrorism, radical nationalists today do have a tendency to use physical forces.

France, its colonial past and Islamic terrorism

Between 1970 and 2015 the only incident at level IV was launched by Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) in Paris in late 2015, accompanied by three attacks with less magnitude on the same day. Incidents at level III occurred six times but all before 1996, of which Armed Islamic Group (GIA) was held responsible for the 1995 and 1996 transportation attacks, Committee of Solidarity with Arab and Middle East Political Prisoners (CSPPA) for one against police in 1986, Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) for the 1983 airport and aircraft attack, and two unidentified incidents of 1986 and 1982 against business and media. In addition, 33 incidents at level II took place, three by ISIL in 2015 attacking mainly business and private citizens and property, and one raid in early 2015 on journalists, media, police, private citizens and property triggering off 24 casualties by Al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). All other 29 attacks happened before 9/11, of which one unidentified case was against the military in 2001 and the others were launched before 1995. GIA was responsible for four incidents attacking transportation, educational institutions, and government-related officials and institutions in general in 1995. Two incidents were credited to CSPPA, ASALA, Action Directe, and rightist Spanish Basque Battalion (BBE) individually. Other perpetrators include Hezbollah, Anti-Armenian Organisation, Abu Nidal Organisation (ANO), Neo-Nazi Group, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), unaffiliated individual(s), National Movement Against the Mahgreb Invasion, Supporters of Right and Freedom, Caribbean Revolutionary Independence Army, Orly Organisation and five unidentified attackers. Apparently, perpetrators are very diverse in France, and some such as ISIL, Neo-Nazi and Hezbollah are very transnational, but not much evidence shows cooperative linkages between these different organisations. Furthermore, there are five cases with five casualties minimally at level I: one business attack by unaffiliated individual(s), one raid on airports and aircraft by PFLP and three unknown attacks against transportation and private citizens.

Pre 9/11, terrorist groups are very diverse, but Islamic terrorists are not the dominant groups. Seen from a basic schematic of terrorism in France, Action Directe espoused a radical leftist philosophy, ideologically committing to the overthrow of the capitalist system and to the downfall of American-led 'imperialism', regional separatist groups advocated independence of some specific regions of France, and then in-

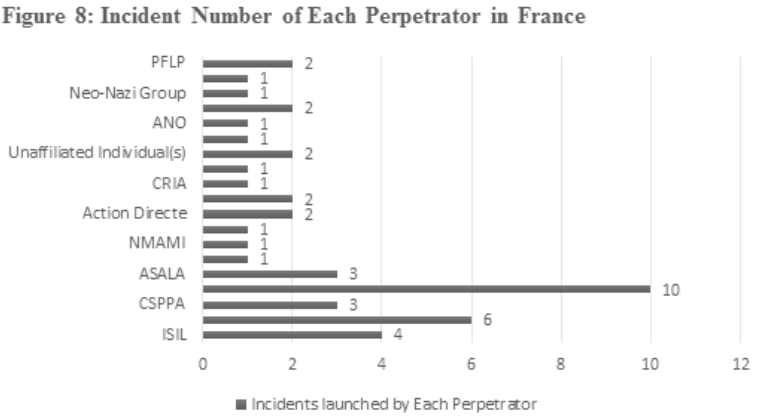


Fig 8 Incident number of each perpetrator in France

Note: Perpetrators in France are very diverse.

ternational terrorism of Middle Easter origin came to public notice.[20] At that time, though various Islamic terrorist groups existed, their destructive power was not so high.

As terrorist groups are very diverse, the antithesis between terrorist groups is another factor causing conflicts and increasing the number of incidents. Some terrorist groups are in complete antithesis to the other ones. For instance, rightist BBE came into being to resist against Basque separatist ETA, and Anti-Armenian Organisation came into existence to put up a stubborn resistance against the violence of ASALA who attempted to inflict punishment for the Turkish denial of 'Armenian genocide'.[21] These groups are very active international terrorists, committing transnational crimes. Though they launch attacks in France, it doesn't necessarily mean against French people and civilisation, for they also target foreign citizens and especially diplomatic services. For instance, ASALA in France is mainly against the Turkish instead of the French. Therefore, these terrorist organisations and attacks are closely related to age-old racial problems handed down in history.

When it comes to why France is frequently attacked by terrorists, people point to multiple factors: its republic's specific brand of secularism – its model of laïcité (separation between church and state), its military interventionism in the Muslim world, discrimination against its Muslims, and its colonial history. While without denying the influence of first three factors, Nougayrède (2016) emphasises the connections between current terror acts and France's colonial past, arguing

that 'the colonial history is not dead, and it's not even the past' and 'Nostalgia for French colonial might is still powerful, if unspoken'.[22] The country has to come to terms with its colonial past if an inclusive and promising future for all its citizens is in the vision of French politicians.[23] However, on the other hand, Sèbe (2015) argues that 'trying to make sense of the Paris attacks through the prism of colonial history only would be dangerously reductive'.[24] He believes terrorist attacks such as the Paris attacks reflect the self-exclusion of a very small, but extremely proactive, minority seeking to alienate communities from each other rather than the Gallic marginalisation of Muslim communities. 'If the colonial past teaches us how human connections inherited from the empire can have facilitated the implementation of last Friday's attacks [Paris attacks], it is not enough to comprehend the dynamics of present-day jihadi groups, which have an unprecedented global and fundamentally anti-Western agenda'.[25] Unlike anti-colonial activists, Jihadi groups are believed to seek to realise their political objectives at the expense of annihilating the West and its values.[26] The radical idea actually exposes that Jihadists' political goals are rooted in a zero-sum mentality, that is, either Western values or jihadi fundamentalism can exist.

Meanwhile, French engagement in secularising the Arab world has caused much trouble. This is not only an issue in France, but also in regions such as North Africa and the Arab world. Internal conflicts over secularisation within these regions can be neither denied nor ignored. The conflicts sometimes even expose the inequality between secular and non-secular classes. 'In North Africa in particular, the Francophone and predominantly secular classes were clearly preferred over their Arabic-speaking counterparts, who frequently favoured the concept of a return to an "unspoiled" pre-colonial practice of Islam'.[27] This is also partially a reason why jihadists point to France. France and other Western countries have supported authoritarian secular leaders of Islamic states. Thus, Western countries and even Russia, who colonised every Muslim country, 'have a moral, if not absolutely legal, obligation both (a) to make reparation to all the peoples in the Middle East, and to the Islamic world generally and (b) to foster the rule of law, human rights, and democratic institutions in all those states'.[28] Though current terror attacks cannot be fully attributed to French colonial history, Islamic secularisation has been highly internationalised due to connections established from its colonial past.

French terrorist attacks are featured in an increasing share of notable Islamic groups stemming from the Middle East regions such as GIA, AQAP, ISIL, Hezbollah, PFLP, ANO and CSPPA. The attribute certainly gives its credit to its colonial history with regard to understanding the French terrorist situation.[29] French colonial and control power exerts great impact on Muslim countries, such as Algeria, Syria, Lebanon, and so forth. France has never completely severed relations with these countries and people from these regions come to work and live in France. Nevertheless, due to unemployment, educational disadvantages and cultural backgrounds, these settlers are marginalised and driven to live in some ostracised communities, where the anger and dissatisfaction of these people allow their communities to become not only the hotbed of Islamic terrorists but also the follow-up forces of Islamic terrorists. As a consequence, the acts arouse the ire of French nationalists and citizens that widens the rift between Muslim and non-Muslim communities and deepens the racial conflicts. Terrorist groups such as the Algerian-based Islamic Armed Group (GIA), the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC), and later al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) all 'blamed France for its colonial history and its ties with Algiers' perceived infidel government' and 'criticized the French for being impious and perverted'.[30] The current ISIS repeatedly puts much stress upon these essentialist remarks, and their rationales for targeting France include its 'anti-Muslim policies', its military intervention in the Muslim world, and propagandising Jihadi values through creating chaos in French society.[31] France is forced to pay the price for old problems. Terrorism not only emanates from racial problems, but it also deepens racial rifts – a vicious circle.

Last but not least, high proportions of unidentified terrorist attacks are another conspicuously noticeable feature. It indirectly indicates the difficulty in gathering intelligence and tracing perpetrators, and the consequential failure of identification becomes undoubtedly inevitable; on the other hand, abundant intelligence collecting, and successful terrorist identification are the main determinants of preventing and countering future attacks. If security agencies have the intention of nipping the terrorist atrocities in the bud, then more efforts need to be made so as to better collect and share information and track perpetrators. The fact has also exposed the high invisibility of contemporary terror acts.

UK and threats from Irish republicanism

Since joining the Union in 1973, the UK went through nine major attacks at level IV by the very end of 2015, of which Secret Organisation of al-Qaida in Europe (SOQE) claimed responsibility for four aimed at transportation explosion in 2005 that gave rise to 56 fatalities and around 800 injuries in total and Irish Republican Army (IRA) was held responsible for three with one attack in 1973 on the military and government in general, one business attack and one against private citizens and property in 1990s. Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA) made one raid on private citizens and property with a result of 29 fatalities and 220 injuries in 1998, and one serious airport and aircraft attack, in which 270 people died but its perpetrators were unidentified.

The UK also suffered 12 terrorist incidents of level III. Protestant Extremists launched the latest one in 2013 with opposition against police, and it was also responsible for another attack against private citizens and property in 1988. IRA waged seven attacks mainly on private citizens, property, business and government with one exception of the 1984 transportation attack. Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) attacked against business, which caused 16 fatalities and 66 casualties in 1982. Moreover, police and business came under attacks from unknown perpetrators in 1980 and 1991, of which 37 people were killed in the former and 70 people were injured in the latter.

Sixty-one incidents at level II were launched. IRA was responsible for 47, of which there were 12 attacks on police, 14 on private citizens and property, 12 on business, six on government in general, two on transportation, and one on educational institution. Apart from five unknown attacks, other perpetrators include RIRA, Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA) (suspected), Orange Volunteers (OV), Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF), Protestant Extremists, Supporters of Qadhafi, PFLP, and Red Flag. All these perpetrators committed only once in terms of this casualty scale. Furthermore, at level I eight incidents with over five casualties took place. IRA attacked six times with five on police and one on private citizens and property. Republican Action Force and UVF were responsible for one incident respectively with ten fatalities by the former and five fatalities by the latter.

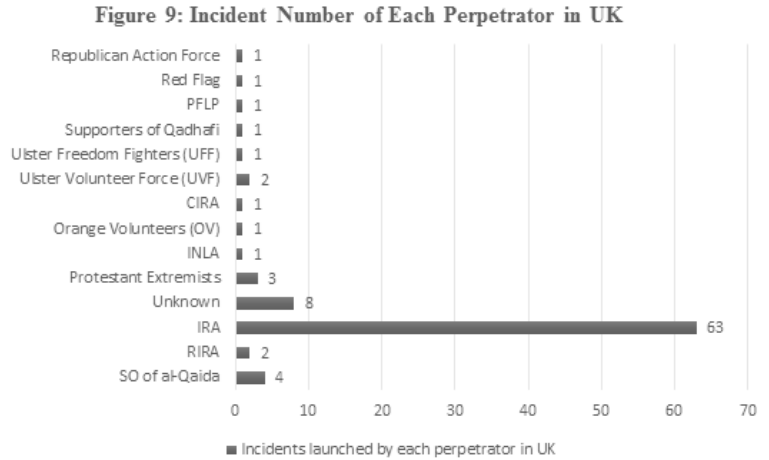


Fig 9 Incident number of each perpetrator in UK

Of all these attacks, IRA accounts for 70 percent (see figure 9). IRA was dedicated to Irish republicanism in the 20th century and for the independence of the Northern Ireland. IRA, founded in 1919 during the formation of the Irish State, is a nationalist terrorist organisation to reunite Ireland through incorporating the six counties of Northern Ireland where the majority population is Protestant.[32] It has been fighting for territorial claim (independence or greater autonomy for territory) and thus is involved in a war of attrition with the State, distinguishing itself from revolutionary, fascist and religious terrorism.[33] For IRA, terrorism was a necessary political instrument to realise its ambition. It can attract British and world attention with low cost. As IRA has a rival relationship with Loyalists, they take revenge on each other through terror attacks. In 1960s, the IRA organisation was almost dead, and then some Republican nationalist members split from the IRA in 1969 and created the Provisional IRA (PIRA).[34] PIRA holds divergent political orientations on how to deal with the increasing violence in Northern Ireland. It had many more killings during 1969 to 2001, and at the same time repression in Northern Ireland is much stronger than in the Basque country (Sànchez-Cuenca, 2007, p. 292). The Official IRA (OIRA) as the remainder of the IRA was also active. OIRA broke from the PIRA in 1986 because the latter called for an end on its abstentionism and RIRA, a 1997 breakaway from PIRA and consisting of members disrupting the Northern Ireland peace process[35],

has grown into the largest dissident republican organisation. All these branches resort to violence under the name of unifying Ireland. Nationhood or statehood sentiment plays a crucial role in sparking off IRA-related groups to wage attacks. As a result, the UK Loyalist attacks on citizens became a reaction to IRA's attempt from integrating the North Ireland into the Republic of Ireland. Loyalists were engaged in 'assassination of republican figures, whether from Sinn Fein or from the IRA, or of ordinary Catholics in retaliation for IRA actions and in an attempt to force the nationalist community to rein in the IRA'[36] to terrorise their opponents. That is, wanton slaughter of innocent people becomes a political instrument for IRA and Loyalists to win a concession from each other. Consequently, nationalism is locked in a vicious circle of taking revenge.

Meanwhile, this is also a very religion-based terrorist act. Believing that IRA and other IRA-related groups are in doubt to be supported by Irish Catholic community, staunchly protestant loyalists[37] launched attacks on Catholic civilians so as to coerce Irish authorities into abandoning their intention of unifying the North Ireland with the Republic of Ireland. The IRA's campaign took place in the context of an ethnic conflict between two communities (Catholic and Protestant) divided by religion.[38] The PIRA has received substantial support from Northern Irish Catholics and achieved a great deal regarding its efforts to establish a united Irish republic, but it cannot overcome the hostility of Northern Irish Protestants to Irish unification.[39] Due to the religious identity of religious figures and institutions behind the pro-nationalist and anti-nationalist movements, religion is naturally and unavoidably perceived as an element of the terrorist/counterterrorist relationship.

Attracting media coverage is an objective of terrorists to receive international attention and diplomatic recognition. The IRA clearly knows that an explosion in London is worth a hundred in Belfast.[40] For instance, on 12 October 1984, the group attempted to assassinate Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who was present at the annual conference of Conservative Party. On the other hand, in response to such an increasing threat of both national and international terrorism, the UK government expressed its strong determination and willingness to respond, which 'has incorporated antiterrorist legislation, strong administrative measures, and an outstanding special military unit'.[41] The reciprocal terrorist/counterterrorist relationship between the PIRA and the British authorities has demonstrated that the PIRA

systematically adapts to counterterrorist policies pursued by the authorities while the latter correspondingly adopts new counterterrorist tactics according to the former's response.[42] Consequently, the two parties, instead of resorting to military approaches to defeat one another, seem locked in a ritualistic dance of death, which can never end due to the inexhaustibility of their adaptive capability.[43] Thus, how to balance terrorist and counterterrorist relationship has been and will be a challenge.

Later on, the IRA also shifted from resorting to physical forces to peaceful approaches. On August 31, 1994, the IRA agreed to eschew armed struggle as a means to achieve its political objective of Irish unity and enter a peace process, but the republican dream of an Irish Ireland may remain until it is realised even without the need of physical force. As Bell says, 'The IRA would be different but the same'.[44]

Since 1980s, Islamic terrorism was already present. Middle Eastern terrorist groups carried out several assassinations against dissidents living in the UK (such as attacks at the Iraqi embassy, the Libyan embassy and the Iranian embassy).[45] After 9/11, Islamic terrorism is increasing. Islamic terrorism is ethnic terrorism. Ethnic terrorists very often seek to influence mainly their own constituencies, to foster communal identity, to target potential intermediaries, and also to arouse a fear among its rival groups.[46] There is no exception for Islamic terrorists. Nevertheless, religious belief is not the direct factor generating terrorist acts. Some groups of people (e.g., radical extremists and nationalists) deliberately create conflicts under the name of religion, though different ideologies behind various religions cannot be denied. The political intention of these people is much stronger than religious motivation regarding the terrorist acts.

Italy and its political violence

Two incidents at level IV occurred in Florence and Bologna, but both took place in the 1980s. Armed Revolutionary Nuclei (NAR), New Order and Red Brigades together organised an attack on transportation causing 15 fatalities and 112 injuries (see figure 5). NAR was also suspected to launch the other major transportation attack in which 76 people were killed and 188 were injured. There are three incidents at level III, of which two attacks with 97 and 80 casualties respectively on airports and aircraft were organised by Abu Nidal Organisation (ANO) in 1985 and by Black September in 1973 and one transportation attack

with 60 casualties by Black Order in 1974; meanwhile, 13 level II incidents happened. Except the unidentified raid on private citizens and property in 2003 and the attack on government by Mafia in 1992, the remainder occurred during the 1970s and 1980s. Revolutionary Organisation of Socialist Muslims (ROSM) was responsible for one airports and aircraft attack and one business attack, ASALA for two airports and aircraft concerned cases, and NAR for two attacks on government in general. Red Brigades, Black Lebanon and Black Order each are responsible for one case, and plus two unknown incidents in 1970s and 1980s. Furthermore, Red Brigades, Mafia and Prima Linea organised three incidents at level I with five and over casualties in each case (see figure 10). The Red Brigade is also an interesting example connecting its rise and fall with political terrorist development.[47]

Figure 10: Incident Number of Each Perpetrator in Italy

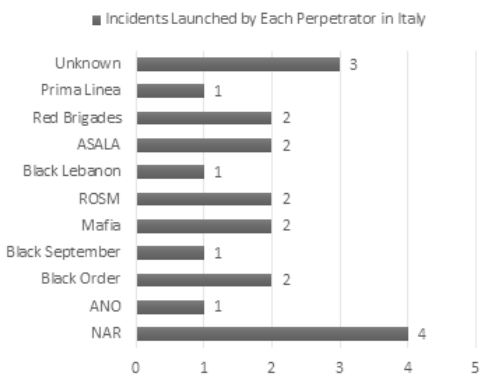


Fig 10 Incident number of each perpetrator in Italy

Italian terror is mostly characterised by political violence. The terrorist incidents mostly occurred in 1970s and 1980s. The characteristic has much to do with the then Italian domestic social instability and political turmoil. This period, known as the Years of Lead,[48] is marked by a wave of epidemic social conflicts and unprecedented political terrorism. Italian society at that time was rife with public protests, labour unrest, student strikes, rampant political violence and the birth of various terrorist groups. Moreover, in post-war Italy, '[p]olice operations against political protests, often preceded or accompanied by "preventive repression", were shaped by military problem solutions

not excluding the use of firearms'.[49] In particular, internal unbalanced socio-economic development, the turbulent social situations and tensions between the rulers and the ruled, the crisis of the family that the family as a social unit is 'no longer able to fulfil its function of socialization',[50] and so forth have deepened conflicts over these issues and aggravated the social crisis. Eventually, all these problems together led to the concentrated appearance of numerous terrorist incidents during these two decades. Political scandals and corruption triggered violent reactions by marginal groups, and the situation is further deteriorated due to the crisis in state education, which represents a principal cause of intellectual unemployment; dissatisfaction with lack of demand regarding educational qualifications gave rise to dangerous frustration; unemployment breeds an inborn stimulus, also irrational, towards violent behaviour during that time, and the climax in the explosions of terrorism took place with the students' revolt in October 1977.[51] All these issues are highly intertwined and interdependent. Therefore, eliminating domestic socio-economic roots and political roots of terrorism is a prerequisite of tackling international terrorism and its international connections. '[T]errorism should never simply be labeled a political demon or a foreign plot devoid of internal causes'; instead, it is mostly 'a terrible domestic socio-politico-cultural cancer, corrupting from the inside any "stagnant" society, incapable of overcoming its inner contradictions and fragility'.[52]

The then Italian crisis is also believed to have originated 'in the gap between mass aspirations and lack of means, in the weak and collapsing civil infrastructure, and in the ruling class, which is corrupted by favouritism and, perhaps, nepotism'.[53] According to Santoro et al. (1987),[54] inter-party conflicts have resulted in much variation in the degree to which parties have consensus on the issue of international terrorism and thus have stopped Italy from fully cooperating with the US and its European partners in the war against terror, though the four most prominent political parties stand in principle against terrorism. However, the main targeting objects are materials rather than people. During that time, an apparent common purpose of terror attacks is to overthrow the political institutions of the country.[55] In particular, in a strange democracy without any alternation of political power and few replacements, the forces of the extreme Right and extreme Left become 'a source of ever-increasing tension that explodes in inhumane violence against property and people'.[56]

Terrorists intend 'to break up the state by showing that the state is incapable both of condemning those who conspire against peaceful coexistence and of making the law respected'.[57] In doing so, terrorists attempt to create a situation of uncertainty or insecurity. When the rules and the limits set to regulate behaviours are disrespected and the social structure and organisation are undermined, there arises in the consociates a widespread phenomenon of contestation of the entire ruling system, which may lead to a situation of uncertainty and insecurity.[58] As a consequence, people's reaction to such a situation may be distinguished by two forms: one with activity and the other with passivity, of which there develops political terrorism in the former form and there arises self-isolation from society and the passive refusal of the social system.[59]

Thus, for the country, showing citizens the efficiency of its institutions is of great significance because vulnerable institutions allow the growth and proliferation of terrorist acts on the one hand and citizens, in fear of being retaliated, are unwilling to cooperate with their states in struggle against terror on the other hand. It is argued that superprisons and increased penalties are not the solutions to the terror problem; instead, the complete reorganisation and restructuring of the state is the solution.[60] It is argued that:

> When a state can demonstrate the solidity of its own structures, its capacity for rapidly solving social problems and for guaranteeing orderly living conditions, the problem of terrorism will automatically be solved; insecurity and tension, which are the principal causes of the phenomenon, will be eliminated and the terrorists will be isolated.[61]

Deficiency of state institutions weakens the enforcement of counterterrorism. Therefore, the firmness of its institutions, their capacity for tackling social problems and ensuring social orders, strong social solidarity, and citizens' confidence in the state's competence are the most important premises to address terrorist issues. Terrorists attempt to manipulate and destroy the relationship between public authorities and citizens.

The indiscriminate strategy of terror is targeted to sever the traditional ties of trust and protection between state and people once state governments are believed to be unable to combat terrorism without resorting to equally indiscriminate violence.[62] Hence, serious considerations need to be given to both the strategy of terror and the strategy

of counterterrorism. On the one side, indiscriminate counterterrorist policies are highly likely to arouse the public's anger (e.g., the ordinary Muslim people), and people will harbour resentment against the state. On the other side, indiscriminate strategies of terror cause many casualties that will make people disappointed about the state's incapability of effectively controlling terror. Special attention needs to be paid to the strategy of terror as 'violent action represents the most effective system through which a group, small in number and means, may immediately achieve public notoriety'.[63]

The outstanding political terrorism can also be observed from the Italian institutional response to terrorism. Italian terrorism in 1970s was overwhelmingly a phenomenon of the Left, which conceived itself as a means of bringing about a Communist regime and regarded its terrorists as the competitors and reformers of the Italian Communist party.[64] During the 'immobilist' period (1970-74), the Italian secret service protected right-wing terrorism, which was more serious at that time, but left-wing terrorism was not considered as a threat; the situation changed when the right-wing terrorism declined during the second phase (1974-76), and the authorities put more repression on left-wing terrorism; the Emergency period (1977-82) was characterised by a new wave of left-wing terrorism and mounting repression that eventually promoted terrorist recruitment; however, the left-wing terrorism was defeated during the fourth period (1982-89) through new anti-terrorist policies, such as amnesty and repentance laws.[65]

However, unlike rightist groups in the other Western democracies, Italian right-wing terrorism for the most part has been targeted at Communists and other leftists rather than racial or ethnic minorities.[66] According to the autobiographical literature of Italian terrorists on the left and rights, there exists a cultural history of anti-democratic violence on both political extremes in Italy, and any endeavour to understand the problem of Italian terrorism during the second half of the last century must start with a historical examination of the ideas and values motivating the terrorists. This indicates that the Left and Right have conflicting views not only on how to respond terrorism but also on how to govern democratic systems. Consequently, inter-party conflict is indeed a source of terrorism, but casualties at that time were not high.

Apart from the aspect of overwhelming political violence, Italian terrorism is also featured in a broad spectrum of perpetrators and each

perpetrator very often carries out a raid once or twice only. This makes it difficult to distinguish one terrorist group from another with regard to the casualty scale and incident frequency. De facto weakness exposes the difficulty in collecting intelligence and identifying terrorist organisations to light. Like the French case, unidentified incidents make up 14 percent of the total, which is quite serious considering the large number of casualties of all the unknown incidents. Therefore, intelligence sharing is of great importance in respect of preventing single incidents since many perpetrator groups do not commit a second time to be discovered.

In recent years, Italy is a country which is 'experiencing a very weak threat, but highly engaged in counterterrorism security operations and highly prolific in the anti-terrorism domestic legislative and judicial production'.[67] Its counterterrorism privileges 'a comprehensive – and not strictly military – response to the terrorist threat'[68] so as to effectively control the spread of terrorism.

Terrorist Menace and EU Counterterrorism Challenges

Both terrorist menace and EU counterterrorism challenge are always there but come into sight in different ways at different given time. The price of destroying terrorism through indiscriminate counterterrorism is the disintegration of national social values.[69] Counterterrorism thus must be carried out in very cautious ways. According to the aforementioned analyses, terrorist identification through intelligence sharing, increasing tendency of Islamic terror attacks and particularly armed individuals, and soft target-oriented attacks are some tough threats and challenges the EU has to deal with.

Intelligence sharing and terrorist identification

Though the EU and its MSs have spent years of wrangling over intelligence sharing, it is very difficult to make a major breakthrough considering the divergent and controversial interpretations in MSs. The loose cooperation in intelligence sharing consequently results in intelligence scarcity both for EU institutions and the MSs. Various cases have shown that some attacks, which could be prevented, are successfully launched due to a lack of shared intelligence. Hence, closer intelligence cooperation and coordination is supposed to make productive contributions to not only identifying and deterring perpetrators but also preventing potential attacks.

An important prerequisite for prevention takes the form of successful intelligence collection before the unpredictable incoming attacks. While free movements policies of the EU Schengen Agreement have created unprecedented freedom and convenience for European citizens, they concurrently provide favourable conditions for those who misuse the policies and commit crimes. In the face of this dilemma, closer (police) cooperation in intelligence is one crucial way, if not the only way, for the EU institutions and MSs to nip potential menaces in the bud. Without intelligence support from national authorities, European institutions have much trouble moving forward, and so do the MSs.

In particular, given that '[i]n the EU terrorists – but not policemen – can move easily across national frontiers',[70] the cooperative necessity for intelligence sharing has to be brought to the fore. The extant data demonstrates that a considerable proportion of perpetrators cannot be identified even after the attacks. The unidentified perpetrators account for four percent in Spain's case, 22 percent in France's case, nine percent in the UK's case, 14 percent in Italy's case, and 27 percent in Germany's case. These unknown incidents are quite serious with regard to their casualty scale because there are five fatalities or ten casualties (i.e. both fatality and injuries) at the minimum in single incident.

Promoting closer joint cooperation between European institutions and the MSs and establishing technical structure of pan-European intelligence will make great sense in strengthening national intelligence and building up the European level intelligence service. Take the late 2015 Paris attacks for example. If France, as the leading country, allows proactive participation of European institutions and other MSs in the investigation after the attacks, both France and other participants will be the beneficiaries of investigation achievements to probably prevent potential attacks because they could not only exchange information but also learn how to better cooperate and coordinate during the investigation process. It is not merely a way of gathering European institutions and member states together to jointly work on certain issue that concerns each party, but a test ground for trust and 'unity in diversity' between these agents. It is also about 'technical structure allowing for information sharing and joint analysis'.[71] By the end of the day, it is also an instrumental portion of further promoting European integration.

Rising destructive power of Islamic groups and 'lone wolves'

Islamic terrorist groups, particularly 'Lone Wolves', were not so rampant in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s. They came into view at the turn of the 21st century and 9/11 officially heralded the new but crisis-ridden century. Ever since, Islamic terrorist attacks have followed hard on another. The Madrid train bombing, 7/7 London Bombings, the more recent Brussels Airport Attacks, twice Paris attacks and Nice attacks shocked Europe and the world, and more precisely speaking, all these aforementioned world-wide known attacks were launched by Islamic groups. For instance, the latest major attacks in Madrid are Islamic-waged incidents; France had been free from any terrorist attacks for the past fifteen years until the latest Paris and Nice attacks launched by ISIL and AQAP; and the London bombings, which are the only major attacks in the 21st century in the UK, were carried out by Secret Organisation of al-Qaida in Europe. These terrorist incidents are not the only ones, but they are influential enough to make people feel frozen with terror, to enable them to forge a strong psychological line of defence, and to discourage them from interacting with Muslim communities, which in turn makes it more difficult for people with Islamic backgrounds to be better integrated into European society or European ways of social life that will certainly be detrimental to the smooth integration development of the Union in general. Islamic terrorist attacks are more powerful and destructive than those ethno-nationalist and separatist attacks. As a consequence, the peaceful continental paradise gets involved into an Islamic terrorist battlefield, and a strong sense of insecurity stretches over the continent.

Racial hatred and estrangement between Muslim and non-Muslim people is one of the thorniest problems. The outcome of growing Islamic terrorism may even become a Pandora's Box, inflicting not only great harm on European citizens but also tremendous damage on the European social order. Particularly, racial tension is dramatically mounting when nationalists and right-wing extremists seize the opportunity to stir up troubles. As time passes, the racial chasm is gradually widened. This will be a political time bomb on the route to an in-depth European integration unless the rift is really psychologically healed instead of being deceptively concealed. Meanwhile, it is certainly not a wise act either to ostracise and marginalise all the Muslims due to some crimes of some particular groups or individuals. Instead, they should be more integrated and more middle-of-the-roaders are needed to lessen and

possibly minimise bilateral tensions. Porta stresses the importance of reintegrating former terrorists involving terrorist organisations into society.[72] However, former terrorists and their acts differ from contemporary terrorists and their activity in many ways. As a result, it will be different regarding whether they should be reintegrated into society or not. If yes, then the question is how to reintegrate.

To better integrate Muslim citizens into European society, civil power of Muslim communities and successful European Muslim individuals as middlemen could make contributions to bridging the gap between radical Muslims (especially the younger generation) and European mainstream society. These middlemen could play quite important roles not only because they are capable of setting a good example for the juvenile delinquents or potential terrorists, but also because they have closer blood ties and cultural connection with these people and can make sense of what is going on there with them. Besides, the middlemen are very likely to be the first to have a premonition of a terror attack and discover the problem, which will render great assistance to security agencies to collect incipient signs of terror. Due attention has not been paid to this function. They are sometimes forced into a situation where they have to cover up for their compatriots and allow their crimes when nationalists and other anti-Muslim groups exclude and discriminate them on account of their religious or cultural identity rather than judging the case as it stands. Religion cannot be regarded as the scapegoat of both terrorist and counterterrorist. Drawing distinctions between 'religious' and 'secular' terrorism is problematic both at the conceptual and empirical levels because the behaviours of so-called religious terrorists is very often indistinguishable from their 'secular' counterparts.[73]

Eliminating stereotyped cultural labels is of great importance to reduce mutual misunderstanding between ethnic groups. In the case of Islamic terrorism, Muslims are dramatically stereotyped, prejudiced and demonised ever since September 11. Muslim people are 'deemed responsible for the "crime" of their religious identity, stigmatised and labelled as outsiders purely as a result of being Muslim', and the extant studies have found that 'visible markers of "Muslimness" are connected with a rise in the probability of experiencing marginalization, racism and issues over access to employment, as well as daily discrimination in the form of verbal and even physical assault and violence'.[74] Bonino argues, 'the employment of soft approaches aimed at combating

and preventing radicalization should be given priority over hard power approaches, which could further the isolation, embitterment and targeting of Muslims and, in turn, play into the hands of terrorists and recruiters'.[75]

Another function of civil power in general including all the citizens is the role of supervision and harmonisation. It takes the entire society to fully advance the peace process of European integration because the process per se affects the personal and social interests of all European citizens. On the one hand, when it comes to the *supervision* function of civil power, citizens have a say in the matter because different people have various access to the information concerned and they could clue the police or intelligence service in about suspects or anything suspicious. They could definitely be the extended eyes and ears of intelligence services and more exactly the mobile surveillance cameras. In this sense, citizens are more conceived as snitches or informants. On the other hand, real social interactions and comprehensive integration takes full engagement of all citizens. Respect for being different, productive conversations, interaction between cultures and religions and so forth are believed to do contributions to establishing a harmonious relationship between citizens with diverse backgrounds regardless of political orientation, religious belief, cultural belongings, etc. Therefore, a solution to discovering the initial signs of 'grassroots jihadists'[76] or potential attackers could be found in a cooperative effort between security agencies and the public.

Terrorism and its increasing soft targets

The landscape of terrorist target types is changing and soft target attacks[77] are very likely to be a new normal. Soft target attacks account for a remarkable proportion in the cases of Spain, France, Italy and the UK. Specifically, among the top ten target types - business, private citizens and property, transportation, airports and aircraft, the government-related in general count for 27 percent, 21 percent, ten percent, ten percent and ten percent respectively while attacks on police make up 20% and on the military-related only two percent (see figure 11). The soft target attacks' proportion is about 80 percent as a rough calculation when the attacks on police are fully excluded from soft target category.[78] Therefore, some preliminary conclusions can be drawn as follows.

Figure 11: Terrorist Target Types

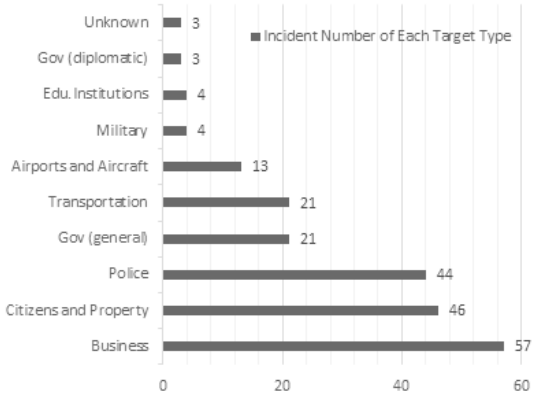


Fig 11 Terrorist target types

Attacks on transportation are very often major incidents and inflict the greatest losses with regard to casualties, infrastructure damages, social impact and so forth. The major terrorist incidents in European cities all attest to the tremendous destructive power of transportation attacks. The four Madrid transportation attacks in 2004 by Abu Hafs al-Masri Brigades (suspected) led to the serious consequences of 191 fatalities and about 1800 injuries; the latest four major transportation attacks in London in 2005 by SOQE resulted in 56 fatalities and 784 injuries; the 1996 and 1995 Paris transportation attacks by GIA (suspected) are the most deadly incidents before 2015 with an outcome of ten fatalities and 177 injuries; and the 1984 Florence transportation attack by Armed Revolutionary Nuclei (NAR), New Order and Red Brigades gave rise to 15 deaths and 112 injuries; and the 1980 Bologna incident by NAR (suspected) resulted in 76 fatalities and 188 injuries. In addition, the transportation attacks could temporarily paralyse transportation services but from a long-term perspective make the whole public transportation system malfunctioning. Apart from the economic losses and physical damage, transportation attacks, with a high possibility of reaching more victims, can maximise the sense of terror and traumatise civilians because soft targets instil more fear in the general public than hard targets.[79] The effect of causing public panic reflects one important dimension of the definition of the term terrorism: to spread fear and terror among the target groups. Transportation malfunction can exert huge impact on citizens and their daily life. Destroying trans-

portation systems often brings much inconvenience for citizens, and the inconvenience will increase the publicity of terrorism. The further purpose of causing fear is that terrorist groups want the public to put pressure on the authorities and let them change the country's foreign policies concerned. As a result, the state will suffer from public pressure. For instance, the public opposes military intervention in the Muslim world.

The fact that very few terrorist attacks were against religious figures and institutions has demonstrated that more serious considerations need to be given to the parlance that religion or religious incompatibility is at the root of terrorist incidents. Though the small number of attacking religious figures and institutions does not necessarily prove that terrorists do not launch attacks based upon religious causes, the intertwined relationship between religion and terrorism needs further clarification. For a long time, the differences of religious doctrines and beliefs are believed to be reasonable explanations for terrorist acts between religious factions. For instance, the terrorist activities of IRA and British protestant loyalists are closely related to religious backgrounds; the Islamic terrorist groups even claim themselves to be the real followers and practitioners of Islam; and so forth. Nevertheless, there are only two incidents in the EU claimed against religious figures and institutions since 1970: one is the 1982 Italian case by Black Lebanon causing 38 casualties and the other is the 1980 French case by Neo-Nazi Group generating 16 casualties. This stark contrast requests security agencies and counterterrorism practitioners to further reflect upon the delicate interconnectivity between religion and terrorism and to see through the false appearances artificially created by attackers for the purpose of hiding their bad intentions and distracting people's attention from finding out the reasons behind their crimes.

The incremental trend of soft target attacks results from both terrorist strategic change and counterterrorism policies. Like the US counterterrorism targeting hierarchy groups,[80] the EU counterterrorism policies and approaches to a large extent manage to block terrorist groups or organisations from launching attacks but hardly ward off 'Lone Wolf' attacks. The EU is thereby becoming a victim of its own accomplishment. However, 'lone wolves' are not really alone. French police investigations have indicated that 'lone wolves' often retain ties with other radicals through the Internet or in real life and are encouraged to take up action independently by Jihadis.[81] The cultural and geo-

graphical proximity is a big concern of France. Tunisian, Moroccan and Algerian nationals, who are reportedly thought to fight in Syria, speak French and can be sent to France. What's worse, French authorities have much less capability of controlling these groups of people. Jihadis have employed 'a full spectrum of terror tactics to try and undermine France'.[82] Nevertheless, due to lacking weapons of mass destruction and professional terrorist tradecraft, the armed or semi-armed individuals or so-called 'Lone Wolves' are inadequate for attacking hard targets such as military units and other well-armed forces. Consequently, 'in selecting targets, IS appears to prefer soft targets because they are more effective than attacks on critical infrastructure, the military, police and other hard targets'.[83] Therefore, soft targets are not only easily reached, but also more *effective* for the attackers to make influence.

'Lone Wolves' actions are most effective when their objects are soft targets. When European countries, along with the US, launched a series of tough crackdown on Islamic terrorist groups, group actions decreased. The extant EU counterterrorism strategy has four strands: prevent, protect, pursue and respond,[84] which is very self-protective and conservative, particularly focusing on internal governance and security. It is much less possible for terrorist groups to infiltrate the Union without being discovered. Even within the Union, group actions are increasingly constrained. As a result, terrorist groups recognised the necessity of changing their strategy through guiding, training and arming potential attackers with essential skills and probably small weapons that can render them competent in conducting independent but seriously influential attacks. These armed individuals and semi-armed ones sneak into Europe and freely shuttle to and fro colluding with Muslim natives and targeting potential victims. Recently, instead of taking the risk of accessing to Europe, they prefer remote control over and radicalisation of homegrown terrorists to dispatching attackers to the targeted places. 'Remote radicalization exploits the growing global interconnectivity, its ability to move money, share information, and manipulate modern technology'.[85]

Conclusion

To conclude, while political violence has decreased, the opposite is true for nationalism. Nationalism continues to be a thorny problem. The rise of right-wing parties is a sign of the tendency. ETA, IRA, IRA branches and many others are very active nationalist terrorist groups

which leave a legacy behind. Though both ETA and IRA initiated to stop resorting to physical forces as a means to achieve their political goals and their intention of quitting physical forces matters very much, the underlying nationalist ideologies are still lingering. Some right-wing radicals actually tend to use armed struggles, to which special attention must be paid.

Islamic terrorism has increased but not in a dramatic way. A big challenge is that Islamic terrorism is highly unpredictable, imperceptible and destructive. Unlike ETA, IRA and other nationalist groups, it will take a much longer time to reach agreement on a peace process between Islamic terrorists and European authorities as Islamic issues are more sensitive and complex. Islamic terrorist motivations are very multiple and overlapping. All political, ideological, religious and racial themes are intertwined. This makes it very difficult to observe the problems. Meanwhile, it is extremely important to distinguish war on terror from war against Islam. While national authorities prefer war on terror in their political discourse, Islamic terror groups attempt to enhance the narrative of war against Islam so as to aggravate contradictions between Western and Muslim worlds.

As terrorists increasingly prefer to attack civilians in a view to attracting world attention, how to protect soft targets and how to maintain mutual trust between citizens and the state come to the fore regarding counterterrorism. Unarmed civilians are exposed to any potential terror attacks, which has been and will be a huge challenge to meet. Counterterrorist policies must take into serious account this weakness as nobody can guarantee a terror-free society.

Last but not least, how to give a quick response to emergency situations is another challenge as an increasing number of terror attacks happen without warning. Unpredictability and suddenness are the most challenging aspects of counterterrorism. Answers must be sought based upon experiences from history and upon predictions for future. As people tend to focus merely on the latest terrorist developments in the world, it is of great importance to take lessons from former terror incidents and examine the dynamics of what transpired many years ago. Terrorism is an age-old problem and challenge. Counterterrorism will be a long-term undertaking. That 'terrorism is part of daily reality'[86] will be a new normal. Many characteristics of terrorism remain the same, though some new aspects are increasingly emphasised.

The article suggests that these findings have implications for counterterrorist policies and further academic scholarship. Further research should be done to regarding the delicate relations between religion and terrorism, the sensitive relations between politics and terrorism, and the historical national backgrounds of terrorism, and to make informative sense for counterterrorism decision-making.

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Notes

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Discussion on *Legacies of Totalitarianism*

Krzysztof Brzechczyn

The symposium on the book *Legacies of Totalitarianism* by Aviezer Tucker was part of the conference *Between Enslavement and Resistance: Attitudes toward Communism in East European Societies (1945-1989)* held in Poznań, Poland (June 15-16, 2018). The conference and the symposium was organized by the Institute of National Remembrance, Poznań Division, the Institute of Philosophy at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, The Centre for Culture and the Arts at Leeds Beckett University, and the Poznań Division of Polish Philosophical Society. The organizational and editorial work of the symposium was realized within the framework of the Branch Research Project of the Institute of National Remembrance in Poznań: *The Methodological and Theoretical Problems of Research on the Current History of Poland.* The participants of discussion on the book were: Krzysztof Brzechczyn and Michał Kwiecień (both Institute of Philosophy at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań), Grzegorz Greg Lewicki (Polish Economic Institute), Cristina Petrescu and Dragoş Petrescu (University of Bucharest), Rafał Paweł Wierzchosławski (University of Social Sciences and Humanities SWPS in Poznań), and the author of the book, Aviezer Tucker (Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University) who responded to the remarks and comments.

A Transformation of the Privileges of the Authorities into Property Rights or a Transformation of the Types of Class Rule?

Krzysztof Brzechczyn

The paper is a critical commentary of The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Theoretical Framework authored by Aviezer Tucker. This book presents the evolution of totalitarian communism, its transformation and an analysis of problems of East-Central Europe societies. Although the reviewed book is a very rare attempt at a synthetic view of the genesis and transformation of communism, its author accepts too narrow an understanding of class and class interest. This leads to an idealistic interpretation of Stalinist purges and an institutionalistic understanding of transformation which does not allow for the economic dimensions of post-communist transformation to be placed in a wider social perspective.

Keywords: stalinism, post-communism, post-totalitarianism, non-marxian historical materialism, Aviezer Tucker, Legacies of Totalitarianism.

Aviezer Tucker's book *The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Theoretical Framework* contains the germs of four separate concepts: a theory of the evolution of totalitarian communism, and a theory of its transformation (Chapter 1: *Post-Totalitarianism: The Adjustment of Elite Rights to Interests*). The next chapters of this book are the resultant analysis –

Krzysztof Brzechczyn. A Transformation of the Privileges of the Authorities into Property Rights or a Transformation of the Types of Class Rule?. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 1: 199–205.

which is actually a separate whole – of the problems of the post-totalitarian societies of Central and Eastern Europe (Chapters 2–5: *Post-Totalitarianism: Rough Justice*: about the rule of law in post-communist societies, *Rough Justice: Post-Totalitarian Retribution*: on the issues of lustration and decommunization, *Rough and Shallow: Post-Totalitarian Rectification*, and *The New Politics of Property Rights*: mainly – but not solely – about the issues of privatization and restitution of property), and reflections on the intellectual use of the heritage of dissident thought (Chapter 7: *Short-Circuiting Reason: The Legacies of Totalitarian Thinking* and *Conclusion: Only Dissidents Can Save Us Now*). Chapter 6 (*Old to New Totalitarianism: Post-Totalitarian Higher Education*), which is about the neoliberal reforms of higher education in Central and Eastern Europe, has a slightly different status.[1] Although the conclusions and observations made in the work apply to the whole post-Soviet and post-communist area, the author illustrates his theses chiefly with the use of examples from the Czech Republic and Slovakia, and – to a lesser extent – Poland; occasionally, he also refers to other countries, including: China, Russia, Romania, and Hungary.

Tucker's book is a quite rare attempt at a synthetic explanation of both the genesis and transformation of real socialism[2]. The author's main thesis in the work is the claim that "democracy in post-totalitarian Central and Eastern Europe was the unintended consequence of the adjustment of the rights of the late-totalitarian elite to its interests."[3] As a result of the October Revolution, the Bolshevik party gained power and eliminated the competing social elites. At that time, the party became divided into "idealists" and "thugs."[4] The thugs took control of the state ministries responsible for the military and law enforcement, especially the ministry of interior and secret police. According to Tucker: "After eliminating all alternative elites, the thugs eliminated the idealists because they were weaker, were cognitively disoriented about the actual totalitarian reality they helped to create and dependent on the thugs to for their power."[5] When the idealists had been eliminated, the competition for power continued among the thugs themselves: "thugs fought among themselves to secure and protect power in the absence of a political mechanism that allowed regulated competition within the unified monolithic elite."[6]

During that time, as noted by Tucker, there was no ruling class or stable class structure, and the ruling elite was decimated by numerous purges – family members were also arrested. Tucker describes the re-

sults as follows: "The purges system kept bureaucrats young, without a seniority system, and insufficiently long in power to develop cliental relations between senior and junior bureaucrats."[7]

It is worth noting that Tucker explains the phenomenon of purges and the first revolutionary stage of the construction of a Soviet system in an idealistic manner, by referring to the rivalry between idealists, who wanted to realize the ideals of a "classless society," and those whose only aim was to increase their scope of power. In the end, the idealists lost to the thugs, and, for that reason, did not play any key role in the further evolution of the system.

Tucker explains the political transformation with the use of a distinction between 'naked liberty' (not covered by a set of laws), privilege, and property rights. He defines naked liberty as a state in which one can act without being restricted by any rules or laws which would protect the results of an individual's action: "naked liberty just allows somebody to act without any rule that protects that action."[8] Privilege, given by those who occupy a higher position in the political hierarchy to those who are lower in it, is a related term. The profits from both naked liberty and privilege are perishable and cannot be inherited. Unbridled freedom is the benefit of one's position in the hierarchy of power, which can be lost, and privilege – a decision which can be revoked at any moment. A political transformation, then, would mean a transformation of the state of naked freedom and privilege into proprietary rights, in agreement with the social interest of communist nomenklatura. Why did this happen in the first place? Tucker believes that the influence exerted by the opposition was negligible because there were not many opponents and because they generally knew very little about (indeed, were not interested in) the economy. The desire of the nomenklatura to secure its interests was the driving force behind the transformation:

> "Totalitarian states have often been compared to armies, with a unified command hierarchy, total mobilization, and discipline. But when officers became disinterested in the campaign, lost faith in mobilizing ideology and interest in disciplining their subordinates, they appropriated assets under and beyond their control. In other words, the officers adapted their institutionalized rights to their personal interest in liberation from domination."[9]

In such a case, one might ask where the idealists of late totalitarianism who lost faith in the mobilizing power of ideology come from

if they were already supposed to have been eliminated by thugs at the revolutionary stage of the evolution of the system. After all, in order to lose faith in an ideology, one must first have it, and those who did were killed during the purges of the 1930s. It seems that the source of that inconsistency is:

(i) too narrow an understanding of class and class interest, which leads to
(ii) an idealistic interpretation of Stalinist purges, and
(iii) an institutionalistic understanding of transformation.

Let us begin with objection (i). In social science, we can distinguish one-dimensional and multidimensional concepts of social divisions. One example of the first approach is Marx's concept, in which the basic criterion of social divisions is control of the means of production. Such an approach leads to economic reductionism because all conflicts and social divisions must be derived from social contradictions which appear in the economy. Max Weber, who distinguishes between classes, parties, and status groups, is a representative of the multidimensional approach. However, in his theory, there are no uniform criteria of social divisions in economy, politics, and cultures. Weber defines class by referring to material features (the relations of possession), status groups – by referring to consciousness-related properties (lifestyle, prestige), and parties – by referring to institutional characteristics (the influence on appointments in the state administration).[10]

Another multidimensional approach, which is theoretically uniform, is Leszek Nowak's non-Marxian historical materialism.[11] In that approach, particular areas of human activity, namely, politics, culture, and economy, are assumed to have the same internal structure – in each of them, there are certain material social means: the means of production in economy, the means of indoctrination in culture, and the means of coercion in politics; they are also all assumed to consist of two social groups distinguished on the basis of their relation to the material means, one group being a minority which has at its disposal the respective material social means and which decides about how they will be used, and one being a majority without such influence. In each area of human activity, there is a conflict of interest between the minority group and the majority group (priests and the indoctrinated in culture, owners and direct producers in economy, and rulers and citizens in politics). It is in the priests' interest to increase their spiritual authority at the cost of the followers' spiritual autonomy, in the

owners' interest – to increase surplus product at the cost of the variable capital available to direct producers, and in the rulers' interest – to increase power regulation at the cost of citizens' political autonomy.

In that approach, then, political conflict is autonomous and cannot be reduced to the social contradictions present in other areas of social life. The abovementioned social divisions may accumulate, and one social class can have at its disposal the means of coercion, production, and indoctrination, at the same time. One example of such a system is totalitarian communism, in which a class of triple-lords (the party-state apparatus) controls the means of coercion, production, and mass communication. The basic interest of such a triple class is to maximize power regulation.

Since separate economic and cultural classes are eliminated in that system, the only driving force behind its internal evolution is the mechanism of political competition[12]. In a sufficiently numerous population of rulers, there will always be some who will expand their sphere of regulation at the cost of citizens' autonomy. The remaining ones, fearing the loss of their position in the political hierarchy, will begin to do the same. Those unwilling to follow suit will, sooner or later, be marginalized and then eliminated from that hierarchy.

When the areas of social autonomy are great enough, the mechanism of political competition operates more rapidly, and the scope of global regulation of the ruling class increases more quickly. However, when the sphere of social autonomy becomes much smaller (which is broadly what happened in the Soviet Union in the 1930s), political competition leads to the overtaking of social areas controlled by other rulers. The mechanism of political competition is as blind as the mechanism of economic competition because no individual person has control over its global outcomes. In those conditions, political competition leads to the self-enslavement of rulers, who eliminate the surplus of candidates for power and, in that way, stabilize the political system. At this point, we should distinguish between the social function of the purges and their ideological justification (that they are carried out to defeat agents or the enemies of the people, to forestall conspiracies, etc.). Nowak explains this in the following way:

> "After a time, however, the expansion again reaches the state of totalization, and a new purge become necessary. That is why there must be periodic purges. This state of affairs, and not 'madness of a despot', explains the fact that the forces of

coercion are periodically directed against certain rulers themselves. On the contrary, if a despot is really mad, he only rules because his rule serves the interests of the class as a whole."[13]

As we can see, the category of political competition makes it possible to explain the phenomenon of social enslavement and the self-enslavement of the authorities without reference to the ethical or ideological motivation of the participants of the political process.

An interesting and inspiring aspect of the change of the form of government is that it was a transformation of the naked liberty and privileges of the nomenklatura designed so as to serve its interests, with democracy being but a side effect. Tucker sees democracy in this process as limited to the economic sphere.[14] It seems, however, that the change was much deeper, and that the interests of the class of triple-lords were transformed as well. The decline of the monopoly of the Marxist world view meant that the class of triple-lords would no longer control culture, and that it would now be a class of double-lords. Moreover, the lower levels of the party apparatus, making use of their connections and relations with the state apparatus, transformed into the owners' class. In politics, there was democratization, and pluralism was rebuilt. Post-communist parties participated in those processes. The transformation also brought about unquestionable benefits to average people – their cultural and political autonomy grew, and they could open their own businesses. Nonetheless, in comparison to nomenklatura members, small owners faced more obstacles in business because they did not have as many political contacts.[15] Tucker notices this and argues that the owners from the nomenklatura were, in principle, indifferent toward democracy and hostile toward the free market and the impersonal rule of law. That state of things was conducive to corruption, clientelism, and nepotism in the economy and the process of lustration.

The book would be of interest to anyone interested in both the course of the change of the form of government in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989 and in the broader, comparative and global context of that transformation.

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Notes

1 Aviezer Tucker (2015), *The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Theoretical Framework,* New York: Cambridge University Press.

2 For other comparative approaches to post-communist transformation, see: e.gr. Zenonas Norkus (2012), *On Baltic Slovenia and Adriatic Lithuania: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Patterns in Post-Communist Transformation*, Vilnius: Apostrofa; Dragoş Petrescu (2014), *Entangled Revolutions: The Breakdown of the Communist Regimes in East-Central Europe*, Bucarest: Editura Enciclopedică.

3 Tucker (2015), p. 22.

4 Tucker (2015), pp. 25–26.

5 Tucker (2015), p. 25.

6 Tucker (2015), p. 25.

7 Tucker (2015), p. 26.

8 Tucker (2015), p. 33. In this chapter, he refers to Wesley Newcomb Hohfeld's, Herbert Lionel Adolphus Hart's, Hillel Isaac Steiner's, Matthew McCormick's, and Philip Pettit's reflections.

9 Tucker (2015), p. 30.

10 Max Weber (1978), *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 1048.

11 Leszek Nowak (1983), *Property and Power. Towards a non-Marxian Historical Materialism* (*Theory and Decision Library*, Vol. 27). Dordrecht/Boston/ Lancaster: Reidel.

12 For a description of that process, see: Leszek Nowak (1991), *Power and Civil Society. Toward a Dynamic Theory of Real Socialism*, New York: Greenwood Press. The topic was further discussed in: Achim Siegel (1992), *Der Dynamik des Terrors im Stalinismum: Ein strukturtheoretischer Erklärungsversuch*, Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus; and Achim Siegel (1998), 'Ideological Learning Under Conditions of Social Enslavement: The Case of the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 1940s,' *Studies in East European Thought* 50 (1), pp. 19–58.

13 Leszek Nowak (1987), 'Model of Socialist Society,' *Studies in Soviet Thought*, 34, p. 16.

14 See, for example: "The solution [to the problem of how to secure the privileges of nomenklatura – K.B.] was to transmute privileges/naked liberties into rights in a process that came to be known as privatization," see: Tucker (2015), p. 34.

15 For a description of that process, see: Krzysztof Brzechczyn (2004), 'The Collapse of Real Socialism in Eastern Europe versus the Overthrow of the Spanish Colonial Empire in Latin America: An Attempt at Comparative Analysis,' *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in History and Archaeology*, 1(2), pp. 105–133; Krzysztof Brzechczyn (2011), 'The Forgotten Legacy of Solidarność and Lost Opportunities to Build a Democratic Capitalist System Following the Fall of Communism in Poland,' in: Nicolas Hayoz, Leszek Jesień, Daniela Koleva (eds.) *Twenty Years after the Collapse of Communism. Expectations, Achievements and Disillusions of 1989*, Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 395-416.

Limits of Democratic Consolidation

Subversion of Reason as a Post-totalitarian Syndrome

Dragoş Petrescu

My comments on Aviezer Tucker's book addresses four key issues, which Francis Fukuyama defines as the four levels on which consolidation of democracy must occur: (1) ideology; (2) institutions; (3) civil society; and (4) culture. Tucker's analysis provides insightful reflections on the role played by each of these four spheres in the post-totalitarian setting. By thoroughly examining totalitarian legacies, Tucker concludes that totalitarianism is not dead and has already made a partial return. To resist and even reverse this phenomenon, he sets forth a disarmingly simple solution: the return of dissidents. Neo-dissidents might save their post-totalitarian societies from hate, lies and sheer pragmatism through love, truth and personal integrity. Only time will tell if Tucker's solution will work.

Keywords: ideology, institutions, civil society, culture, return of dissidents, Aviezer Tucker, Legacies of Totalitarianism.

During the miraculous year of 1989, the communist dictatorships collapsed in six East-Central European (ECE) countries and opened a new epoch in the European and world history. With the unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union and the bloody demise of Yugoslavia,

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it looked like nothing would hamper the global spread of democracy. Francis Fukuyama gained notoriety almost overnight when he proclaimed in the summer of 1989 that history was about to reach its end and announced the triumph of liberal democracy and economic capitalism. However, roughly a decade after the 1989 regime changes the high hopes regarding the "end of history" and a "return to Europe" turned gradually into sheer disappointment and many started talking of the "return of history," to which Brexit has added a new dimension, that is, "farewell to Europe."

As the participants to the roundtable on Aviezer Tucker's *The Legacies of Totalitarianism* have stressed, by examining the issue of "totalitarian legacies" the volume actually addresses the manifold aspects of the various democratic transitions, as well as the worrisome signs of the reverse transitions, in ECE.[1] My comments will address the challenging and sometimes iconoclastic ideas of the author, with a special emphasis on what I would call the incipient shift from democratization to autocratization in ECE, keeping in mind that the other roundtable participants will focus on equally relevant and timely issues selected from the very rich material of the book.

It should be stressed from the outset that Tucker addresses the "legacies of totalitarianism" and, one can add, the democratic deficit throughout the region, as a syndrome that characterizes post-communist countries in general. By doing so, instead of looking at variations among individual countries, the author succeeds in building a strong argument regarding a common legacy of totalitarianism. This was not the case with earlier comparative analyses focusing on democratization processes in post-communist Europe. For instance, in his 1998 book, *The Politics of Central Europe*, Attila Ágh makes a sharp distinction between what he calls East-Central Europe (Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) and the Balkans (Albania, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania and Serbia). Ágh employs the term re-democratization when addressing the first group of countries, and the term democratization when addressing the second group.[2] Nevertheless, this raises the thorny question of why the present day processes of re-autocratization seem to have emerged first in countries that experienced, *pace* Ágh, re-democratization and not democratization in the 1990s. As already mentioned, Tucker escapes such a trap by focusing more on commonalities (in terms of communist-totalitarian legacies) and less on disparities.

As for the many challenging ideas Tucker sets forth in his book, I shall concentrate on four key issues, which Fukuyama defines as the four levels on which consolidation of democracy must occur: (1) ideology; (2) institutions; (3) civil society; and (4) culture.[3] I would argue that Tucker's analysis touches upon all these four levels. Therefore, in the following pages I shall briefly address the author's reflections on the role played by each of the four spheres presented above but in a different order, and finish with Tucker's rather surprising solution to the devastating problem at hand. I shall illustrate my comments with four passages quoted from the book under discussion and related to each of the four spheres under discussion.

Quote One – Ideology:

> "The ubiquitous viable, dangerous, and rarely noticed legacies of totalitarian ideologies are not in political utopias, programs, or even parties and movements. They are buried deep in the psyche, in the mentality and forms of thought, discourse, and argumentation of post-totalitarian thinkers."[4]

Tucker identifies two legacies of totalitarian ideology: (1) "the assault on language;" and (2) "the subversion of reason." As he perceptively argues, numerous post-totalitarian authors in the service of power make systematic use of logical fallacies and corrupt language and thus they permanently subvert reason. Furthermore, such messages and texts are disseminated through social networks and controlled electronic media, and thus dishonest discourses have become prevalent in what has been termed "post-truth" in politics.

Quote Two – Institutions:

> "The original sin of the transition from totalitarianism was the failure to construct liberal institutions. The small illiberalism at the very beginning, the scarcity of justice that has not been remedied, led through corrupt political democracy to the larger populist illiberalism that emerged following the economic recession."[5]

A fundamental problem of post-communist societies was the failure to establish sound liberal institutions. Apart from this, contingency played a major role in the sense that the global financial crisis of 2007–2007 provided an unexpected opportunity to closet autocrats to undermine fundamental democratic institutions while claiming to fight corruption and ensure economic growth.

Quote Three – Culture:

> "Turkey is indeed authoritarian and illiberal and its government does not rely on exporting commodities; it also has a common history with Hungary and other countries in Southern Europe. But I somehow doubt that re-Ottomanization will be a successful populist platform. Post-totalitarian societies are modern, urban, secular, industrialized, and with high levels of literacy."[6]

Seymour Martin Lipset argues that cultural factors "deriving from varying histories" are difficult to manipulate, while political institutions are more easily changed.[7] As Tucker argues, it is unlikely that the "mini-Putins" in the region will succeed in building modern autocracies on the Turkish or Russian models. I would add that one can explain this – albeit not entirely – by examining shared understandings of politics, that is, political cultures.[8]

Quote Four – Civil Society:

> "While managerial neo-totalitarianism in Europe has destroyed academic freedom, academic standards, and the usefulness of academics as critical checks on the power of the state, neo-dissidents must pick up the task of telling truth to power. Against the pseudointellectuals who corrupt language and distort logic in the service of power, society needs democratic intellectuals who write clearly and logically, critically and honestly, about politics and society."[9]

On a sobering note, Tucker concludes that totalitarianism is not dead and has already made a partial return. To resist and even reverse this phenomenon, the author sets forth a disarmingly simple solution: the return of dissidents, without a vengeance. Neo-dissidents might save their post-totalitarian societies from hate, lies and sheer pragmatism through love, truth and personal integrity. Only time will tell if this solution has any chance of working...

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Notes

1 Aviezer Tucker (2015), *The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Theoretical Framework*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

2 Attila Ágh (1998), *The Politics of Central Europe*, London: SAGE Publications, p. 7 and Attila Ágh (1999), 'Processes of democratization in the East Central European and Balkan States: Sovereignty-Related Conflicts in the Context of Europeanization,' *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 32, pp 269–270.

3 Francis Fukuyama (1996), 'The Primacy of Culture,' in: Larry Diamond and Mark F. Plattner (eds.) *The Global Resurgence of Democracy,* Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 320–321.

4 Tucker (2015), p. 206.

5 Tucker (2015), p. 231.

6 Tucker (2015), p. 232.

7 Seymour Martin Lipset (1996), 'The Centrality of Political Culture,' in: Larry Diamond, Marc Plattner (eds), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 153.

8 See in this respect the discussion on local, bloc, and global cultures in: Piotr Sztompka (1993), 'Civilizational Incompetence: The Trap of Post-Communist Societies,' *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, 22 (2) April, p. 92.

9 Tucker (2015), p. 233.

The Hereditary Diseases of Post-totalitarianism

Michał Kwiecień

The purpose of this article is to critically analyze the main theses of Aviezer Tucker's book The Legacies of Totalitarianism. A Theoretical Framework. Tucker's views on the political transformation in East-Central Europe are juxtaposed to the conclusions of Janine J. Wedel, and Andrzej Zybertowicz.

Keywords: post-totalitarianism, political transformation, East-Central Europe, Aviezer Tucker, Legacies of Totalitarianism.

In his book, Aviezer Tucker undertakes the ambitious task of constructing a theoretical matrix which could serve as the foundation for an analysis of the social and political reality of post-totalitarian states. The author claims that the transition from a totalitarian form of government to a democracy was in a large measure a continuation – in a sense it was "old wine in new bottles."

The author perceptively notes that the end of totalitarianism entailed the end a social hierarchy topped by the party elite. At the beginning of the transformation, that elite was replaced by dissidents organized in groups; however, that substitution occurred mainly in the spheres of politics and media, but it did not reach state bureaucracy, public security organization, the legal system, or education. Tucker is right to point to the natural deficit of national elites – which would have the competences necessary for overtaking key positions – after the period of totalitarianism as one of the causes of that state of things. Still, he believes that the main reason for it was that the elites of late

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totalitarianism used their position to further their economic interests and to control especially those areas of the functioning of the state which were vital for the preservation of those interests.[1]

He also puts forth an interesting thesis that the democratic form of government in post-totalitarian countries of East-Central Europe was an unintended outcome of the elites renouncing direct political domination for the sake of economic superiority. In Tucker's view, the elite was indifferent toward democracy – its main desire was to overtake state property, and it was against economic free competition and the rule of law. It preferred a cliental social model based on economic inequalities and maintained close ties with the state apparatus; it appropriated the assets of that apparatus and delegated liabilities to it. Consequently, the elites were unaffected by the form of government.[2] They did not need the government to function. Should the need arise, they could corrupt politicians (for example, by financing political parties) as they had the privilege of being the only significant class (*sic!*) of owners. In post-totalitarian democracy, the electorate did not obtain the right to decide, via elections, about the distribution of property rights and about the granting of privileges for the elites of late totalitarianism. Rather, those decisions were made behind closed doors, during secret meetings of informal groups, bureaucrats, and politicians. In some cases, when there were competing elites, elections boiled down to the choice of a mafia.[3]

The presented vision of intertwined secret groups and state apparatus is congruent with Janine R. Wedel's model. Wedel, however, distinguishes between two types of the infiltration of the state by informal interest groups and speaks about "partially appropriated states" and "clan states." The two types have many features in common, for example, the lack of a clear distinction between the private and state spheres, fragmentation of the state, or the phenomenon of "institutional nomads" (members of a circle who are loyal to that milieu and not to the institution they are affiliated with). Still, as explained by Wedel, there is a fundamental difference between them, namely, in a "partially appropriated state" informal groups use state representatives as an instrument for the realization of their own aims, with the use of broadly defined corruption, while in a "clan state" the group members themselves hold the highest positions in state structures.[4] Such nuances allow for a more accurate description of the problems related to the transformation of the form of government and make it possible to classify states as belonging to one of the two types (Wedel

ascribes Poland to the first group, and Russia to the second one). The lack of distinctions regarding the states or blocs of states in East-Central Europe in Tucker's work could be seen as a weakness of his theory.

The security services of the totalitarian period played a key role in the creation and functioning of informal interest groups in post-totalitarian states, The author notices and emphasizes that they relied primarily on undercover agent networks, which is why political and institutional reforms could not effectively combat that threat to social life. Tucker states that the experience of the cooperation of such networks with the state is a common characteristic of all post-totalitarian states. The weakness of state institutions and the inadequate implementation of the "rule of law" made it easier for informal groups to tighten their connections with the state apparatus than it was in liberal Western democracies.[5] Those connections were asymmetrical with respect to the balance of benefits. Andrzej Zybertowicz called such parasitic groups Anti-Development Interest Groups (ADIGs). He used Poland as an example and described the structures of such groups which have access to the core of the state system, regulate themselves, and build their strength by reaching for the resources and methods of communist security services. According to Zybertowicz, ADIGs prevent the state from promoting the common good. Instead, the impulse to restore that ability must come from outside of the political system: from social mobilization and from the development of the institution of democratic society.[6] That is not an easy task because a totalitarian society suffers from severe scarcity of social capital.

Tucker discusses that issue in his book – he makes an attempt to present the painful ramifications of totalitarianism not only at the institutional level but also at the social one, and he describes the reason for the erosion of society, namely, the activity of secret security services and their informants. The agents operated anonymously, which made it impossible to distinguish a friend from an enemy. Anyone could be an agent or a stoolie, so no-one could be trusted. Moreover, the totalitarian elite, like any minority in power, tried to rule in accordance with the *divide et impera* maxim – it provoked social conflicts (including class ones). That ruling method atomized society, which disintegrated to the level of families and individuals.

Tucker's book is a great treatise, with the apparent goal of encompassing all aspects of the issue of the transition of post-totalitarian states in East-Central Europe from one form of government to an-

other. Hopefully it will become a staple in the debate on the political transformations of the states in that region. It could be a helpful tool in the re-analysis of the meaning of the term (a metamorphosis, a transubstantiation), which does not seem to be common practice in states where the 'thick line' policy applies.

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Notes

1 Aviezer Tucker (2015), *The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Theoretical Framework*, New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 38.
2 Tucker (2015), p. 22.
3 Tucker (2015), p. 23.
4 Janine J. Wedel (2003), ‚Clans, Cliques and Captured States: Rethinking Transition in Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union,' *Journal of International Development* 15, p. 437.
5 Tucker (2015), p. 89.
6 Andrzej Zybertowicz (2005), 'Anti-Development Interest Groups (Preliminary Outline),' *Polish Sociological Review* 1, pp. 69-90.

Simulated Change

Totalitarianism and What Comes Next

Cristina Petrescu

My intervention focuses on Aviezer Tucker's assessment of totalitarian legacies in educational systems. Tucker singles out a major dilemma of post-totalitarian universities: to fundamentally restructure in order to become autonomous or to simulate change while preserving state support. He contends that the Bologna system meant the transformation of universities into state-managed corporations that lowered standards and introduced various mechanisms of measuring performance. Thus, Tucker convincingly argues, the unwanted result of including the former communist countries in the European Union was the return to a familiar model of simulated change in the field of education.

Keywords: totalitarianism, post-totalitarianism, transitional justice, democratization, education, Aviezer Tucker, Legacies of Totalitarianism.

The first question that comes to mind when starting to read Aviezer Tucker's volume refers to the preference for the concept of totalitarianism. Much has been debated in the past sixty years about the uses, abuses and misuses of this concept. In the field of history, its critics have been far more numerous than its proponents, and for good reasons. The diverse sources and research methods employed in the study of the communist regimes illustrated, on the one hand, the failure of those in power to totally control by the means they devised in this purpose, and on the other hand, the ability of the powerless to find

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a multitude of strategies to escape control. Thus, historians have found the black-and-white picture of the communist society as separating the perpetrators in power ("them") from the powerless victims ("us") as inadequate in explaining the survival of those regimes for forty-five years. Yet, political scientists defended the concept of totalitarianism. In a classic volume from 1975, reprinted in 2000, Juan J. Linz redefined this concept and defended its usefulness when proposing a simple but compelling tripartite typology which differentiates democratic regimes from two different types of non-democratic regimes: authoritarian and totalitarian.[1] In the late 1980s, Giovanni Sartori revised his theory of democracy and argued that the concept of totalitarianism is perhaps not adequate enough to account for the complexity and variety of communist societies in the post-Stalinist period, yet no other is better suited to suggest the never-abandoned ambition of these regimes to totally control.[2]

Tucker follows this tradition in political thinking when opting for the use of totalitarianism to refer to the pre-1989 regimes in East-Central Europe and solves the issues of their gradual evolution over the forty-five years of domination by distinguishing between revolutionary totalitarianism, which aimed at fundamentally transforming society, and late totalitarianism, which aimed at preserving a consolidated political regime and social system. "The late-totalitarian regime ceased attempting to change human nature. Instead, it attempted to encourage egoism and manipulate opportunism," points out Tucker.[3] It is a period when not only the ambition to transform society had vanished, but also when the intensity of terror had faded away. Tucker's late totalitarianism more or less coincides with what dissidents once named post-totalitarianism in their critical texts, and thus the author seems to apparently disregard the opinion of these astute first-hand observers of their contemporary societies, whom he has so often analyzed in his previous work. Moreover, he seems to agree with the post-communist opportunists who embraced the indiscriminate use of totalitarianism to describe the forty-five years of communism in East-Central Europe, for this absolved them of any responsibility for complying when defiance was no longer severely punished. Yet, his stake is radically different for his focus is not to explain what was before 1989, but what comes after. This volume convincingly explains the evolution of East-Central Europe after 1989 by shifting the focus from civil society, which Tucker correctly points out was rather insignificant in

all countries before 1989 (with the partial exception of Poland) and, far from causing the regime change, it rather represented its consequence. Thus, he focuses on the ability of the late totalitarian elites to maintain their control in post-totalitarianism and explains the regime change as representing "the spontaneous adjustment of the rights of the late totalitarian elite to its interests, its liberation, the transmutation of its naked liberties into rights, most significantly, property rights."[4]

Tucker's option for using post-totalitarianism as synonymous with post-1989 rather than post-Stalinism is also driven by his ambition to compare post-totalitarian and post-authoritarian regimes. Already in his earlier studies on transitional justice in East-Central Europe, he outlined some major differences between the two. Post-authoritarian societies benefitted from the presence of a rather significant civil society and genuine professionals in many key fields, and thus transitions were the result of a negotiation between the old and the new elites. In contrast, the post-totalitarian societies had feeble civil societies, if any, and lacked democratically-oriented professionals able and willing to support the transition. In short, in post-totalitarian societies "there are no alternative legal, security and bureaucratic elites."[5] A decade later after Tucker made this assessment, the landscape in East-Central Europe has changed for the worst. The transition to democracy paradigm, which tried to explain the difficulties in establishing democratic regimes in this part of Europe has been abandoned, while the resurgence of so-called illiberal democracies has modified the research questions. Accordingly, Tucker develops his previous comparison to explain what makes the post-totalitarian legacies different and far more difficult to overcome than the post-authoritarian legacies: while the late totalitarian elites focus on transforming political power into economic wealth, and privatizing the state to their own benefit, government control over the executive bureaucracy is inefficient, civil society is weak, corruption high, the rule-of-law principle practically alien, the political ideologies non-existent as electoral mobilization tools, former secret police members are still controlling politics, the economy and the media, the perpetrators hardly are punished, and the victims hardly compensated for their sufferings.

As many reviewers have commented more comprehensively, Tucker's volume explores the legacies of totalitarianism in several chapters dedicated to the adjustment of late totalitarian elite rights to interests and the scarce process of transitional justice in terms of retribution

and restitution. I prefer to pay attention to the legacies of totalitarianism in the educational system, which obviously represent a key domain of socialization between successive generations and a laboratory for reproducing old patterns of thinking. Some reviewers claimed that this chapter is less theoretically sound. Yet, it seems to me, as someone who is part of one of the post-totalitarian educational systems, that empirical evidence has led Tucker to insightful conclusions. Apparently, the post-totalitarian universities faced a dilemma of institutional design: to fundamentally restructure in order to become autonomous or to simulate change while preserving state support. Although to various degrees from one country to another, educational reforms in the region were rather substantial, and presupposed the introduction of public and transparent management, the professionalization of the faculty and the modernization of the curricula. Yet, their paradoxical effect corresponds to Hirschman's futility argument.[6] Unlike the previous chapters that explore the legacies of the totalitarian past to explain the post-totalitarian results, the chapter on education argues that the current state of universities in post-communist Europe is rather the direct result of post-1989 Westernization. The Bologna system, which codified an existing trend of expanding the Western European higher education, meant the transformation of universities into state-managed corporations which had to lower standards and introduce various mechanisms for measuring performance. Thus, Tucker convincingly argues, the unwanted result of including the former communist countries in the European Union was the return to a familiar model in the field of education:

> "The new publicly managed university is a parody of a university, a Potemkin village that has the facade of a university. Instead of teaching, there is cheating; instead of Socratic dialogues, there are bullet points; (…) instead of intellectual and spiritual life in truth, academic life is devoted to the implementation of absurd, senseless, immoral, and harmful policies that percolate down from an anonymous and unaccountable bureaucratic hierarchy."[7]

How true!

It is not only because of these perceptive observations that the book should be read. This is a timely and beautifully written book, with a clear argument and many memorable passages, such as: "totalitarianism is not dead, it merely disintegrated."[8] It is a book that will certainly became

canonical in the literature on post-communism, post-totalitarianism and, hoping against hope, democratization in East-Central Europe.

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Notes

1 Juan J. Linz (2000), *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes,* London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
2 Giovanni Sartori (1987), *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*, Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.
3 Aviezer Tucker (2015), *The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Theoretical Framework*, New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 9.
4 Tucker (2015), p. 22.
5 Aviezer Tucker (2006), 'Paranoids May Be Persecuted: Post-Totalitarian Transitional Justice,' in: Jon Elster (ed.), *Retribution and Reparation in the Transition to Democracy,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 182.
6 Albert O. Hirschman (1970), *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
7 Tucker (2015), p. 203.
8 Tucker (2015), p. 233.

Legacies, Zombies and the Need of Long-Term Basis for Short-Term Foresight

Grzegorz Greg Lewicki

I claim that Tucker's Legacies of Totalitarianism is extremely important for the studies of post-communism in East-Central Europe as well as for philosophy of history, which – from the post-Hegelian times on – has avoided a holistic approach. I argue that Tucker adequately identifies transnational components of the region's current identity, rooted in the abovementioned "legacies" (middle-range processes that started in the communist era). I also argue that the inadequacy of some prognoses that Tucker puts forward based on his own theory stems from his negligence of the prognostic weight of certain socio-psychological laws and long-term processes.

Keywords: post-totalitarianism, post-communist transformation, longue durée, Aviezer Tucker, Legacies of Totalitarianism.

In his book on post-totalitarianism Aviezer Tucker successfully creates a general theory, which can be further developed and applied to generate a novel insight into the current status of many post-totalitarian societies, no matter the developmental, political, geographic, historical or economic differences between them. It seems that hovering above the diversity of post 1989 histories, there exists a set of unifying factors stemming from the common and dreadful historical experience of E-CE (East-Central Europe) countries – namely their legacies of post-totalitarianism (Tucker defines "legacies" as middle-duration processes).[1]

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The author notes that no one thus far has succeeded in framing the post-totalitarian societal experience into a coherent theory. And those who tried in fact overlooked the very important philosophical and political-theoretic content to be found in the writings of European dissidents. As a result, the deeper meaning of 1989-91 events has long been floating in "a philosophical vacuum," only partially filled by works that committed "ahistorical intellectual fallacy" by assuming every society liberated from a tyrannical regime (given enough time) will ultimately achieve mature Western European styled liberal democracy irrespective of its culture, social structure, or history.[2]

Tucker proves such way of thinking is naïve not only by uncovering complex factors that differentiate paths to democracy in E-CE, but going further than that by showing democratic transformation is far from being a dualistic change from one form of government to the other. In a fuzzy logical spirit Tucker seems to show there is a whole spectrum of intermediate "forms" of government stretched in between the idealized poles of totalitarianism and democracy, that feed on the local set of cultural and social variables. By emphasizing this fuzziness of democratic transition Tucker effectively shows that organic remnants of the communist cancer may live on, entangled within the healthy democratic tissue, thus contributing to the risk of pathologies.

More specifically, Tucker claims that E-CE countries still struggle with the legacies of previous epoch, such as economic backwardness,[3] "rough justice" (a system of justice that has not reached the publicly desired level of transparency and fairness),[4] or the behind-the-scenes impact of the post-totalitarian elite (which aimed at transforming their liberties into property rights, thus forming a distinct social class).[5]

Such factors have too often been neglected or downplayed. From my experience as a journalist and a foresight consultant I can tell that many intellectuals, politicians or pundits still fail to recognize these factors as important variables shaping E-CE region. Evident proof of this failure is the astonishment of the elites in some Western European countries and EU-related bodies after the Polish right wing Law and Justice (PiS) party announced the need to reform the judiciary following the 2015 election.[6] The controversies relating to PiS' reforms aside, the very need to reshape the judiciary has been raised throughout decades – albeit shyly – by many members of the Polish elite, in-

cluding the left-wing president Aleksander Kwaśniewski (1995-2005) and Bartłomiej Sienkiewicz, the centrist chief of special forces (2013-14). The reform was never fully implemented, though, as during the first decades of post-1989 democracy the Polish ruling elites believed the positive image of Poland as a country complying with all European norms should not be put at risk due to possible accusations of "tinkering" too much with the court system. Today, however, a legacy of totalitarianism understood as a missed reform of rough justice has re-emerged as a kind of "political zombie" – what was once buried prematurely, now returns as an abomination.

Another proof that the factors elaborated theoretically by Tucker still influence E-CE countries and provide "political fuel" even today is the fact that the economic backwardness of Poland has recently become more irritating for the public.[7] Why only recently? Because economic needs remained supressed during the transitory era (viewed by the Poles as a special era that necessitates sacrifices), but now, thanks to the successful economic linking of Poland to the EU (and Germany in particular) this is not the case anymore. Today, the economic needs of the Poles are instead shaped by self-comparison to economic conditions in the richer Western countries. To rephrase the above thought in Tucker's own terms: it seems that in Polish domestic affairs another legacy of post-totalitarianism has gained political weight only recently – namely, the unbearable awareness of an economic gap stemming from post-totalitarian backwardness.

The coherence of Tucker's treatise with contemporary public affairs in E-CE countries demonstrates the general soundness of the model and proves its great academic value. Indeed, apart from minor lapses (like claiming Spengler's philosophy of history was linear)[8] the theoretical part of the book is outstanding.

Where the work reveals some weaknesses, however, is in its final part, which aims at generating a theoretically informed foresight into Europe's future (chapters 6-7). To start with, in the final, essayistic part on education sometimes the word "totalitarian" is conflated with "authoritarian" or even "corrupt." Although Tucker is right in stigmatizing corruption in the academic system, it is questionable whether this will result in a backdoor return of totalitarianism. Although certainly, if E-CE countries were really to follow in the footsteps of Turkey's president Erdogan, who sacked thousands of academics only because they

were politically "suspicious," then Tucker would be proved right.[9] But were E-CE academia to remain a mediocre system of education struggling with issues like corruption or poor management, then it would be nothing more than a typical case of the academia of (semi)peripheries, to use Immanuel Wallerstein's term.

Similar case can be seen with the illiberal tendencies in some E-CE countries that may be deemed authoritarian, but not totalitarian. Contrary to Tucker's hopes, time has shown they were not "brushed off" easily. Why is this so? This may be related not only to the middle-range legacies, but also to Braudel's long duration phenomena, which Tucker only briefly mentions in the book.[10] In the case of E-CE, such *longue durée* phenomena would include the lack of the morally heavy, traumatized colonial past, which influences regional attitudes to migration and acculturation.[11] Another example of a causal long-term factor would be the centuries-long experience of institutional weakness (many E-CE countries experienced eras of self-perceived greatness centuries ago and these eras were followed by partial or total collapse; the resulting traumas continue to shape their attitude towards strong government). Couple these factors with the international instability related to the end of unipolar, USA-controlled world;[12] with disruptive large-scale migration to Europe from Africa and Asia;[13] with Jonathan Haidt's correlation of the popularity of right-wing parties with the public sense of instability;[14] or with Leszek Nowak's non-Marxian class dynamics in democratic conditions[15] – and you get a foresight-ready set of factors that explain ECE-related trends better than a mere reference to post-totalitarianism.

Instead of summing up, let me refer to the political scientist Christopher Coker, who claimed that we should not regret the passing of the holistic Hegelian era, but that unfortunately we have not constructed anything in exchange to interpret historical processes.[16] Tucker's books goes against this philosophical-historical inertia by demonstrating a bold return of holism. Far from being Hegelian, Tucker reinvents the interdisciplinary philosophy of history by showing there exists a common set of objective formative variables in the case of post-totalitarian cultures. These variables continuously act as explanatory, causal and identity-forming factors above the many cultural differences present in Central and Eastern Europe.

In an anectodal way this elusive community of E-CE can be illustrated by collective reactions to a joke popular during communist times:

"Why are the Russians our brothers?" "Because you cannot choose who is your brother." On hearing this joke today, the middle-aged citizens of the post-totalitarian states tend to laugh right away, whereas the others either do not get it or do not consider it funny. Tucker's exceptional book helps us understand what layers of experience, ideals, beliefs and fears are generally still present in the minds of those who tend to laugh; and what middle-range mechanisms operate in the background of their societies.

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Notes

1 Aviezer Tucker (2015), *The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Theoretical Framework*, New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 6.
2 Tucker (2015), pp. 2-12.
3 Tucker (2015), pp. 14-15. Cf. Krzysztof Brzechczyn (2008), 'Polish Discussions on the Nature of Communism and Mechanisms of its Collapse. A Review Article,' *East European Politics and Societies* 22, pp. 828-855.
4 Tucker (2015), p. 73-74.
5 Tucker (2015), p. 22, and pp. 33-37.
6 Jennifer Rankin (2016), 'Poland's Changes to Court System 'Endanger Democracy,' *The Guardian*, February 29; see also: Krzysztof Brzechczyn (2016), 'Interpreting Poland,' *The Sarmatian Review* 36 (3) September, pp. 2023-2032.
7 TNS Polska (2013), 'Polacy niezadowoleni z sytuacji ekonomicznej w kraju' (Poles Dissatisfied with Domestic Economic Situation", *Newsweek.pl*, July 25,
8 Tucker (2015), p. 11.
9 Zia Weise and Josie Ensor (2016), 'Turkey Fires 21,000 Teachers and Demands Suspension of Every University Dean in Post-Coup Crackdown.' *Telegraph.co.uk*, July 19.
10 Tucker (2015), p. 6.
11 Although some authors do claim that E-CE countries at some point colonized their neighbours (cf. Jan Sowa (2011), *Fantomowe ciało króla* (The King's Phantom Body), Warsaw: Universitas), the scale of the phenomenon was not comparable to Western European colonial era.
12 Piotr Arak and Grzegorz Lewicki (2017), 'China catching up with the US,' in: Piotr Arak, Grzegorz Lewicki (eds.) *Indeks Mocy Państw 2017* (State Power Index 2017), available at: <www.statepowerindex.com> (accessed 16 January, 2019).
13 Piotr Arak and Grzegorz Lewicki (2018), 'Migracje, wojny oraz inne plagi międzyepoki' (Migrations, Wars and other Troubles of a Transitory Era),

in: Piotr Arak, Grzegorz Lewicki (eds.) *Indeks Mocy Państw 2018* (State Power Index 2018) available at <http://ineuropa.pl/2018/wyniki-globalne/migracje-wojny/> (accessed 16 January, 2019).

14 Cf. Jonathan Haidt (2012), *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People Are Divided by Politics and Religion,* New York: Vintage.

15 Cf. Brzechczyn (2016), pp. 2023-2032 and collection of papers: Krzysztof Brzechczyn (ed.) (2003), *Ścieżki transformacji. Ujęcia teoretyczne i opisy empiryczne* (Pathways of Transformations. Theoretical Approaches and Empirical Descriptions), Poznań: Zysk i S-ka.

16 Christopher Coker (1998), *Twilight of the West*, Oxford: Basic Books, p. 175.

Dissidents and Nomads in [Not Only] Post-totalitarian Countries

Why Are There so Many Problems if Things Are Going so Well?

Rafał Paweł Wierzchosławski

Aviezer Tucker's book *The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Theoretical Framework* can be classified among works which deal with the totalitarian past and discuss the issue of the victory of liberal democracy in post-Soviet states after 1989. From the many issues examined in his book, I would like to focus here on the author's interesting claim that dissidents played an important role not only in the overthrow of communism (real socialism) but also in the preservation of liberal democracy in East-Central Europe, which, in his view, is now threatened by the demons of populism, nationalism, xenophobia, etc. The essential question is whether dissidents have managed to create such an institutional framework as will protect societies against the temptation of populism, by offering citizens – all social groups – a state with stable, effective structures, respect for individual freedom, and the sense of safety (including social security), or whether the institutional problems he mentions results from the negligence and desertion of the elites in the first years of the transformation – a state of things which has lasted until now.

Rafał Paweł Wierzchosławski. Dissidents and Nomads in [Not Only] Post-totalitarian Countries: Why Are There so Many Problems if Things Are Going so Well?. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 1: 226–232.

Keywords: dissidents, elites, nomads, populism, liberal-democracy, transformation, Aviezer Tucker, Legacies of Totalitarianism.

Aviezer Tucker's book titled *The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Theoretical Framework* can be classified among works which deal with the totalitarian past and discuss the issue of the victory of liberal democracy in post-Soviet states after 1989. From the many issues examined by Tucker in this noteworthy book, I would like to focus here on (and limit myself primarily to) the author's interesting claim that dissidents played an important role not only in the overthrow of communism (real socialism) but also in the preservation of liberal democracy in and East-Central Europe, which, in his view, is threatened by the demons of populism, nationalism, xenophobia, etc.[1]

There are some problems following from his observation, which should be considered.

(1) In Tucker's words, a dissident's (including a philosopher dissident's) attitude is expressed in Havel's postulate of 'living in truth.' The acceptance and social realization of that postulate have definitely contributed to the fall of communist systems. The reference to that postulate underlines the significance of intentional attitudes of people who value personal freedom (in the negative sense) and legal safeguards as regards respect for personal autonomy. We could say that the intuition of living in truth refers to basic (constant) human needs. They cannot be subdued and eliminated by any collective enforcement by totalitarian regimes which would like to dominate free individuals forever.

If such an interpretation is plausible, then it will be of (essential) significance for my further reflections. Having assumed it is, we can put forth a hypothesis that any threat of totalitarianism must, in the end, be confronted with the gene of freedom, which cannot be destroyed, and which will, in the long run, strive to be externalized and realized. Thus, totalitarianism can blind human minds for a time, but afterwards the gene of freedom will become active and will prevail.

(2) When I talk of the gene of freedom, I mean especially the individual level, the sense of having a sphere of individual freedom. However, as some conservative democrats like Yoram Hazony claim the idea (gene) of freedom can also be considered on a national level (free state among other free states). His point avoids charges of populism, since he places some constraints which preclude that the higher level might compromise the lower (basic) level. Such an approach is rather difficult

to define as a populist or xenophobic one, since it respects a variety of individual freedoms of citizens. He overtly supports the Zionist case of the State of Israel, however his arguments may be interesting for all who have in mind national independence and sovereignty against variety of imperial projects and traditions.[2] This aspect should not be forgotten when we talk about liberal democracy in East-Central Europe. The countries of this region have experienced the toughness of postwar Soviet dependency and at the moment of adjusting to international norms and institutions, like the EU framework, they have to balance respect for individual, national, and transnational (supra-national) entities.

(3) Not all who study dissident movements and the post-communism transformations accept Havel's diagnosis of the end of enslavement and the preservation of freedom without reservation. David Ost, who has analyzed the phenomenon of the opposition in East-Central Europe[3] and the outcomes of the transformations after 1989,[4] has recently juxtaposed the category of living in truth (as a passive and essentially elitist one) with civic activism which, in his view, would bring about decidedly greater results in the struggle against the domination of communism. Ost suggests that living in truth would be too costly for anonymous citizens – it would only be possible for those who could pay the price, for example, thanks to the support and protection of foreign media.[5]

(4) The possibility that the changes in post-communist states could be too superficial, to follow Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's dictum in *The Leopard*: "If we want everything to stay as it is, we must change everything." has also been noted by Tucker.[6] Regardless of whether we are inclined to accept the soundness of such suggestions, in my opinion, they are worth noting in the context of the accusations that, disappointed with broken promises, citizens rejecting liberal democracy will give in to authoritarian tendencies. At this point, let us take note of Jadwiga Staniszkis' political analyses, richly illustrated with empirical data, in which she has tried to display the phenomenon of political capitalism within the framework of which the members of the communist nomenklatura were to obtain better starting positions even before the beginning of the transformation, by taking over state assets and social enterprises ('enfranchisement of nomenklatura').[7]

(5) In this context, we can recall both Ost's claims about (the) defeat of Solidarity, that is, its submission to the dictate of shock therapy in

line with a neoliberal strategy of escaping from bleak real socialism,[8] and American anthropologist Elizabeth Dunn's analysis of the process of the privatization of a baby food factory by the Gerber corporation.[9] The point of her research is that those employees experienced radical systemic colonization and became abstract objects represented with the use of charts, tables, and formatted accounting documents. In the light of Dunn's analyses, Ost's critique of the concept of living in truth takes on a new, post-transformation meaning. The commoditization and enslavement may pertain not only to political freedom, but also to economic freedom and the sense of individual dignity as a member of society.

(6) However we can ask if we are not witnessing a similar process in West European to focus on recent events in Italy, Spain, or France. There is also the question about the degree to which the dissatisfaction with the liberal democratic system is an expression of populism (and other 'isms,' which it appears to entail) and the degree to which it is a reaction to the discrepancy between the promises of the elites, coupled with citizens' expectations, and the impossibility of the realization of those promises in the system.[10] It seems that that differentiation should be kept in mind when discussing Tucker's book.

At this point, I would like to mention two recent publications, books written from the liberal perspective by authors working at the same place, St. Anthony College in Oxford: Thimothy Garton Ash and Jan Zielonka. They have both witnessed and analyzed the transformation in the region. They both try to grasp the cogs and wheels of recent processes in Europe and beyond. The first author is scared by the coming changes and, like Moses on Mount Horeb, offers up ten commandments for free speech which are to save the liberal world(s). We could call him a committed moralist (or *le spectateur engagé*).[11] The second one tries to remain an impartial analyst and points to problems, which elicit various reactions of the European *demos*. While he does not diminish the threats indicated by his Oxford colleague, Zielonka does not demonize them, either, as he believes that the liberal elites were in a large measure to blame for not having been able to solve the problems noticed by average citizens.[12]

It looks like states in both Eastern Europe – which have transformed from communism to liberal democracy – and Western Europe from authoritarian regimes (France, Spain, Italy) – which should, in theory, be more stable and resistant to populism – undergo similar processes

which could be called a "transformation [liberal] regression." That observation provokes the question why it is so bad if it was to be so good, why the leaders of the transformation lose their drive and why the successes they used to boast of (and for which they were praised) are not bought lock, stock, and barrel.

In other words, we could ask the question if the (eternal) dissidents – those Tucker hopes would exhibit the virtue of eternal republican vigilance in defense of universal values endangered by short-sighted populism (Timothy Garton Ash) – were able to make use of the obtained freedom and build durable, well-designed institutions for citizens and for the effective functioning of the state machine, regardless of who wields power after democratic change.

One of the explanations of the problem might be found in Antoni Z. Kamiński and Joanna Kurczewska's institutional analysis of the Polish political system. They formulate a thesis about the nomadic nature of the elites which overtake state institutions in order to realize their own (or party) goals and not to serve the whole society. The practice of nomadic parasitism destabilizes the system; the aims of institutions are defined *ad hoc*, and there is a permanent exchange of elites and reconfiguration of the system itself.[13]

Allow me to draw some conclusions now. The essential question is whether dissidents have managed to create such an institutional framework as will protect society against the temptation of populism, by offering citizens – all social groups – a state with stable, effective structures, respect for individual freedom, and a sense of safety (including social security). If that is not the case, the next question is, why? Is it possible that the gene of freedom and the need to live in truth only fulfilled a negative function, that is, prevented the (final) domination by the oppressive totalitarian state, but did not guarantee functional institutions and the fulfillment of a positive role? Are the contemporary perturbations of liberal democracies only caused by factors against which Tucker and Ash are warning us, or are there other reasons for them, including institutional problems resulting from the negligence and desertion of the elites in the first years of the transformation – a state of things which has lasted until now?

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Notes

1 Aviezer Tucker (2015), *The Legacies of Totalitarianism. A Theoretical Framework*. New York: Cambridge University Press; we may notice, that the author worked in the field of philosophy of politics in communist Czechoslovakia (Jan Patočka, Václav Havel), and is undoubtedly qualified to extrapolate both his theoretical works and personal experience of living in a state which was undergoing a transformation of the form of government, see: Aviezer Tucker (2000), *The Philosophy and Politics of Czech Dissidence from Patočka to Havel,* Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press.

2 Yoram Hazony (2018), *The Virtue of Nationalism,* New York: Basic Books; Yoram Hazony (2019), 'Conservative Democracy: Liberal Principles Have Brought Us To A Dead End,' *The First Things*, available at: <https://www.firstthings.com/article/2019/01/conservative-democracy> (accessed: 03 January 2019).

3 David Ost (1990), *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics*: *Opposition and Reform in Poland Since 1968,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

4 David Ost (2005), *The Defeat of Solidarity*: *Anger and Politics in Post-Communist Europe*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. On the collapse of communism in Polish literature see: Krzysztof Brzechczyn (2008), 'Polish Discussions on the Nature of Communism and Mechanisms of its Collapse. A Review Article,' *East European Politics and Societies*, 22 (4), pp. 828-855.

5 David Ost (2018), 'The Sham, and the Damage of 'Living in Truth,' *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 32 (2), pp. 301–309.

6 Tucker (2015), pp. 19–23.

7 Jadwiga Staniszkis (1990), ‚*Political Capitalism* in Poland,' *East European Politics and Societies*, 5 (1), pp. 127–141; see also analysis of links between politics and economy in: Krzysztof Brzechczyn (2011), 'The Forgotten Legacy of Solidarność and Lost Opportunities to Build a Democratic Capitalist System Following the Fall of Communism in Poland,' in: Nicolas Hayoz, Leszek Jesień, Daniela Koleva (eds.), *Twenty Years after the Collapse of Communism. Expectations, Achievements and Disillusions of 1989,* Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 395-416.

8 Ost (2005), pp. 34-36, 43-59, 61-78.

9 Elisabeth C. Dunn (2004), *Privatizing Poland*: *Baby Food, Big Business and the Remaking of Labor*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

10 Mark Lilla (2017), *The Once and Future Liberal*: *After Identity Politics*, New York: Harper Collins Publishers; Yascha Mounk, (2018), *The People vs. Democracy*: *Why our Freedom is in Danger and How to Save it*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; Christophe Guilly (2014), *La France périphérique*: *Comment on a sacrifié les classes populaires,* Paris: Editions Flammarion; Chistophe Guilly (2018), *No Society*: *La fin de la classe moyenne occidentale,* Paris: Editions Flammarion; David Goodhart (2017), *The Road to Somewhere*: *The Populist Revolt and the Future of Politics*, London: Hurst and Company.

11 Timothy Garton Ash (2016), *Free Speech*: *Ten Principles for a Connected World*, London: Atlantic Books.

12 Jan Zielonka (2018), *Counter-Revolution*. *Liberal Europe in Retreat*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. He develops some earlier ideas from his previous two important books: Jan Zielonka (2006), *Europe as Empire*: *The Nature of the Enlarged European Union*, New York: Oxford University Press and Zielonka (2014), *Is the EU Doomed*? Cambridge: Polity Press.

13 Antoni Z. Kamiński, Joanna Kurczewska (1994), 'Institutional Transformation in Poland: The Rise of Nomadic Political Elite,' in: Matti Ascalo (ed.), *The Transformation of Europe*: *Social Conditions and Consequences*. Warsaw: IFiS Publishers, see also an interpretation of the 2015 double elections in Poland in the light of 1989 transformation proposed in: Krzysztof Brzechczyn (2016), 'Interpreting Poland,' *The Sarmatian Review* 36 (3) September, pp. 2023-2032.

Why Legacies Matter

Reply to Readings of *Legacies*

Aviezer Tucker

If the Legacies of Totalitarianism are significant for understanding the present, the global emergence of populism in post-totalitarian, post-authoritarian, and post-liberal societies since 2010 is puzzling. It seems to support some version of economic determinism rather than historical path dependency. I argue that the universal common denominator is blocked social mobility. The elites that protect themselves by blocking mobility and their social and political contexts are local. 1989 was a political, not a social revolution. The continuous late Communist elite transmuted political into economic capital and prevented the establishment of the rule of law. When economies and mobility expanded, the effects of the late totalitarian continuity laid dormant, the recession awoken them.

Keywords: economic determinism, path-dependency, populism, post-communism, post-totalitarianism, Legacies of Totalitarianism.

The emergence of contemporary populism, democratically elected governments that attempt to expand the executive branch of government to reduce or eliminate the independence of other branches of government and use small representative majorities and even smaller popular majorities or large minorities to suppress the rights of minorities, while manipulating incoherent popular passions especially fear and resentment against elites to strengthen their rule, is puzzling from a comparative political perspective.

Aviezer Tucker. Why Legacies Matter: Reply to Readings of Legacies. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 13, no. 1: 233–240.

"Transformation regression," as Wierzchosławski called it, in post-totalitarian states and societies is not surprising: weak institutions and liberal-democratic norms are legacies of the totalitarian era.[1] Though East-Central European societies had been traditionally multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-religious, the two totalitarian intervenors in the region made societies uniform and homogenous in less than a decade, and then closed them off from the world. Though they have made significant and indeed impressive economic strides since the end of Communism, post-totalitarian economies still lag behind most fellow members of the European Union, fueling resentment. These explanations are plausible, except that the other countries that succumbed to populism are the ethnically and culturally heterogeneous United States and Brazil, countries of immigrants and have long been open to the world. The United States has had strong liberal-democratic institutions with a quarter millennia of entrenched traditions. Though Brazil has authoritarian (though not totalitarian) traditions, the United States above the Mason-Dixon Line has none.

Another puzzle emerges from comparing the post-Communist populist countries, Hungary and Poland on the one hand, and the Czech Republic on the other hand. Hungary and Poland returned post-Communist parties to power cyclically after 1989. But now, whatever else Victor Orban and Jarosław Kaczyński may be blamed for, their records and those of their party leaders during the Communist era are as pure as the driven snow. By contrast, the Czechs have kept their Communists in political isolation since 1989. Yet, the current populist euro billionaire prime-minister is a child of the Slovak nomenklatura who probably still managed to be a low grade secret police collaborator in his youth before the regime collapsed, while president Zeman is openly pro-Russian, had advisors who were former officers of the Communist secret police, and Russian money paid for his presidential campaign. To make it all even more interesting, all the post-totalitarian populists, Prime-Minister Orban in Hungary, President Miloš Zeman in the Czech Republic, and even Kaczyński in Poland, went through periods in the twenty years following 1989 when they were fairly conventional politicians who played by the liberal democratic rules and even took some painful non-populist economic decisions. The current elected leaders of the United States and Brazil cannot be accused of ever having been "normal."

It could be facile to conclude that legacies and history, long and middle duration factors, have had little influence on recent political history. The lower middle classes, poorer, less educated, older, and provincial voters tolerated liberal democracy unenthusiastically after 1989 because they believed it may make them rich like the Germans. Once the economic recession hit like a tsunami from outer space, this instrumental tolerance of liberal democracy lost its *raison d'etre.* The populist voters returned to their late-totalitarian political homes to roost. Politicians who could smell the political winds adjusted their style to that of demagogues; and the plebs could not care less about the credibility of their demagogue as long as they vented and expressed their passions and annoyed the stagnant elites forcefully enough.

Lewicki reasonably questions in his comments the significance of middle duration factors, which *the Legacies of Totalitarianism* concentrated on, in comparison with short and long duration factors,[2] while Dragoş Petrescu hails the significance of theoretically undermining the long duration historical differences between north and south central-east Europe.[3] Perhaps as much as the fin-de siècle nineties of the previous century were the golden age of economic growth, technological innovation, and international trade that led to a cosmopolitan and liberal *zeitgeist*, the global recession of 2008 somehow affected much of the developed world similarly to generate a new *zeitgeist* of global populism, irrespective of totalitarian, authoritarian or democratic legacies. The rest is history, as the term is used in America rather than Europe, irrelevant rather than inevitable.

Such an analysis is attractively simple. Yet, it is incomplete because it skips over the intermediary causal links that should mediate between the global recession and the local populisms. The link must be universal, yet effective in each of the extremely social contexts. I suggest that the most plausible universal intermediary variable is blocked social mobility. When the recession hit, the economic pie initially shrank everywhere (except in Poland) and then it stopped growing significantly for a decade everywhere. Without growth, upper mobility for some implies lower mobility for others. The threatened elites who did not know how to increase growth and prosperity, closed their ranks to prevent losing their own class position, by blocking social mobility. The formal and informal methods for blocking social mobility differ from society to society, as are the class structures and the characters of the classes. But regulating class mobility out of existence usual-

ly involves some level of state capture to use it to block upper social mobility and protect oligopolies and privileges. The politicians who are coopted by the elites are then perceived as corrupt and the aura of corruption descends also on politicians who are not corrupt. Weak social classes threatened with downward mobility whose upper mobility was blocked under conditions of recession and then stagnation reacted with fear and anger against the elites. The demagogues manipulated these emotions. Since elites usually use codes of politeness to distinguish themselves from the uncouth masses, in the United States this elite politeness is associated with "political correctness," the populist leaders proved their distinction from the elites by being vulgar to transgressively break codes of polite talk and conduct. But anger and resentment do not amount to a social revolution. The power gap is such that bringing down the elites is not just impossible, but even unimaginable. Instead, the imagination runs wild against those the lower classes perceive as even weaker and inferior to them, which is where xenophobia, racism, and scapegoating come from. Here the short term international similarities end and the need for middle-range analysis begins.

I argued in *Legacies* that the political changes that started in 1989 amounted to political revolutions when and only when political elites were replaced, but never developed into social revolutions because the social hierarchy and composition of the elites hardly changed after 1989. The late-totalitarian elite traded its political capital for economic capital, used its naked liberties (liberties unprotected by rights) to appropriate the state and transmute those naked liberties into property rights in the process of privatization. The late-totalitarian judicial system would not and could not establish the rule of law. Ordinary post-totalitarian citizens did not challenge the social continuity and state capture because there was not much they could do about it, while for most of the twenty years between the end of Communism and the global recession East-Central European countries enjoyed robust economic growth that trickled down, albeit unevenly. Economic growth and growing economic role for international and foreign companies and international trade, and new institutions like the free media, offered opportunities for upper mobility that had not existed before the fall of Communism. However once mobility came to a scratching halt, as Lewicki put it, "what was once buried prematurely, now returns as an abomination."[4] Hungarians and Polish citizens started paying

greater attention to the composition of their elites and their political influence. In protest, they voted for populists who appeared clearly dissociated from the previous rapacious elites, and gave them an overwhelming mandate to fight the corrupt elites. Replacing self-serving post-Communist politicians, judges and civil servants who had little respect for the rule of law with another self-serving group with party loyalty and no respect for the rule of law, while curbing the independence of the institutions that underlie liberal democracy, has not been much of an improvement. But then the populist leaders could promise their voters to pre-empt the rising tide of immigration from planet Mars or some other equally likely source of immigrants eager to settle in post-totalitarian East Europe, rather than traverse it on their way to Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

As Wierzchosławski put it:

> "The essential question is whether dissidents have managed to create such an institutional framework as will protect the society against the temptation of populism, by offering citizens – all social groups – a state with stable, effective structures, respect for individual freedom, and the sense of safety (including social security). If that is not the case, the next question is why."[5]

Or, as the same author put it succinctly: "why it is so bad if it was to be so good?"[6] The explanation I proposed in Legacies is the absence of post-totalitarian alternative elites. Totalitarianism is distinct of authoritarianism in attempting to create a single social class hierarchy (Brzechczyn explains this within the framework of Nowak's broader social theory). In the initial revolutionary totalitarian stage this is achieved by the elimination of about 10% of the population, by murder, imprisonment, and exile. Following the elimination of the pre-totalitarian elites, the revolutionary elite turned on itself. As Brzechczyn analyzes, the self-destruction of the totalitarian elite resulted from of its monopoly over power that forced its members to expand their power only at each other's' expense.[7] The idealist true believers among the elite were killed first because their idealism disoriented them. Lower down on the single hierarchical echelon idealists could survive into late totalitarianism when they gradually lost faith (in reply to Brzechczyn attentive quandary about the apparent contradiction between my claim that idealists were killed in the revolutionary stage of totalitarianism and my later claim that idealists became disillusioned during late-totalitarianism).

The late totalitarian regime attempted to freeze its social structure by preventing the emergence of new independent elites, achieved by control of social mobility through the Party, the selection of students in higher education according to political criteria, and the suppression of civil society, the social space between the state and the family where elites can develop independently of the state. Authoritarian regimes, by contrast, eliminate only alternative *political* elites and opponents and do not bother with non-political alternative elites and civil society. This makes totalitarianism unique. As Cristina Petrescu highlighted, one of the main arguments of *Legacies* is that the concept of totalitarianism is indispensable for understanding the twentieth century and its aftermath.[8] As Cristina Petrescu noted, the concept is controversial both in its meaning and its application. The meaning I use, the absence of alternative elites and a single social hierarchy, was never *totally* implemented because the state could not achieve total control of every social nook and cranny, but it got close enough for its purposes, the maintenance of social hegemony. Without extreme violence, small dissident communities did emerge. Yet, these dissident alternative elites were not sufficient for replacing the elites after the end of the regime. Some former dissidents in politics and the media (and not all dissidents were liberal democrats to begin with) did not suffice to reform institutions and establish the rule of law in the judiciary and police, let alone in the regulation of the economy. A fundamental tragic social legacy of late-totalitarianism has been the social problem solving strategy of finding somebody you know to get around absurd and inflexible institutions and regulations that cannot be reformed. This social practice written large meant attempting to achieve social change though personnel replacement rather than by attempting legal and institutional reforms. Instead of designing well-functioning institutions to operate according to good rules, reformers replaced the people at the top with political allies. "Fighting corruption" may mean then ending state capture by one clique only to replace it with another.

I argued that the end of totalitarianism constituted an adjustment of the political naked liberties of the late totalitarian elite to their economic interests. Michał Kwiecień missed in my analysis reference to Janine Wedel's distinction between levels of state capture.[9] I distinguished in *Legacies* between economies where the appropriation of the state required continued control of the government because the main source of cash flow was income from selling natural resources that cannot be liq-

uidated and moved elsewhere, and economies poor in natural resources where the immediate targets of "marauding bandits," in Mancur Olson's terminology, would be the most liquid assets, like those held by banking and insurance monopolies. Once the most liquid properties were liquidated, the ongoing interest of economic elites in government was limited to manipulating regulations to protect monopolies and fixing public tenders, a partial state capture. Putin's nomenklature restoration, by contrast, was of "stationary bandits" in Olson's terminology; they had to capture the state to get the income from selling energy.

Populists have perfected the art of state capture. But the legacies of liberal democracy have kept liberal institutions, most notably the judiciary in the United States, independent and powerful enough to curtail and limit the powers of the executive in ways that have been impossible in post-totalitarian states. Accordingly, the freedom of the press has held as did the independence of institutions such as the Central Bank despite continuous attempts to weaken these institutions and their independence. Middle range path dependency, the legacies of totalitarianism, do matter in the end.

A final comparison between the contemporary United States and post-totalitarian states is more surprising: The Trump administration shares one prominent characteristic with the former dissident governments that took power in the wake of 1989: Extreme scarcity of loyal elites. As much as the dissidents could not generate a social revolution without alternative elites, nor can Trump. The reservoir of elite members able and willing to serve his administration has practically no true believers in populism, not even opportunists, because nobody believes this presidency will last long enough to reward its collaborators. Without such alternative elites, the entrenched elites, the system, protects itself and prevents change, for better or for worse.

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Notes

1 Rafał Paweł Wierzchosławski (2019), 'Dissidents and Nomads in [not only] Post-Totalitarian Countries – Why Are There so Many Problems If Things Are Going so Well,' Central European Journal of International and Security Studies 13, no. 1, p. 230.

2 Grzegorz Greg Lewicki (2019), 'Legacies, zombies and the need of long-term basis for short-term foresight,' Central European Journal of International and Security Studies 13, no. 1, p. 235.

3 Dragoş Petrescu (2019), 'Limits of democratic consolidation: Subversion of reason as a post-totalitarian syndrome,' Central European Journal of International and Security Studies 13, no. 1, p. 209.

4 Lewicki (2019), p. 222.

5 Wierzchosławski (2019), p. 226.

6 Wierzchosławski (2019), p. 230.

7 Krzysztof Brzechczyn (2019), 'A Transformation of the Privileges of the Authorities into Property Rights or a Transformation of the Types of Class Rule?,' Central European Journal of International and Security Studies 13, no. 1, p. 203

8 Cristina Petrescu (2019), 'Simulated Change: Totalitarianism and what Comes Next,' Central European Journal of International and Security Studies 13, no. 1, p. 215

9 Michał Kwiecień (2019), 'The Hereditary Diseases of Post-Totalitarianism,' Central European Journal of International and Security Studies 13, no. 1, p. 212.

Book reviews

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Y. Abd al-Hussein (2015). *The Third World War: Daesh, Iraq and the management of Barbarism* {al-Harb al-'Almīah-at al- ṯ'aliṯ'ah-at: Da'š w al-Iraq w ʾdarah-at al-tawhš}. First edition, Beirut: The All Print Distributors and Publisher, 2015.

The Third World War: Daesh, Iraq and the Management of Barbarism

Reviewed by Elaaf Hadi

Based on documents published for the first time, this book reveals the life and surroundings of the Head of Da'š, also known as ISIS or ISIL in the western world, Abo Baker Albaghdadi. Moreover, the book reveals exclusive statements made by some terrorist leaders, detained in Iraqi jails.

Introduction

'Never have it in mind, meeting one of those 'Brain-washed' jihadists. Between me and him, there was only metal bars of the jail. He was long-bearded, with a pale face. A fanatic look manifested in his eyes. The way he looked at me, you can touch that he has been emotionally motivated by religion. Except for Jihad and Caliphate, nothing goes around in his mind. The brainwashing he received at the hands of the Imam of the Mosque in his city, made him leave his wife, his two kids, in order to fight his Muslim brothers! Those whom he call; the unbelievers!' (Abd al-Hussein, 2015).

The author introduces the book with the impression he received during an interview with the terrorist. Their words (as mentioned above) express their fanatic ambition to restore the Caliphate glory as proclaimed. Beyond this, the author believes that terror occupies the primary means to demolish Iraq's infrastructure and derail its political process. Terror brought destruction into Iraq. Throughout history and in the worst conditions and historical juncture; Iraq has been relentless. However, in the absence of a strong Iraqi state and with the fragility of its military institution, Da'š managed to take control over Mosul. It has become imperative to put forth a comprehensive analysis of terrorism in its most current forms, represented by Da'š. The Author reveals exclusive statements made by some terrorist leaders detained in Iraqi jails. This book suggests that terrorism is not instantaneous or accidental; it is nurtured over time. Due to the legacies of tyranny, dictatorship and political repression in the region, terrorism has emerged.

Dr. Yasser Abd al-Hussein was granted a doctorate degree in Political Philosophy by Baghdad University in 2014. His doctoral thesis was entitled 'The principle of Leadership in United States' Foreign Policy'. In addition to his academic contributions, he has authored several books. The first was *The Foreign Policy of Iran during Khatamy's Regime*, and the second was about Da'š as the topic of this review. He is the vice dean of Foreign Service Institute in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq. Also worth mentioning in this context is that the author is well connected with political and intellectual elites in Iraq. This capacity of strong public relations has granted him access to numerous classified documents.

Thus, this book presents a large number of documents which have been published for the first time. Furthermore, the author supports his arguments about the doctrinal background of terrorists through interviewing 65 terrorists from different terrorist wings in Iraqi prisons. Via this methodology, the author was able to understand the similarities and differences among them as well as to get closer to their common doctrinal backgrounds. One has to refer also to the precedence of this book whereby the author submits to the reader a comprehensive bibliography of the leader of Da'š, Abu Baker Albaghdady, as well as copies of his personal documents and a list of his own library's books.

In terms of the structural form, the book consists of 515 pages covered in 19 chapters. Four main inquires have been raised in this book:

1. How have the terrorist organisations originated?
2. What is the relationship among the Baath regime, Al-Qaeda and Da'š before and after 2003?
3. What is the relationship between terrorism and global jihadism and how has it affected global security?
4. Why did they choose Iraq?

Main themes and arguments

Three main themes are raised in this book: *terrorism is a transnational phenomenon (globalized threat); terrorists are the products of their own socio-political context;* and *terrorism has been deployed politically by regional and international players.*

The author throughout this book tries to analyze the cause roots of Da'š and other terrorist organizations. He asserts that this phenomena is a result of combined roots of various causes. Some of them are locally founded in which they emerged to the fore of the societal context due to the political circumstances that oriented the political psychology of the Arabic individual, the Iraqi one in particular. He also finds out that some roots are due to the discrimination and bias in international politics that led to huge strategic mistakes in West-East interaction. In this regard Professor Idrees Hani, a Moroccan author and Islamic researcher, in the long introduction (96 pages) of this book, analyses the methodological relationship between Orientalism and Western strategy towards the Muslims and Arabs. Hani is keen on presenting a neutral argument that alienates from self-sympathy. His conclusion in the introduction is simple and demonstrates the reality of the dichotomy that tells us that 'Muslims' are the victims and the executioners at the same time. He asserts that extremism and terrorism is the product of the stereotyping process that creates negative images of the East in the Western public conscious. However, extremism is a local product of Eastern sanctuary to restore their pride and self-assertion in front of the Other. Thus, terrorism is a chapter in "The Game of Nations" that adopts the stereotype of the irrational and barbarian Middle East, which was deployed by the West itself to certain political ends. Hani adds that Daʿš is 'a monster that created by the playing with genes in the Western laboratory'. This new creature has become uncontrollable due to excess power that gave it the opportunity to claim supremacy over the other terrorist organisations worldwide. This centrality in recruiting people is very dangerous for the whole strategic game in the

region whereby Da'š diverged from the main goal of destroying the Assad regime in Syria. Hani's point is expressed plainly in this chapter (*Terrorism in the Orientalism's perception: the paradigm of Huntington's theory* (p 26). He means that Orientalism submits both the cure and the disease. Thus, the cure to Da'š according to Orientalism experts is a twofold process: first, through a military campaign and second, through creating waves of change in the local cultures of the Orientals. At the same time, he blames the United States for failure by not preventing the cross-fertilization between Baath cadres and terrorist leaders in Iraq. Through this alliance, the structure of IS in Iraq has been created. From this point of view, the author of the book realizes Da'š strategy to that distributed on three stages: subtract land, control and expansion.

One of the most important themes of the book is the global threat of terrorism. This threat has been transformed from locality to a worldwide range due to political projects. For that reason, the author analyses the motives behind terrorists' behaviour and ambitions as follows:

1. Individual motives that derived from psychological and economic problems;
2. Societal backgrounds such as cultural formation;
3. Doctrinal background;
4. Sexual oestrus of the terrorists;
5. Political motive to reach the authority.

Thus, the author finds out that to counter Da'š and terrorism in general the whole world must initiate a 'soft war'. He tries through much of the book to analyze the Salafi Jihad, the reasons behind its emergence and its role in Iraq both pre and post 2003 (pp. 151-219). During this study the author touches four generations of Al-Qaeda. The fourth is the 'electronic-generation'. This generation is characterized as decentralized, global and sophisticated by using the ultimate technologies. These generations were deployed to implement a 20-year plan which was spread over seven stages. The year 2013 was to initiate the fifth stage, which was supposed to establish the Islamic State in Iraq. He attributes the failure of the al-Qaʿda' project in Iraq to the successful alliance between Da'š and Baʿth cadres that captured the power from al al-Qaʿda' leaders over the networks of terrorists in Iraq. The author in this part of the book asks whether the Iraqi society was familiar with radicalism and Salafiyah-at before the events of September 11. He provides answers with respect to detailed methodology by asserting that

extremist ideologies were alien to the Iraqi society, although the Saddam Hussein regime created links with Osama bin Laden and al-Qaʿda during the nineties of the last century. These links continuously have worked post-2003 especially between Naqšabindiyah-at, led by I'zzat al Doury who died in 2015, and the Islamic State organisation that formed in 2006 which was led by abo Omar Albaghdadi. According to the author, the goal of establishing the Islamic State suffers from the disparity between two correlated trends: the Muslim Brotherhood trend that tries to avoid sectarian fighting, and the salafist (Wahabiyah-at) trend that asserts the need of doctrinal purging. This struggle between these trends was settled by Da'š strategic priorities whereby they have chosen to fight the closer enemies. The definition of enemy here is twofold: political regimes in the Middle East and Shiism, and setting a special plan to transfer the battle to the Western part of the world.

The author through his paradigm covers three pillars to figure out Da'š' strategy in Iraq: the first is a question of who Abo Baker Albaghdadi is. The author managed to access very classified and private documents related to Albaghdadi. These documents were made available for the first time to the public, and provide a glimpse into the character of Albaghdadi: his bibliography, family members, his academic degree, etc. These documents also ensure that Da'š is totally controlled by Baʿth regime cadres whereby they managed to restructure the organisation and reset its priorities to put the declaration of the state to the fore of its strategic ambition. The second pillar is why they chose Iraq to run their proclaimed state. In this regard, four essential conditions are available in Iraq:

1. Sacred geographical specifications;
2. Geo-strategic advantages;
3. Great economic potential and oil resources;
4. Doctrinal importance.

Furthermore, Iraq is the weakest point in the regional security environment. The third pillar is what the strategy of {ʾdarah-at al-tawhš} Barbarism management is. In general, according to the author, it aims to affect the global balance of power by mobilizing small local groups of terrorists. The strategy of the management of barbarism consists of three stages:

1. Create chaos in the regional security environment to destabilize the political regimes.

2. Establish the Islamic State in the destroyed regimes' territory.
3. Initiate a global war of attrition.

The Islamic State will operate tactical missions to hit important strategic and economic targets. These targets will be distributed geographically in the West and East alike to shatter the international alliance's strategy. Thus, the strategy of the management of barbarism is the terrorists' method to transfer the battle from the local stage to globalism whereby all near enemies (al-šītah-at as theological target and Westphalia' state as political target) in the region and distant enemies (Western targets) will be approached by the Islamic State's fighters.

Conclusion

The author concludes the book with a theme tells that the so-called ISIS is to be terminated as a political project on the regional environment although the radical ideology and terrorism will still be a threat which takes various forms or names that differ from region or state to another. However, he insists that terrorism is a global threat taking into considerations specific factors:

1. No region or country is immune from this threat. Thus, geographically it is a global phenomena.
2. The aims and targets of terrorism are global and local alike.
3. The outcomes of this phenomena have global scope, to change the world order.
4. The strategy to fight terrorism must be based on global consensus.

Finally, the author sets a cluster of principles which should be taken into consideration to build a competent confrontation strategy to the so-called ISIS in Iraq, as follows:

1. Strong campaign against IS to cut off financial and oil resources.
2. Inflict to Da'š heavy military losses to shatter its image towards Muslims.
3. Fighting IS by soft power (societal, information technology and media).
4. Create common intellectual campaign by Muslim clerics from all schools of Islamic interpretation *Maḏahib*.
5. Reach a common social contract to ensure social justice and create reasonable political culture.
6. Create solid regional security initiatives to fight the so-called ISIS and any terrorist organization.

David HELD, Charles ROGER, Eva-Maria NAG. *Climate Governance in the Developing World*. Cambridge: Polity; 1st edition, 2013. ISBN 978-0745662770.

Climate Governance in the Developing World

Reviewed by Lapo Degl'Innocenti

Climate change is a serious issue, and not only from an environmental perspective. Climate governance, a practice once thought to be a concern only for the industrialised Western countries, has recently shifted and tried to include also the heterogeneous developing world, more and more responsible for the total emission of greenhouse gases (GHGs) and the resulting global warming. *Climate governance in the developing world* lists and analyses how a specifically chosen sample of developing countries adopted national environmentalist policies or stated international future commitments, what their motivations were and which kind of problems they are facing implementing such policies. The task undertaken is complex for many reasons that we are going to articulate in this review. Yet the final product of the editors David Held[1], Charles Roger[2], Eva-Maria Nag[3] and their many contributors is an almost flawless and comprehensive analysis of how climate governance is perceived in the 'developing universe', a laudable goal for a handbook of less than 300 pages.

The manual is a collection of case studies, each chapter a country, collected in three macro-sections by continent: Asia, the Americas and Africa. For each continent four countries are analysed. The structure of the book is coherent, even in the chapter themselves, where case stud-

ies are almost always approached with a similar scheme. Every chapter is, in fact, usually structured this way: an introduction, a description of the process which brought the country to develop its climate governance, an analysis of the players involved and a consideration on the main obstacles to national environmental achievements. We say 'almost', because every chapter, since it covers the peculiar situation of a single country, always presents some particularities. These particularities make the comfortable, stable structure of the manual never tediously predictable. Every country presents, in fact, some common factors, still each country is complex in its own right: such complexity is accurately outlined in this manual.

The first chapter, "An Editor's Introduction", answers the main questions we ask ourselves while approaching such a manual: why is it important that developing countries adopt climate policies? Based on which criteria were the case studies chosen? Are they representative of the developing nations' situation as a whole?

The fundamental concept of the manual is that climate change is such a compelling challenge that every country in the world should commit itself to solving it. The theory that only industrialised countries have a moral obligation to adopt climate policies, as the main responsible party of GHGs emissions in the past, is now outdated. Countries still defined as 'developing' are nowadays accountable for major stakes of pollution. Still they are not held mandatorily obliged to comply with adaptation and mitigation policies, unlike their Western counterparts. The manual nevertheless tries to find the causes on why some developing nations more than others are willing to abandon their positions as climate laggards, and become climate governance leaders. Whether the reason be international fundings, actual damages suffered by climate change, or other international incentives, every factor is examined. Some developing countries may even want to become virtuous examples of climate policymaking to then use it as a currency to join the 'big players' in the international arena.

Each country analysed in the manual is chosen to examine a different approach to climate governance. They might not represent fully the totality of developing countries, as clearly stated in the manual's preface. Still they are highly suitable for this study, as together they account for almost 50 percent of the world's population, about 25 percent of global gross domestic product and almost 40 percent of the world's annual GHG emissions. Brazil, China, India and Indonesia are anal-

ysed for their major emissions (together they make 85 percent of all the emissions considered in the countries analysed), but for different reasons: while China is studied for its explosive industrialisation, the Indian case links emissions to the socioeconomic iniquity in the country, while Brazil and Indonesia are mainly held accountable for GHG emission related to deforestation. Among the other case studies we can find developing countries which are role models for the whole international community, like South Korea with its 'Low Carbon Green Growth', Mexico and its enacted laws on long-term reduction targets (one of two countries in the world) and Ethiopia, which is trying to become an African leader by becoming a climate role model through its climate-resilient green economy. It is not all roses, though: while some of those same countries are struggling with the implementation or their ambitious policies, some others are insensitive to climate change, such as Argentina, which makes the perfect case of how important socialisation processes are in defining the climate governance of a country. We have then countries which are investing in GHG reductions mainly by shifting their energy supply, thus seeking energy independence rather than for environmental reasons. This happens mainly due to increasingly volatile international and domestic energy prices: Egypt and, again, China, are the countries examined. Other interesting cases are countries once laggard on climate governance which have recently undertaken serious efforts. The main focus in such chapters lies in the understanding of what changed the mind of the political establishment. It is the case for Costa Rica and its campaign for climate neutrality. Finally, but most interestingly, developing countries which do not contribute to GHG emissions but which are greatly suffering from climate changes and countries in extreme poverty whose only choice is to invest in adaptation policies to contain incremental damages from natural disasters and droughts are considered - Mozambique is the key case.

Coherence and consistence are among the main strengths of this manual. This achievement is particularly laudable if we consider the different background of the 16 contributors. Such various fields of study, from political science, law, environmental studies and economics, also provide a fresh interdisciplinary approach to a subject interdisciplinary by definition. Climate governance is a field which entails deep economic, social and political aspects. That is why the manual can aspire to be considered a comprehensive textbook for the purpose of its

own title: the reasoned choice of case studies and the aforementioned collaboration between experts from different fields; together they really give the reader the feeling of increasing its own critical knowledge on the issue. The Costa Rica chapter, for example, is the result of ongoing long-term field research from the author, Robert Fletcher. To be able to study, condensed in few pages, years of research on strategies for environmental governance from all around the globe, without feeling disoriented from chapter to chapter, is an editorial strength that has to be acknowledged.

If we have to point out a suffered weakness of the manual, it would be the lack of a conclusion. After going through continents and countries facing the same challenges in such different ways, you feel lost when, after the last case-study, you find the book index. The purpose of the book is stated in the Editor's introduction, but a final wrap up on international future challenges we might come to face would have made the manual more complete. For example, one of the main arguments in the book is how being a climate policy leader represents a status symbol in the international arena. It would be interesting to test this hypothesis in the light of the recent withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Climate Agreement to see if it still stands.

But maybe in *Climate Governance in the Developing World* we miss a conclusion, because climate change itself is far from being solved. In any case, like after reading a good novel, we highly hope for a new collaboration on a sequel. We feel nonetheless that we can disclose even now that *Climate governance in the developing world* is a must-read book for any political scientist, development economist or serious environmentalist who wants to get an alternative insight on the delicate cross-sectoral issue of climate change outside of the Western world.

Notes

1 Master of University College, Durham, and Professor of Politics and International Relations at Durham University, UK. Director of *Polity Press*, and General Editor of *Global Policy*.

2 PhD student at the University of British Columbia and Liu Scholar at the Liu Institute for Global Issues, Canada.

3 Holding a PhD on Indian political thought from the London School of Economics and Political Science, UK, she has taught courses on political theory, ethics and public administration, and South and East Asian politics at the LSE, the School of Oriental and African Studies, King's College London and the American University in London, UK.

Benjamin K. SOVACOOL, Marilyn A. BROWN and Scott V. VALENTINE. *Fact and Fiction in Global Energy Policy. Fifteen Contentious Questions.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016. ISBN 978-1421418971.

Fact and Fiction in Global Energy Policy: Fifteen Contentious Questions

Reviewed by Kacper Szulecki

In climate and energy studies, it is not only the continuous rise of global average annual temperatures that is apparent. The temperature of the discussions on policy, governance and technology solutions has also reached a boiling point in many areas.

This is most visible in the case of controversial energy generation technologies. Controversial here means, from one or another perspective, nearly all of those that are or may become available. Coal? The dirtiest fuel out there, or – as proponents would have it – the most affordable, abundant and stable option for the power sector. Oil? Not just dirty, but comes with geopolitical strings attached – to which some will cite its superior energy intensity and manifold use in the economy. Gas? In Central Europe, this word evokes not just a blue flame on the stove, but Russia's West Siberian tundra with which your stove is connected by a long pipeline network. Nuclear? The cleanest source of electricity and the answer to both energy poverty and climate concerns, or an offshoot of the arms race and a looming risk we cannot afford. Renewables? The future of clean energy or a costly and intermittent nuisance. The list goes on.

Add broader questions, such as whether climate mitigation or adaptation makes sense, if geoengineering is a path we want to follow, should fracking be allowed, does electrification of transport make sense – and many others – and you will find that the issue area of energy and climate policy is a minefield. How can we navigate it carefully and make sense of the global energy challenge?

The book by Sovacool, Brown and Valentine offers some important advice here. As the title indicates, it identifies no less than fifteen 'contentious questions' – important issues around which the temperature of the debate seems to be particularly high. It does not leave it there, however. The book's aim is apparently threefold. Having mapped these energy policy battlegrounds, the authors then try to give a fair account of both sides' arguments, at times combining this with an incredibly thorough literature review, but packed in accessible, popular science form. The goal is not to simply recapitulate what is being said, but in the spirit of Hegelian dialectics, to seek a synthesis of the two opposing arguments – a 'common ground'. This is not always successful, but the idea should be praised – remember that we are walking in a minefield. Finally, there is the last aim, which is to understand the reasons for contention around these 15 questions to emerge in the first place – where the stakeholders' positions originate from, and why the debate is so difficult.

The introductory chapter discusses the structure of the book, but also the three premises of the authors' endeavour. Firstly, dialectics as the tool for synthesizing opposing positions, secondly, the notion that energy is produced, transported and consumed through complex and interconnected sociotechnical systems, and cannot be treated as isolated technologies insulated from social, political, economic or environmental issues. Finally, the authors emphasize that the difficulty in energy policy debates rises not from misinformation, false or incomplete data – but from the broader assumptions that actors make before getting involved in debates. It is all about *frames*, not *facts*, the authors point out. Data, evidence and the rally-around-the-flag call for 'scientific approaches' can be thrown around by both sides – but very often these objective claims will have equal weight.

The fifteen chapters that follow are divided into four sections: energy & society, energy resources & technology, climate change and energy security & energy transitions. There is no space in this review to go through them one by one. It suffices to say that their structure is very

clear – with both sides of the argument given more or less equal space, divided into more specific arguments used for or against a particular technology or policy option, and a short 'common ground' suggested by the authors at the end. The level of neutrality even in the most contentious areas – such as nuclear energy or geoengineering – is very high, making the book a valuable reference and an anchoring point for future discussions. Statistical data and evidence from existing academic literature are cited to support the different claims – and one has to emphasize the truly Benedictine work the authors have done in that respect.

The dialectic process is tricky, however, and at times, the reader feels the 'common ground' is not very convincing. For example, in the chapter on shale gas, the conclusion/common ground that shale 'must be soundly governed' does not seem to flow from either the thesis or antithesis, but rather is an idea that the authors hold – and there are more instances where that kind of forced reconciliation takes place. Overall, some of the contentious questions discussed simply do not have a meaningful common ground – they are completely binary. And the types of questions asked vary – so the controversies about real and possible risks of fracking, nuclear energy or geoengineering are discussed next to policy preferences such as whether adaptation or mitigation of climate change is more pressing or whether 'peak oil' has already been reached or not just yet.

One important issue that is only addressed in the conclusion is the political nature of all these debates, and the normative grounds on which the competing positions are built. In the body of the book the authors try to be objective and neutral – but that is not always possible in energy policy. As a result, they sometimes visibly accept the fame of one side of the controversy by simply following their terms of debate (for example in the debate on state intervention in energy markets). Finally, some discussions have progressed since the book was written – most notably the one on electric vehicles. While the authors provide a good discussion of EV's as an element of the energy system, they do not consider potential changes in consumption/use patterns and habits, the rise of autonomous vehicles and the possible end of individual car ownership in the future. This only shows how fluid some of those discussions can be.

Overall, the volume is very informative, well-structured and accessible. The richness of evidence is at times overwhelming, and the book

is not merely an introduction to contentious issues, but a concise and affordable handbook and reference volume for the entire area of global energy policy. Academics working on energy policy, politics and governance will be especially interested in the conclusion, where the authors provide a well thought-through typology of the eight *competing energy frames* and the *causes of contention* – an important explanatory appendix for the descriptive book. They end with advice on how energy questions should be approached, but it is clear that some important normative components of that suggested approach will already from the start lead to favouring some frames over others. This is by no means a bad thing – but the needs to be made clear and supported with ethical arguments which are largely beyond the scope of this excellent book.

Claire DUNCANSON. *Gender and Peacebuilding*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016. ISBN 978-0-7456-8251-8.

Gender and Peacebuilding

Reviewed by Tabe George Eyong

Gender that refers to a person's characteristics of either being female or male typically with considerations to social and cultural differences instead of biological ones has remained a much-contested topic in our societies for a very long time. Conversely, the topic of peacebuilding remains a contested topic in security studies and conflict resolution and it is often debated by scholars and policymakers as to who should be involved in peacebuilding operations and who not. Associating these two topics together even makes matters worse than better.

Doctor Claire Duncanson has been a senior lecturer in International Relations at the University of Edinburgh since 2009. Her area of professional expertise lies in International Security, International Relations Theories, and Gender Politics with a particular focus on gender, feminism, and masculinities to military interventions, peacebuilding, and nuclear proliferation. Her experience in the field and her publications (co-author: Duncanson, C and R Woodward (2016) "Regendering the Military; theorizing women's military participation" *Security Dialogue*, 47:1, 3-21; *Duncanson, C (2015) "Hegemonic Masculinity and the Possibility of Change in Gender Relations." Men and Masculinities 18:2, 231-248;* Duncanson, C (2013) *Forces for Good? Military Masculinities and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan and Iraq*, Palgrave Macmillan) are a testimony to her experience in this field.

Dr. Duncanson's book called *Gender and Peacebuilding* is focused on the implementation of Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) as well as the quest to find out if peacebuilding operations in conflict-affected areas around the world have been similar to peace envisioned by feminists. The aim according to the author is to 'map a literature that sets feminist positions on the WPS agenda to allow people to grasp the multifaceted relevance of gender to peacebuilding' (p. 3). Each part of the book ends with questions for discussion, suggested further readings and rich web resources for further research operations.

The book is divided into five chapters. The first chapter titled 'Peacebuilding: From Gender Blindness to Gender Dilemmas', argues the importance of gender in peace operations that surfaced as a result of the UN World Conference in Beijing in 1995. The chapter mainly looks at the historical development of gender issues in peace operations. Peace operations were entirely gender-blind in the past. To shed light on what actually mandated women involvement into peacebuilding operations, the author introduces UN Security Council Resolution 1325. According to the author, this resolution was adopted 'for an understanding of gender to be maintained into peace operations' (p.3). Unfortunately, the resolution was not adopted for understanding whatsoever. It was strictly adopted on 31 October 2000 as an international law that called upon all parties involved in armed conflicts to do everything in their capacity to protect women and girls from gendered-based violence (sexual violence, torture, etc) and that they should involve women in all implementation mechanisms of peace agreements and peacebuilding operations.[1]

Another disturbing issue with the book is the way the author articulates key definitions. In my opening address above, I clearly tabled what gender is. The author does not define gender, instead, she says, 'we can usefully think of gender in two ways- in terms of individual identity, gender as being socially constructed and gender as a practice, a process, rather than a fixed identity' (p.7). Thinking over something does not equal a definition and that alone shows how unsure the author is. Similarly, the author does not have any clear vision of what peacebuilding actually is. She uses three different definitions for peacebuilding and in all, she applies tautology-3x 'it can be defined as' (p.4) and conditionals which make the whole thing complicated to grasp.

The second chapter, bearing the name 'Feminist Critiques of Neoliberal Peacebuilding' deals with how feminists envision peace, borrowing Munro's idea which states that gender equality can only result if gender and peacebuilding are linked together. According to the author, this equality should go far beyond that portrayed by liberal feminists - equal treatment. Rather, it should be more about the 'eradication of gendered hierarchies and oppression' (p. 47). She acknowledges women's long historical connection to pacifism as a result of their suffering in conflicts**.** Based on the author's assessment, 'gender equality is necessary for peace since it would involve people creating their own peace and security'.[2]

Throughout the book, the author's main goal is for the inclusiveness and equality of women in peacebuilding operations. It is apparent that the author remains out of touch with reality or is simply unwilling to admit reality. Who are the women the author is advocating for? Rich powerful and influential women living in the West? Does her inclusiveness involve women living in the suburbs, villages and remote places on our planet-Africa, India, Middle East, etc? Are poor and uneducated women involved in her peacebuilding inclusiveness and equality? Are African and Muslim women involved? None of these futures are in her categorization, which is a huge problem. The third chapter is titled 'Feminist Critiques of Neoliberal Peacebuilding'. Here a theoretical contribution is clearly visible. It involves neoliberal approaches in post-conflict reconstruction efforts. The author argues that neoliberal efforts which are mainly advocated by donors 'have failed to promote inclusiveness and sustainable growth' and rather 'encouraged liberalization policies that implied a blank slate' in which to design a new economy.[3]

The fourth chapter, titled 'Protection, Participation, and Prevention in Practice' looks at the WPS in trying to grasp how the WPS have overcome the challenges previously addressed above – that is, the absence of women in peacebuilding, etc. Participation in peace operations is crucial to women since this gives them a voice and a total inclusiveness. Nevertheless, women have not been considered despite the adoption of the UN SC Resolution 1325. In 31 major peace operations survey performed between 1992 - 2010, women accounted for only 9 percent of parties involved in negotiations out of 17 cases.[4] The last chapter, 'Gendering Alternatives to Neoliberal Peacebuilding' looks at the gains and challenges of implementing the WPS agenda. One of such challenges

is 'poverty and inequalities in post-conflicts [which] exist because of orthodox neoliberal macroeconomic framework' (p. 129). Women are pushing WPS reforms to focus more on the 'empowerment of women' (p. 133), which would enable women to have equality in land reforms, freedom of mobility and equality with men in post-conflict missions.[5]

Provided gender equality and female inclusiveness in peacebuilding operations were to materialize, it would involve and be dominated by a handful of Western women– a déjà vu. The author's claim that, 'feminist peace involves women and other marginalized groups' is a myth. There is a huge divide between women. For instance, there is rampant genital mutilation of little girls in some African ethnicities. Women and small children's throats are being cut in the Kivu Region in the DR Congo conflict. Currently, in Nigeria, Fulani Herdsmen – Muslims, are burning down and cutting off Christians' heads, stabbing Christian pregnant women and cutting off children heads to later display them as trophies. According to Busari of CNN, in Nigeria: Scores killed, homes burned. 'Eighty-six persons all together have been killed, six people injured, fifty houses burnt,' said police spokesman Terna Tyopev.[6] The official number killed is beyond this.

The Nigerian government of president Buhari (himself a Muslim) is massively corrupt and cannot be trusted. Asked about the ongoing killings for years now, Mr. Buhari said, 'It's an injustice to blame me for herdsmen killings'.[7] All these have been happening without women mobilizing to fight against these atrocities simply because of racism, discrimination, and hatred among women. Women in New York, London or Paris would never go to the street to press their governments to force the UN to take action and punish an African dictator, legalizing the killing and burning down of women in their homes as the Cameroon government is currently doing (Reuters 2018). These are all realities the author fails to realize.

It is senseless attempting to save a child from a crocodile's mouth in a river knowing fully well you have no chance. Preventing the child from getting close to the river banks should be the ultimate goal. Equally, peacebuilding should not be the goal, rather preventing conflicts, solidarity amongst women around the world in preventing atrocities other women (mostly in developing countries) are facing should be the goal. Overall, the book lacks critical thinking. Inappropriate definitions, a lack of thorough classification of women to be involved in peacebuilding operations and a generalization of facts reduce the

book's strength. Despite this, the book would serve as an excellent tool for gender/security study students and universities but not for experts dealing with peacebuilding.

Notes

1 United Nations Security Council: Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) [on women and peace and security]
Available here: http://www.un-documents.net/sr1325.htm
Accessed: 2.7.2018
2 Duncanson, Claire. (2016). *Gender and Peacebuilding*. Cambridge: Polity Press. P. 59.
3 Ibid., p. 73.
4 Ibid., p. 106.
5 Ibid., p. 133.
6 Busari, Stephanie (2018) CNN. Nigeria: Scores killed, homes burned in Plateau State attacks
Available here: https://edition.cnn.com/2018/06/25/africa/nigeria-attacks-intl/index.html
Accessed: 15.5.2018
7 Ibid., Busari, Stephanie (2018).

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