



CALL FOR PAPERS

RUSSIA AND CENTRAL EUROPE: POST-CRIMEAN CRISIS?

Call for English language, country-specific papers to be published in a study volume. The volume will be edited and published by the Center for Strategic and Defense Studies (National University of Public Service (NUPS), Budapest, Hungary). The volume reviews the political, economic and institutional relationship of Russia and 10 Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries between 1989/1991 and 2017 from the perspective of the following CEE countries: Austria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia and Ukraine.

The volume will contain 10 country-specific reports, each 40.000 characters long. Seeking best quality and most suitable form, the authors will be local experts of the CEE countries who ideally deal with the foreign policy of their country and/or with issues of Russian foreign policy, selected through a competitive process. Each author is fully responsible for the content of his/her own chapter.

Interested potential authors need to submit a 500-word-long abstract via E-mail to the editor by December 1, 2017, outlining the key theses that he/she deems important to include in the paper in line with the proposed structure of the papers (see below). The editor will be a Hungarian expert of Hungarian foreign policy and Russian-Hungarian relations, Dr. András Rácz (NUPS), keeping contact and coordinating the work of the authors (andras.racz@gmail.com). All applicants will be notified via E-mail by December 15, 2017 and selected contributors will also be informed about the due process of contracting.

Authors will receive a symbolic financial compensation: a gross amount of ca. 460-480 EUR (depending on the HUF/EUR exchange ratio), for which all related author's and copyrights are to be transferred to NUPS. The formal requirements of the single papers are listed below (Guidelines for authors). The volume will be published in English in 2019.

Important milestones / deadlines of the 1st & 2nd phase: Country-specific studies

September 1 – December 1, 2017:	Identifying and contacting prospective authors
December 15, 2017:	Contracting authors and coordinating writing
April 1, 2018:	Submission of manuscripts, 1 st review begins
May 15, 2018:	Manuscripts are returned to authors
June 15, 2018:	Submission of finalized papers
July 30, 2018:	2 nd review finished, manuscripts finalized

3rd phase: Comparative studies

Based on the country-specific chapters, comparative studies will be written, complementing the original country studies, i.e. on the relations of the CEE countries with Russia. These will be published as part of the study volume.





Conceptual starting point (as exemplified by Hungary):

In Russian-Hungarian bilateral relations the burden posed by the troubled history and the influence of the problems inherited from the Soviet past have gradually decreased. These processes have led to a highly pragmatic relationship pursued by the subsequent Hungarian governments vis-à-vis Moscow. Energy dependence, particularly in the field of gas import – and, to a lesser extent, nuclear energy – has played a key role in this pragmatism. Trade relations have been constantly dominated by energy imports from Russia and export of machinery, pharmaceuticals and some agricultural products.

Hungary's accession to the Euro-Atlantic integration structures have firmly anchored the country's foreign policy to the West, and so did the dominantly pro-Western socialization of its foreign policy and security-defense elites. Consequently, despite its long-standing pragmatism and the recent criticism about certain Western policies (for example, about the sanctions against Russia) Budapest has never stepped out of the line and never broke the Western consensus about the policies to be pursued vis-à-vis Moscow. The war in Ukraine did not bring any significant change from this aspect.

Meanwhile, Russian bilateral policies towards Hungary have been shaped by, and subordinated to Russia's strategic, multilateral interest vis-à-vis the West, i.e. the NATO and the EU. Hence, regardless of increasingly close bilateral ties between the two governments, Moscow is still ready, able and willing to put hard pressure on Hungary as well, if this is necessary for achieving its strategic objectives vis-à-vis Europe.

However, inside this framework, Moscow has largely been reactive, meaning that the dynamics of bilateral Russian-Hungarian relations have far more often been shaped by the attitude of Budapest, to which Moscow has given adequate reaction than vice versa.

May this diagnosis of bilateral relations be extended to other CEE countries? What are the main factors that have shaped bilateral ties with Moscow before and after 2014?

Research question:

The main research question all papers should answer is to what extent the events of 2014, i.e. the illegal annexation of the Crimea, the war in Ukraine and the subsequent freeze of Russia-West relations have changed bilateral ties with Russia? To what extent are these changes perceived to be lasting and strategic? Or, on the contrary, to what extent are they viewed as temporary; is there a way back to the *status quo ante*?

Answers given to these research questions on bilateral relations will allow NUPS researchers to draw certain, more strategic conclusions as well. The main strategic question is whether the war in Ukraine has increased the coherence of the CEE region in its relations with Russia, or just deepened the already existing, pre-2014 divisions?

Proposed structure of papers:

1. *Bilateral political relations since 1989/1991*

- Coping with the historical heritage;
- Main issues of bilateral relations (Minority question, withdrawal of Russian troops, state debt?);





- Unresolved disputes and problematic issues;
- Public opinion and domestic rhetoric about Russia, particularly following the crisis in Ukraine;
- Whether and how have bilateral foreign policy ties changed since the war in Ukraine?

2. Economic relations since 1991 (please provide data where possible)

- Commercial (export-import) relations (high/low exposure vis-à-vis Russia), including transit, where applicable;
- Role and share of Russia as a foreign trade partner;
- Effects of the sanctions (both of Western sanctions and Russian counter-sanctions) on the national economies.

3. Energy relations since 1991 (please provide data where possible)

- Energy-related ties inherited from the Soviet times and the 1990s;
- Degree and trends of energy dependence (oil, gas and nuclear), including questions of transit and storage;
- Cases when energy and/or trade relations were used as political pressure tool;
- Efforts and actions aimed at decreasing energy dependence on Russia (both in national and multilateral frameworks), as well as their assessment.

4. Actual policy field-specific relations since 2014 (a deeper look into one or more of the listed issues, where it seems appropriate)

- Threat perception, i.e. whether Russia is perceived as a military threat;
- Countermeasures taken (both in national and multilateral frameworks);
- Assessment of Russian efforts to interfere into the domestic and foreign policies of CEE countries, including information warfare (propaganda, etc.);
- Domestic political divisions (if any) about the relations with Russia; positions of the main political actors, government and opposition parties, etc.;
- Assessment of possible normalization with Russia, by putting the events in Ukraine aside (possibility of a de facto recognition of the illegal annexation of the Crimea);
- EU sanctions towards Russia.

5. Conclusions and outlook: Is there a way back to the status quo ante with Russia?

Specificities:

Keeping in mind that the 10 CEE countries included in the research do not form a





homogenous set, there is certain flexibility of the proposed structure of the paper, considering country-based specificities. Here, in the case of Ukraine, the research question and foci obviously need to be different. Here, the focus shall be on the post-2014 situation of bilateral ties and on their perspectives (supported, of course, by a brief overview of the 1991-2014 period.) The main questions to address are:

- sustainability of Ukraine's pro-Western foreign policy orientation (public support, EaP vs. Eurasian Economic Union, etc.);
- a detailed overview of the present situation with the Crimea;
- a strategic overview of the Donbass;
- a strategic overview of Russian-Ukrainian economic relations (including energy);
- particular attention needs to be paid to Russia's remaining non-military, non-economic tools of influence over Ukraine (political parties, corruption, culture, etc.).

Hence, the structure of the Ukraine-paper would be basically similar to the others, except for Chapter 4, where the above described issues need to be analyzed in detail.

Submission deadline for abstracts: December 1, 2017 (andras.racz@gmail.com).

Please indicate your institutional affiliation and position, also providing E-mail and telephone contact together with the abstract.

