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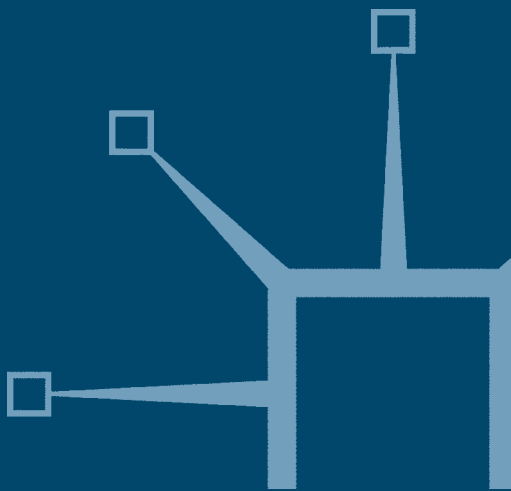
Understanding Conflict between Russia and the EU

The Limits of Integration

Sergei Prozorov



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Understanding Conflict between Russia and the EU

The Limits of Integration

Sergei Prozorov
Professor of International Relations
Petrozovodsk State University, Russia

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Contents

Preface

In contemporary International Relations we tend to think of integration in exclusively positive terms as conducive to peace and the prevention of conflicts. The process of European integration has been explicitly advocated as a 'peace project' that would foreclose the very possibility of violent conflict between European countries and thus transcend the conflict-ridden 'Westphalian' system of sovereign states. As the successive EU enlargements demonstrate, this 'peace project' has been relatively successful, attracting other European states towards the process of integration, even as some of the founding member states presently appear less than enthusiastic about its prospects. Even the Russian Federation, whose membership in the EU was never officially discussed even in the long-term perspective, has declared its central foreign policy objective to be 'integration into Europe'. Throughout the almost two decades of Russian post-communism and despite all the dramatic twists and turns in Russian politics, this ideal has been a constant feature of Russian foreign policy, even though the paths of its actualisation remained fervently contested by rival political forces.

At the same time, this integrationist pathos became strongly undermined from the late 1990s onwards by the emergence of numerous conflictual issues in EU–Russian relations. In such policy areas as trade tariffs and visa regimes, the EU was perceived as unduly exclusionary with regard to Russia, installing new barriers and dividing lines that contradicted its own rhetoric of openness, cooperation and inclusion. On the other hand, when the EU assumed a more active and assertive position with regard to Russian politics, e.g. on the questions of 'freedom of speech' or 'civil society', its interference was perceived as illegitimate and hierarchical. Despite the officially proclaimed 'strategic partnership' between equals, EU–Russian relations increasingly became viewed as an asymmetric 'subject–object' relationship, from which Russia must disentangle itself. Thus, besides being a 'peace project' of conflict management and resolution, integration can also generate new conflicts, determined no longer by 'Westphalian' sovereign imperatives, but by factors that are immanent to the ideal of integration itself.

This book is an attempt at a comprehensive analysis of conflictual dispositions in EU–Russian relations and their theoretical interpretation

that focuses on the interface between sovereign and integrationist foreign policy orientations. Against the simplistic image of EU–Russian relations as an encounter between a 'postmodern' polity, which has transcended sovereignty and embraced globalisation, and a state that stubbornly sticks to the anachronistic ideal of sovereignty, we shall empirically demonstrate that both sovereign and integrationist logics are at work in the policies of both Russia and the EU. Moreover, our conceptual argument will demonstrate the irreducible interdependence of the ideal of integration and the principle of sovereignty, which accounts for both the inherently contradictory nature of the 'integrationist' policies of both Russia and the EU and, more generally, for the inherent limits of the integrationist ideal as such. One of the tasks of this book is therefore to dispense with the naïve discourse of transcending sovereign statehood through international integration in the specific field of EU–Russian relations and in international relations in general.

This problematisation of the integrationist ideal is highly timely, given the contemporary crisis of the European constitutional process that arguably dismantled the self-evidence of the maxims of European integration that have delimited the field of EU–Russian relations since the early 1990s. As we shall demonstrate, conflicts in EU–Russian relations are directly related to the denigration of sovereignty in the European discourse, which deprives Russia of an equal standing in relation to the EU and of the possibility of adequately communicating its grievances concerning European policies. Although this book is about *understanding*, rather than *resolving*, EU–Russian conflicts, the task of understanding must necessarily precede any meaningful engagement in the process of conflict resolution. This book will therefore fulfil its objective if it functions as a background for the more policy-oriented studies on preventing and resolving EU–Russian conflict in particular policy areas.

A major share of research for this book was undertaken during my research fellowship at the Danish Institute of International Studies in Copenhagen in 2004 in the framework of the *Euborderconf* project (Border Conflicts in Europe: the Impact of Integration and Association), an EU Fifth Framework project co-sponsored by the British Academy. I would like to thank Thomas Diez, Stephan Stetter, Michelle Pace and all the research fellows of the project for their comments on the working papers, whose revised and updated versions form part of the present study. I am particularly thankful to Pertti Joenniemi, the coordinator of the Copenhagen group within the project, whose intellectual curiosity and open-mindedness made this fellowship both productive and enjoyable.

Early versions of some of the chapters in this volume have been presented at a number of international conferences. I am grateful to the following colleagues, whose comments and criticism have been highly helpful in the preparation of this book: Andreas Behnke, Chris Browning, Stefano Guzzini, Mika Ojakangas, Noel Parker and Rob Walker.

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1
Approaching EU–Russian Conflicts: Beyond Transitionalism and Traditionalism

Introduction

A book on conflict between the EU and Russia might arouse curiosity on the part of the reader both in Europe and in Russia. A cursory recollection of almost two decades of EU–Russian relations inevitably brings to mind a long series of enthusiastic proclamations of cooperation and partnership, from Mikhail Gorbachev's famous call for the creation of a 'Common European Home' to the contemporary process of establishing 'common spaces' between Russia and the EU in the economy, external security, justice and home affairs, research and education. Even given the fact that few of such integrative designs have to date materialised in a mutually satisfying way, one might wonder whether EU–Russian relations would be better characterised as 'insufficiently cooperative' rather than conflictual. Curious as it may be, a book-length treatment of EU–Russian conflicts is also overdue. While on the surface of political discourse EU–Russian relations are still conceived of in terms of 'strategic partnership', since the late 1990s there has been a veritable upsurge in the Russian political and academic discourse on the *negative effects* of EU policies that may give rise to conflicts between Russia and the EU and a similar increase of highly critical assessments of contemporary Russian domestic and foreign policies in the European discourse. One need only list a few of the problematic issues in EU–Russian relations to demonstrate the increasingly conflictual policy environment: the military operation in Chechnya, the problem of Kaliningrad after the 2004 round of EU enlargement, the concerns about democracy and freedom of speech in Russia, the divisions over the developments in the post-Soviet space, etc. At the same time, the analysis of these conflicts has so far remained confined to concrete issues in various policy areas

and has rarely probed the more *conceptual* aspects of the EU–Russian interface.

The book has a double objective of contributing to the understanding of conflictual dispositions in EU–Russian relations and identifying the pathways of EU–Russian interaction that may produce stable and non-conflictual policy outcomes. For this purpose we shall provide a novel interpretation of the emergence and development of conflicts between Russia and the EU that will permit us to identify the concrete conditions under which EU–Russian interaction may be anticipated to produce conflictual outcomes. Our analysis of concrete practices of EU–Russian encounters, in which conflicts have occurred, will offer guidelines to more effective policy practice in EU–Russian interaction. At the same time, this book also has a wider objective of contributing to the ongoing theoretical discussion in political science and international relations that concerns a number of key themes: the contemporary challenges to sovereign statehood, the proliferation of new forms of international or global governance, the possibility of transcending the nation-state through international integration, etc. As we shall argue throughout this book, these questions are not merely of theoretical significance but come into play in concrete ways in actual practices in EU–Russian relations. This book will posit the fundamental opposition between sovereign and integrationist paradigms of international relations as the primary source of conflictual dispositions in EU–Russian relations, which therefore cannot be done away with by merely technical or administrative decisions, the establishment of more effective institutional formats of interaction, or other efforts at enhancing mutual understanding. Against such rather superficial readings, we will posit the existence of genuine, substantive political divergences between Russia and the EU, which entails that the resolution and prevention of EU–Russian conflicts require a more thorough rethinking of the overall political visions that both parties entertain in relation to each other.

Our argument will therefore unfold in the space between the empirical and the theoretical, the levels of concrete policies and their fundamental conceptual presuppositions. Similarly, the outcome of this study will be both the development of the theoretical model of conflict analysis and its methodical application to concrete, regional and local-level cases of EU–Russian policy encounters. By bridging the gap between theoretical reflection and empirical analysis, which arguably characterises the contemporary field of EU–Russian relations, we hope to arrive at a mutually enriching synthesis of the sophistication of contemporary theoretical reflection on sovereignty and international integration and

the richness of empirical detail in the analysis of concrete practices in EU–Russian relations.

Cooperation and conflict in the EU–Russian strategic partnership

Since the end of the Cold War, Russian–European relations have been viewed by both parties in terms of 'strategic partnership', a concept launched in the first official treaty between the EU and the Russian Federation, the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) of 1995. From that period onwards, the mutual declaration of the ever-greater 'strategic partnership' became a staple phrase of the official discourse of EU–Russian relations, forcefully reiterated in the mutual 'strategies' of the two parties towards each other in 1999 and reaffirmed in 2004 in the context of the EU enlargement.[1]

> The Strategy is aimed at the development and strengthening of *strategic partnership* between Russia and the EU in world affairs and prevention and settlement, through common efforts, of local conflicts in Europe with an emphasis on the supremacy of international law and non-use of force. It provides for *the construction of a united Europe without dividing lines* and the interrelated and balanced strengthening of the positions of Russia and the EU within the international community of the 21st century. (*Russia's Midterm Strategy towards the EU*)

> Russia is an important partner, with which there is considerable interest to engage and build a *genuine strategic partnership on the basis of positive interdependence*. (*Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on Relations with Russia*)

While the prospect of Russia's eventual accession to the EU, entertained during the early 1990s, now appears firmly off the agenda, the official discourse of both parties remains marked by a univocal valorisation of cooperation and integration. During the 2003 EU–Russian summit in St Petersburg, this ideal of ever-closer integration without eventual membership found a concrete embodiment in the initiative of the four 'common spaces' between Russia and the EU – an arrangement whereby Russia would be able to enjoy the benefits of the process of European integration without participating in the political institutions of the EU.

> At the St Petersburg Summit in May 2003 the EU and Russia confirmed their commitment to *further strengthen their strategic partnership*. They agreed to *reinforce cooperation* with a view to creating four EU/Russia common spaces, in the long term and within the framework of the existing Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA), on the basis of *common values* and *shared interests*. These common spaces cover economic issues and the environment; issues of freedom, security and justice; external security, including crisis management and non-proliferation; and research and education, including cultural aspects. (*EU/Russia: the Four 'Common Spaces'*)

The initiative of four common spaces points to the diverse character of EU–Russian cooperation. The project of the Common Economic Space, the plans for which were articulated as early as 1995 with the conclusion of the PCA, would link the emergent Russian market economy with the European market through economic integration and regulatory convergence, market opening, trade facilitation and infrastructure development, diversifying economic cooperation between the two parties beyond the single-issue domain of the 'energy dialogue', which was arguably the sole substance of EU–Russian economic cooperation in the 1990s (ibid.). The Common Space in research and education builds on the existing dense network of scientific cooperation between Russia and the EU and seeks to achieve greater integration and harmonisation of educational and research systems through Russia's participation in the Bologna process and the creation of possibilities for Russian scholars to participate in EU-funded programmes. The project of the Common Space of freedom, security and justice consists in 'strengthening cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs to tackle the common threats of organised crime, terrorism and other illegal activities of a cross border nature' (ibid.). This cooperation is envisioned to ultimately lead to the relaxation and abolition of visa regimes between Russia and the EU, whereby joint efforts of law enforcement authorities of the two parties would create a single zone of 'internal security'. Finally, the establishment of a Common Space of external security would result in greater coordination between the foreign policies of the respective parties, and the intensification of joint efforts in battling such threats as international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional military conflicts, etc. This project also envisions cooperative activities of Russia and the EU in their 'common neighbourhood' of the post-Soviet space:

> The EU has clearly expressed its wish that the geographical priority of this space should be the 'common neighbourhood' it shares with Russia (e.g. Belarus, Moldova, Georgia) where in its view it is in the interests of both the EU and Russia to promote solutions to lingering conflicts and to promote stability and prosperity. In this space, the EU and Russia will also recall their shared interest to promote an international order based on effective multilateralism, recognising the importance of the United Nations, the OSCE and the Council of Europe. (Ibid.)

This surface description of the official discourse on the contemporary state of EU–Russian cooperation and the existing policy designs for its development creates a benign impression of successful cooperation and gradual integration, whose effectiveness and efficiency may be disputed, but whose overall direction is unchallengeable. Nonetheless, despite the proclamations of 'strategic partnership' between Russia and the EU on the official level, EU–Russian relations are also characterised by the permanent presence of conflictual dispositions that render problematic the claims for an 'ever-closer' partnership between Russia and the EU. Indeed, a number of Russian and European analysts have argued that rather than develop in a linear progressive manner, EU–Russian relations have deteriorated since the late 1990s and that their condition during the second term of the Putin presidency may be approaching a crisis (Voronkov, 2005; Trenin, 2005). We need only briefly recall a series of conflict occurrences between Russia and the EU to demonstrate that the 'strategic partnership' in question is marred by a number of substantive political divergences.

The 1999 NATO military operation against Yugoslavia disturbed the prevailing assumption in Russia of the serious differences between Europe and the USA with regard to the question of military intervention into the internal affairs of a sovereign state. While both the Soviet and the early post-Soviet foreign policy discourses posited a facile binary opposition between militant American interventionism and European pacific multilateralism, with which Russia itself could identify, the overwhelming support of the EU member states for the Kosovo operation strongly contradicted this simplistic vision and required a reassessment of the invariably positive stance towards the EU on the part of Russia.[2] In the Russian discourses, the European support for the war was read as a betrayal of the ultimate European political ideal of state sovereignty and its substitution with a chimerical universalist ideal of human rights and democracy promotion.

During the same year, when Russia launched the second 'counter-terrorist' operation against the separatist mutiny in the Chechen Republic, it encountered even stronger European criticism than during the first Chechen war of 1994–6, when the EU suspended the operation of the PCA until the provisional resolution of the conflict in the Khasavjurt Treaty of 1996. During the first months of the 'second Chechen war' the EU suspended the financing of technical assistance programmes in Russia as well as other forms of cooperation, e.g. in the spheres of science and technology. Although these sanctions were subsequently abolished as unproductive, alienating the Russian civil society from the EU, the criticism of Russia's conduct of the operation remained highly intense, particularly until the attacks of 11 September 2001. Similarly to the Kosovo case, this criticism, which delegitimised the operation, whose purpose was the preservation of the territorial integrity of the sovereign state, on the basis of excessive human rights violations committed in its course, pointed to the European abandonment of sovereignty as the foundational principle of international relations. Russia's attempts to argue its case for military intervention in Chechnya have largely been unsuccessful as they were grounded in the normative principle that the European political discourse has largely written off as obsolete (cf. Treisman, 2000, 2002).

In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, when 'war on terror' became the predominant discourse in international relations, Russia's relations with the EU enjoyed a brief respite, when the question of Chechnya was incorporated into the overall anti-terrorist narrative and sidelined by the expectations of far-reaching socio-economic reforms, undertaken by the Putin presidency.[3] It ought to be stressed that this 'thaw' in EU–Russian relations was far less marked than in the relations between Russia and the USA, which may be explained by the lower intensity of the 'anti-terrorist' agitation in Europe. The 2003 invasion of Iraq, which sharply divided the EU itself, throwing into doubt its position as an international actor, entailed that Russia's relations with the EU in the sphere of foreign policy became less important than bilateral relations with Europe's 'Great Powers', which has arguably been Russia's preferred policy course from the outset due to the greater flexibility of bilateral foreign policy arrangements.[4]

Nonetheless, by the end of the first term of the Putin presidency in 2003 EU–Russian relations were again marked by tensions. The arrest of Mikhail Khodorkovsky, the CEO of the oil company Yukos, in October 2003 and the subsequent controversial prosecution of the company were received highly negatively in European public opinion, casting

doubt upon Putin's credentials as a liberal reformer. The Yukos case has led to the resurgence of concerns about the lack of 'rule of law' in Russia, the increased influence of the security establishment in Russian politics, the lack of commitment of Russian authorities to the liberal market economy and, more concretely, to the outcomes of the privatisation process of the 1990s, etc. (see e.g. *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on Relations with Russia*). The electoral cycle of 2003–4, in which both Putin and the pro-government United Russia party strongly consolidated their position at the expense of both the communist and the liberal opposition, the latter failing miserably even to pass the 5 per cent threshold required to be represented in the Federal Assembly, was held to confirm these and other apprehensions. The federal reforms of 2004, initiated after the Beslan school massacre, received perhaps the most intense European criticism of Russian domestic politics in the post-communist period. The amendments to the law on the organisation of regional executive authority, which replaced direct elections of regional governors with their nomination by the president and the endorsement by regional legislative assemblies, were perceived as indicators of the increasingly authoritarian nature of the 'Putin regime', despite the fact that a similar system already existed in Russia under President Yeltsin in 1991–5 and drew little European criticism.[5]

At the time of writing, the early European hopes for a 'second round' of liberal reforms during the Putin presidency have all but evaporated in the increasingly accusatory approach to the Putin regime as illiberal, authoritarian and revanchist. In the domain of foreign policy, the post-Soviet space has become a site of manifest EU–Russian conflict, whereby both sides attribute to each other illegitimate interventionist designs (see Trenin, 2005; Åslund, 2005). The removal of Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze from power in street protests that received the name of the 'Rose Revolution' and the ultimate victory of Viktor Yushenko in the controversial presidential elections in the Ukraine (the 'Orange Revolution') were interpreted in both Russia and Europe as events of geopolitical significance, disrupting Russia's symbolic leadership in the post-Soviet space and reorienting the policies of post-Soviet states towards Europe and the West more generally. The Western assistance to the 'revolutionary' opposition in both Georgia and the Ukraine in their assault on established governments has been perceived in Russia in highly unsentimental terms as the deployment of a political technology of 'regime change' through inciting civil unrest – a technology, whose potential application in Russia itself makes most analysts and commentators wary.[6]

In short, by 2005 EU–Russian relations have moved from the stage of enthusiastic renaissance in the early period of the Putin presidency to the condition of mutual suspicion and the attribution of hostility, which in the case of Russia has led to the emergence of a semi-official discourse of entrenchment. In late 2004 the Deputy Chair of the Presidential Administration Vladislav Surkov gave an extensive interview to the major national daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, in which he explicitly posited the existence of *enemies of Russia* both outside the country ('the supporters of Chechen terrorism') and inside it, the latter represented by the extreme anti-Putin opposition, which, according to Surkov, includes the left-liberal party Yabloko, led by Grigory Yavlinsky, which has since the early 1990s been the most persistent advocate of Russia's 'integration into Europe'. Surkov also revived the concept of the 'fifth column' to designate those Russian political forces, which are allegedly guided by an externally designed agenda.

> This group [of enemies] consists of those, who still live with Cold War phobias, view our country as a potential antagonist, resist the financial blockade of terrorist and their political isolation. They consider the almost bloodless collapse of the Soviet Union as their own achievement and try to build upon this success. Their goal is the destruction of Russia and the division of its great space into a multiplicity of non-viable quasi-state formations . . . In our besieged country there has appeared a fifth column of left and right-wing radicals. False liberals and true Nazis have a lot in common: common sponsors from abroad and common hatred, allegedly a hatred towards 'Putin's Russia' but in fact a hatred towards Russia as such. (Surkov, 2004)

Surkov's interview spawned a multitude of similar discursive constructions on all sides of the political spectrum, so that the Russian political discourse began to resemble an exercise in a Schmittian 'friend-enemy distinction'.[7] According to the key political adviser to President Putin, Gleb Pavlovsky, 'the enemy of Russia is a complex construct, and we have done very little to distinguish between friends and enemies, and particularly to demand of others to dissociate their policies from those, who are hostile to us' (Pavlovsky, 2004).

While no serious political force has ever cast Europe itself or the EU as its institutional embodiment as Russia's 'enemy', references to Europe abound in this discourse of entrenchment, as we shall discuss in more detail in the following chapters. The critical disposition of the EU

towards the developments in Russian politics has been subjected to Russian counter-criticism, which highlighted the 'double standards' at work in the allegations of authoritarianism (absent, for instance, in the case of the regime of Georgia's President Mikhail Saakashvili, whose autocratic style of rule may be argued to exceed that of his discredited predecessor, or the new, 'pro-European' government in the Ukraine, whose policy of politically motivated deprivatisation exactly replicates the Russian government's assault on Yukos at a larger scale). In the Russian counter-criticism, the EU is deemed to be characterised by a 'Russophobic' disposition (Lieven, 2001; Voronkov, 2005), which need not necessarily consist in outright hostility, but rather refers to a deep-seated and unfounded suspicion and apprehension with regard to Russia. This disposition is deemed to have intensified with the 2004 enlargement, since the new member states allegedly continue to identify contemporary Russia with the Soviet Union and demonstrate a surprising degree of resentment towards it (see Trenin, 2004; Bordachev, 2004; Baunov, 2003a). As a result of such a disposition, Russia is cast as an a priori Other of Europe and must invariably be treated with caution and distrust. Any indication of Russia's strengthening both domestically and internationally is thus interpreted in zero-sum terms as a risk, if not an outright threat, to Europe. According to the critics of the EU stance towards Russia, the evaluative standards of human rights and democracy, appropriated by the EU, are merely rhetorical devices deployed to weaken Russia's international standing and influence its domestic political developments.[8] 'The expansion of the "normative empire" of the EU is a challenge to Russia' (Trenin, 2004: 12).

This crude summation of the Russian discourse of entrenchment against the EU indicates a growing incompatibility of Russian and European political positions, which logically complicates communication between the two parties, resulting either in the vacuous reiteration of old maxims of 'strategic partnership' and 'integration into Europe' or the increasingly intense conflict discourse, in which both sides attribute to each other hostile or illegitimate motives. According to Konstantin Voronkov, 'today EU–Russian relations are at a stage of deep stagnation and EU structures are perceived in Russia as alien and hostile.'[9]

> It is already evident that in the international arena Russia intends to play an independent role, without attaching itself to any of the greater actors. The Russian elite and, to a large extent, society insist on the preservation of the traditional 'Great Power' identity of the country. According to the dominant positions, integration must help

> Russia to advance its own interests in the global environment with maximal effectiveness, without turning Russia itself into a part of the 'new West'. (Trenin, 2004: 9)

The current EU–Russian conflictual dispositions are intensified by the existence of the historical background of mutual 'othering'. As Iver Neumann demonstrated in two magisterial studies, both Russia and Europe have historically relied on each other as the figures of the Other, which served to constitute, maintain and stabilise the identity of the Self in various ways (Neumann, 1996, 1998). The difference between the two modalities of othering is that, while the Russian discourse on Europe desperately sought to align the Russian identity with Europe by fragmenting the very figure of Europe into a multiplicity of opposed strands (monarchical, liberal, revolutionary, socialist Europe, etc.), in relation to which Russia could practise association or dissociation, the European discourse on Russia has been considerably more uniform in consolidating European identity through a manifold exclusion of Russia as non-European in geopolitical, ideological or cultural terms. The contemporary EU–Russian conflict therefore unfolds under the weight of the historical tradition of the discourses of othering, which stands as a 'reserve', from which both parties draw concepts and arguments for deployment in present-day communication.

The difference in the modalities of othering, employed by the EU and Russia, also characterises the contemporary conflict communication by the respective parties. While the problematic of EU–Russian (or, more broadly, Russian–European) relations has arguably been central to the Russian political discourse in the entire post-communist period, the theme of relations with Russia has been noticeably peripheral in European politics, accentuated more in *response* to Russian initiatives or as a *reaction* to significant events in Russia (the Chechen war, the Yukos case, etc.) than as part of a strategic vision of EU–Russian relations. The structure of conflict communication in EU–Russian relations thus resembles what we shall argue to be the key feature of EU–Russian relations in general – it is conspicuously *asymmetric*. The plethoric and diverse Russian discourse on relations with Europe, in which a plurality of incommensurable positions clash as much with each other as they do with a variably construed 'Europe', tends to encounter a uniform and substantively scant European discourse, characterised by a repetitive invocation of ideological maxims ('democracy', 'civil society', 'rule of law', 'decentralisation', etc.). Thus, in our study it is the dynamic development of the Russian conflict discourse that is of primary

interest, insofar as we seek to analyse a *variety* of patterns of EU–Russian encounters.

Transitionalism/traditionalism: a critique of existing approaches to EU–Russian relations

Despite the different character of Russian and European conflict discourses it is possible to identify distinct types of interpretations of conflict in EU–Russian relations that characterise the approaches of both parties. In this section we shall review the existing interpretations of the conflictual dispositions between Russia and the EU and argue that, rather than explaining the descent and development of conflict between the two parties, they are frequently themselves complicit in the articulation of conflict discourses and thus function more in the modality of the explanandum rather than the explanans. It must be emphasised that the identification of a typology of theoretical interpretations of conflict in EU–Russian relations is a necessarily tentative task, as the studies of EU–Russian relations have to date been characterised by a lack of theoretical reflection and the proliferation of empirical case studies of particular issues in specific policy areas, which rarely accounted for their own theoretical presuppositions. It is nonetheless possible to identify at least three distinct approaches to understanding conflict between Russia and the EU.

Let us begin with *liberal* approaches to EU–Russian relations, which arguably dominate the European literature on the subject and have until recently been prevalent in the Russian discussion as well.[10] The liberal reading of EU–Russian relations is characterised by the postulate of the inherently benevolent nature of Russia's 'integration with Europe', which arises out of the *axiomatic* status of Russia's 'belonging' to Europe for the Russian liberal discourse. Russia's 'Europeanness' in not merely historico-cultural but also in political terms is the foundation of the identity of a Russian liberal, which makes any contemporary divergence between Russia and the EU deeply problematic for the liberal discourse. In the liberal approach, EU–Russian relations as *international* relations are a priori conditioned by the developments in Russian *domestic* politics, i.e. the success or failure of liberal reforms in Russia. Cooperation and integration with Europe is, firstly, posited as the ultimate telos of the Russian post-communist transformation[11] and, secondly, rendered dependent on Russia's achievements in approximating its political, economic and social practices to those operating within the EU. In the argument of Dmitry Trenin, one of the leading

advocates of the liberal approach in Russia, Russia must become European to enter Europe (see Trenin, 2000a).

> The idea of a 'bridge' between Europe and Asia has long demonstrated its fruitlessness . . . The key to successful modernisation lies in the appropriation of the modern system of democratic institutions and societal values, and the most substantial contribution in this respect may be the development of cooperation with Europe . . . Taking into consideration the manifest and ineradicable inequality between the parties, we may suggest that the integration with Europe proceed through *Russia's adoption of European norms, rules and principles*. (Trenin, 2004: 19)

The 'challenge of Europe' that, according to Trenin, is the central feature of Russian post-communist politics is thus squarely not a question of international relations but rather of domestic politics. Since Russia's dissociation from the processes of European integration is viewed as a self-defeating isolationist gesture, Russia has no choice but to participate in these processes through, paradoxically, carrying out a series of *internal* reforms, from the abolition of military conscription to the decentralisation of regional government. The distinguishing feature of the liberal discourse on EU–Russian relations is the relative lack of attention to the properly international aspects of EU–Russian relations, from diplomatic practices to the wider global-political context, in which these relations unfold. In this scheme, conflict with the EU is invariably viewed in terms of Russia's failure to undertake domestic liberal reforms and the actors, who communicate such conflictual dispositions, are easily demonised as 'reactionary', 'isolationist' or 'anti-Western'.

The Russian conflict discourses with regard to the EU are thus either dismissed as unfounded and unreasonable, or stigmatised ideologically as indicators of the 'anti-liberal' (and thus illegitimate) position of the discourse practitioners in question. It is therefore largely Russia's *own* practices in the domestic or international arena that are deemed to be conflict-generating, even though we may also observe the criticism of the EU for being slow to recognise the progress of liberal reforms in Russia and make reciprocal moves to match Russia's own pro-integrationist initiatives (see Yavlinsky, 2003; Khudolei, 2003). In the following chapters we shall describe the ways in which European exclusionary practices in relation to Russia have led to the fracture inside the liberal discourse and the emergence of the 'liberal-conservative' orientation, which is sharply critical of the EU stance towards Russia, yet remains

committed to the implementation of liberal reforms that would eventually approximate the Russian political and economic systems to European ones. For the present purposes of initial characterisation, it is sufficient to emphasise that the distinguishing feature of the liberal approach to EU–Russian conflict is the confluence of domestic and international factors in the argument that the key conflict-generating factor in EU–Russian relations is the failure or slow progress of liberal reforms in Russia.

Secondly, the *institutionalist* interpretation focuses less on the ideological disjunctions between Russia and the EU than on the institutional aspects of EU–Russian interaction. This is not to say that these readings ignore the 'domestic' factor of liberal reforms, which remains the background that both justifies and calls for Russia's integration into European structures. However, institutionalist accounts supplement the facile view that ideological convergence is sufficient to avoid conflict in international interaction with the identification of structural obstacles to cooperation on the institutional level in both Russia and the EU, which hamper integration, irrespective of domestic-political developments.[12] This understanding of conflict in EU–Russian relations is particularly characteristic of the Russian academia, which remains committed to the liberal ideal of integration but is dissatisfied with the doctrinaire liberalism, whose brief predominance in Russian politics of the 1990s did little to achieve a breakthrough in EU–Russian cooperation. Such authors as Timofei Bordachev, Igor Leshukov and Konstantin Khudolei emphasise that conflict episodes and issues in EU–Russian relations are frequently conditioned by *cognitive* rather than *ideological* factors, i.e. they are caused by misperceptions and misunderstandings rather than genuine political divergences.

Among the problems identified in institutionalist readings we may highlight the following: Russia's relative non-appreciation of the scope and density of European integration, resulting in Russia's continuing preference for bilateral relations with EU member states; the Russian prioritisation of high-level political negotiations over the more depoliticised technical bureaucratic interaction; the absence of any institutional agency in the Russian executive branch that would be responsible for coordinating EU–Russian relations, etc. The institutionalist approach may be summed up by the title of a 2002 article by Bordachev – 'EU–Russian Relations: In Need of a Department' (Bordachev, 2002). Conflictual dispositions may in this reading be successfully resolved by establishing the institutional format of interaction, enabling effective communication between the two parties. Indeed, communication is a

key concept in the institutionalist approach. In an almost Habermasian spirit, institutionalism appears to valorise free and undistorted communication as the ultimate means of resolving conflict and achieving rational consensus. Logically, this approach is incapable of theorising a situation of substantive political divergence between Russia and the EU that takes place in an unproblematic communicative environment.

It is precisely this type of divergence that is the focus of the third group of existing interpretations of EU–Russian relations – *cultural approaches*, which emphasise the existence of deep-seated substantive cultural or 'civilisational' divergences between Russia and the EU that make the occurrence of conflicts inevitable and therefore unpuzzling. We may identify two subgroups within the cultural approach. Within Russia (and considerably less so in Europe[13]), the *conservative* discourse posits a deep incommensurability between Russia and Europe in geopolitical, ideological, economic or spiritual spheres. The thesis of incommensurability enables the attribution of an a priori 'otherness' to either party, which in turn makes it possible to view the other as possessing inherently inimical motives. Thus, geopolitical readings of Alexander Dugin or Natalia Narochnitskaya, for example, argue for the existence of a perennial zero-sum game between Russia and Europe for the control of the Eurasian space.[14] Contemporary European exclusionary practices towards Russia are thus viewed as mere indicators of the historical rivalry between the two parties and the European desire to limit Russia's geopolitical influence. The more culturally oriented conservatives draw a dividing line between the secularised European civilisation, characterised by individualism, nihilism, hedonism and consumerism, and the Russian tradition of *sobornost* (conciliarity), in which the spiritual unity of the collective overrides individual interests. These discourses recall the nineteenth-century debates between 'Westernisers' and 'Slavophiles', analysed in depth by Iver Neumann (1996), whose general feature, transcending the content of various participating doctrines, was the clash between universalist and particularistic understandings of the political community. A variety of conservative approaches, from the Slavophile trend among the intelligentsia of the 1840s to the post-World War One Eurasianism of the Russian émigré community, have posited the irreducible particularity of Russia as a socio-political entity, constrasted with the equally particularistic nature of (Western) European political communities. In this approach, two types of conflict between Russia and Europe may be envisioned. Firstly, a more legitimate form of conflict concerns a clash between incompatible particularisms, a form of conflict logically inscribed in the very pluralistic

vision of Russian–European relations (see Holmogorov, 2002, 2004). Secondly, conflict may arise due to the universalist pretensions of European states, which entails the need for Russia to defend its legitimate particularity (see Remizov, 2002d: part 2). In both cases, conflict is present in its permanent possibility and therefore ceases to be a puzzle to be resolved and becomes a fundamental presupposition of international relations to be recognised and taken into account.

The second type of cultural approach is a form of *second-order observation* of Russian conservatism by European commentators. Particularly typical of the post-Huntingtonian wave of 'civilisational studies', this approach *objectifies* Russia in the terms devised by the manifestly *subjectivist* and politically engaged conservative movement. The description of Russia's perennial difference from Europe, offered in the Russian discourse, is taken for granted in European political and academic discussion, with the consequence of accepting the Russian conservative diagnosis of the unbridgeable gap between Russia and Europe (see Truscott, 1997; Devlin, 1999; cf. Patomäki and Pursiainen, 1999). In this manner, the European characterisation of Russia as its historical Other is strengthened and substantiated in the contemporary European discourse, generating exclusionary practices with regard to Russia and a general attitude of wariness and suspicion concerning contemporary developments in Russia. In practical terms, the European cultural approach warns against naïveté and illusions with regard to the prospects of Russian post-communist reforms, viewing them as a merely transient phase prior to the reassertion of Russia's geopolitical subjectivity. Similarly to the Sovietology of the 1980s, which refused to recognise the genuine nature of the process of *perestroika* until the very demise of the USSR, European cultural interpretations emphasise the historical continuity of Russia as the Other of Europe and point to any problem in the implementation of liberal reforms as evidence for their overall impossibility. Both types of the cultural mode of addressing EU–Russian conflict are thus characterised by the deployment of the assumption of the historico-cultural continuity in Russia's development and the use of examples of conflict from previous historical eras (from Teutonic wars to the Cold War) for the purpose of *inference* of contemporary conflictual dispositions.

Let us suggest that the existing approaches to understanding conflict between Russia and the EU may be located within a single dichotomy between what we shall refer to as *transitionalism* and *traditionalism*, which has arguably defined the space of theoretical discourse on the Russian post-communist transformation as such (see Prozorov, 2004b: ch. 1).

This dichotomy, whose extreme poles were constituted in the early 1990s by the highly influential works of Francis Fukuyama (1992) and Samuel Huntington (1993), serves to displace the focus on the present in its valorisation of either the future (liberal-teleological transitionalism) or the past (cultural-civilisational traditionalism). In this manner, the understanding of political change in post-communist Russia is foreclosed from the outset. The traditionalist discourse constructs a corpus of 'tradition', 'mentality' or 'culture' and reifies these conceptual abstractions by assigning them an empirical function of attenuating change, discontinuity and disruption in the domain of practice. Both the 'first-order' cultural conservative discourse inside Russia and its second-order observation by European analysts render current conflictual dispositions *epiphenomenal* to their construction of the historical tradition, paradoxically making all change dependent on the fundamental continuity, which, moreover, is not an empirical phenomenon, but a theoretical presupposition. The transitionalist discourse operates with a concept of change, whose direction is teleologically predetermined by the liberal doctrine to the extent that the *event of change* vanishes in a monotonous and continuous *advance*, whereby the rich facticity of contingent practices is cast in terms of a mere *deviation* to be remedied either through Russia's progress in domestic reforms or the elimination of institutional obstacles to communication.

In the field of EU–Russian relations, this theoretical dichotomy has prescribed two understandings of the formation of conflictual dispositions. Within the transitionalist discourse of both liberalism and institutionalism Russia has been expected to unilaterally *internalise*, with possible deviations, the norms and practices operative within the EU, while the absence of such internalisation has been viewed in terms of the 'failure of transition' and the resurgence of authoritarian tendencies. In this narrative, the occurrence of conflictual dispositions is thus merely indicative of the failure of Russia to abide by the rules and norms of 'good governance', proposed by the EU, both on the federal level and in its programme of policy advice and technical assistance in the Russian regions. It is evident that the transitionalist discourse not merely attempts to explain the occurrence of conflictual dispositions but is directly complicit in their articulation. Any failure of Russia to follow the teleological route of liberal transition functions as a confirmation of Russia's 'otherness' in relation to Europe, which justifies exclusionary practices and the attitude of suspicion. Besides explaining existing conflicts, liberal transitionalism readily produces new ones by its delegitimation of alternative pathways of socio-economic reforms,

which narrows down the space of possible legitimate divergence between the two parties. If the development of cooperation between Russia and the EU is a priori conditioned by Russia's emulation of the norms of contemporary European liberalism, then the present decline of doctrinaire liberalism in Russian politics makes conflict not merely a *theoretical possibility*, but rather a matter of *political necessity*. The quaintly gleeful reception by some Russian liberals of the current tensions in EU–Russian relations testifies to the fact that for liberal transitionalism conflict is not necessarily a negative phenomenon, whose occurrences must be minimised, but also an instrument of influencing the course of events in Russia.

> The EU can influence the developments in Russia if it is ready to take up difficult issues in Russia in a clear and forthright manner. The EU as a whole should confirm that shared European values remain the basis for deepening relations. Thus, for example, concerns over recent political developments, which demonstrate discriminatory application of the law, or the non-respect of human rights, should be raised vigorously and coherently by the EU and its Member-States. The EU should also continue to take forward people-to-people 'grass-roots' contacts, including partnerships in education, which promote European values. (*Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on Relations with Russia*.)

In the traditionalist discourse Russia is a priori posited as the cultural 'Other' of Europe, which makes problematic from the outset its greater integration into the European normative space. EU–Russian conflicts are therefore cast as derivative from the more fundamental 'cultural' if not 'civilisational' divergence, which deprives the analysis of the more dynamic tools of grasping the rapidly evolving nature of conflicts and their dependence on a multitude of contingent political events. In this approach, all concrete, spatio-temporally circumscribed conflicts between Russia and the EU are viewed as manifestations of a deeper 'meta-conflict' of insurmountable mutual otherness. In such a discourse mutual exclusionary measures are prescribed from the outset and the attitude of suspicion and distrust is easily justified by the inherent incommensurability between the parties, which, despite all institutional designs, makes communication between them always incomplete and inadequate. Moreover, the traditionalist outlook makes it possible for the analyst to 'adjudicate' EU–Russian conflicts with very little empirical knowledge of the subject-matter at hand. Abstract intellectual constructs,

many of them resembling ignominious stigmas, function as ready-made substitutes for the detailed analysis of actual practices; with concepts like 'eternal Russia', 'mysterious Russian soul', 'authoritarian personality', 'absence of work ethic' one can easily circumvent the minute details of concrete conflicts in reconstructing them in terms of the never-ending recurrence of a fundamental meta-conflict. These 'pseudo-concepts', whose purpose is frequently to compensate for the ignorance of the observer, function in the a priori modality that deproblematises concrete conflict occasions as variations on the ever-present theme of essential cultural difference. It is obvious that traditionalism is directly complicit in the generation of conflicts, since it makes the incompatibility of subject positions of Russia and Europe (which, as we shall argue below, is the exhaustive definition of conflict) a matter of a *conceptual premise* rather than an empirically derived conclusion.

Despite the evident differences between the two approaches, it is possible to argue that they have tended to function in tandem in the discourse on EU–Russian relations. At the risk of oversimplification, let us suggest that both Russian and European discourses on the subject-matter have functioned according to a simple algorithm: *if not transitionalism, then traditionalism*. On the aggregate level, the content of these discourses is exhausted by the following narrative: initial expectations of Russia following the Fukuyama-esque 'post-historical' logic of liberal emulation and the European efforts of technical and political assistance to these processes end in an almost universal disappointment and disillusionment,[15] which leads to the recourse to cultural or civilisational explanations that emphasise Russia's essential otherness to Europe and the West in general. These explanations require a dispensation with illusions of political and socio-economic convergence and the return to some form of geopolitical containment on the part of Europe and a renunciation of the cosmopolitan outlook on the part of Russia, which should lead to Russia's 'concentration' on domestic reconstruction and efforts at the maintenance of a regional hegemony in the post-Soviet space. We may therefore suggest that for all their difference, traditionalism is the last resort of a disappointed liberal transitionalist.

Both transitionalist and traditionalist approaches in the existing literature on EU–Russian relations are incapable of grasping the contingent and exceptional nature of post-communist transformation and are therefore also of dubious utility both in theoretical interpretations and in empirical studies of the problematic aspects of EU–Russian relations, be it the issue of the visa regime between Russia and the EU or the

question of the future of Kaliningrad Oblast' after EU enlargement. This is not the place for an extensive epistemological critique of the underlying assumptions of these approaches. Let us merely note that the postulates of both the linear teleology of liberal progress and the substantive ontology of tradition are little more than exercises in a dubious 'philosophy of history', in which history itself paradoxically disappears in the proliferation of intellectual conceptual constructions. Given the fact that both Russia and the EU are presently undergoing a profound process of reconstitution, the former being in the process of the emergence of a new state, which never existed in its present borders and with a comparable political system, and the latter literally constituting itself as a new polity through both the enlargement and the convoluted constitutional process, the evasion of the present in the valorisation of either the future or the past appears to be a serious misconception, throwing doubt on the validity of any argument made from such a perspective.

The second problem of both transitionalism and traditionalism is their undifferentiated approach to both Russia and the EU, which conceives of the policies of either party as guided by a single logic, be it liberal integrationism or the particularistic defence of sovereignty. Both parties are viewed as unproblematic unitary subjects, which permits the construction of facile binary oppositions. In the transitionalist approach, the EU is presented as a champion of liberal progress and the embodiment of the integrationist ideal, while Russia is presented either as a passive apprentice in the process of transition or a deviant political subject with an illegitimate political orientation. In the traditionalist approach, both parties are cast as particularistic political communities, divided by irreducible difference, which makes their conflictual orientation towards each other a premise of any argument on EU–Russian relations and hence not in need of explanation or interpretation. From the Russian traditionalist perspective, Europe is viewed as historically harbouring inimical motives against Russia, seeking to limit its presence or influence in the European space, excluding Russia from integrative processes, etc. Conversely, the European traditionalist discourse casts Russia as the historical 'Other' of Europe, a source of security threats, a country incapable of approximating European political norms, a willing outsider in relation to European developments.

Thirdly, besides the attribution of unitary policy logics to both Russia and the EU, transitionalist and traditionalist accounts render conflictual dispositions independent of or exogenous to the process of the EU–Russian interaction. The international character of relations between

Russia and the EU is displaced by the focus on the domestic-political structures and principles, both in the liberal-teleological vision and in the cultural-traditionalist view. Institutionalist interpretations are at first glance an exception to this rule, yet their focus on the elimination of institutional obstacles to undistorted EU–Russian communication makes it impossible to conceive of the emergence of conflict discourses that are not a result of a mere misperception. What is therefore lacking in the existing accounts of EU–Russian relations is the analysis of the formation and transformation of conflictual dispositions in the course of concrete EU–Russian interfaces that need not be determined by the anterior deployment of any given policy logic by either party.

The objective of the present book is to develop a more dynamic, practice-based vision of EU–Russian conflictual dispositions that views EU–Russian relations as irreducible to any single logic but unfolding in a more dispersed manner, contingent upon particular encounters in various spheres. We shall attempt to present a conception of EU–Russian relations, which takes into account both the plurality of policy logics that either party may deploy in relation to each other and the dependence of the choice of these logics on the actual process of interaction and conflict communication between Russia and the EU. In the next section we will outline the theoretical and empirical tasks of this study and briefly present the logic of our argument, reflected in the structure of this volume.

Conflict as a discursive structure: towards an interpretative model of EU–Russian conflict

In this book we shall seek to avoid the pitfalls of the approaches to EU–Russian relations, located on either pole of the dichotomy of transitionalism and traditionalism, by offering a practice-based interpretative model of conflict emergence in EU–Russian relations. The primary difference of our approach is the 'bottom-up' logic of theoretical development. Contrary to both transitionalism and traditionalism, which base the analysis of EU–Russian relations on the plethora of conceptual, teleological and ontological presuppositions, which severely distorts the understanding of actual practices, our approach seeks to ground the resulting theoretical model for the study of EU–Russian conflicts in the *actual* conflict discourses at work in contemporary practices of EU–Russian encounters. Although a fully 'presuppositionless' enquiry is hardly possible, the minimisation of a priori presuppositions serves the task of greater appreciation of the flux and contingency of

actual interactive practices, which would endow the resulting theory with a necessary degree of dynamism and appreciation of detail.

This practical orientation may be specified in terms of the discourse-analytical perspective that we employ in our study. Similarly to Stetter, Diez and Albert (2003), we approach conflict as an interface of policy discourses, in which the subject-positions of the parties are incompatible. Conflictual dispositions are therefore by definition never latent and exist only insofar as they are enunciated or communicated. This is not to say that the determinants of conflict need necessarily be discursive in origin, but rather to emphasise that these determinants, be they geopolitical, economic or cultural, only enter the space of the interaction of the actors in question, when they are communicated in discourse as *grievances*. The concept of incompatibility of subject positions takes us away from deterministic approaches to conflict as an 'objective condition' towards the introduction of the element of 'intersubjectivity' into conflict analysis. It is not the task of the analyst to establish whether the positions of the relevant parties are *in fact* incompatible. What is important is rather to identify, in the course of the analysis of actual conflict discourses, how this incompatibility is constituted in the discourse itself. Incompatibility of subject-positions does not refer to any phenomenon outside conflict communication, but to the deployment by the interacting parties of policy discourses that are grounded in incommensurable presuppositions. It then becomes impossible to communicate one's request, demand or other form of grievance within the terms of the discourse, utilised by the other party. The possibility of escalation is therefore contained in the necessity to challenge the very terms of the discourse of the other to adequately communicate one's own grievance, which logically leads to the enhancement of both the *scope* of conflict (from an intra-discursive episode to an inter-discursive contestation) and its *intensity* (insofar as the contestation of the terms of the other's discourse is equivalent to the refusal of its recognition).

This understanding permits us to reassess the deficiencies of transitionalist and traditionalist arguments and their complicity in producing conflictual dispositions. Transitionalism establishes the incompatibility of subject positions between Russia and the EU by elevating the teleology of liberal progress to the status of the privileged discourse of managing EU–Russian relations, disqualifying from the outset any alternative domestic-political or ideological arrangement. Any alternative discourse is cast in the position of expression of deviance, which makes it impossible to adequately communicate a grievance without translating it into the hegemonic liberal discourse, in whose terms the grievance in

question may well be inexpressible. In contrast, traditionalism makes the incompatibility of subject-positions between Russia and the EU its point of departure, which forecloses from the start any possibility of remedying it in the process of interaction. Moreover, the incompatibility in question stops being an effect of concrete practices of either of the parties but rather becomes a fixed unproblematic background to their interaction.

In contrast, in this book we shall approach EU–Russian conflict as arising out of the incompatibility of the subject-positions of the two parties, which is established in the course of the interface of their policy discourses. A theoretical model for the analysis of conflictual dispositions in EU–Russian relations must therefore rest on a systematic description of the structure of the conflict discourse in question and interpret this structure with reference to both the policy logics of the two parties and to the interactive process of the interface of these logics. These objectives determine the structure of this volume.

The following two chapters are devoted to a detailed empirical analysis of the structure of EU–Russian conflict discourse, which will form the basis for the 'bottom-up' development of our interpretative model. Chapter 2 analyses the first of the two clusters of conflictual dispositions that we identify in the present constellation of EU–Russian relations, i.e. the problematisation by Russia of its exclusion from Europe. Originally related to the specific issue of the expansion of the strict visa regime for Russians in the course of EU enlargement, this problematic is presently developing in the Russian political and academic discourse into an identity conflict on Russia's thoroughgoing exclusion from Europe in the political, if not cultural, sense. We will observe the spillover of a conflict issue, confined and contained within a narrow discursive arena, into a wider space of discourses of identity and difference that ultimately connect with the century-old debates on Russia's relation to 'European civilisation'. The problematisation of exclusion from Europe characterises the entire spectrum of political discourse in Russia, from the liberal minority, which posits as axiomatic Russia's belonging to 'European civilisation' to the conservative, 'left-patriotic' forces, who find in European practices the vindication of their principled opposition to Russia's integrationist orientation. Ironically, the exclusionary practices of the EU that have given rise to this conflictual disposition clearly contradict its own manifest policy stance on Russia which emphasises regional integration, cross-border cooperation and the stimulation of contacts between all types of social agents.

Chapter 3 addresses the second, at first glance diametrically opposed, conflictual disposition between Russia and the EU. The perception of

Russia's low degree of influence or passive status in cooperative arrangements with the EU has resulted in the demands to reconstitute the EU–Russian 'strategic partnership' on the basis of the principles of intersubjectivity and reciprocity. The lack of recognition of Russia as a legitimate political subject with its own interests that need not necessarily coincide with those of the EU brings forth a discourse of self-exclusion from European integration, grounded in the renewed reaffirmation of state sovereignty. Similarly to the problematic of exclusion, concrete conflict issues in circumscribed domains, such as the design of technical assistance projects or Russia's role in the EU's Northern Dimension initiative, tend to spill over into the wider space of identity politics, in which ethical questions of recognition of political difference override the more technical or administrative issues of managing EU–Russian cooperation. The chapter concludes with the discussion of the combination of the problematisation of exclusion and the valorisation of self-exclusion in the Russian political discourse, and the confluence of sovereign and integration-oriented practices in the EU's approach towards Russia. Our analysis will thus have demonstrated the coexistence of sovereign and integrationist practices in the policies of both Russia and the EU, which challenges the simplistic assumption of the EU as a champion of integration and Russia as clinging to outdated political ideals, which is particularly characteristic of the transitionalist approach.

This analysis provides us with the empirical basis for developing an interpretative model of conflict emergence in EU–Russian relations. In Chapter 4 we outline the model for the study of concrete EU–Russian policy encounters that seeks to map the possible avenues of interface between the two parties and establish the conditions for the formation of the conflictual dispositions, reconstituted in the previous chapters. We shall argue that convergences or divergences between Russian and EU policy orientations may be structural or interactional in character. The structural aspect refers to the foreign policy logic, opted for by both parties in relation to each other. We suggest that these logics may be either sovereign or integrationist and that, *pace* the facile reading of the EU as squarely 'integration-oriented' and Russia as zealously assertive of sovereignty, *both* parties deploy these two logics in their relations with each other. Moreover, it is precisely the frequently paradoxical combinations of the two logics that will be demonstrated to intensify EU–Russian conflictual dispositions. Drawing on both the classical traditions and the contemporary discussions in political and IR theory, we shall identify the paradigmatic structure of both of the logics in question, in

order to elucidate both the radical difference of sovereign and integrationist logics of managing international relations and the paradoxical dependence of the integrationist logic on the sovereign one, which, in our argument in this book, is the main reason for the instability and the high conflictual potential of integrationist policy designs at work in EU–Russian relations.

The interactional aspect of the interface relates to how the opted-for logics relate to each other in actual EU–Russian encounters, i.e. whether the move of one party is 'matched' by the other or is ignored or rejected in the deployment of a different logic by the other party. As a result of these two distinctions, we have a matrix of four possible avenues of the EU–Russian interface: the parties in question may opt for either sovereign or integrationist logics and these in turn may be reciprocated by gestures of equivalence or dissent by the other party. Against the linear teleological vision of monistic transitionalism and the static, ever-present antagonistic dualism, posited by traditionalism, we may argue for the presence of four possible pathways of EU–Russian relations, each with a different 'conflict potential'.

In Chapters 5 and 6 we shall systematically address each of these pathways, drawing on concrete cases of the EU–Russian interface. The convergence of sovereign logics of both parties results in a consensual decision to limit EU–Russian cooperation to the level of the lowest common denominator, based on the clear supremacy of the principle of sovereign equality, non-intervention and intersubjectivity. In IR-theoretical terms, we may associate this pattern that we shall term *mutual delimitation* with classical realism or the more minimalist understandings of 'international society'. Conversely, the equivalence of the two parties' moves within the integrationist logic permits wide-ranging cross-border integrative arrangements that may go beyond the dimension of intersubjectivity towards the emergence of a *sui generis* political subjectivity on the transnational level.

More problematic than these two 'matches' of structural logics are the instances in which the move of one party conflicts with the logic deployed by the other party. These dissensual modes of interface may be twofold. The EU's deployment of the sovereign logic with regard to relations with Russia may clash with Russia's own integrationist initiatives and thus create a perception of Russia's *exclusion* from Europe. Secondly, the EU's deployment of the integrationist logic through the extension of its governmental rationality to Russia in the effort to develop 'good governance' may 'misfire' by encountering Russia's reassertion of state sovereignty, generating a drive for the *self-exclusion* of Russia from

European integration. Thus, the analysis will demonstrate that the two EU–Russian conflictual dispositions, identified in our empirical analysis, do not arise from the a priori incompatible stands of the two parties (which *both* rely on sovereign and integrationist logics), but emerge in concrete moments of a dissensual interface, in which incompatible logics are deployed.

Finally, Chapter 7 will draw together the empirical and theoretical conclusions of the study in a critique of the paradoxical operation of the logic of integration in EU–Russian relations. In contrast to both transitionalist and traditionalist approaches we shall argue that the failure of integrationist designs in EU–Russian relations is due neither to Russia's failure or deviance on the path of the liberal transition nor to the perennial incompatibility of Russian and European political strategies, but to the fundamental paradoxes of the cosmopolitan discourse of integration itself that pose inherent limits to its practical realisation. We shall identify teleological, structural, epistemological and ontological paradoxes of the integrationist logic that afflict any concrete implementation of integrative policy designs, whose liberating and pluralistic intentions ironically pave the way for the establishment of structurally asymmetric systems of governance with little tolerance for difference that cannot be accommodated under the precepts of the doctrine of integration. Our conclusions will therefore be distinct from the existing critical assessments of EU–Russian relations. Most existing critiques, which we shall discuss in the following chapters, remain confined to the policy level, addressing the efficiency, flexibility or relevance of integrative practices without probing the conceptual foundations of the logic of integration. In contrast, we seek to identify the sources of problems of policy design and implementation on the fundamental level of conceptual presuppositions of the integrationist discourse, which establish the limits of integration that are not merely practical or contingent, but rather constitutive of this discourse itself and are therefore unlikely to disappear through improvements and reforms on the policy level. At the same time, *pace* traditionalist accounts, these obstacles to cooperative interaction between Russia and the EU are clearly not immutable and their overcoming is possible through a substantive rethinking of the orientations of the two parties towards each other.

The book concludes with an outline of an alternative mode of managing EU–Russian relations as, first and foremost, *international* relations, characterised by the requirement of the recognition of legitimate difference between the interacting parties. The path of development of EU–Russian relations that we shall term 'common European

pluralism' departs from the pattern of mutual delimitation of sovereignties, yet goes considerably further than a mere structural delimitation of difference in its requirement of the relaxation of sovereign identities of the interacting parties, which enables the proliferation and institutionalisation of cooperative arrangements that may be both transitory and permanent. We shall identify concrete conditions that would permit Russia and the EU to practise constructive cooperation in the absence of the conflict-generating constraints of the logic of integration. We shall therefore argue in the conclusion to our study that the irony of the discourse of integration consists in the fact that most of its objectives can be achieved on the basis of its apparent opposite, i.e. the logic of sovereignty.

We hope that this book will attract the interest of both academics and practitioners in the sphere of EU–Russian relations, disturbing the self-evidence of many contemporary theoretical postulates and policy prescriptions and stimulating intellectual innovations, whose implementation in the policies of both parties may lead EU–Russian relations out of the present conflictual impasse and towards the development of new forms of cooperation, worthy of the name of 'strategic partnership'.

2

A European Country Outside Europe: EU Enlargement and the Problematic of Exclusion

From issue to identity conflict: the 'Schengen curtain' and the oscillations of the problematic of exclusion

Since the late 1990s there has been an upsurge in the Russian discourse on the conflict-generating effects of EU policies that hamper the prospects for the productive development of the 'strategic partnership'.[16] While previously the EU figured in the Russian political and analytical discourse in the unproblematically benign modality, in contrast to NATO, whose eastward enlargement preoccupied Russian critical discussion for the entire decade, the end of the 1990s witnessed a profound rethinking of Russia's relations with the EU as not necessarily cooperative and carrying a strong conflict potential. It is possible to date this reorientation to the 1999 military operation in Kosovo, the European support for which arguably functioned as a 'wake-up call' for Russian politicians and analysts, who until then had kept the EU insulated from criticism and maintained, in various forms, Gorbachev's aspirations for the 'Common European Home' as the ultimate telos of Russian foreign policy (see Ulykaev, 1999; Holmogorov, 2004). In a more substantive way, the awareness of the conflictual potential of EU–Russian relations was enhanced by the process of EU enlargement. Ironically, while the NATO enlargement, strongly criticised in Russia, could only pose a threat to Russia in barely conceivable scenarios, the EU enlargement, whose implications for Russia are manifold and concrete, was until the end of the 1990s viewed as a beneficial process, in line with Russia's own visions of its 'integration into Europe'. It was only in the aftermath of the Kosovo operation and the intense European criticism of Russia's conduct of its 'anti-terrorist' operation in Chechnya that the implications of European integration for Russia began to be

problematised in the Russian discourse, eventually leading to the articulation of conflictual dispositions between Russia and the EU.

For the purposes of our analysis these conflicts may be divided into two categories: specific policy issues and more general problematics that may be referred to as 'identity conflicts'.[17] Identity conflicts are not merely marked by greater intensity than circumscribed issue conflicts; more importantly, these conflict discourses articulate a plethora of minor or isolated conflict issues into an overarching narrative, that not merely communicates particular disaccord, but also offers an interpretation of its occurrence in the ethico-political terms of identity and difference. The difference between the two types of conflict is thus qualitative rather than quantitative: while issue conflicts are in themselves decontextualised, arising as particular events that function as a rupture in the existing practices, and hence require interpretation, identity conflicts derive their intensity precisely from the generalised interpretation of the occurrence of the particular conflict episode. The discourse of identity conflict thus serves to contextualise and interpret the events of conflictual encounters. It is in identity conflict discourses that the incompatibility of subject positions is established on the basis of concrete case-related divergences. This is not to say that issue and identity conflicts are entirely distinct categories, the latter located at a necessarily higher stage of conflict development than the former. Let us rather suggest that these categories are in fact interdependent, specific issues potentially triggering wider conflicts on the level of identity, and identity conflicts in turn contextualising and hence delimiting the possibilities of addressing specific conflict issues. Identity conflicts depend upon particular issues for their substance, while issue conflicts depend on the identity discourse for their meaning.

Two such 'conflict dyads' may be isolated in the political and academic discourse on EU–Russian relations. This chapter will discuss the conflict narrative that centres on the problematic of exclusion of Russia from the European political, normative, economic or cultural space. Chapter 3 will address the diametrically opposed narrative, which asserts the need for Russia's 'self-exclusion' from Europe due to the lack of European recognition of Russia as a sovereign political subject. In both chapters our way of proceeding will consist in the analysis of the relay between concrete EU–Russian conflict issues and the emergence of identity conflict discourses, which weave together interpretative schemata for the contextualisation of issue-specific episodes.

The Russian concerns with regard to EU enlargement, voiced as early as 1999 but increasingly highlighted in the second half of Putin's first

presidential term,[18] primarily relate to the stringency of the Schengen border and visa regime, which complicates the travel of Russian citizens to EU countries and hampers the existing forms of cross-border cooperation with the new member states. Indeed, the extension of the Schengen agreement to the enlarged EU entails the imposition of a visa regime that far exceeds in its strictness the bilateral visa practices that existed between Russia and the new EU members, e.g. Finland, Poland, the Baltic states, etc. (Khudolei, 2003). As a number of studies have indicated, the issue is particularly acute with regard to Kaliningrad Oblast' that emerges as an enclave within the enlarged EU, which not merely complicates its socio-economic relations with the rest of Russia, but, more importantly in the context of EU–Russian relations, serves to jeopardise the cross-border cooperation arrangements between the oblast' and its neighbours in Poland and Lithuania.[19] *Pace* the EU policy discourse with its valorisation of inclusion, integration and regional cooperation, the unequivocal extension of the Schengen regime both draws a clear line of exclusion of Russia from the 'area of freedom, security and justice' and, what is less often articulated, actually destroys the *ad hoc* cooperative arrangements, from shuttle-trading to cultural exchanges, that already exist and were made possible by the relaxed border control regimes agreed on bilaterally by Russia with the new member states during the 1990s. It appears that the almost exclusive academic and political focus on the development through administrative practices of cooperative regional arrangements reflects a certain 'programmatic a priori' (Rose, 1996a) that prejudices governmentally constructed, and hence sanctioned, practices to the detriment of spontaneous and *ad hoc* arrangements that are not subject to governmental regulation. In other words, the speculative discourses on the possibilities of developing *new* forms of cooperation silence the question of whether present governmental efforts in this direction might not in fact be squarely antagonistic and detrimental to antecedent cooperative practices, as the insistence on the uniform application of the Schengen regime clearly seems to be.

The same exclusionary logic is at work in other regional programmes of EU–Russian cooperation, e.g. the Euregio Karelia project, generally perceived as a success story and an exemplary model of EU–Russian regional cooperation. Officially established in 2000, Euregio Karelia unites the Russian Republic of Karelia and the Finnish provinces of North Ostrobothnia, Kainuu and North Karelia. 'The goal of the project is the stimulation of cross-border regional cooperation in various spheres, the priority areas being the economy, the environment, tourism and culture' (*Programma Prigranichnogo Sotrudnichestva Respubliki*

Karelia). The basic principle of the project is the formation of what the Karelian Programme of Cross-Border Cooperation refers to as 'the culture of transparent borders', making cross-border contacts in trade, science, culture and tourism a 'natural activity in the everyday life' of the border communities. Tarja Cronberg, who played a key role in the establishment of Euregio Karelia as the Executive Director of the Regional Council of North Karelia, has argued that the Euregio exemplifies a new space for action that poses a 'postmodern challenge to the nation-state'.[20] In her account it is Finland's membership of the EU that has enabled the Euregio Karelia project, whose origins lie in intra-EU practices of regional integration, to be established between Finland and Russia. On the other hand, Cronberg also describes the way the institutional structure of the EU itself poses problems for models such as the Euregio: since regional development and external relations are handled by different directorates-general of the European Commission, the coordination of Tacis and Interreg programmes, necessary for the operation of the Euregio, is frequently made problematic by bureaucratic hurdles. The EU's failure to integrate the operation of these programmes is the major structural obstacle to the achievement of the integrative effects that consist in the emergence of the Euregio as a new institutional structure of cross-border governance that possesses both administrative and budgetary capacities to undertake ambitious cooperative projects. Insofar as Interreg remains a programme designed and managed by the EU, without any Russian participation, the line of exclusion is thus drawn even *within* such cooperative projects as the Euregio.

The second mode of the negative impact of the EU, addressed by Cronberg, concerns the stringency of the visa regime between Russia and Finland as a member of the Schengen agreement. The strict visa regime is the primary obstacle to the further development of cross-border cooperation within the framework of the Euregio. The insistence of the EU on the uniformity of the application of the Schengen rules contradicts its own logic of fostering cooperative cross-border regimes across the formerly contested borderlands, which logically presupposes that the residents of the border region in question should be granted a visa applicant status different from other Russian citizens. It is worth reiterating that in this case, similarly to Kaliningrad, the 'positive', enabling impact of EU programmes relates to 'artefactual', governmentally sanctioned arrangements, while the negative effect, rarely brought up in the official discourse, consists in the disabling or outright elimination of the existing forms of cross-border activities, which in the case of Karelia date back to the late-Soviet period.

The main Russian response to the problem of exclusion is the proposal on the relaxation or even the abolition of the visa and passport control regime between Russia and the EU, which in the Putin presidency has become the primary object of advocation in the Russian discourse on relations with Europe. While such solutions require addressing a number of complex technical and legal issues, they also depend on more political decisions with regard to Russia's exclusion from or inclusion into the European space.[21] With regard to the issue of the visa regime, it is clearly the EU's approach that is marked by the logic of exclusion that is at first glance irreconcilable with the idea of the 'European project' as centred on the principles of inclusion, integration and cosmopolitanism. On the contrary, the Russian stance, which, since the mid-1990s, has tended to be equated in the Western literature with the anachronistic reaffirmation of the principle of sovereign statehood, is marked by a more inclusive approach.[22] The Russian proposal on the abolition of the visa regime may be viewed as not merely the attempt at a blanket resolution of the problem of the Kaliningrad enclave but also as an indicator of the realisation that Kaliningrad is merely a hyperbolic metaphor for the problem of Russia's increasing exclusion from Europe, whereby it becomes the only *European* country that is *left out of Europe*, the latter being increasingly synonymous with the EU (see Trenin, 2000a, 2004; Khudolei, 2003). The Russian response to the issues raised by EU enlargement therefore did not remain confined to the concrete domains of disaccord, but sought to articulate a problematisation on a different level, establishing the possibility of the emergence of the discourse of identity conflict.

Thus, while the 'Schengen problem' in itself has generated a circumscribed issue conflict with respect to Kaliningrad (see Fairlie and Sergounin, 2001; Joenniemi and Sergounin, 2003), it also points to the existence of a wider conflictual discourse, centred on the problematic of exclusion, the reception of Russia and the Russians as European 'Others' whose access to the 'zone of freedom, security and justice' must be contained and controlled, and hence ultimately raises the question of identity and difference. The problematic of exclusion is able to unfold within an ever-widening discursive space, since it ultimately touches upon the very question of Russian identity in relation to Europe. 'The discussion about Russia's inclusion in Europe is as much a question of identification, of value choice, as it is a matter of deciding on the vector of economic development and political strategy' (Leshukov, 2000: 26). The issue of exclusion, originally arising in the specific context of the extension of the Schengen visa regime, is in this manner articulated with the more

interpretative discourse on Russia's relation to Europe and its 'European identity'.

This general discourse on Russia and Europe, whose historical unfolding is analysed by Iver Neumann (1996), has resurfaced during the 1990s and acquires particular importance with the enlargement process, as Russia looks set to become one of the few countries whose geographical and cultural 'Europeanness' does not find an institutional embodiment in EU membership. 'In the process of the enlargement of the EU there is formed a new pan-European community, of which Russia is not a part. The Russian Federation risks remaining the only state that is European in the geographical sense but is de facto outside Europe' (Leshukov, 2000: 44). Within the Russian academic community, the work of Dmitry Trenin is particularly sensitive to the possibility of marginalisation and peripheralisation of Russia as a result of EU enlargement and is highly critical of the Russian political establishment for not properly responding to the 'challenge of Europe' (Trenin, 2000b: 17–18). In this kind of discourse, the expansion of the Schengen regime is displaced from its specific sector and becomes a symptom of the problem on the more general level. In a pessimistic assessment of the present state of EU–Russian relations, Trenin remarks: 'The paradox consists in the fact that despite the mutual openness and the veritable explosion of contacts, the degree of the understanding between partners since the Cold War has scarcely increased. This is equally true for both Russia in relation to the rest of Europe and for Europe in relation to Russia' (Trenin, 2000b: 19).

The discursive expansion of the problematic of exclusion from a circumscribed issue to an identity conflict is also enabled by the privileged status of this problematic in the wider social space. The problem of the 'Schengen curtain', which is widely discussed in the Russian media, concerns large numbers of the population and may well be considered a priority issue in EU–Russian relations from the 'societal' perspective. While such important aspects of EU–Russian relations as the 'energy dialogue' or the creation of the Common Economic Space remain too abstract and complex to attract much popular or media interest, the increasingly stringent visa regime has generated considerable media controversies that also succeeded in raising the profile of this issue in the more scholarly Russian discourse on relations with the EU: 'This aspect of relations between Russia and the EU can by no means be ignored. Many citizens of Russia, particularly young people, wish to visit Europe and the clash with the visa regime, complicated by bureaucratic procedures, leaves them with a negative impression of it'

(Khudolei, 2003: 24). The loss of support for the pro-European course of Russian foreign policy does not merely create a general unfavourable political climate for EU–Russian relations, but also jeopardises concrete programmes of cooperation.

Finally, it is important to note that the problematisation of exclusion is at work across the entire Russian political spectrum, although the interpretative schemata, deployed in the constitution of the identity conflict discourse, tend to differ. While the liberal political forces and commentators view the exclusionary stance of the EU as weakening their domestic political position, the more conservative discourses find in this stance the vindication of their principled criticism of the pro-European course of the government since the beginning of the 1990s. On the more abstract level of identity discourses, the liberal discourse problematises European exclusion because it contradicts the assumption of Russia's already-present 'European identity', which is axiomatic for Russian liberalism. The conservative, 'left-patriotic' discourse, in contrast, finds in the exclusionary practices of the EU the proof of Russia's essential *difference* from Europe, the denial of which by Russian foreign policy-makers leads to the presently perceived asymmetries in EU–Russian relations. In the remainder of this chapter, we shall illustrate the operation of these two distinct strands of the narrative of exclusion, focusing on, respectively, the 'Russia in the United Europe' committee, uniting the politicians and activists of liberal persuasion, and the discursive orientation of 'left conservatism',[23] associated with the political party Homeland (*Rodina*), which emerged as a surprise winner in the 2003 parliamentary elections and presently remains the most vocal 'patriotic' opposition to the foreign policies of the Putin presidency.

Out of the united Europe: the liberal criticism of Russia's exclusion

The 'Russia in the United Europe' Committee (RUE) is headed by Vladimir Ryzhkov, an independent member of the Russian Duma and a politician of a strongly pro-European liberal persuasion, and unites other liberal politicians, businessmen and analysts (from the President's personal nemesis Mikhail Khodorkovsky to Presidential Adviser Andrei Illarionov). Starting from 2001, the Committee has cast itself as the vanguard of the 'European movement' in Russia, 'striving towards the deeper integration between Russia and the EU' (Ryzhkov cited in *Schengen*: 1). Avowedly pro-European and distinguishing itself from the mainstream of Russian politics, RUE's publications nonetheless critically

address the key issues in EU–Russian relations that have been the object of issue conflict discourses: WTO negotiations, Kaliningrad, the Northern Dimension, etc. A number of RUE publications are devoted to the issue of the 'Schengen curtain' and the possibility of the turn towards visa-free travel between Russia and the EU.[24] In the 2002 conference report, *Schengen: the New Barrier Between Europe and Russia*, Ryzhkov poses the problem of the Schengen visa regime in the light of EU enlargement and questions the readiness of the EU to pursue a more 'liberal' policy course with regard to both the specific question of the Kaliningrad transit and the more general issue of the visa regime (Ryzhkov, cited in *Schengen*: 2). Similarly to Ryzhkov, the Scientific Director of RUE, Nadezhda Arbatova, claims that 'neither economic nor political cooperation is capable of effecting such revolutionary change in popular consciousness that a visa-free regime could' (Arbatova, cited in *Bezvizovy Rezhim*: 3).

On the contrary, the argument of Swedish ambassador Sven Hirdmann seeks to allay the fears of the Russian counterparts concerning the exclusion of Russia through visa practices, which he views as neither political nor even technical but 'psychological': 'Some people are nostalgic about the past, while others perhaps perceive that they are being unjustly suspected of something or being viewed as "second-rate" people, which is of course not the case. Most people get their visas with few problems, quickly and at a reasonable expense' (Hirdmann, cited in *Schengen*: 12). This is not the view of Vladimir Kotenev, the head of the Department of Consular Service in the Russian Foreign Ministry: 'The visa curtain has arrived to our borders, which in practice has entailed a more stringent visa policy of participating states towards Russian citizens in all aspects: longer periods of processing applications, stricter criteria for applicants, the increase in the number of refusals, the rise of visa costs. At the same time, there is a process of "raising" the countries with formerly more liberal policies towards Russia towards the new, unitary and stricter standard' (Kotenev, cited in ibid.: 36).

Insofar as any relaxation of the visa regime is deemed possible by the EU representatives, it is made conditional upon a number of technical, administrative and legal solutions that Russia must implement prior to beginning any negotiations on the matter: the conclusion of the readmission treaty with the EU, the thoroughgoing reform of the passport system, and the wide-ranging changes in the management of Russia's southern borders (Hirdmann, cited in ibid.: 14–15). On the contrary, Vladimir Yegorov, the governor of Kaliningrad Oblast' argues, similarly to the majority of Russian political analysts, that the question of the

visa regime is purely political rather than technical and will therefore have serious political consequences: 'We frequently hear from the politicians in Brussels that visas are a purely technical issue and that the freedom of movement of the people will depend solely on the efficient operation of consular and visa services. This is far from the case... Instead of good neighbourly atmosphere there now arise the *perceptions of suspicion and alienation*' (Yegorov, cited in ibid.: 19). Yegorov's statement, articulated in the context of the Kaliningrad question, combines the valorisation of two, apparently opposed principles. On the one hand, he is strongly supportive of the integrationist policy course, concretely exemplified by the president's proposal for visa-free travel. On the other hand, the extension of the Schengen regime to the transit between Kaliningrad and mainland Russia raises the issue of the violation of Russia's sovereignty, whereby the decision on the travel of a person from one part of Russia to another is decided by the authorities of a different state. In both arguments, the central question is that of exclusion of Russia, either from the integrative processes within Europe or from decision-making within its own territory.

The same problem is addressed by Vladimir Lukin, a prominent member of the left-liberal Yabloko party and presently the Russian Ombudsman for Human Rights, who argues that while in the Soviet period travel to Europe was restricted by the Soviet authorities, this function is presently transferred to the EU officials. In the following statement Lukin is scathing about both the European insensitivity to Russian integrationist approaches and concerns over its sovereignty and the failure of Russian decision-makers to move beyond fancy talk on 'strategic partnership' towards the resolution of concrete problems:

> I am baffled by the fact that for years we have had an escalation of fancy words and projects on full integration, strengthening unity and creating the common economic space. *Yet, when it is a question of solving a concrete problem, it is impossible to reach a compromise with the European bureaucracy on any question whatsoever*. It is a matter of principle. The problem is that now *we are offered to abolish the free movement of our citizens within our own country, from Russia to Russia*. This is incredible! I have frequently said that Russia is the most pacific country in the world because it does not interfere even in its own affairs. But not this time and not with your 'help'!... *Democratic parties in Russia, one of which I am representing here, will take the toughest position on this question*. (Lukin, cited in ibid.: 36)

This tough position is reiterated in the concluding statement of Vladimir Ryzhkov, which succinctly sums up the central status of the Schengen issue for the most liberal and pro-European political forces in Russia: 'I am convinced that this harshness is justified: we can go on making plans and talk of cooperation but there are visa problems that hit hard the millions of Russians and EU citizens. *Nothing jeopardises our relations as much as the visa problem*. Therefore we shall be *most decisive* in exerting serious political influence on bureaucrats both in Brussels and Moscow' (Ryzhkov, cited in ibid.: 45).

For their part, the Moscow foreign policy bureaucracy has repeatedly articulated a position that is fully in accordance with the above-discussed conflict narrative. In the 2003 RUE publication, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Vladimir Chizhov has articulated the specific visa issue with the more general identity problematic at work in EU–Russian discussions on the freedom of movement. Chizhov points out the correlation between the historical Russian discourse on its belonging to the European civilisation with the European discursive constructions of Russia as either 'instinctively aggressive' or possessing a 'mysterious soul', yet always perceived as the 'Other', whether in the metaphysical or in the concrete, strategic and geopolitical sense. 'I would say, with sincere regret, that the absolute majority of Russians have got rid of such outdated stereotypes far quicker than their European counterparts' (Chizhov, cited in *Bezvizovy Rezhim*: 18). For Chizhov, the frequently reported problems in acquiring Schengen visas are by no means mere indicators of low efficiency but have a clear political grounding in the ongoing 'othering' of Russia in administrative practices:

> Every day the personnel of the [European] embassies may observe crowds of people, who line up, for a second or a third time, at consular offices in order to get a positive decision on their application. One also knows all too well about the humiliating 'interviews' at the consular offices of Schengen states, not to speak of the piles of documents that Russians must present to prove their law-abiding status to be granted permission to make a visit to one of the Schengen states on a prepaid holiday package. Can someone give me an intelligent reason why someone with a prepaid package, i.e. a return ticket, paid accommodation, medical insurance, etc., must present proof of regular income? What is the motivation for income thresholds for the cases, e.g. 10,000 roubles a month demanded by Belgium? (ibid.: 21)

Chizhov also claims that, when it comes to the above-discussed technical and administrative changes demanded by the EU as a condition for considering the issue of visa-free travel, Russia is perfectly willing to undertake them, but only insofar as there is sufficient political will on behalf of the EU to formalise the vaguely positive reception of President Putin's proposal into a concrete 'road map': 'No one would dispute the fact that the goal of visa-free travel between Russia and the EU is a complex task that requires considerable expenditure and the resolution of many legal and administrative problems . . . Yet, before we pay this price, we need to know exactly what awaits us at the end of the road and what is the realistic time-frame for achieving that goal' (ibid.: 25). The Foreign Ministry therefore makes technical changes conditional upon the demonstration by the EU of the political will to move towards visa-free arrangements.

This brief discussion of the RUE debates on the problematic of exclusion demonstrates the clear incompatibility of EU and Russian subject positions, which is of particular significance insofar as it is the RUE Committee with its key figures, particularly Ryzhkov and Lukin, that may be viewed as the *vanguard* of the 'European movement' in Russia. Structurally, this incompatibility concerns the very distinction between issue and identity conflicts that organises our analysis in this chapter. While the liberal discourse of RUE articulates the technical issues of visa arrangements into an interpretative discourse on identity politics and exclusion, which conceives of the present visa threshold between Russia and the EU in terms of unwarranted humiliation, the response of EU officials is confined to the narrow issue domain and is restricted to the discussion of plans to make the practices sustaining this threshold more efficient. In the narrative of exclusion, espoused by the Russian party, this of course amounts to a monstrous notion of *more efficient humiliation*, adding insult to injury. It is this structural incompatibility that accounts for the increasingly critical stance of such figures as Lukin, who, being pessimistic about the very possibility of a common discursive platform between Russia and the EU on the question of visas, issues a stinging accusation about the similarities between 'the two Unions' that Russia has had to deal with, the European and the Soviet one (Lukin, cited in *Schengen*: 35).

The problematisation of the EU's exclusionary practices by Russian liberals is by no means restricted to the issue of visas. One may recall the well-known 1999 electoral manifesto of the liberal coalition Union of Right Forces (URF), written by Alexei Ulykaev, which, while adamant

about Russia's axiomatic belonging to 'the European Christian civilisation', is scathing about 'socialist and semi-socialist experiments . . . ulterior motives and moral irresponsibility' that characterise contemporary European politics (Ulykaev, 1999). Furthermore, the influential discursive grouping of 'liberal conservatism', represented by such figures as Maxim Sokolov, Mikhail Leontiev and Alexei Chadaev, has the critique of the unwarranted exclusion of Russia by the EU as its constitutive principle that demarcates it from the more cosmopolitan liberalism of the 1990s (see Prozorov, 2005b). However, the visa issue, exacerbated by the problem of Kaliningrad, assumes central importance in this general context, functioning as the nodal point, around which disparate grievances with regard to the EU converge. Moreover, within the wider context of the identity conflict discourse the statements of disaccord, related to this issue, are able to find multiple points of interface with a politically opposed orientation, which also problematises European exclusion, albeit initially from a different angle. It is to this conservative narrative of exclusion that we now turn.

Liberation from the 'European myth': left conservatism and the problem of 'false Europe'

Since the early 1990s the oppositional discourses of Russian politics, both communist and national-patriotic, have been conventionally viewed as 'anti-European' both in the sense of endowing contemporary Europe with the attributes of the 'hostile other' and in the sense of opposing the pro-European policy course of the Russian government. At the same time, Europe has remained a key object of discourse, albeit endowed with negative connotations and serving as the means of Russia's negative self-identification.[25] While we shall discuss these patterns of negative self-identification in the following chapter that deals with the narrative of self-exclusion, we shall also demonstrate that the identity conflict discourse on the European exclusion of Russia, practised by the liberal politicians and analysts, also characterises the contemporary oppositional field. In our illustration of the operation of the narrative of exclusion in the oppositional discourse we shall focus on the discursive grouping of 'left conservatism', which may be presently considered the most ideologically coherent opposition to the Putin presidency.

The origins of left conservatism lie in the disillusionment of many critics of the Yeltsin and subsequently the Putin presidency with the dominant style of oppositional politics, which since the mid-1990s has been exemplified by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation

(CPRF), which was reconstituted in 1993 on the syncretic platform that combined nostalgic Soviet communism with nationalist and imperial sentiments (see Prozorov, 2005b). It is against the background of the weakening of the CPRF that the new oppositional discourse was articulated in the 2003–4 electoral cycle. The so-called 'left-conservative opposition' was constituted around the movement Homeland (*Rodina*), initially led by Sergei Glaziev and Dmitry Rogozin. The primary features of left conservatism, clearly contrasting with the dominant line of the Putin presidency, are the irreconcilable attitude to the course of events in Russia since 1991, the demand for the reform of the constitutional order and the revision of the results of the policy of privatisation, the criticism of the theory and practice of globalisation, and the strong reaffirmation of Russia's sovereign subjectivity in foreign policy.

However, the Homeland movement is irreducible to the conventional labels applied to contemporary Russian politics, being neither 'liberal' nor 'communist', neither 'nationalist' nor 'cosmopolitan'. Indeed, the leading figures in Homeland have repeatedly proclaimed the movement as a long-awaited alternative to the discredited binary opposition of liberals vs. communists.[26] As a consequence, the left-conservative oppositional discourse can no longer be subsumed under an a priori 'anti-European' (or anti-Western) label and requires a more balanced and nuanced investigation. Moreover, the key political figures in the Homeland movement have been highly influential in the sphere of EU–Russian relations. The leader of the parliamentary faction of Homeland, Dmitry Rogozin, acted as the Special Representative of the President in the 2002–3 negotiations with the EU on the resolution of the Kaliningrad problem. The Homeland MP Natalia Narochnitskaya is a prominent academic figure, who has published widely on Russia's relations with Europe from a historical identity-based perspective. The discussion below will follow our logic of reconstructing the relay between issue and identity conflict discourses on Russia's exclusion.

In his 2004 book *Reclaiming Russia* Dmitry Rogozin adopts an initially integrationist stance vis-à-vis Europe, but also views Europe as a source of challenges and dangers for Russia: 'For all his decisive anti-Westernism Dostoyevsky has accepted that "We can never get away from Europe. Europe is our second Fatherland." Besides the CIS, the European dimension is our second priority in foreign policy, determined by deep historical traditions. At the same time, in Europe we face a multitude of problems, from the attempts to undermine our territorial integrity in Chechnya and Kaliningrad to the discrimination of Russian exports and smear campaigns in the media' (Rogozin, 2004e). Having been appointed

the presidential representative in the EU–Russian negotiations on the question of Kaliningrad, Rogozin has repeatedly argued that EU–Russian cooperation may be mutually beneficial and that previous less than satisfactory outcomes of this cooperation may in part be due to the inert and insufficiently assertive nature of Russian policy-making:

> We do have [allies] in Europe. However much we speak of Russia's national interests, the *interdependent world makes cooperation necessary*. We have a long and stable tradition of relations with the so-called 'old' Europe: France, Italy, Germany. There is also a 'young' Europe – Poland, the Czech Republic . . . which offers great potential for Russia and we will develop strong relations with it. (Rogozin, 2004g)

> *We must not expect new initiatives from Euro-bureaucrats, but must seize the initiative ourselves*, insist on being listened to and respected, put our own Southern borders in order, strengthen the fight against document forgery, stop illegal migration, etc. (Rogozin, 2004c)

Rogozin's conception of EU–Russian relations is characterised by the prioritisation of statecraft and diplomacy over ideology and values. In contrast to Soviet-era diplomacy, of which Rogozin is highly critical (see Rogozin, 2004a), post-communist foreign policy is viewed in classical realist terms as the domain of intricate statecraft, divorced from ideological considerations and seeking to attain an advantageous balance of power. This is not to say that this conception of EU–Russian relations is narrowly elitist: it was Rogozin's personal initiative in early 2004 to establish a nationwide 'European committee' with the participation of Russian MPs, civic organisations and human rights activists (Rogozin, 2004g). The classical realist background rather consists in Rogozin's invocation of the principle of sovereign equality as a condition for negotiating with the EU on the mutually advantageous resolution of the question of Kaliningrad. Indeed, with regard to the issue of Kaliningrad, Rogozin's position (despite being frequently misinterpreted as 'hardline') is in fact quite conciliatory, as is evidenced by his proposal for Russia to unilaterally abolish the visa regime for Europeans travelling to Kaliningrad (Rogozin, 2004c).

Yet, all the conciliatory and cooperative proposals of Rogozin are enunciated against the background of a position he himself labels 'national egoism': 'In high politics everyone thinks of his own good' (Rogozin, 2004b). On the basis of this principle, Rogozin's position on Kaliningrad is able to combine both a strong degree of flexibility and

the assertion of Russia's sovereign integrity as an absolute principle: 'The question must be resolved within the legal field of both Russia and the EU politically, i.e. by means of compromise. *What we must never do is humiliate each other* . . . We will work constructively [with the EU] but there are *limits to compromise*, which we shall not overstep . . . There is room for flexibility, but *flexibility is not the same as demonstrating spinelessness*' (Rogozin, 2004f). In the specific case of Kaliningrad, the imperative of sovereignty takes concrete shape in the demand for visa-free transit for Russian citizens between Kaliningrad and the rest of Russia through Lithuania – a condition eventually accommodated by the EU through the introduction of the 'facilitated transit document' (FTD), which sceptical observers inside Russia consider to be little more than a euphemism for a visa. The importance of this imperative is well illustrated by Rogozin's claim that the president referred to his appointment as a '*mission*, which is eventually to define the vector of Russia's policies' (ibid.). The notion of a 'mission', which in the Russian language carries highly elevated connotations, connects the specific issue of the Kaliningrad transit with the more identity-related concerns.

Within the left-conservative discourse the identity conflict over exclusion centres on the problematisation of the increasingly common equation of the cultural or civilisational concept of Europe with the normative and administrative apparatus of the EU, an equation which excludes Russia by definition as the only 'non-European European country'. The critical discourse of the left-conservative opposition is therefore directed towards the 'liberations from myths' (Narochnitskaya, 2004c), unravelling the hypocrisies at work in the EU's posture as a normative hegemon in today's Europe, having the 'last word' on the concept and practices of democracy, pluralism, human rights, etc. This criticism focuses particularly on the EU's nonchalant position towards the issue of Russian minorities in the Baltic states, whose discrimination of ethnic Russians did not pose an obstacle to their EU membership:

> In Latvia Russians are deprived of the right to study their own culture and language and the President of Latvia says that Russians must become 'Latvians of Russian origin'. Can you imagine a Russian president saying that, say, Tatars must become 'Russians of Tatar origin'? Is this democracy? *This is a disgrace to Europe and the EU*![27]

The EU is problematised as both contributing to the literal exclusion of Russians from democratic politics within an EU member state and excluding Russia from the very discourse on democracy by presenting

itself as having the last word on the subject. 'We are not anti-Westernists. It is the West that denies Russia, and this denial is followed by our libertarians so that they can gain recognition in the West. The great Westernism [the nineteenth-century philosophical trend] of the past was never an *antithesis to Russian consciousness but one of its components*. The dilemma of "Russia and Europe" does not haunt Russia and the Russians; on the contrary, it *haunts Europe*, which, having built its "paradise on Earth", remains apprehensive of our magnitude and our capacity to withstand all challenges' (Narochnitskaya, 2004c). Despite its extreme pathos, this quotation provides us with a crucial insight into the operation of the figure of Europe in the left-conservative discourse. As opposed to the conventional and over-used view of Russia as plagued by the question of 'European identity' (which, as we shall see in the next chapter, is presently being challenged precisely by left conservatives), Narochnitskaya advances the opposite argument: it is rather Europe that is challenged with the 'Russian question', aware of Russia's cultural or 'civilisational' *commonality* but unable to accommodate Russia's political *difference*. Russia is in many ways identical to Europe, but *not quite* identical, and it is this minor, yet noticeable gap that makes full Russian–European convergence impossible and is therefore far more irritating and dangerous to Europe than Russia's complete and categorical difference would have been.

Narochnitskaya's strategy is to reassert the *cultural identity* between Russia and Europe and at the same time play down the existing *political divergence* as something that Europe's own liberalism should teach it to respect or at least tolerate: 'What unites us with Europe is not the American constitution, which in fact has been reaffirmed in Africa or Asia as well, but the Sermon on the Mount' (Narochnitskaya, 2004a). Similarly, Dmitry Rogozin asserts that 'for us, the West is the historical Europe with its intellectual, cultural and spiritual heritage' (Rogozin, 2004e). This historico-cultural 'European identity' should in turn provide sufficient ground for the inclusion of Russia within European integrative processes without any discrimination of its government or citizens in punishment for the country's final abandonment of the 'infantile thinking of Gorbachev and Sakharov' (Narochnitskaya 2004a). The criteria, allegedly postulated by the EU for Russia's further inclusion, are deemed politically unacceptable as they confuse cultural identity and political difference in a set of demands that can only be achieved at the cost of the destruction of Russia's political subjectivity: 'The West does not need a country that is strong, equal to it and, furthermore, grounded in its own values; such a country is an *objective obstacle to the*

global administration of the world. The West demands of us to refuse our own selves and only then promises to reward us with a passing grade on the "civilisation test" ' (ibid.).

Conclusion: from exclusion to hierarchical inclusion

Our brief discussion of the left-conservative conflict discourse demonstrates that this approach does not merely problematise exclusion *per se*, but rather focuses on the illegitimacy of the threshold that Russia is required to pass to be included, i.e. on what Russia is to become if it is to be included. It therefore goes one step beyond the liberal problematisation of unwarranted exclusion to warn against the uncritically positive reception of any inclusive gesture whatsoever, emphasising that what is at stake is not *inclusion at any cost* but precisely the *cost of inclusion*. In the terms of Hardt and Negri (2004: 164–7), the left-conservative discourse is critical of the form of 'hierarchical inclusion' that 'includes' Russia in the subordinated and disadvantageous modality.

The concept of hierarchical inclusion should attune us to the problematic nature of the presently widespread uncritical approach to inclusion and integration as a priori better alternatives to 'exclusion' and 'isolation'. The facile valorisation of inclusion has been addressed in a number of critical approaches in political philosophy, from Giorgio Agamben's disturbing account of the *homo sacer* as the figure who is 'included-as-excluded' in the sovereign political space to Foucauldian studies of governmentality, which emphasise the way integration and inclusion, participation and empowerment function as mechanisms for the *extension of power relations* into formerly autonomous domains, whereby the 'included' subjects are indoctrinated into particular governmental practices and subsequently reconstituted as their 'autonomous' practitioners.[28]

In an earlier book we have attempted to systematically analyse the ways in which participation and inclusion function in the modality of governmental practices in the EU technical assistance programmes in Russia, which seek to restructure administrative and professional practices in various fields. Drawing on Foucauldian analyses of the order of discourse, we have claimed that despite the promise of inclusion and the injunction to participation the discourse of the Russian recipients of technical assistance is systematically ordered through *exclusion* from discourse of various themes and objects, the *rarefaction* of discourse through the specification of its substantive content, and the *restriction* of access to discourse through the designation of privileged subject-positions, whose discourse is

endowed with truth-value.[29] From this perspective, exclusionary policies, based on the principle of sovereignty with its valorisation of strict delimitation of boundaries of community and subjectivity, leave the excluded subjects on the outside – having no identity and role in the system in question, but also not subjected to the governing mechanisms of the system. The inclusive, integrationist approach to government, in contrast, consists precisely in enveloping the exterior domain by systemic mechanisms, which is equivalent to the elimination of the outside as such. Cosmopolitan approaches of various political orientations, from liberalism to Marxism, posit the telos of world unity and the eventual disappearance of any exterior to the global order.[30] At the same time, the resultant unity itself must *ipso facto* be particularistic in its origin, which entails that other particularities are inscribed within its framework in a manner that transforms their anterior identities in accordance with the imperatives of the 'inclusive' system. In this manner, it is precisely the integrationist or inclusive stance that leads to the constitution of strict discursive hierarchies and ritualistic discursive practices.

It is precisely the attention to the problematic of hierarchical inclusion that differentiates the left-conservative conflict discourse from the more liberal strands discussed above. Although the unfair character of the required 'thresholds' is frequently noted in the discourse of the liberal 'European movement', these occasions remain isolated episodes and have no consequence for the overall narrative, which consists in the demand for greater, fairer or more efficient integrationist policy. In contrast, within the left-conservative discourse the notion of hierarchical inclusion plays a crucial role in rupturing the integrationist narrative, which leads to the reassertion of sovereignty that we shall discuss in the next chapter in terms of Russia's 'self-exclusion' from Europe. This rupture takes concrete shape in the replay of the dualism that is foundational for the very debate on Russia's 'European identity' – the distinction between 'true' and 'false' Europe, that, according to Iver Neumann, has been a permanent fixture of Russia's historical discourse on its relation to Europe.[31] In this discourse the question of being inside or outside of Europe (defining the positions of respectively 'Westernisers' and 'Slavophiles') is complicated by the fragmentation of the figure of Europe itself into a 'true' Europe (variably conceived as conservative, liberal or socialist) and the 'false' Europe, the object of negative identification of various Russian discourses. The following statement by Rogozin illustrates most starkly the operation of this logic: 'Russia is indeed the *true Europe*, without the predominance of gays, without marriages between pederasts, without punk pseudo-culture, without

lackeying for America. We are the true Europeans, as we have preserved ourselves, *proving our Europeanness* in wars with both the crusaders and the Mongols' (Rogozin, 2004d).

This statement is an extreme demonstration of the logic at work in the move from the problematisation of exclusion to the valorisation of self-exclusion: departing from an axiomatic assumption of Russia's Europeanness (an integrationist narrative), one perceives concrete European exclusionary practices as an unjustified humiliation, which in turn leads one into a cognitive dissonance, whereby the 'We' of Europe is necessarily fractured into the excluded *us* and the excluding *them*. This dissonance is in turn resolved by the fracture of the image of Europe itself into the false and true components, the line of the fracture becoming a precise marker of difference and a border of self-exclusion. In relation to the EU, this stance acquires concrete shape in the renunciation of the goal of EU membership even in the long-term perspective and the emphasis on the maintenance of that very difference which makes Russia 'true-European'. In Narochnitskaya's terms, this means to 'calmly and confidently go on being Russian' (Narochnitskaya, 2004a). In Rogozin's view, 'Russia must perceive its scale and not turn into a subordinated fragment of any wider spaces. Russia is a self-sufficient civilization. We do not need to apply to join NATO like some other countries of ill-repute. We do not need to rush to the EU, *as if only membership in this organisation delimits Europeans from non-Europeans*. We are Europeans with no need for any European Unions and Euromembers [sic!], with their unclear prospects and their *sold sovereignties*' (Rogozin, 2004e). In the next chapter we shall address the ways in which this assertive self-exclusion from Europe, defined in EU terms, is articulated in concrete issue conflicts, linked with interpretative schemata into an identity conflict discourse and operates across the entire Russian political spectrum.

3

From Object to Subject: Intersubjectivity and the Problematic of Self-exclusion

The lack of strategic intersubjectivity: issue and identity conflicts in the narrative of self-exclusion

The conflict narrative that we have termed 'self-exclusion' arises in the relay between concrete policy issues, in which the hierarchical inclusion of Russia into EU programmes has been problematised, and the wider identity conflict discourse that centres on the reaffirmation of state sovereignty in resistance to hierarchical inclusion. Specific problems with regard to the existing forms of cooperation range from the inflexibility of the EU's operating procedures with regard to the coordination of Tacis and Interreg programmes, which complicates the functioning of technical assistance and regional development programmes, to the more general question of the alleged insensitivity of EU programmes such as the Northern Dimension or the Neighbourhood policy to Russia's interests.[32]

With regard to the former issue, the object of problematisation is the failure of the EU to involve the Russian party in the design of cross-border cooperation programmes, which remain guided primarily by the EU's own interests. This problem is particularly relevant for such arrangements as the Euregio, which is based on the logic of combining regional development (Interreg) and external relations (Tacis) into a coherent policy. While the problem of Tacis–Interreg coordination has now been officially accepted by the EU and preliminary studies have been carried out on the possibility of improving the situation (see *Bringing Interreg and Tacis Funding Together*), no practical solutions have yet been implemented, one of the interpretations ventured in the literature being the EU unwillingness to give the Russian party any control over EU funds, which would be the case if Interreg functioned according to the same logic as the Tacis programme (Cronberg, 2003). This concrete issue is naturally

prioritised at the regional and local levels at which cross-border programmes are implemented. In the Republic of Karelia, which has been cast by both Russia and the EU as a model of successful EU–Russian regional integration, this problem has been raised repeatedly by both Head of the Republic Katanandov and Minister of Foreign Relations Shlyamin in their articles and speeches regarding the implementation of the Euregio Karelia project.[33]

> We have insistently raised the question of *harmonising EU programmes with Russian interests*, our own plans, *since we have ourselves designed a long-term programme of the socioeconomic development* of the region until 2010, in which we clearly state our objectives in the spheres of the economy, environment, education, health care, international tourism and culture. (Shlyamin, 2000a)

A number of Russian analysts have also raised the question of the possibility of restructuring the operation of EU Tacis along the lines of the Phare programme, whereby the current focus of the programme on the minimisation of 'soft security threats' in such areas as health care, social protection and environmental policy is supplemented by the regional-level support to structural reforms undertaken by the federal government. Decentralisation of the management of the programme and the transfer of decision-making in concrete projects to the regional and local levels have also been advocated (Khudolei, 2003; Bordachev, 2003a). In all of these cases, the conflict issue concerns the lack of proper *intersubjectivity* in EU–Russian cooperation, whereby EU programmes appear to be designed with solely the EU's interests in mind and the management of these programmes is insensitive to the concerns of the Russian counterparts.

This is not to say that this situation characterises EU programmes in Russia across the board. One of the signs of the change of the EU's stance vis-à-vis federal-level Russian reforms is the articulation of the priorities of EU Tacis with the reform programme of the Putin presidency in 2001–2, when the main coordinating function of the operation of the programme was bestowed on the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade, which is also responsible for strategic reform design on the federal level. The 2003 and 2004 Tacis Indicative Programmes also explicitly link the change in priorities with the need to articulate the operation of the programme with the reforms undertaken by the Russian government.[34] At the same time, such positive examples remain rare and the overall reception of EU programmes in Russian regions remains critical.

This is not to say that the critique is advanced squarely *against* the EU, since it also targets Russia's own passivity in the face of the hierarchical stance of EU experts in technical assistance projects. A good illustration is provided by the statement by Yuri Perelygin, a scientific director of the Strategic Designs Centre 'NorthWest', an institution, which, as we shall argue below, arose precisely in response to the problematisation of the passive status of Russian regional planning expertise in relation to the EU. 'We need to understand what kind of work we need to undertake – *not them* [EU], *but us* – to become compatible with them in terms of expert centres, the studies of the problems, etc. Maybe then it will turn out that we can think of something jointly. *In the meantime, we hand over the "thinking part" to them and get built-in in their projects*' (Perelygin, 2002). It is precisely the status of being 'built-in' in external projects in accordance with the principle of hierarchical inclusion that generates the assertive discourse of self-exclusion that we shall analyse in detail in this chapter.

On the more general level, the EU's wariness in surrendering any measure of control to the external party is also evident in the politics of the Northern Dimension Initiative (NDI) which, according to a number of Russian critics,[35] to date manifestly remains an EU *policy* on Russia rather than a *framework* of EU–Russian relations. The conceptual difference is evident: in the present case Russia figures as an external object of the initiative rather than an equal subject within a joint framework of interaction. While neither institutionalised nor endowed with an independent budgetary basis, the Northern Dimension is nonetheless highly important as a delimitation of the EU's interest in Russia, singling out the Russian northwest as a priority area. This delimitation was initially anticipated in Europe as liable to misconstrual on the part of the Russian authorities as possibly contributing to further fragmentation and disintegration of the federation (see Haukkala, 2001; Tkachenko, 2000; Prozorov, 2004c, 2005a). No such worries materialised, perhaps since the fear of increasing regional disparities must presuppose massive financial inputs of the EU in the grand project of 'raising' the Russian Northwest, that are manifestly absent at present and may hardly be anticipated in the future. Instead, Russia's restrained response was motivated by the absence of any substantive content in the NDI aside from the focus on natural resources. Indeed, the Russian Midterm Strategy on the EU emphasises '*substantialising by joint efforts* the initiative of the Northern Dimension in the European cooperation . . . to ensure that the implementation of this initiative is directed not only at the promotion of exploration and exportation of raw materials but also at the *integrated*

development of Northern and Northwestern Russia' (*Russia's Midterm Strategy towards the EU*). Similarly, there have been repeated calls at the regional level to form *joint* working groups on the NDI to substantialise the initiative, which was perceived by regional policy-makers such as Karelia's Foreign Relations Minister Shlyamin (2000a, 2002b, 2002c) to be devoid of concrete content and not harmonised with the interests of the Russian state and Russian regions. 'To date, the Northern Dimension Action Plan . . . is not articulated with Russian projects in the north of Europe' (Shlyamin, 2001b).

The Russian discourse on the NDI has undergone a considerable transformation after the establishment in May 2000 of seven Federal Districts, headed by presidential plenipotentiary representatives and, more specifically, after the formation in the Northwestern Federal District of two policy think tanks: the independent Strategic Designs Centre (SDC) 'Northwest' (an offshoot of the Moscow SDC, which produced the Russian government's long-term reform programme) and the Expert Council on Economic Development and Investment (ECEDI), associated with the administration of the presidential representative. Two strategic policy documents were produced during 2001–2: the SDC *Doctrine of the Development of the Northwest of Russia* and the ECEDI *Strategy of Socio-economic Development of the Northwestern Federal District*. Both documents take their points of departure from problematising the absence of an autonomous strategic vision for the Russian Northwest as a whole, the weakness and the incommensurability of separate development strategies of the subjects of the federation and the consequent passivity of the Northwest vis-à-vis the EU policies. 'The authorities of the subjects of the federation *failed to become the centres of designing regional development*. Manifold programmes of socioeconomic development are not implemented in practice. The old priorities of industrial development are outdated, while *new images of the future, from which new priorities could be derived, have not appeared yet*' (*Doctrine of the Development of the Northwest of Russia*). The SDC doctrine is particularly explicit about the need to restore political subjectivity to the Northwest as a macro-regional entity that could be a partner of the EU in the Northern Dimension (see Prozorov, 2004c). The *Doctrine* advocates macro-regionalism, developed on the basis of the institution of the federal district, as a creative response to globalisation and international regionalisation, an alternative to 'regionalisation-by-default' that results in fragmentation and the stagnation of Northwestern Russian regions as weak and inefficient administrative-territorial subjects that are at best capable of being passive objects of EU macro-regional projects such as the Northern Dimension (see Tsygankov, 2001; Ukkone, 2001b; Prozorov, 2004c).

The Northwestern Federal District is viewed as a new institutional structure that could carry a 'megaproject' of the assembly of the Northwest, 'a common entity, authorised to strategically manage regional development' (*Doctrine of the Development of the Northwest of Russia*). An important function of the federal district is therefore the development of macro-regional integration *within* Russia, which of course need not be viewed as exclusive of international macro-regional cooperation with the EU in the framework of the NDI. In fact, one of the three success criteria elaborated in the *Doctrine* for the federal district consists precisely in *connecting* the macro-regional development programme to the 'European scale': 'In case the formation of the Northwest macroregion is a success, it will fulfil the threefold task: it will set the *new benchmark of the country's development* in general; it will *make Russia's strategic projects consistent with the European scale*; and, finally, it will trigger the *development of the new management system*, which is so crucial for further strategic growth of Russia' (*Doctrine of the Development of the Northwest of Russia*).

Thus, contrary to what the critical rhetoric towards Russia's present state of integration into the new European environment may suggest, the *Doctrine* is by no means a conservative or 'anti-European' manifesto. What marks the *Doctrine* as a novelty within Russian political discourse is rather its emphasis on the need to transcend the structurally 'built-in' status of Russian politics and expertise in European macro-regional programmes and the problematisation of the facile and hurried adoption of the 'positive sum logic', whereby 'what is good for the EU' is automatically also 'good for Russia', irrespectively of whether Russia played any part in the generation of these rules, norms or principles. 'In case we remain passive on this issue, the Northwest borders may be outlined by the European communities instead' (*Doctrine of the Development of the Northwest of Russia*). In the argument of the *Doctrine*, the question of who decides on the boundaries and the internal furnishing of the Northwestern district is far from outdated and irrelevant. The emergent macro-region is cast as a space of infinite political possibility, a 'clean slate' on which the new positivity of order may be inscribed. From this perspective it is possible to fully appreciate the persistent recourse of the *Doctrine* to the demand for active political construction: forgoing this possibility merely entails the subjection to the externally designed project of moulding the Russian Northwestern space in accordance with European interests. The narrative of self-exclusion arises precisely out of this emphasis on the active force of political decision, whereby Russia is expected to benefit more from autonomous decision-making as a sovereign actor than as a de-subjectivised 'member' in the system of hierarchical inclusion.

The same logic applies to the resolution of the Kaliningrad problem, whose status in the narrative of exclusion we have addressed in the previous chapter. Kaliningrad is cast as one of the 'mega-projects', envisioned in the *Doctrine*, which both points to the urgency of the Kaliningrad issue at the time of the preparation of the document (2001–2) and locates this question in a wider macro-regional framework, beyond the boundaries of the specific subject of the Russian Federation.

> The megaproject Kaliningrad is of paramount importance for Russia to establish its *independent stance within the framework of international integration*. The Kaliningrad region proves to be the litmus test for relationship building between Russia and Europe. The principle of complementary efficiency is a key one in this project's development. This principle assumes that actions, taken by the regions, the federal centre, public and private companies, should conform to common logics. This conformity is a critical condition to *make Russia's strategic project equal to those, offered by the European Union*. (*Doctrine of the Development of the Northwest of Russia*)

Thus, the *Doctrine* prioritises Russia's independent stance within international integration and casts Kaliningrad as a platform for developing new modalities of relations with the enlarged EU. This claim should not be equated with the more defensive nationalist stance that conceives of Kaliningrad as the 'bastion' of Russian statehood in an unfriendly environment and seeks merely to retain the close link between the oblast' and mainland Russia to prevent the emergence of separatist tendencies in the area. What is at stake is rather maintaining Russian political subjectivity as such in the situation when the region risks becoming the passive object of EU policies (Shedrovitsky, 2000, 2003).

The approach of the *Doctrine* is marked not by a 'zero-sum' antagonistic relation to the EU policies concerning Kaliningrad but by the demand for what we may refer to as 'strategic intersubjectivity',[36] the 'subject–subject' relationship of equality between Russia and the EU as agents of strategic policy-making rather than a 'subject–object' relationship that is at work in the EU's programmes in relation to Russia, particularly those of technical assistance. 'We need to *design in cooperation with the Europeans common standards of activities in the development of territories*, ecological and humanitarian spheres that would allow to integrate our infrastructure with the European one' (Shedrovitsky, 2003).

The assertive tone of the *Doctrine* and its opposition to the passive role of the Russian Northwest as the object of external development strategies and the recipient of European technological and policy innovations should not obscure the fact that the *Doctrine* exemplifies one of the first consistent and internally coherent programmes of Russian integration into the European space.[37] In the case of the interface of this *Doctrine* with EU policies in the Northern Dimension, the Northwestern Federal District may become the proper 'pilot project' (i.e. an experiment with potentially generalisable results) for EU–Russian relations, instead of Kaliningrad, which as an exceptional case is not fit for the pilot status by definition (cf. Khudolei, 2003: 27). Such a pilot project, grounded in the symmetric interface of strategic visions, could endow with concrete content the principles of 'complementarity, subsidiarity and synergy', proclaimed in the Second Northern Dimension Action Plan, and substantialise the long-term project of cooperation, stipulated in the EU initiative of the 'Wider Europe'.

Yet, what is conspicuous by its absence in the text is any reference to the 'promotion of democracy' that the EU has increasingly prioritised in relation to Russia[38] and any indication of Russia's deficiency in this regard, which could even conceivably require EU interventions in the matter. Integration into Europe is similarly not advanced in terms of Russia's *unilateral* adoption of EU practices in the political, socio-economic or cultural spheres. The SDC discourse does not recognise the existence of any 'threshold of political subjectivity' that Russia is required to cross in order to qualify as the EU's equal partner in macro-regional cooperation. In other words, in this discourse cooperation with the EU in the Northwestern macro-region does not require the accompanying EU efforts at 'promotion of democracy and the development of civil society' in Russia, which in fact constitutes the primary objective of EU policies such as Tacis and broader initiatives such as Wider Europe.

Thus, self-exclusion from 'hierarchically inclusive' integration in the normative aspect is perfectly compatible with the substantive pro-integration stance. Indeed, we can observe very few substantive conflict issues in the interface of the SDC Doctrine and the precepts of the EU's NDI. At the same time, the demand for strategic intersubjectivity and the problematisation of the objectification of the Northwestern region as a domain of EU policies does exemplify a conflictual disposition, which unfolds on the level of identity rather than policy. While the slogan of 'strategic partnership' on the policy level remains on the agenda, it is precisely the form and the degree of partnership that is presently being problematised and found wanting in the Russian discourse with

regard to both the EU in general and Northern European regional arrangements in particular.[39] As the socio-economic situation in the country is stabilising and the political regime consolidating, one may anticipate a more assertive orientation in Russian foreign policy, making sovereign self-exclusion a more plausible and attractive option. *Pace* liberal analysts, for whom liberal modernisation was axiomatically linked with the valorised process of European integration (Trenin, 2004: 20), at present it is precisely the relative success of liberal reforms that makes integration on the EU's terms increasingly unattractive.

What is at stake in this narrative is the question of the recognition of Russia as a 'sovereign equal' to the EU in the macro-regional context, the 'transition' from a situation of apprenticeship of Russia as dependent on technical assistance to the emergence of a sovereign subject of strategic development in the Russian Northwest that is capable of acting as the counterpart of the EU in cross-border macro-regional projects such as the Northern Dimension. The conflict narrative that problematises asymmetry in intersubjective interactions ultimately posits ethical questions of *recognition of difference*. Thus, in the narrative of self-exclusion formal and technical issues, in which the Russian party perceived its 'inclusion' to be unjustly hierarchical, tend to spill over into the domain of identity politics, in which the asymmetry in question is no longer formal but generative of ethical resentment. 'The most significant among these fundamental [EU–Russian] disagreements, which entail frustration in many practical aspects of cooperation, is the difference between Russia's self-evaluation and the image of Russia widespread among the EU officials. *The European Union regards Russia primarily as an object of policy, not as a subject.*'[40] The resentment against hierarchical inclusion is also fuelled by the fact that this disadvantaged situation is thoroughly deprived of any telos of eventual EU accession, which makes subordination both meaningless and less tolerable. In the argument of an otherwise strongly pro-European analyst, 'the fact that Russia tries to have its norms coincide with EU norms does not mean that it will automatically abide by the *norms that have been designed without its participation*' (Khudolei, 2003: 31). Moreover, the wariness of subjection to external norms is by no means restricted to 'reactionary' or 'nationalist' discourses and is therefore far from being an expression of a residual xenophobia or habitual inwardness. In the following two sections we shall repeat our procedure, practised in the previous chapter, of demonstrating the operation of the narrative of self-exclusion on both liberal and conservative sides of the political spectrum.

'Liberal empire': self-exclusion and the strategy of redoubling of Europe

At first glance, the adoption by liberal political forces of the narrative of self-exclusion from Europe may appear paradoxical and self-defeating, insofar as the assumption of Russia's 'European identity' has been axiomatic for Russian liberalism and the disappearance of this fetishised figure from the discourse creates an uncomfortable lacuna in place of the object of identification. At the same time, a number of analysts of liberal persuasion, as well as the politicians on the centre-right, have since the late 1990s voiced strong scepticism about the ultimate goals of Russia's cooperation with the EU and urged to put the question of potential EU membership aside once and for all.[41] In contrast to the more conventional opposition to Russia's EU membership from geopolitical and other 'multipolarity-oriented' discourses, the liberal opposition to the EU membership proceeds from the unwillingness to abide by the detailed prescriptions of the *acquis communautaire*, particularly insofar as the resurgence of (neo)liberal economic reforms in the Putin presidency has increased the right-wing liberal forces' sense of self-certitude and thus makes integration into European structures less important politically and symbolically than in the beginning of the 1990s. The narrative of self-exclusion is nonetheless a new trend in the Russian liberal discourse, since the more conventional avenue of criticism has been the problematisation of Russia's exclusion by Europe, which we have discussed in the previous chapter, and the pressure on the EU to grant recognition. It is this 'inclusive' orientation that is increasingly found wanting by liberal commentators and politicians.

According to Alexander Baunov, the strategy of seeking EU accession is ultimately self-defeating for Russia, as it would subject Russian policy-making to the excessive bureaucratic regulations and the contestable norms of 'good governance', which would be counterproductive for the goal of radical socio-economic reforms. What is particularly interesting is the comparison that a liberal critic like Baunov draws between the EU and the Soviet Union: 'It would be a question of entering a closed corporation of the privileged, somewhat reminiscent of the Central Committee in the Soviet period. According to the rules of this game, prior to any hypothetical accession Russia will have to face a long, difficult and indefinite period of apprenticeship . . . What is indisputable is that during this period the Europeans would try to get all possible concessions from us, while our temporary weakness and the unequal status of the candidate permit it' (Baunov, 2003a). Moreover, Baunov notes that

as a potentially 'last candidate state' to enter the EU, Russia would need to adopt the entire volume of *acquis communautaire*, devised entirely without its participation. Therefore, Baunov draws a direct linkage between the narratives of European exclusion and Russia's self-exclusion and concludes that 'the unwillingness of the European bureaucrats to make even a minimal step towards our possible accession must be viewed as a blessing that liberates us from a poignant and fruitless temptation' (ibid.).

Instead, Baunov suggests an ambitious upgrading of the present Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with a view to the establishment of a relationship of association, which would create the desirable 'common spaces' between Russia and the EU without compromising Russia's sovereignty. The strategy of 'four common spaces' in the spheres of the economy, justice and home affairs, external security, research and education, agreed on by President Putin and Romano Prodi during the 2003 EU–Russia summit, is recognised by Baunov on the condition that additional measures should be taken to enhance symmetry between the two parties. At the same time, the author recognises that symmetry is problematic between such incomparable entities as the EU and the Russian Federation and argues, in a manner formerly tabooed in the liberal discourse, that the only possibility for Russia to establish an equal intersubjective relationship with Europe is by becoming the leading actor and the guarantor of order in the post-Soviet space, which remains outside the EU and is not liable to EU control through such mechanisms as the Neighbourhood policy.

> In the great Eurasian space, Russia is the only state that can *realistically guarantee the development of liberal-democratic order* in the Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, the states of Central Asia and the Caucasus that are unreachable for the great European powers or the EU as a whole . . . Paradoxically, the real, rather than formal integration of Russia into Europe will only be assisted, and not hampered, by strong statehood, a strong army, a rising population, a vast yet well-governed territory. *All of this is true on the condition that we speak with our European and non-European neighbours (as well as with each other) in the language of Western liberalism*. This is the easiest and the most painless way to eliminate obstacles and prejudices on our way to Europe and arrive at the common market, common security and the freedom of movement – all that is presently desired in Russia. (Baunov, 2003b)

This fragment illustrates a highly significant shift of the liberal discourse from the valorisation of European integration at any price

towards the increasing realisation that the price may well be too high and could exceed the benefits of integration. The problematisation of hierarchical inclusion entails the abandonment of the axiomatic status of integration and the search for an arrangement that would secure symmetric intersubjectivity in EU–Russian relations. Notably, in Baunov's analysis self-exclusion is advocated as a response to the purely formal problem of interactional asymmetry, rather than a substantive issue of normative or policy divergence: 'the language of Western liberalism' remains the common ground for cooperation, but speaking this language no longer requires a subordinate subject-position.

Baunov's strategy of entering Europe as a hegemonic power in the post-Soviet space has been influential, if ultimately unsuccessful, in the campaign of the liberal Union of Right Forces (URF) in the 2003 parliamentary elections. This theme is particularly associated with Anatoly Chubais, a veteran liberal politician who returned to the forefront of liberal politics during the URF's election campaign. Against the avowedly pro-European disposition of other URF leaders (Boris Nemtsov and Irina Khakamada), reflected in the campaign slogan 'Do you want to live like they do in Europe?', Chubais advances a vision for Russian liberalism that is more ambitious and self-assured than a second-hand reiteration of European doctrines. Chubais's programmatic article 'Russia's Mission in the 21st Century' proceeds from the assumption that Russia has already accepted and adapted to the 'right-wing liberal' programme, which throughout the 1990s was instrumental in laying the foundations of the new statehood and the new economy. Moreover, as a veteran of political struggles of the 1990s, Chubais points out gleefully that as opposed to that period, in which even basic liberal prescriptions were highly controversial, 'we now do not have a single party, whose programme rejects the fundamental socioeconomic and political liberal values. Nobody demands the abolition of parliamentary democracy, the separation of powers and the popular elections of the executive leadership; nobody demands the restoration of state ownership of the means of production, the ban on private entrepreneurship and the reinstallation of price controls. That is what I call irreversibility!' (Chubais, 2003). Even though the irreversibility in question did not concern URF's electoral fortunes as the party failed even to make it past the 5 per cent electoral threshold, Chubais's argument has a more general significance. Along with other veteran liberal reformers (e.g. Yegor Gaidar, Alexei Ulykaev, Yevgeni Yasin, etc.), Chubais claims that the highly contested liberal reform platform of the early 1990s has in fact been implemented and liberal economic principles became hegemonic

commonplaces, to which there now is (as Russian liberals never fail to emphasise) 'no alternative'. This accounts for the self-assured tone of Russian right-wing liberals, who no longer require accession to the EU to prove themselves as an established political subject. According to Dmitry Trenin (2004: 15), the very abandonment of the chimerical 'Russian way' in ideological and economic spheres, reflected in the hegemony of liberal-democratic values, is presently leading to the assertion of foreign-political independence as a supreme value in its own right.

The new task of the liberal forces must, according to Chubais, consist in the abandonment of the economy-centric and technocratic tone, usually associated with Russian liberalism, and a more active participation in the debates on the Russian 'national idea' or 'mission', from which the liberals used to recoil in distaste. Chubais is critical of the latter tendency, since it resigns the liberals to being a permanent minority, participating in politics solely as 'professionals', entrusted with carrying out economic reforms, but never as a fully autonomous political force. 'Our country has always been disposed towards the tasks of cosmic – both literally and figuratively – significance. Russia is a country with its own destiny and undoubtedly with its own historical mission' (Chubais, 2003). In contrast to the standard tropes of Russian liberalism, this mission clearly does not consist in the integration 'with the West' or 'into Europe', particularly through joining the EU, which was presented as the telos of liberal reforms in the 1999 campaign of the URF: 'The vexing question of Russia's entry into the leading political and military structures of Europe – the EU and NATO – is resolved unambiguously: *we must not enter either the EU or NATO*. We simply will not "fit" there, either politically or geographically' (ibid.).

The alternative, proposed by Chubais, is the controversial concept of a 'liberal empire', which proceeds from the explicit assumption of Russia's 'natural leadership' in the post-Soviet space:

> It is time to clearly tell it like it is. Russia is the only and unique leader in the space of the CIS, both in the volume of its economy and the quality of life of its citizens. From this fact follows our task: Russia can and must enhance and strengthen its leading positions in this part of the world . . . The ideology of Russia for the long-term perspective must be *liberal imperialism* . . . This is the task of the scale that would permit our people to finally overcome the spiritual crisis, will truly unite and mobilise them. (ibid.)

Since the 'empire' in question is, in line with Baunov's theses, to be built on squarely liberal principles, we may refer to this strategy of self-exclusion in terms of *redoubling* of European practices. It appears that Russian liberals, eager to pursue further integration with the EU but disappointed in the modalities of hierarchical inclusion offered to Russia, conjure up a figure of their own (also partially European) Union, in which Russia plays the leading role rather than acts as an apprentice. As a leader of the post-Soviet 'liberal empire' it is able to act as an equal partner of the EU and at the same time no longer has any need to ask for its inclusion in the European institutional and normative space. A strategy of redoubling permits Russian liberals to dissociate their continuing valorisation of the principles of liberal political philosophy from the fetishisation of the place of their origin. In terms of the problematic, introduced in the previous chapter, it permits Russia to legitimately present itself as a European country outside of the EU. While the left-conservative narrative of exclusion demanded Russia's inclusion into European structures, irrespective of continuing and intensifying political differences, the liberal narrative of self-exclusion performs the reverse gesture of advocating institutional difference, notwithstanding the underlying political identity. While in the former case the common 'European identity' was paradoxically advocated on the basis of political difference, in the latter case we observe a no less paradoxical gesture of asserting structural and institutional difference on the basis of an underlying identity of 'liberal values'.

Chubais's vision, which seeks to articulate the relative success of liberal reforms with the elusive search for a 'national idea', echoes the more theoretical discourses of liberal-conservatism, including the 1999 manifesto of Alexei Ulykaev, which spoke of a 'new imperialism' and was strongly critical of the contemporary EU, and the group of journalists and analysts, called the Seraphim Club (including, for example, Mikhail Leontiev, Maxim Sokolov and Alexander Privalov), which seeks to articulate a synthesis of the universal 'idea of freedom' and the patriotic 'idea of Russia' (Ulykaev, 1999; Leontiev et al., 2003; Privalov, 2003). Similarly, the late writings of Dmitry Trenin (2004, 2005), an established advocate of 'integration into Europe', are marked by an increasing awareness of the contemporary crisis of the 'integrationist paradigm'. Instead, Trenin proposes the figure of Russia as part of the larger 'Western' community that nonetheless remains 'between Europe and America', not integrated with either of the two, but identical to both in its domestic political and economic structure (Trenin, 2004: 20).

However, as the critics of Chubais's blueprint from within the conservative circle were quick to observe, the 'imperial' aspect remains unarticulated in Chubais's vision and may come down to the recycling of liberal universalism under the guise of the 'new patriotism'. Moreover, the observers, critical of the socio-economic and foreign policies associated with the figure of Chubais, have noted that the proposal may result in the extension, via the vaguely defined imperialist means, of the neoliberal policy designs into the post-Soviet space, which obscures their ill-reputed status within Russia. At worst, liberal imperialism is expected to lead to Russia taking on the status of a 'regional policeman', imposing the liberal-democratic standards in the countries geopolitically in its sphere of influence, all the while being deprived of its own subjectivity due to its inscription into a global liberal-democratic project (see Holmogorov, 2003). It is therefore notable that Chubais's project was criticised not for abandoning conventional pro-Western liberalism, but as not resolute enough in this abandonment. Despite the electoral failure of the URF in 2003,[42] the liberal-imperialist blueprint is highly significant as an indicator of the transformation of the liberal discourse in Russia, its embrace of 'grand projects' over technocratic rhetoric, its rehabilitation of the tabooed 'imperial' lexicon that articulates contemporary liberalism with the pre-revolutionary Russia, and, most notably, in its explicit renunciation of the 'integrationist' paradigm of foreign policy, concretely exemplified by the goal of eventual EU membership. Chubais's design follows to the letter the precept of the more radical conservative, Mikhail Remizov, whose work we will discuss in the following section: 'We have nowhere to be *integrated* into – it is about time for us to *integrate*' (Remizov, 2003a).

Getting over Europe: left conservatism and the demise of the question of 'European identity'

Within the conservative discourse, the problematic of self-exclusion is not as innovative as in liberalism, being part of the political platform of the national-patriotic opposition since the 1990s. During the 1990s the oppositional discourse on relations with Europe was marked by a combination of nostalgic Soviet revanchism, the Russian interpretation of the continental tradition of geopolitical thought and the revival of the Russian conservative thought of the nineteenth century, which had particularly 'anti-European' representatives in such thinkers as Konstantin Leontiev and Nikolai Danilevsky.[43] At the same time, the left-conservative discourse in the Putin presidency, associated first and

foremost with the Homeland movement, marks a number of serious departures from the oppositional discourse of early post-communism, particularly that of the CPRF, which at least superficially remains tied to the tropes of Soviet communism. Natalia Narochnitskaya, a leading academic figure within the movement, focuses her criticism on both liberalism and Marxism as equally destructive for Russia. She ridicules the dogmatism of contemporary Russian liberals, whose slogan of 'worldwide transition to democracy' she finds as vacuous and asinine as the precepts of Soviet 'scientific communism', which of course also operated with the teleological category of transition. In line with conventional European conservatism, from Heidegger to Schmitt, she argues that both of these political philosophies, having at the centre of their political ontology respectively the figures of the individual and social class, are united in the *cosmopolitan* valorisation of a necessarily atheistic and anti-national universal community (Narochnitskaya, 2004a).

Narochnitskaya's thesis connects with a more philosophical critique of universalism, practised by a key Russian political philosopher of conservative persuasion – Mikhail Remizov. Remizov reconstructs the concept of conservatism epistemically in terms of 'emphatic particularism', an intellectual disposition that is diametrically opposed to the 'left-wing' critique of ideology (Remizov, 2002b). While the latter approach condemns the universalist claims of ideology as being in fact conditioned by particular constellations of interests, conservatism aesthetises this very particularity, manifests and valorises it in its own self-presentation and criticises universalist claims solely as 'bad taste', a hypocritical or cowardly refusal to practise philosophical or political discourse in the first person. In other words, the historically and culturally conditioned and politically particularistic status of an idea is for a conservative its truth-criterion: a statement that is not spatio-temporally or contextually grounded is *ipso facto* groundless. Conservatism is thus defined epistemically as the apology of prejudice (Remizov, 2003b), which accepts the irreducible pluralism of all cultures and modes of knowledge except those which pretend to be universal, decontextualised or multicultural. The apology of prejudice is thus irreducible to the solipsistic assertion of the subjective truth of one's position but is rather a disposition that accepts and valorises the multiplicity of irreconcilable positions without presuming the possibility of their reconciliation through universal communication or even peaceful coexistence in the liberal project of multicultural tolerance: for Remizov, multiculturalism *is not itself a culture* and hence is not to be taken into account.[44]

Similarly, Narochnitskaya argues that the abandonment of the categories of religion and the nation in the aggressive promotion of liberal universalism deprives liberalism itself of its particular national and religious origins, without which, as an actually universal disposition, it turns into a monster of a nihilistic, hedonistic and narcissistic ideology.

> The central ideologem here is the abstract individual with his rights. The valorisation of physical existence as the supreme value undermines not only the two millennia of Christian culture but also the elementary norms of collective life . . . This is the dehumanisation and bestialisation of man, since human beings exist only where the spirit overrides the flesh . . . The nation stops being a continuous organism, held together by spiritual and historical experiences, and becomes a mere population or *okhlos*. (Narochnitskaya, 2004e)

This is what allegedly took place in post-communist Russia, where the ascent of liberalism entailed little more than the triumph of base consumerist values and the decline of patriotism, morality and faith. This partial and hurried adoption of select 'Western values' is for Narochnitskaya nothing less than a 'capitulation before Europe', which in her view is the only vision of Russia's future that liberals can offer.

> The Moscow liberals, in love with the West, have destroyed the 'monster' of the USSR so that poor little Europe could, without fear, deliver progress with bombs to everyone. The pro-Western intelligentsia will apparently continue to gladly accept the mentor tone of the USA when it comes to democracy, rights and freedoms . . . The ideologists of professor's offices and dissident kitchens, thoroughly incapable of constructive work, call for us to submit to the West, which would allegedly help integrate Russia into the world economic system. (ibid.)

Nonetheless, the conservative response must consist not in isolation but in purposeful self-exclusion of Russia from European and other Western structures so that it may reassert itself as a sovereign subject with its own distinct (necessarily particularist) identity that has a greater potential to 'restore the spiritual edifice, abandoned by Europe' (Narochnitskaya, 2004a).

> Anyone who insists on Russia having economic or cultural interests that do not correspond with the interests of the West is immediately accused of isolationism. Similarly, the West threatens isolation if Russia returns to the status of a Great Power. Yet, the historical experience tells us that the West will neither wish, nor be able to, isolate a strong and independent Russia, since it would be a system-making entity. The stronger and more independent Russia is, the more important it will be for the West, even if at first this will be accompanied by hostility. *The present humiliation of Russia is precisely the consequence of its loss of any independent historical significance*. (Narochnitskaya, 2004e)

At the same time, Narochnitskaya's discourse on Europe does not mark her vision of the optimal course of Russian foreign policy as entirely heterogeneous to European policies: 'I suggest that *just like them* we should pursue national interests and defend domestic business. Self-isolation is fatal for the country, as history has shown us. However, equally fatal is *artificial self-depersonalisation*. Recent years have shown that Russia cannot develop without goals and values that go beyond mere earthly existence. It is a difficult task: we need modernisation, but without that version of Westernisation that destroys the meaningful core of our historical life' (Narochnitskaya, 2004c). The relation between Russia and Europe is thus ultimately ambivalent: on the one hand, cosmopolitan Westernisation destroys Russia's traditional identity, while on the other hand the policy course suggested for Russia consists in acting just like the contemporary Europe *does itself but does not allow others to*. The 'thick' version of conservative criticism that views the Russian 'tradition' as inherently and substantively opposed to Europe is combined with a 'thinner', much more conventional criticism of European (or more generally Western) cynicism and double standards, whereby 'hierarchically included' states are deprived of exactly those policy options that EU states easily allow themselves. The ambivalent combination of these two tendencies is particularly intense in Narochnitskaya's controversial article, written in the aftermath of the Beslan school massacre.

The article, called 'A Punishment for Indifference', is a stinging accusation targeting whatever remains of the naïve cosmopolitan disposition in the Russian political discourse. The horrific massacre of children must, according to the author, be a wake-up call for the Russian intelligentsia, that should result in 'the *complete emancipation from illusions with regard to the so-called "civilised community"*. Right before the eyes of this false mentor the monsters, lacking anything

resembling human ethics, tortured and murdered hundreds of children. And yet the civilised community refers to them as "rebels"... The foreign media have stripped the mask of decency and *we have seen the true face of "civilised Europe" and its relation to Russia*' (Narochnitskaya, 2004b). Narochnitskaya proceeds with the discussion of historical analogies from the nineteenth century (e.g. the Crimean War) to illustrate her claim that, its own assertions notwithstanding, Europe has been historically hostile to Russia and has been eager to condone *any* political force that may weaken Russia or prevent its consolidation, including terrorism. The newly unveiled 'true face' of Europe is all the more dramatic, since in contrast to the early 1990s, when the cosmopolitan orientations formed the mainstream of Russian politics and were able to act in concert with Europe with regard to the opposition to the first Chechen war, the present Russian political mainstream is increasingly oriented towards the reassertion of sovereignty and hardline measures against separatism and is thus strongly dissonant with the European criticism of the tendencies in Russian politics:

> Against this background, the scattered voices that still demand to stop the criminal war against the 'heroic people of the mountains', who are 'fighting against the empire' appear grotesque and are no longer dangerous to national self-consciousness, which has grown immune to them. But it is precisely these voices that in the early 1990s had direct influence over public opinion, undertaking an unprecedented campaign of smearing the state and the army. *Paradoxical as it may be, it is the 'peacemakers' that are indirectly responsible for what took place*... It is time to openly recognise how damaging for Russia was the ten-year-long sermon of the *false conception of civil society*, where the measure of civility was the thesis 'my Fatherland is where I feel good' and the exemplar of a 'democrat' was the 'citizen of the world' who, with the help of the Council of Europe, participates in the defeat of his own government in a war. (ibid.)

This statement demonstrates most starkly the conservative self-exclusion of Russia from present-day Europe, as well as the exclusion from legitimate Russian politics of those *within* Russia, whose loyalty to European cosmopolitanism overrides the duties of citizenship. At the same time, this extreme dissociation is combined, on the level of the positive programme, with an almost disappointingly trivial vision of the positivity of the 'self-excluded' sovereign Russia: the reaffirmation of national interest, the insistence on the principles of sovereign equality

and territorial integrity, the revival of the armed forces – in short, nothing that exceeds the minimal set of attributes for the *reconstitution of a modern nation-state*, a European phenomenon if there ever was one.

We may observe a similar ambivalence in Rogozin's volume *Reclaiming Russia*, in which passionate diatribes against the EU coexist with a positive programme that, with very few reservations, belongs squarely to the tradition of European political realism. The already-cited invectives about 'Euromembers' with 'sold sovereignties' are combined with the presentation of the desirable foreign policy in terms of 'the pragmatic policy of national success . . . civic dignity and historical pride, in the absence of any humiliation of others, belligerence, self-importance or arrogance' (Rogozin, 2004e). This orientation that Rogozin terms 'national egoism' appears to be little more than a classical realist blueprint of a policy of national interest that is, moreover, grounded in the minimal commonality of values between Russia and Europe, akin to a 'thin' conception of 'international society'.

> The former Soviet sense of superiority, the fantasies over possible geopolitical 'triangles' [between Russia, China and India, suggested by the left opposition during the 1990s] and the eventual limitless submissiveness in relations with foreign partners must be replaced by a *different style of policy – dignified and unhurried, friendly without being slavish*. Russian diplomacy must be preventive rather than reactive. It must push ahead, creating favourable situations and outcomes in the world, rather than respond to events that already occurred . . . The only alternative to the partnership with the West may only be open confrontation and even a poor peace is better than war. We must learn to act cleverly and prudently and not participate in anyone's adventures . . . *We must never sacrifice our priority interests, of which the central one is the existence of Russia as an independent sovereign state*. (ibid.)

This extract clearly demonstrates that the policy course, dictated by the left-conservative narrative of self-exclusion is furthest away from the Soviet conflation of statecraft and ideology in the international communist project as well as the utopian geopolitical scenarios of the national-patriotic opposition of the 1990s. Instead, what is at stake is a simple, but nonetheless a fundamental gesture of *self-delimitation*, whereby Russia clears free a minimal space, from which it can act in the modality of a sovereign state.

> How Russia is thought of in the world is obviously important. But even more important is how we think of ourselves . . . *Russia is not a dollar bill to be liked by everyone*. The main thing is to act in accordance with our national interests, *understanding that other states have their interests too*. What they ought to know is that their interests end at the tip of our nose. *The world is imperfect. It still respects force*. We did not create this rule but we have to live with it. And the power that we seek to enhance must be directed towards strengthening our security and economic might. (ibid.)

For 'left-conservatives' the figure of Europe has functioned as the *discursive limitation on Russia's enunciative modality*, deployed either from the outside (in the imposition of strict conditionality for Russia in order to gain acceptance as a legitimate subject) or from the inside (by the cosmopolitan liberals, whose 'hijacking' of the linkage to the valorised object of Europe previously served to endow them with discursive privileges, if not an actual monopoly on legitimate discursive practice within the country). As a resolution of this problem, Rogozin suggests an attitude of neither hostility nor fetishism, but rather of *indifference* towards the West:

> It is strange that a country with a millennium-old culture, the most well-read nation in the world, suddenly became so stupid, opened its mouth and started waiting what the West may have to say about us and what it shall recommend. *It is time to look at the West with greater indifference: it is not a teacher and we are not pupils*. (ibid.)

Although at first glance this strategy may be dismissed as facile, it connects with more serious philosophical discussion in conservative circles on the very function of the figure of Europe in the Russian political discourse. In a programmatic article on EU–Russian relations, Remizov observes the tendency of Russian liberals to speak of Europe in exclamatory and axiomatic terms and suggests instead that any enunciation of 'Europe' must be accompanied by the reflection on the meaning of the concept.[45] The proverbial 'European identity' is obviously a problematic term, if one expects identity to be constituted on the basis of geographical, cultural or geopolitical criteria. However, this is precisely the path avoided by the discourse of European integrationism, which instead deploys universalist claims that cannot be localised and are therefore, in the conservative worldview, out of place. Similarly, Dmitry Zamyatin points to the increasing irrelevance of cultural-historical and geopolitical

factors to the European identity and suggests that rather than designate a spatially particular locus, 'Europe' refers to a particular global strategy, entirely independent of spatial coordinates and hence exemplary of the utopian political disposition (Zamyatin, 2002). The only positive figure of Europe, accepted by the conservative political ontology, would be a neo-imperial Europe, asserting its geopolitical and cultural particularism along the lines of the contemporary European 'far right'. Recognising that such a Europe would still be geopolitically antagonistic to Russia,[46] Yegor Holmogorov nonetheless proclaims it to be a 'worthy and stronger adversary than the blurry geopolitical interjection of today's liberal EU' (Holmogorov 2002).

Since at present such a neo-imperial project is not anticipated, Remizov ventures that 'the very term "European identity" may well be a contradiction in terms. The rhetorical utilisation of the word "Europe" is simulative in the classical sense, i.e. it refers only to itself…and possibly to the very act of renunciation of meaning. *Euro-optimism celebrates its own non-identity*' (Remizov, 2001b). Therefore, the task of 'integration into Europe', perpetually reaffirmed by President Putin, is impossible even if it were desirable, since 'Europe' merely designates a locus where it ought to be, a locus presently vacant (Remizov, 2001b; see also Krylov, 2002). The desire to abandon one's concrete particular subjectivity for the purpose of entering a community of non-identity strikes Remizov as absurd: 'To be rootless one need not necessarily be European' (Remizov, 2002d: 79). Moreover, Remizov conceives of Europe as a historical archetype, a *memorial* that deserves an epitaph rather than the reverence of a candidate for 'integration'.

> The internal bifurcation of Europe, its self-alienation, *the abstraction of universal substance from the singularity of historical existence* is what makes possible the phenomenon of non-European ideologies of 'Europeanism'. Thus, if 'Europe' became a disease for Russia, isn't this because it has already become a disease for itself? Russian Westernism is unthinkable without the European one. Therefore, *the strongest position that Russians can assume in relation to Europe is European particularism*. (ibid.: 47)

Therefore, left conservatism makes a move that is far more radical than the century-old oscillation between fetishisation and denunciation of Europe. Instead, it attacks the very *discourse* of 'Russia and Europe', which has arguably been constitutive of Russia's identity, as markedly irrelevant in all its modalities: the Gorbachevian optimism of the

'Common European Home', the desire of right-wing liberals to 'abduct Europe' by its reduplication in the post-Soviet 'liberal empire', or even the already discussed move of pronouncing Russia to be the 'true' Europe as opposed to the degenerate Europe of 'pederasts and punks' decried by Rogozin (Rogozin, 2004d). This wild oscillation of positions that nonetheless all refer to Europe as a relevant Other is for Remizov a symptom of hysteria that must be ended by a simple dissociation of Russia from Europe as such:

> Up to this moment European politics was an *existential zone* for us, an area of fateful deeds, in which *we fought not so much for our interests, but for the formation of our identity*. Europe has never been our friend but has always been our Other, the glance of which we were trying to steal, deserve or provoke so that it could mediate our subjectivity. The 'abduction of Europe' resembles an *erotic game with a succession of sadistic and masochistic phases*. First we impose ourselves on it in order to define ourselves through its frightened stare and then reject ourselves to be defined by it through a condescending glance. [Thus] the very abduction of Europe is twisted inside out and is presented as a *return* to it. (Remizov, 2001a)

Since the present EU is viewed as lacking proper political subjectivity and an unlikely 'conservative' Europe would still be Russia's geopolitical antagonist, the 'question of Europe' is of no consequence for Russia's self-identification and should be discarded without regret. Russia must neither join nor confront Europe; instead, in Remizov's fortunate formulation, it must 'get over' it (Remizov, 2002e).

The discourse on Europe, practised by such younger 'left-conservatives' as Remizov and Holmogorov, is thus distinct from the geopolitical constructions of, for example, Alexander Dugin or Alexei Panarin, prevalent in the 'national-patriotic' discourse of the 1990s. Indeed, one may doubt whether 'left conservatism' is *at all* affected by the 'geopolitical imagination' with its constitutive cleavage of Atlanticism vs. Eurasianism, which fractures the image of Europe into the pro-American Atlanticist group and the presumably Russia-friendly Eurasian heartland. Instead, left conservatism is considerably more attuned to the realities of contemporary European thought and practice with the consequence of abandoning all attempts at finding a 'true' Europe with which Russia ought to identity and cooperate (see Krylov, 2002). Instead, the 'question of Europe' is simply *removed* from the Russian political agenda in the strictly sovereignty-based vision of foreign policy.

The difference between liberal and left-conservative discourses is now clear. For the liberal narratives of exclusion and self-exclusion, Russia's entry into the 'European community' remains a valuable objective, though its achievement ought not to be tied with the subjection to external normative pressure. This stance leads to the complex choreography of frequently irreconcilable positions: from the repeated oaths of Russia's unequivocally 'European choice' to the ceremonies of taking offence and feigning retreat. On the other hand, for 'left conservatives', the very paradigm of integration appears discredited by the processes of hierarchical inclusion, and the maximal content of cooperation is exhausted by what we in the next chapter shall term 'mutual delimitation' of Russia and Europe, whereby the interface between the two parties is grounded in the recognition of each other's legitimate difference. The conflictual disposition towards Europe in left conservatism is thus ultimately less a question of Russian–European relations than a strictly domestic question of Russia 'getting over' Europe in its identity formation. Within the contemporary Russian political discourse, the centrality of sovereignty limits the scope of discursive diffraction to the oscillation between the problematisation of the lack of due recognition of Russia as a member of the 'Western' or 'European' community and, as it were, the de-problematisation of the question of recognition as such, whereby Russia's identity no longer requires the confirmatory nod of the Other. While the liberal narrative of self-exclusion asserted institutional difference on the basis of the underlying political identity, the left-conservative narrative dismantles this deep structure altogether in a purely autopoietic constitution of Russia's identity in terms of its pure difference from its exterior.

Conclusion: beyond the exclusion/inclusion opposition in EU–Russian relations

We have now completed the analysis of the dyadic conflict narrative of self-exclusion, which goes beyond the problematisation of the EU *exclusion* of Russia to the advocation of Russia's greater *self-delimitation* from the EU normative space as a state with a newly found appreciation of sovereignty, keen to retain the freedom of manoeuvre in domestic reforms and foreign policies. The concept of hierarchical inclusion serves to challenge the axiomatic status of the virtues of integration and opens the conflict narrative to the bifurcation into two alternatives: the liberal strategy of redoubling the image of Europe in the project of 'liberal empire' and the left-conservative discursive abolition of the

'question of Europe' as such, whereby both positive and negative modes of identification give way to the demonstrative indifference towards the formerly fetishised object.

Yet, what is the relation between the two conflict narratives, reconstituted in the analysis in this and the previous chapter? Is the combination of the problematisation of exclusion and the valorisation of self-exclusion a mere contradiction, an indicator of the fragmented nature of the Russian political discourse which fails to achieve a consolidated position on the 'question of Europe' and is doomed to forever oscillate between incompatible positions and mutually exclusive claims? Timofei Bordachev considers the tension between the reassertion of state sovereignty in the Russian discourse and the interest in cooperation and integration with the EU to be the key contradiction in EU–Russian relations that is liable to create conflictual situations and crises (Bordachev, 2003b: 102–8). However, this argument both proceeds from the claim that sovereignty and integration are a priori incompatible principles, independent of each other, and conceives of the apparent contradiction in the Russian stance as purely immanent to the domestic political discourse. While the former thesis will be subjected to a detailed critique in the following chapters, let us merely suggest that the conflict narratives which we have reconstituted function as dynamic responses to the concrete policy encounters with the EU. The dynamic understanding of these narratives is crucial for grasping the important tendency within the liberal discourse to gradually move away from the enunciative modality of the complainant in the narrative of exclusion toward the more active modality of the double of Europe, the subject of the sovereign reconstitution of Russia and the wider post-Soviet space along the lines of European liberalism. The development of the conservative discourse is similarly dynamic, yet in this case the shift is from the more militant position in the struggle over 'true' and 'false' notions of Europe that demands due recognition of Russia as a 'true European' country towards the more resigned (if still active) stance of 'getting over Europe'. Both liberal and conservative strands of discourse therefore move, in a fully logical manner, from the *initial endorsement of integration* through the *problematisation* of the EU's exclusionary policies or the hierarchical nature of the offered inclusion to the disillusioned *abandonment of the integrationist ideal* in the reaffirmation of sovereignty.

Neither is this development a merely hypocritical strategy of saving one's face, pretending that inclusion was never a serious request, once it has been denied. Instead, the concept of hierarchical inclusion

which we have introduced in the previous chapter permits us to go beyond the facile opposition between exclusion and inclusion and thus eliminate the apparent contradiction between the two conflict narratives. Indeed, both the narratives of exclusion and self-exclusion have the same object of problematisation – the manifest *interactional asymmetries* in EU–Russian relations. Whether one advocates a greater inclusion of Russia in the European space or seeks to delimit Russia from it, the fundamental grievance that incites the conflict discourse is the perception of the absence of genuine intersubjectivity in EU–Russian encounters. We may therefore consider hierarchical inclusion to be the key 'point of diffraction' of the entire political discourse on Russia's relations with Europe, while the narratives of exclusion and self-exclusion may be viewed in the Foucauldian sense as the effects of the dispersion of discursive practices, according to the rules of formation of the 'strategies' of discourse (see Foucault, 1989: chapter 1).

The two strategies of 'exclusion' and 'self-exclusion' arise on the basis of the same discursive structure, marked by the problematisation of interactional asymmetry, the split of the object of Europe into 'true' and 'false' components and the set of enunciative modalities ranging from that of a passive complainant to that of an anti-EU militant. They only diverge from each other in the relation they establish to the key nodal point of hierarchical inclusion and this 'diffraction' accounts for the dynamic and dispersed character of the discourse. At the same time, the two strategies follow a systematic logic of formation, which specifies the content of possible discursive practices on the basis of an initial choice of whether one seeks to deal with hierarchical inclusion through pressing for more equitable inclusion and the dismantlement of existing hierarchies or attempts to evade hierarchical subjection through exiting the space of 'inclusion' as such. Interestingly, these strategies of discourse do not coincide with the division of discursive practices along the liberal-conservative cleavage in the Russian political spectrum. We have demonstrated that both liberals and conservatives participate in both conflict narratives, even though the content of discursive practices varies according to the 'ideological' orientations of the respective parties, the limits of variance nonetheless restricted to the two strategies. It is therefore as if the two discursive distinctions, between 'exclusion' and 'self-exclusion' and between liberalism and 'left-conservatism', became superimposed on one another, the former ordering the formal structure of discourse and the latter providing substantive content to its practice.

The developments that we have analysed demonstrate that the 'inclusive' strand of discourse on the relations with Europe has been ultimately less than successful, leading many of its practitioners to opt for a more 'self-exclusive' orientation. One interpretation of this move may be the location of the EU–Russian conflict discourse in the wider context of Russian post-communist transformation and the project of 'reconstitution of the state' in the Putin presidency, which is marked by the general trend of the reaffirmation of sovereignty. The divergence of the two parties in relation to sovereignty has been offered as a key explanation for the occurrence of conflictual dispositions in EU–Russian relations. Hiski Haukkala has posited a binary opposition between Russian and European foreign policy discourses, which may be summarised in terms of three distinctions. Firstly, the EU discourse is taken to be 'value-based', centred on the affirmation of human rights and humanitarian principles, while Russia 'approaches international relations, and thus its relations with the EU, through the prism of realist thinking where concepts such as balance of power and geopolitics are more important than references to common values' (Haukkala, 2001: 8). Secondly, 'whereas the EU can be seen as moving towards a post-modern and post-sovereign political system, the Russian project is still very modern in its essence' (ibid.: 9). Thirdly, while the EU is taken to embrace a positive stance towards the dual process of globalisation and regionalisation, Russia is perceived as wary of globalisation as a form of hegemony and regionalisation as a negative force of fragmentation, which threatens Russia's very territorial integrity. In this argument, the broad and somewhat facile labels of 'realist' or 'geopolitical' approaches, a 'modern, sovereign project', and the state-centric opposition to globalisation that allegedly characterise Russian foreign policy are presented as thoroughly *exterior* to the political discourse of the EU.

A similar interpretation has been ventured on a more general level by Ole Wæver (1998), according to whom the contemporary other of Europe is nothing other than its own past, i.e. the Europe of 'modern' sovereign nation-states. Similarly, Thomas Diez (2004) has argued that a *temporal*, rather than *territorial*, 'othering', has been the prime modality of identification of post-war Europe. However, as our analysis has shown, this 'temporal othering' is presently acquiring a clearly identifiable 'territorial other', namely Russia, insofar as it constitutes its present identity on the basis of precisely the same markers that Europe is allegedly leaving behind. Russia is thus the perfect image of 'Europe's past' surviving in the present. This argument permits us to understand and appreciate the persistent recourse of the conservative discourses of, for

example, Narochnitskaya or Rogozin about Russia being 'truly European'. This statement is entirely true, insofar as modern sovereign statehood is an inherent feature of the European tradition; yet it is precisely this tradition that is apparently discredited today, which lends some credence, though perhaps not veracity, to the claim that contemporary European practices have betrayed this tradition and are therefore 'false-European'. In this reading, Russia's reconstituted sovereign subjectivity by definition posits it as the 'Other of Europe', since it merely *territorialises* the dominant mode of temporal othering. The narrative of self-exclusion is then self-explanatory, insofar as any affirmation of sovereignty excludes Russia from the EU discourse, whether it wants it or not.

Yet, how past *is* 'Europe's past'? To what extent has the EU actually abandoned the constitutive principle of modern sovereign statehood so that it is able to function as a 'temporal other'? While these questions will be addressed in detail in later chapters, let us venture a number of concluding remarks to make such claims less self-evident. Firstly, Diez's own argument on temporal othering is characterised by the admission that this modality of othering is presently 'losing in importance' (Diez, 2004: 328) due to the resurgence of territorial or geopolitical othering, of for example, Islam, the United States, Turkey, Russia, etc. Although guarding against an excessive enthusiasm about the relegation of 'Europe's past' properly into the past, Diez's argument still presupposes that such a project is possible in principle.

A somewhat different argument is ventured by Chris Browning (2003) in his discussion of the 'external/internal security paradox' that characterises European foreign policy. According to Browning, there is a tension between the EU's goal of 'internal security', essentially a 'modernist' (supra-) statist project that rests on the strict and exclusive delimitation of borders, and the more open and outward-oriented project of external security, in which inclusive and cooperative relations with Russia appear to be crucial. In the context of EU–Russian relations the goal of internal security refers to containing the 'soft security threats' emanating from the bordering regions of Russia (Pursiainen, 2001), including crime and illegal immigration, and thus guarding the freedoms that obtain within the delimited EU space – a stance that is *ipso facto* exclusionary in relation to Russia. The Schengen regime clearly serves to respond to these threats, yet simultaneously problematises the project of external security, which presupposes Russia's further inclusion into the space of European governance. According to Lyndelle Fairlie, who analyses this dilemma in relation to Kaliningrad,[47] the EU faces a problem of simultaneously preventing the

emergence of 'new dividing lines' in a project of enhancing cooperative arrangements in the wider Europe and actively drawing those very same lines in the project of optimising internal security. While Kaliningrad obviously illustrates this dilemma most starkly, being the 'internal outside' of the EU that is impossible to deal with within the inside/outside logic, the dilemma in question appears to be of a more general significance for EU–Russian relations. Simply put, *the inclusive orientation of the project of external security is hampered by the exclusionary practices, necessitated by the concern for internal security*. In this line of argumentation, the dilemma is unlikely to be resolved by the adoption of the unequivocal course in either direction, if only because both internal and external security are likely to remain crucial goals for the EU.

Connecting the results of our analysis of the EU–Russian conflictual dispositions in the Russian discourse with the argument that Europe's own practices are far from being univocally guided by the logic of integration, we may conclude that the policies of both Russia and the EU are characterised by the deployment of the principles of both sovereignty and integration, which may either coincide or diverge in concrete policy encounters. Instead of a facile representation of two subjects, whose policies are guided by a priori divergent logics, we observe the existence of a complex amalgam of both sovereign and integrationist practices in the policies of both Russia and the EU. In the following chapter we shall proceed from this point of departure in outlining an interpretative scheme for the analysis of conflictual dispositions in EU–Russian relations, and propose that conflict discourses arise out of a *mismatch between the logics deployed by the two parties*, i.e. a clash between the principles of sovereignty and integration, which may be deployed by either of the two parties. We shall probe all possible outcomes of the interface of these two logics in the EU–Russian interaction and argue for the inherent instability and the conflictual potential of the logic of integration, which is both conceptually and empirically dependent on the logic of sovereignty. In this manner, the study of the interplay of sovereign and integrationist logics in the conflictual dispositions in EU–Russian relations will ultimately arrive at the inherent limits of integration.

4

Sovereignty and Integration in EU–Russian Encounters: an Interpretative Model of Conflict Analysis

Structural determinants in EU–Russian encounters

Sovereignty and integration as policy paradigms

In the two previous chapters we have offered a systematic reconstruction of the structure of the EU–Russian conflict discourse, isolating two interrelated narratives of exclusion and self-exclusion that delineate the discursive space for the articulation of conflictual dispositions. We have argued that the policy logics of both Russia and the EU are marked by a variable combination of the principles of state sovereignty and international integration. From this perspective, the previously discussed argument that conflict in EU–Russian relations is an outcome of a priori incompatible policy orientations becomes difficult to sustain. In this chapter we shall introduce the alternative interpretative model for the study of concrete EU–Russian policy encounters that seeks to map the possible avenues of interface between the two parties and accentuate the conditions for the formation of the conflictual dispositions, reconstituted in previous chapters. The central objective in this endeavour is to outline a scheme that accounts for both the similarity between Russian and European policy approaches (the confluence of the principles of sovereignty and integration) and the differences or even incompatibilities between them that give rise to conflict discourses. In this manner our approach avoids the pitfalls of a priori explanations of both transitionalist and traditionalist varieties and permits us to focus on the irreducible specificity of the actual practices of EU–Russian encounters, in which various policy logics may be deployed.

The first step in the construction of our theoretical scheme is to distinguish between the two types of determinants in policy encounters

that generate cooperative or conflictual outcomes. Let us suggest that convergences or divergences between Russian and EU policy orientations may be *structural* or *interactional* in character. The structural aspect refers to the policy logic, opted for 'domestically' by either party and utilised in its relations with the other. Recalling our argument in the previous chapters, we may reiterate that these logics may be either *sovereign* or *integrationist* and that, *pace* the facile reading of the EU as squarely 'integration-oriented' and Russia as zealously assertive of sovereignty, *both* parties deploy these two logics in their relations with each other.

At the same time, the fact that sovereign and integrationist logics mingle and interpenetrate in a myriad of different ways in actual policy encounters does not justify a similarly confusing conflation on behalf of the analyst. Indeed, our task is furthest away from a banal argument to the effect that ideal types do not exist in reality, which always lacks the purity of the concept. Since the ultimate goal of this study is to establish precise patterns of interface between the sovereign and integrationist logics in EU–Russian relations, the argument of their 'inherent admixture' remains insufficient. Therefore, prior to analysing these patterns, we need to clearly define the two logics in a manner that is not so much 'ideal-typical' in the Weberian sense but rather *paradigmatic* in the Kuhnian sense. In this study we approach the notion of the paradigm in its specific sense of concrete 'crude' exemplars of problem-solution that function as 'puzzle-solving devices' in a tacit manner, in the absence of explicit 'rational' rules (Kuhn, 1970). In this meaning of the concept, the paradigm, a concept from the field of philosophy of science, accords with a more explicitly political concept of governmental or political *technology*, launched in the work of Michel Foucault (1988, 1990a, 1991a, 1991c). Foucault's famous figures of the Panopticon and the Confessional function as generalised metaphors of a wide array of social practices; yet, rather than being abstract ideal types, the product of intellectual speculation, they remain irreducibly concrete exemplars of actual practices, infinitely replicable and generalisable in a variety of settings (see Foucault, 1991c). In the same manner we approach the policy logics of sovereignty and integration not as abstract theoretical constructs but as concrete governmental 'techno-logics', whose inevitably incomplete and impure implementation does not deprive them of their specificity. At the same time, in order to elucidate the paradigmatic substance of the two logics, we ought to probe their underlying ontological, epistemological and teleological assumptions. In this section, we shall present such an account of the logics of sovereignty

and integration through a necessarily brief foray into the historical discourses of sovereignty and integration in IR theory. In the following chapters we shall complement this analysis with a detailed account of the relation between the two logics in concrete practices of EU–Russian relations.

Sovereignty as a foundational concept and practice

The basic features of the sovereign logic may be grasped with the help of the foundational definition of sovereignty, provided by Hans Morgenthau. For Morgenthau, sovereignty is manifested in three principles: *independence*, *equality* and *unanimity*. Independence signifies 'the particular aspect of the supreme authority of the individual state which consists in the *exclusion of the authority of any other state*' (Morgenthau, 1955: 290). Equality follows logically from the principle of independence: 'if all states have supreme authority within their territory, *none can be subordinated to any other*' (ibid.). The rule of unanimity refers to the legislative function of states in international decision-making: 'all states are equal regardless of their size, population and power. The rule of unanimity gives each state participating in the deliberations the *right to decide* whether it wants to be bound by the decision' (ibid.: 291).

As this is not the place for an extensive treatment of the historical development of the disciplinary discourse on sovereignty in IR,[48] let us merely note that this understanding of the logic of sovereignty has been maintained in contemporary IR studies and is operative not merely in the various realist approaches but also in the critical discourses, both constructivist and post-structuralist. The original contribution of the latter approaches concerns less the substantive definition of sovereignty but, crucially for our purposes, the reconstruction of sovereignty as a *practice* rather than as an immutable and transhistorical *foundation* of international politics.

The 'international society' approach of the English School and its successors historicises Morgenthau's concept as a product of the fundamental reconfiguration of politics in Western modernity and simultaneously recasts it as a relational concept, grounded in the mutual recognition of states as sovereign, the recognition that gives rise to the society of states and the emergence of international law and normative regimes, guiding relations between the members of this society (Jackson, 1999b; James, 1986). However loose, the society constituted by the principle of the mutual recognition of sovereignty marks a first stage of international integration, whereby independent and equal states exit

the condition of absolute estrangement and establish a denser pattern of interaction. In its very definition, therefore, sovereignty is tied up with the very idea of integration, rather than functions as its inherent opposite.

The constructivist approaches in IR theory extend the historicising approach of the English School by emphasising 'sovereignty as a social construct'. Thomas Biersteker and Cynthia Weber (1996: 11) consider 'state as an identity or *agent* and sovereignty as an institution or *discourse* as mutually constitutive and constantly undergoing change and transformation . . . Neither state nor sovereignty should be assumed or taken as given, fixed or immutable.' Sovereignty is thus conceptualised as a practice, whereby supreme authority *is claimed*, and does not *apply* to a pre-existing unit with the required qualifications, but rather *constitutes it as such*. It must be stressed that sovereignty in this constructivist framework is understood not as a 'physical or legal fact' but as a 'normative conception, an *ideal* that links authority, territory, population and recognition in a unique way, and *in a particular place*' (ibid.: 3). This 'ideal' is 'realised' or concretised in a manifold of state practices, constitutive of various historical types of political agencies. This understanding accords with our view of sovereignty as a technology, a logic deployed with a certain *techne* with a view to a particular *telos*. This technology is thus based on the principle of *sovereign equality of independent states*, with its strict delimitation of territorial borders as containers of a political community, constituted via the assertion of its independence and equality.

Finally, post-structuralist accounts of sovereignty may be credited with a further problematisation of the logic of sovereignty as constitutive of the very distinction between domestic and international politics and thus between the disciplinary domains of political theory and international relations. The discourse on sovereignty is based on the opposition of presence and absence: the plot is centred on the affirmation of presence of supreme authority within the state and the denial of it on the 'outside'. Sovereignty is thus conceptualised as the demarcating line between the presence and absence of authority, constitutive of the realms of *inside* (domestic politics) and *outside* (international politics) as the resolution of the problem of universality and particularity (see Walker, 1993, 2002). The practice of sovereignty serves to link political subjectivity with territorial space, which leads to the emergence of a universalised structure of particular political communities in the absence of any overarching authority above them.

The foundational function of sovereignty, manifested in its linkage with space and subjectivity, is a point of departure for Jens Bartelson's

understanding of sovereignty as a *parergonal practice*. Sovereignty is what makes the discourses of IR and political science, and the two corresponding realms of politics, intelligible and empirically representative, it 'draws a line in the water' (Bartelson, 1995: 50) in the quest for ontological presence. The concept is thus both empirical, in the sense of allowing us to differentiate the two domains, and transcendental, in the sense of being the condition of possibility of their existence. This function is summarised by Bartelson as 'framing objects of inquiry by telling us what they are not' (ibid.: 51). In the aesthetic discourse since Kant this is known as the problem of the parergon (a frame): what is the relation of the frame or an ornament to the work of art itself and its background? The frame as a line of demarcation can never be a part of the inside (the picture) or the outside (the wall), in fact it does not exist at all in the same sense as the framed objects: 'There is a ceaseless activity of framing but the frame itself is never present since it is itself unframed' (Derrida quoted in Bartelson, 1995: 51).

Thus, the parergon has no ontology; rather it is the condition of political ontology as we know it. This understanding of sovereignty turns upside down the hierarchical binary opposition of domestic/international: the hierarchy of 'politics' *within* and 'mere relations' *between* states.

> All politics is ultimately *international* politics, if we by international no longer mean what takes place within a preconstituted realm – but rather the kind of practices that are fundamental to the establishment of such realms – that is, politics as a quest for the first principles of the political in the absence of the first principles. From this perspective the juridico-political fiction of the self-identical state, along with its corollary 'international system', are nothing but momentary stabilisations of historical practices of power politics, practices which both precede and exceed the construction of political identity and political authority. (Bartelson, 1998: 215)

The key contribution of the post-structuralist approaches that we will return to repeatedly in this study is the recognition of the constitutive status of sovereignty for both domestic and international politics, or, indeed, for the very idea of politics. Ironically, this recognition marks a clear return to the appreciation of the foundational nature of sovereignty in the political realism of Morgenthau and Carl Schmitt, who of course cast sovereignty as *the* political concept *par excellence* (see Schmitt, 1985a). Indeed, as we have argued elsewhere, there is an important

affinity between political realism and post-structuralism not merely in terms of intellectual influences (particularly the philosophies of Nietzsche and Heidegger)[49] but also in terms of philosophical problematics, both approaches demonstrating particular interest in the conditions of possibility of political order (see Prozorov, 2004d, 2005c). The primary difference of the post-structuralist approach from the more mainstream varieties of realism is its appreciation of the ontological paradox whereby that which is foundational (sovereignty) may logically never itself be founded and thus remains exterior to the political order as its 'constitutive outside'. Thus, similarly to constructivism, post-structuralism refuses to grant sovereignty the status of a transcendental foundation, instead viewing it as a constitutive practice, that is neither transcendental nor (due to its very foundational nature) immanent, but rather located on the borderline between the two. In Carl Schmitt's terms, sovereignty is a 'borderline concept', designating that which constitutes order by not being included in it.[50] Similarly, practices of sovereignty are borderline practices, constitutive of political communities on the inside and the international society on the outside, yet reducible to neither domain.

The primary advantage of this post-structuralist understanding over the constructivist accounts of sovereignty is its greater specification of the ontological status of sovereignty. However plausible, the argument about sovereignty (or any other concept) being 'a social construct' risks collapsing into banality, unless it is accompanied by a detailed specification of both the ontological status of the construct and the process of its construction. In a sufficiently wide definition, most things might appear as 'socially constructed', which deprives the argument of any intellectual interest and blinds the approach to the apparently obvious difference between *constitutive* and *constituted* objects and practices, between the foundational and what takes place on the basis of the foundation (cf. Hacking, 2000). The facile 'anti-foundationalist' approach that characterises much of contemporary IR constructivism correctly rejects the unproblematic reading of sovereignty as an immutable foundation of international politics, without accounting for its clearly foundational status as a practice. This levelling of phenomena under the category of 'social construct' would make sovereignty appear as merely a practice among others, effacing its constitutive status that of course is the primary reason for its persistence in both theory and practice despite the challenges from a variety of perspectives: interwar idealism, post-war functionalism, neofunctionalism, transnationalism, neoliberal institutionalism, globalisation theories, etc.

On the basis of this brief discussion of the approaches to the logic of sovereignty in IR theory, let us define the logic of sovereignty in Derridean terms as an *ontopological* ideal, the connection of the ontological dimension of 'being present' to the stable determination of its territorial topos.[51] Within the ontopological conception, human existence is only meaningful as spatially grounded and delimited, as 'being-in-place', and political community is only thinkable as particular rather than universal and delimited from other particularities by territorial boundaries. In this sense, the logic of sovereignty draws together Morgenthau's principles of independence, equality and unanimity into a technology of appropriating and dividing political space according to the principle of strict territorial delimitation and exclusion. The 'inside' of the sovereign territory becomes the site for the constitution of the political community, the presence of identity, order and meaning. Conversely, the exterior of the sovereign space is cast as the 'outside' of the political community, and, potentially if not actually, the source of 'hard' or 'soft' security threats. International politics, governed by the logic of sovereignty, divides the political space into the 'inside' territories of authority, security and identity and the 'outside' space of interaction between these communities, in which authority, security and identity are manifestly absent.

This construction of political space need not presuppose the inherently inimical nature of relations between states let alone a philosophical anthropology of man as an inherently evil being. Indeed, as is evidenced by both classical realist and English School theorists as well as the practices of interstate relations in the 'Westphalian' European states-system, the logic of sovereignty itself generates a variety of institutionalised cooperative arrangements, from the practices of diplomacy to security alliances. Conflict, however, is ontologically presupposed in its ever-present possibility (Schmitt, 1976) and this very presupposition functions as a key point of orientation for political practices. 'War can be terminated. The real solution to war, which as such, can be regarded as a kind of solution, lies in a peace treaty. But for the possibility of war and killing, that is, for the question of the political, there is neither termination nor solution, be it political or apolitical' (Ojakangas, 2004a: 72). The logic of sovereignty is thus clearly not teleological in the sense of presupposing a certain end-state to the development of the system that could consist in the elimination of conflict and the achievement of consensus and equilibrium. The 'quasi-telos' of sovereignty simply consists in its own maintenance, as any final resolution of the problems stemming from international pluralism is deemed *epistemologically*

flawed, as it presupposes the possibility of universalising any particular mode of the constitution of the political community and, hence, the dissolution of the pluralistic inside/outside structure.

In the case of the EU–Russian interface, the sovereign logic restricts the space of possible interaction to properly *international* relations, based on the principles of diplomacy and sovereign equality, and precludes the emergence of ambitious cross-border integrative arrangements, including those on the regional level. It also orients policy-makers towards bilateral relations between states – a feature of Russian policy towards the EU that has repeatedly been noted by a number of observers (see Bordachev, 2003b; Haukkala, 2001). As we shall discuss below, within the sovereign logic the very entity of the EU is conceived as problematic, unsubsumable under any conventional definition, which makes dealing with 'regular' foreign policy actors a preferable option. In the contemporary European political landscape, the recourse to this logic is exemplified by the EU project of 'internal security' (Browning, 2003), particularly the JHA (Justice and Home Affairs) policy process and the Schengen regime. The entire discourse of 'new' or 'soft' security threats to the EU that emanate from Russia similarly belongs to the sovereign register, as its function is to maintain the 'otherness' of Russia as an 'Outside', or more precisely, the space of the 'sovereignty of the Other', and thus subject to the constitutive presupposition of the possibility of conflict.

Within Russia the logic of sovereignty is evident in the increasing reassertion of the principle of equality of states and non-intervention in Russian foreign policy, particularly marked since Russia's sharply negative reaction to NATO's bombing campaign against Yugoslavia in 1999 and operative in such diverse settings as the controversy over the 2003 invasion of Iraq and the international criticism of Russia's conduct of the anti-terrorist operation in the Chechen Republic. Within this policy orientation, sovereignty emerges as the fundamental value guiding Russian foreign policy, particularly insofar as it must presently be maintained or defended under unfavourable conditions of the spread of universalist conceptions of international relations that legitimise political or humanitarian intervention, which renders sovereignty problematic, if not meaningless, as the constitutive principle of international politics. According to a leading Russian political commentator, Mikhail Leontiev, 'the question of what we want for Russia is rather concrete . . . we proceed from the fact that Russia must remain an *independent subject*, retain its subjectivity in this [globalised] future. *At any price*' (*Rossiya v Mirovom Kontekste*). Similarly, Boris Mezhuev, a political scientist of

conservative persuasion, considers the defence of sovereignty to be a constitutive characteristic of a conservative in any national setting:

> Contemporary conservatism can only be 'antiglobalist' in the most popular sense of globalism. The future order that globalism brings about can be resisted in the name of the present order with its values of national sovereignty . . . *National sovereignty is the freedom of a nation to be itself*. What being itself means is decided situationally. It might mean opting for a monarchic form of government, to practice death penalty, etc. I am against linking national identity concretely with some social institution. *It simply consists in freedom. And this freedom is presently disappearing*. (Mezhuev in *Konservator-2*)

This quotation features a most striking identification of sovereignty with freedom,[52] quite heterogeneous to contemporary Western critical discourses on sovereignty, and posits a conservative as a *partisan of pluralism* in the face of homogenising and universalising tendencies, associated with the processes of globalisation. However idiosyncratic, this identification follows logically from the ontopological understanding of sovereignty that we have advanced. The freedom of a political community is only possible within a certain topos, guaranteed and protected by defined boundaries, which in turn are rendered absolute (though, of course, not impermeable) through the universal mutual recognition by sovereign states of each other's legitimate subjectivity.

Later in this book we shall return to this identification of sovereignty and freedom, but at present let us merely suggest that the confluence of the two ideals descends from a philosophical understanding of freedom as by definition *unqualified*. For sovereignty-affirming realist theorists like Schmitt (as well for such different thinkers as Georges Bataille and Michel Foucault), freedom is meaningless when it is qualified as 'freedom to do Good', the 'Good' being always predefined by external authority. As Mika Ojakangas has argued, to mean anything, freedom must also always be accepted as freedom to do or be 'evil', to pursue conquest or practise violence. In contrast to a liberal concept of freedom, Schmitt's freedom does not signify freedom of an individual but *freedom of man as a species*. Also in contrast to a liberal concept of freedom to do whatever one pleases without causing any troubles to another person, Schmitt's freedom signifies freedom to *cause troubles*, if the situation presupposes it. In a word, Schmitt's freedom signifies a possibility to *use violence*. For Schmitt, freedom is 'freedom of measuring and testing one's strength freely' (Ojakangas, 2004b: 9). Once again we

encounter the foundational role of the ontological presupposition of the possibility of conflict. The conceptual circle thus appears closed: sovereignty is a necessary guarantee of a freedom of any political community, both of the Self and the Other, and, since freedom always opens the possibility of conflict, any political community that strives for security must abide in its foreign policy practices by the logic of sovereignty. The fundamental presupposition of the logic of sovereignty is therefore a conception of the space of international politics as necessarily open and pluralistic, lacking any kind of legitimate universal authority and hence prone to conflict between particularistic political communities in the 'outside' space of anarchy.

'World unity' as the telos of integration

The logic that we have termed 'integrationism' may be argued to be foundational of the very discourse of IR theory and irreducible to the more specific and circumscribed domain of knowledge termed 'integration theory'.[53] Instead, the integrationist ideal dates back to the very formative moment of the discipline, i.e. the first 'Great Debate' of realism vs. idealism (Rengger, 2000; Walker, 1993, 2002). Moreover, it may be argued that at present it is precisely the diverse strands of cosmopolitan integrationism, from Habermas's conception of the 'post-national constellation' (2001) to Fukuyama's 'post-historical' universalisation of liberalism (1992), that constitute the mainstream of IR theory, rather than the realist approaches, whose function has shifted from the hegemonic delineation of the disciplinary problem-space to the periodic disruption of its overarching narrative (see Petito, 2004).

International integration has historically been advanced as a 'peace project', i.e. as a means to make obsolete the occurrence of wars between sovereign states through the creation of a common framework that, at the very minimum, creates conditions for a 'thin' international community, governed by the same rules, norms and principles, and, in more ambitious visions, may dispense with the logic of sovereignty altogether, paving the way for the emergence of 'world unity' that may take various forms, depending on the political orientation of the observer: a world government, a world community of citizens, a worldwide communist revolution, etc. From Karl Deutsch's classical argument for a 'pluralistic security community' (1978, 1993) to Alexander Wendt's contemporary teleological thesis on the inevitability of the 'world state' (2003), the logic of integration seeks to transcend conflict by creating a unified international community and establishing a corresponding structure of authority,

which would allow states to exit the condition of international anarchy, which is deemed to be inevitably conflictual.

The precise form and ideological substance of integration are less important than the relation that the telos of integration establishes to the principle of sovereignty. From this perspective, the technological paradigm of integration consists in the displacement of the ontopological ideal through the establishment of organisations, institutions and regimes, which, through the formation of joint rules, norms and principles and the enhancement of interdependence between states, replace the ontopological assumption of the ineradicability of conflict in the pluralistic international realm with a teleological assumption of a qualitatively 'ever-closer' and quantitatively 'ever-greater' cooperation, institutionalisation and unification, the ultimate limit being a united world order, in which sovereignty is no longer operative. The technology of integration thus seeks to dismantle the structure of pluralistic and potentially antagonistic state identities through the creation of a meta-identity of a 'world community', to which there should correspond a certain structure of global authority.

> In this time of globalisation and cosmopolitan thinking, international relations, legal and political theory seem, in one way or another, all to point to *the moral and political necessity of some sort of world political unification*: as a way to govern globalisation, to democratise international politics, to avoid conflicts and prevent massive violations of human rights, to prosecute crime against humanity. In a more specific way, the idea of World Unity works as a kind of *positive taken-for-granted utopia* in much of the normative discourses on international matters: the end-point, *perhaps unrealistic but still capable of orienting, for constructing a more just world order*. (Petito, 2004: 1)

The key aspect of the idealist/realist debate, echoed strongly in the current debates on integration and globalisation, is the question of whether international integration may at any of its stages ever dispense with the principle of sovereignty. In other words, while theoretically the process of integration may well eliminate interstate warfare simply by eliminating the very existence of *anything* interstate in the formation of a world government, does it thereby do anything that is not already presupposed in the logic of sovereignty, though in a different terminology, i.e. the conquest of all sovereign states by one?

Recalling Morgenthau's classical realism, we may suggest that the intellectual dominance of realism in IR studies from World War Two to

the end of the Cold War owes largely to the articulation of a conceptual logic that subsumed the integrationist ideal as a 'special case' under the paradigm of sovereignty (see Prozorov, 2000). For Morgenthau, sovereignty is absolute and therefore logically indivisible, which makes 'shared' or 'pooled' sovereignty a contradiction in terms. He is intensely critical of proposals to limit or share sovereignty with a higher agency to maintain peace. 'Dividing sovereignty is contrary to logic and politically unfeasible . . . If sovereignty means supreme authority, it stands to reason that two or more entities can not be sovereign within the same time and space' (Morgenthau, 1955: 303). Thus, the *conceptual logic of sovereignty is closed*: one is either sovereign or not, all intermediate states of affairs being proscribed by logic. Thus, in Morgenthau's argument, federalism, conventionally understood both domestically and internationally (e.g. in contemporary EU 'federalist' visions) as based on sharing sovereignty, is no more than a 'constitutional flattery' to the individual states that, once having been sovereign, are so no longer (ibid.: 306; cf. Haas, 1965). Thus, federal constituents are granted the right to use symbols and concepts that have meaning only in relation to sovereign states. Still, according to Morgenthau's conception of sovereignty, this is mere appearance, an illusion arising out of temporary peace. In times of trouble, the real sovereign will assert his authority, along the lines of Schmitt's famous definition of the sovereign as 'he who decides on the exception' (Schmitt, 1985a).

By the same token, in international politics the 'idealist illusion' of dividing sovereignty is for Morgenthau represented by the 'peace project' of integration, marked by the simultaneous desire to retain national sovereignty while surrendering part of it to the world agency to ensure peace: 'The political reality of the likelihood of self-destructive war confronts the political preference for the preservation of national sovereignty' (Morgenthau, 1955: 308). According to Morgenthau, the only logically acceptable modality of the project of integration is its ultimate telos of world unity. A state can either be sovereign among many sovereigns in a decentralised condition of anarchy, or it can be non-sovereign in the hierarchical scheme of a single sovereign, or, in Morgenthau's terms, a 'world state'. Escaping the harsh realities of international politics thus means transcending the international as such: 'What is needed is a radical transformation of the existing *international society* of sovereign nations into a *supranational community* of individuals' (ibid.). A world state is only possible if there exists a world community, in which human beings are politically present solely qua human beings, rather than citizens of individual states. Instead, what

exists at present is an international society of sovereign states, making the absence of a universal community follow logically. 'As long as there is a state, there is more than one state – and as long as there is more than one state, more than one political entity, nothing can escape the logic of the political' (Ojakangas, 2004a: 76).

The conceptual logic of sovereignty in the political ontology of classical realism is based on a dichotomy of centralised and decentralised power, in which the realm of centralised authority is manifested by the sovereign state. In this dichotomy sovereignty is an absolute and indivisible condition, there being no intermediate state of affairs between anarchy and hierarchy. The only alternative to anarchy in this logic is the transcendence of the international by the establishment of the world state, a goal which is presently unattainable due to the absence of a world community able to sustain this state. Yet, even if a world state were possible, it would merely substitute sovereignty of the many by the sovereignty of one, domesticating the international by introducing the new Leviathan of global proportions. Sovereignty turns out to be inescapable by virtue of conceptual logic, while the discourse of integration becomes either logically inconsistent or merely a special case within the wider discourse of sovereignty, a special case that is, moreover, admissible only as a teleological assumption, since the establishment of a world state in the foreseeable future appears completely unrealistic.

However, political realism, particularly the work of Carl Schmitt, also problematises the normative implications of the telos of world unity. Since for Schmitt the political is contained entirely in the friend–enemy distinction (Schmitt, 1976), which presupposes the political ontology of international pluralism, the effacement of this pluralism, were it ever possible, would result in a thoroughly depoliticised 'Babylonian unity' of passive nihilism and the global administration of people and things. World unity is therefore thinkable only in terms of moral degradation or global autocracy. 'It is possible to conceive of the political unity of humanity through the victory of one industrial power over the other . . . *This would be a planetary appropriation of industry* . . . The day world politics comes to the earth, it will be transformed in a *world police power*' (Schmitt cited in Petito, 2004: 6).

> Were a world state to embrace the entire world and humanity, then it would be no political entity and could only be loosely called a state . . . *The acute question to pose is upon whom will fall the frightening power implied in a world-embracing economic and technical organisation.* (Schmitt, 1976: 57)

For Schmitt, the ultimately horrifying consequence of world unity would be the elimination of all pluralism and, hence, the impossibility of difference, otherness and, in concretely spatial terms, the outside. A unified world is a world which it is impossible to leave, in any other manner than by discontinuing one's own existence. 'Freedom is freedom of movement, nothing else. *What would be terrifying is a world, in which there no longer existed an exterior but only a homeland*, no longer space for measuring and testing one's strength freely' (Schmitt cited in Ojakangas, 2004b: 6).

Pluralistic antagonism between states in an international society is, for Schmitt, infinitely more preferable to the 'technological indifference of one-dimensional world domination' (Ojakangas, 2004a: 80), which mindlessly pushes for ever-greater integration, oblivious to the fact that world unity can serve the most obscene of purposes: after all, 'the Kingdom of Satan is also a unity'.[54] In contrast to Morgenthau, who is content with a logical argument for the impossibility of a world state, Schmitt thinks this possibility through to the logical conclusion and remains appalled by it. 'The police controlling the centralised world order are not civil servants of the state, because *an organisation whose sovereignty encompasses the whole humankind cannot be called a state*. The idea of a world state contains an insuperable conceptual contradiction. The sovereignty of the state is a relational concept, which expresses its essence only in relation to other sovereign states. *The world state can be realised merely as an economic-technical organisation*' (Ojakangas, 2004a: 80). Despite the idiosyncratic pathos of Schmitt's premonition, the conceptual logic in his work is similar to Morgenthau: the desire to dispense with sovereignty in a peace project of integration is either incoherent or outright monstrous in its consequences.

Integration and the conceptual logic of sovereignty in IR theory

The same conceptual logic is at work both in Waltzian neorealism and in the 'international society' approach of the English School. Waltz's definition of the structure of the international system reproduces, with renewed scientific rigour, Morgenthau's dichotomous logic of sovereignty. The systemic structure is either anarchic or hierarchic, while its units are either similar or different. The hierarchic structure with differentiated units constitutes the realm of domestic politics, while the anarchic structure with, by necessity, like units, constitutes the realm of international politics. The range of possibilities is closed and limited to two. Sovereignty is thus a necessary feature of any anarchic realm, and if anarchy is a postulated premise, sovereignty is also an attribute that is

unchanging and fixed for units in an anarchic realm. As an adjunct of anarchy, sovereignty is inescapable by definition and pertains to any anarchical system, hence Waltz's repeated recourse to the 'millennia of history' to illustrate patterns of recurrence. Change is not completely disallowed, however, as in Waltz's terms, 'systems are either maintained or transformed. Transformation concerns distribution of capabilities . . . Another alternative is world hegemony, one of history's grandiose projects' (Waltz, 1979: 208). Thus, sovereignty of many states is almost inescapable, but, if it does change in a 'grandiose project of history', it is not transcended but merely transferred to the level of a world state, which Waltz does not even bother to consider in a normative register but simply dismisses as a fantasy (ibid.: 93–6).

The approach of the English School of IR is conventionally conceived as more appreciative of integrationist scenarios. However, it ought to be noted that this orientation operates with a crucial dualism between the *international* society of states, constituted by the principle of sovereignty, and the *world* society, grounded in the integrationist ideal (see James, 1986, 1999; Jackson, 1990, 1999a, 1999b). According to Robert Jackson, the logic of sovereignty frames the conduct of world politics in a way which he terms *Societas*: a practical framework of political organisation that accommodates a plurality of different authorities and is not governed by a commanding agent or purpose. *Societas* is based on the value of coexistence of states, possessing freedom to do whatever they wish, provided that they observe international law (Jackson, 1999b: 436). The opposite framework of political organisation, exemplified, for example, by medieval Christendom, is *Universitas*, a purposive framework defined as a 'human association that has a commanding authority and an overriding purpose, which is the standard against which all conduct is judged' (ibid.).

Similarly to Morgenthau's distinction between anarchy and the world state, the range of political alternatives in the approach of the English School is thus constrained by the dichotomy of a *Societas* of states and a *Universitas* of *a* state, which excludes the possibility of other forms of political organisation. More precisely, this conceptual logic does not reject the possibility of intermediate stages of integration but only insofar as they are teleologically linked to the final stage of the purposive framework of *Universitas*, a concept that appears to be a more abstract version of the 'world state'. In the words of another representative of the 'international society' approach, Alan James, 'were the world still to be based on the idea of the state, the *only alternative to a system of states is one alone*' (James, 1999: 470).

We may observe the operation of the same logic in the studies of European integration in the dualism between (liberal) intergovernmentalism and supranationalism or federalism as two models of integration.[55] Intergovernmentalism may be read as a version of the international society approach which emphasises the persistence of sovereignty within the European Union, which renders it simply a more ambitious and powerful international organisation, a phenomenon that does require the labour of analysis but definitely does *not* challenge the principle of sovereignty. In contrast, supranationalist or federalist approaches emphasise the increasingly state-like features of the EU in internal and external relations, which requires reconceptualising it in terms of a loose federation, a super-state, which once again is a gesture of little consequence to the theorisation of international relations from the perspective of the centrality of sovereignty. The proper challenge of integrationism to the logic of sovereignty would thus consist in the elucidation of the institutional form that would embody the telos of 'world unity' without being equivalent to a sovereign state in its structure.

Attempts to theorise the project of European Union as a challenge to sovereignty or even to modern statehood as such are particularly characteristic of the constructivist orientations, which, as we recall, were first among contemporary IR theories to downgrade sovereignty to the level of a social practice among others. Two different solutions to the problem of transcending sovereignty have been advanced by two major types of constructivism in IR theory: the institutionalist constructivism of Alexander Wendt and the historical constructivism of John Ruggie. Wendt's early writings sought to transcend the conceptual logic of sovereignty by recasting international anarchy, the fundamental infrastructure of international politics in realist approaches, as itself a social construct; anarchy, according to Wendt's (1992) famous phrase, is 'what states make of it': 'Sovereignty is about the social terms of individuality, *not individuality per se*, and in that sense it is *a historically contingent social identity* rather than an inherent quality of stateness' (Wendt and Friedheim, 1996: 256).

In contrast to realism (as well as post-structuralism, which theorises sovereignty as a constitutive practice ontologically prior to the state), Wendt's approach posits the possibility of transcendence of the logic of sovereignty in cooperative and integrative practices of states. In his framework this is to be accomplished via two types of processes: *interdependence*, understood as the increase in the volume and density of interaction as well as the strengthening of the perception of mutual vulnerability to global threats, and *transnational convergence of domestic*

values, both political (i.e. the spread of liberal democracy) and economic (i.e. the spread of consumerism). These processes replicate the conventional logic of integration, whereby the convergence of interests through enhanced interdependence and of values through increased communication would entail the uncoupling of the ontopological link between political subjectivity and territorial location.

According to Wendt, such practices may lead to the replacement of the egoistic 'self' of the ontopologically constituted sovereign state with the collective identity of the international community. Cooperative interaction leads to the homogenisation of policies and domestic identities, which makes the sovereign state give way to the 'international state' defined as 'a transnational structure of authority without a single head'.[56] Post-sovereign states are therefore entirely possible and for Wendt exemplified by the EU member-states, whose deployment of the logic of integration deprives them of their sovereign identities but retains what Wendt terms 'corporate identities', i.e. basic features of statehood that precede interaction in the international system. The concept of corporate identity has drawn considerable criticism as resting on a problematic presupposition of the existence of a state outside the context of a states-system, which is indeed constituted by sovereignty (see Weldes, 1996; Kratochwil, 2002). While both realism and post-structuralism view sovereignty as a foundational practice, installing the very distinction between the inside and the outside, the domestic and the international, Wendt's argument paradoxically presupposes the existence of an inside prior to the outside, a primordial unity without an exterior. Yet, leaving aside the concerns of theoretical consistency, the concept of 'international state' offers a powerful insight into the potential effects of the logic of integration: by their subjection to powerful global processes of homogenisation states may retain their numerical *individuality* while being deprived of all politically relevant *difference*, which entails that the state would cease to be a political actor and would rather become a unit in the system of administration, whose political agency lies elsewhere.

A similar logic is at work in the historical constructivist approach of John Ruggie (1998), who, unlike Wendt, focuses not on the contemporary institutional interaction between states but on the grand historical transformation in the spatial order of politics. Remedying Waltz's flaw of omitting the level of *differentiation* from the definition of the structure of the international system, Ruggie introduces two modes of spatial-political differentiation, which exemplify the difference between the medieval and the modern systems: *heteronomy* (a segmental framework

without a connotation of territorial exclusivity, typical of the medieval era) and *homonomy* (a modern world of distinct, disjointed and mutually exclusive territorial formations) (ibid.: 180).

According to Ruggie, current challenges to the homonomous or 'single-perspectival' political ideal are associated with the process of 'unbundling territoriality' (ibid.: 191), the proliferation of *fictitious spaces of extraterritoriality*, which initially appeared for functional purposes of diplomacy but are gradually expanding by virtue of integrative practices of states that give rise to international organisations, institutions and regimes. Politically, this process is anticipated to result in the emergence of a multiperspectival polity, one of the prototypes of which is the European Union: 'It is hard to visualise the conduct of international and even domestic relations as though it took place from the starting point of 15 separate, single, fixed viewpoints' (ibid.: 195). Instead a complex multiple-point perspective is emerging, leading to a strengthened collective identity, a key feature of Wendt's 'internationalisation of the state'. The homonomous episteme of modern international politics is thereby giving way to the resurgence of heteronomous politics, which may be termed 'postmodern' or, perhaps more precisely, 'neomedieval'.

The common feature of Ruggie's and Wendt's approaches is their attempt to break out of the conceptual logic of sovereignty and the 'one vs. many sovereignties' dilemma that it generates, by theorising what appear to be intermediate effects of integration as its final outcomes and, interestingly for our purposes, using the contemporary EU as the example of a post-sovereign integrated polity. And yet, one may argue that both approaches do not successfully efface the logic of sovereignty, which continues to haunt the ideal of a post-sovereign polity.

In the case of Ruggie's approach, it is the very logic of the grand shift from homonomy to heteronomy (a return to a quasi-medieval political logic) that suggests the unwitting presence of the telos of world unity. Just as the homonomous sovereign states-system is universal in the sense of being operative in all the states that are recognised as legitimate actors in the system, so the heteronomous medieval system definitely possessed a certain universality, concretely exemplified by such institutions as the Holy See and the Holy Roman Empire. Although Ruggie takes particular care to note that his notion of postmodern multiperspectivalism does not necessarily suggest the disappearance of states and the emergence of a world government, the new heteronomous system must logically be universal in order to be operative, and, since universality at present may no longer be confined to Western states, the new system must be in the strictest sense *global*. Postmodern heteronomy

is thus only thinkable in terms of 'world unity', if only because any other solution would simply concern the internal restructuration of government within a certain super-state. Indeed, one may easily imagine an internally heteronomous EU functioning within a continuingly homonomous system of sovereign states, but this internal heteronomy would be of little consequence for the structure of the international system, just as the formation of the USSR by the independent socialist republics in 1922 or the subsequent establishment of the Warsaw Pact did not make the international system any more communist. In short, to have any systemic significance the logic of integration must be both thought and practised globally, which is well reflected in Ruggie's calls to reshape the field of IR in terms of 'planetary politics', a proper name indeed for the logic animated by the telos of world unity.

In the case of Wendt's approach, the comeback of the logic of sovereignty is immediately evident in the title of his 2003 article 'Why a World State is Inevitable'. The title succinctly sums up the presuppositions of the logic of integration: world statehood as the ultimate effect of integrative processes and the necessary recourse to teleological assumptions. The article is indeed a landmark event in IR theory since it accepts, with a vengeance, the conceptual logic that the critics of integration since Morgenthau have deployed against their opponents.[57] With the argument for world statehood, that resonates strongly with the Wilsonian ideal of international relations, being advanced by one of the most influential contemporary IR theorists, one may well speak of a full-scale resurgence of the paradigm of interwar idealism in contemporary IR. Not only is the formerly ridiculed ideal of the 'world state' resurrected as a conceptual possibility, a feasible alternative to a system organised around the logic of sovereignty, but its emergence is deemed teleologically *inevitable*. 'With the transfer of state sovereignty to the global level individual recognition will no longer be mediated by state boundaries… The system will have become itself an "individual"' (Wendt, 2003: 525).

International states that Wendt formerly viewed as final effects of integration in their own right are now recast as intermediate stages in the teleology of world unification. 'In my view, these would be only *transitional structures*, and the political development of the system will not end until the subjectivity of all individuals and groups is recognised and protected by a *global Weberian state*' (ibid.: 506). The teleological process of integration moves from the stage of a system of sovereign states through the stages of an international society of states, a universal security community, a collective security system to the final endpoint of the world state, as an ever-thicker collective identity is developed due

to the perception of the increasing destructiveness of interstate warfare and the ever-growing 'struggle for recognition' both within and between states. The diagnosis of the critics of the integrationist paradigms from the earliest stages of the development of the IR discipline may only be confirmed: the logic of integration is teleologically driven to embrace the entire world in the project of transcending the pluralistic system of sovereign statehood.

To conclude the brief discussion of the discourse of integration in IR theory let us summarise the logic of integration as an attempt to displace the ontopological ideal of sovereignty through the establishment of international linkages, organisations, regimes, institutions and other structures of interaction and cooperation, which are expected to make obsolete the ontological presupposition of the possibility of conflict in international politics. In more philosophical terms, the logic of integration is marked by a persistent attempt at the erasure of all dividing lines between individuals and political communities and thus the merger of the Self and the Other in the final reign of benign universality, in which there is no longer a place (*literally* as well as figuratively) for the exclusion of the Other, simply because there is no longer any otherness in the system, which operates with the all-inclusive category of humanity. This technology of the effacement of otherness by fostering interaction, cooperation and interdependence may generate a myriad of integrative arrangements between sovereign states, yet its capacity for a qualitative transformation of the international system is only thinkable on the basis of the teleology of world unity, which would be concretely exemplified by the emergence of a world state or a comparable global structure of authority. The conceptual logic of sovereignty, according to which there can only be a choice between a system of many sovereignties and the sovereignty of a single world hegemon, therefore continues to operate within the logic of integration. Yet the question remains whether a 'world state' is possible at all, and, if it is possible, whether it would bear any resemblance to the sovereign state as we know it or would rather resemble Schmitt's nightmarish vision of a global technological administration of people and things or a similarly disquieting figure of the global Empire, developed by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000, 2004).

In the case of EU–Russian relations, the integrationist logic would at the very minimum entail a more inclusive and open arrangement of the political space that emphasises joint or 'external security'. The EU–Russian border would then cease to be the designator of the dangerous space of 'the outside', a source of 'hard' or 'soft' security threats, and

instead become the zone of cross-border cooperation that may in turn generate the emergence of transnational institutions in the spheres of security, economic or environmental cooperation and, finally, politics and government. Although the integrationist logic may be said to be constitutive of the project of the European Union as such, its operation in the relations of the EU with its neighbourhood in the 'wider Europe' may be disputed. As we have discussed in the previous chapters, the EU policy on Russia combines the ethos of integration with manifestly exclusionary measures in various spheres, thereby problematising its own integrative initiatives.

In the Russian case, the integrative logic is operative in the programme of socio-economic integration with the EU, most evidently the initiative of four Common Spaces in the spheres of the economy, justice and home affairs, external security, research and education, proposed by Russia at the May 2003 EU–Russia summit in St Petersburg and concretised in the four 'road map' agreements concluded during the May 2005 summit in Moscow. Indeed, the very term 'common space' is a perfect designator of the logic of integration: isn't the creation of common, i.e. cross-border or transnational, spaces the very essence of a foreign policy strategy of transcending sovereignty, which is precisely about appropriating and delimiting one's *own* space and excluding *others* from it? This notion also illustrates the dilemma of the integrationist approach that we shall address in detail in the following chapters: in order to be more than a creation of a super-state out of a multitude of individual states (and thus a phenomenon fully compatible with the logic of sovereignty), the project of 'common spaces' must logically never cease to envelop new territories, hence the persistence of the narrative of 'ever-greater' and 'ever-closer' integration. The constitutive feature of the very paradigm of integration is that to be thinkable at all, it must be thought as, in the strict sense, *limitless*.

And yet, while the world state or any other form of world unity is not yet with us, the foreign policy of any state must be conceived as guided simultaneously by two structural determinants, the logics of both sovereignty and integration being always already present as paradigms to be deployed in EU–Russian encounters. At the same time, either of the two paradigms may function as the dominant one in concrete practices of interactions between the two parties. Therefore, in order to account for the emergence of conflictual dispositions in EU–Russian relations, we need to supplement the argument of the confluence of sovereignty and integration as structural policy determinants with the introduction of *interactional determinants*. In other words, since both Russia and the EU deploy both sovereign and

integrationist policy logics in their interactions, it is the *interface* of these logics, rather than the inherent features of the logics themselves, that generates both conflictual and cooperative outcomes.

Interactional determinants in EU–Russian encounters

Equivalence and dissent in the interface of policy logics

The interactional aspect of the interface relates to how the logics, opted for in the foreign policies of Russia and the EU, relate to each other in actual EU–Russian encounters. Given that either of the two logics may predominate in the position of either party in the concrete case, it would be too facile to claim that Russia and the EU encounter each other with a certain synthesis of incommensurable policy paradigms. Instead, we must focus on the concrete patterns of interface of the two logics both *within* a position of either party and *between* the positions of the two actors. Michael Shapiro has conceptualised the dialectic of modern politics as the interaction of the impulses of sovereignty and exchange, oriented towards each other in different ways throughout history. The opposition of sovereignty and exchange is 'oriented around selfhood and location' (Shapiro, 1991: 448). Sovereignty is conceptualised as a practice emphasising maintenance of authority and control over a delimited domain, in which political identity is articulated and contained, while exchange corresponds to our concept of integration, being defined as a disposition that encourages interaction, reciprocity and the expansion of domains of circulation, in which identities may interact, penetrate and merge with each other:

> The sovereignty impulse tends towards drawing firm boundaries around the self, unambiguously specifying boundaries, specifying individual and collective identities, privileging and rationalising aspects of homogeneous subjectivity that is eligible for memberships and recognition. Exchange impulses encourage flows and thus the relaxation of specifications of eligible subjectivities and territorial boundaries. (ibid.: 448)

Shapiro's historical study demonstrates how the relationship of sovereignty and exchange has been more than a direct opposition. 'We must question the purity of each impulse. Insofar as a process is represented as pure exchange, its sovereignty dimension – the roles played by the identities of the exchanging subjects and the domains within which the

transactions occur – have been naturalised or repressed' (ibid.: 464). Conversely, the reinforcement of an institution's sovereignty claim is 'done by repressing the various exchanges through which its institutional identity was forged' (ibid.: 465). What we need to establish in our analysis of EU–Russian interfaces in the following chapters are the actual patterns of the interaction of sovereign and integrationist 'impulses'; the clashes, repressions and disavowals that make up the fabric of EU–Russian conflicts.

We have already advanced a conceptual argument for the fundamental interdependence of the logics of sovereignty and integration within a foreign policy strategy of a single actor. At this stage, we are interested in the ways in which the two logics converge or diverge in the processes of interaction between the two parties. Logically, both Russia and the EU may deploy policies characterised by the predominance of either logic towards each other, and the move of one party may be 'matched' by the other or 'misfire' and be ignored or rejected in the deployment of a different logic by the other party. As a result of these two logical possibilities, we have a matrix of four possible avenues of the EU–Russian interface: the two parties may opt for either sovereign or integrationist 'moves' and these in turn may be received by moves of 'equivalence' or 'dissent' by the other party.

Moves of equivalence refer to the convergence of policy logics, i.e. they indicate a match, or a compatibility between Russia's and the EU's subject positions. As we shall see in more detail below, a situation of equivalence need not designate a necessarily cooperative outcome, but merely the absence of incompatibility of subject positions. At least theoretically, a situation of equivalence of sovereign logics may take place in the case of interstate war, yet only if this war is *mutually* perceived as a 'just war' and the enemy as a 'just enemy' (*justus hostis*). Such a situation is described by Carl Schmitt as characteristic of the system of the *Jus Publicum Europeaum*, constituted by the mutual recognition of the principle of sovereignty among European states and the consequent 'bracketing of war', the reduction of its violence and intensity due to the absence of the possibility for either party to appropriate for its own actions the title of 'just war' and thereby criminalise the enemy, depriving it of equal status (see Schmitt 2003; Ojakangas 2004a: chapter 6). Of course, according to Schmitt, this era of bracketed war and 'legitimate enmity' came to an end in the early twentieth century, which perhaps permits its contemporary idealisation in Schmittian realist theories to the effect that it appears puzzling why wars were fought at all if enmity was so amicable.

Yet what is important for our purposes is the possibility for the pattern of equivalence between the subject positions of the two parties to exist in relatively violent contexts, just as long as both parties in these contexts recognise the legitimacy of each other's positions and make no attempt to impose their own position on the other.[58] This caveat is necessary in order to distinguish the concept of equivalence from purely non-conflictual policy outcomes or the absence of violence. Insofar as we accept the possibility of a conflict that takes place in a purely symmetric setting, between two parties that recognise each other as equal and legitimate opponents and deploy identical policy logics in relation to each other, such a conflict, resembling the situation of a well-regulated duel, may well take place under conditions of equivalence, though such conflicts would admittedly be very rare in principle and non-existent in the case of EU–Russian relations. Moreover, as we shall discuss in Chapter 6, restructuring the conflict discourse along the pattern of equivalence may in fact be a mechanism of conflict management and a stage in conflict resolution that restores the compatibility of the subject-positions of the two parties and thus creates conditions for more effective conflict communication.

In contrast, the situation of mismatch between the logics, deployed by the two parties, is inherently conflict-generating by definition, since the subject positions of the two parties are clearly incompatible, which produces a situation of dissent on the part of one or both parties. The two possible outcomes of a situation of dissent correspond to the narratives of exclusion and self-exclusion, which we have analysed above. The mismatch between the integrationist logic of one party and the sovereign logic of the other creates a perception of exclusion of the former by the latter, as the initiatives of that party for the creation of common spaces, joint regimes or institutions are met with rejection, scorn or indifference. Conversely, when the sovereign policy orientation of one party confronts the integrationist ambitions of the other, the former deploys a stance of self-exclusion, entrenchment or resistance in the desire to defend its sovereignty and prevent its *onto-topos* of political community from being enfolded in the 'common space' of the other.

Of course, these asymmetric outcomes of interaction are mirror images of each other. The exclusion of one party is equivalent to the self-exclusion of the other, as, for example, in the case of the EU's self-exclusion from the project of integrating Russia into the Schengen regime of the free movement of people. The self-exclusion of a party is similarly equivalent to the exclusion of the other, as, for example, in the case of Russia seeking to exclude the EU from interfering in Russia's

conduct of its anti-terrorist operation in Chechnya. The key characteristic of the pattern of dissent is the immediate establishment of the infrastructure of conflict, which then develops along the model of a relay between issue and identity conflicts that we have outlined above. As the subject positions of the parties in question are incompatible, the potential for conflict escalation exists from the outset: the dissenting parties do not recognise each other's positions as legitimate, rational or ethical and therefore do not perceive their own actions, which may obstruct or jeopardise these positions, as in any way hostile, unjustified or malevolent. In this manner, communication of grievances may well take place but produces no effect, simply because the other party fails to perceive the grievance in question as legitimate.

In the more abstract sense, the party that is a 'plaintiff' in conflict communication is thus deprived by the other party of an enunciative modality in its own discourse, a situation that is captured by Lyotard's notion of the *différend* (see Lyotard, 1989). The notion of the *différend* refers to the irreducible remainder, involved in the attempt to render the terms of one discourse within another, which entails that every 'inclusion' within a discursive field is always conditioned by a foundational exclusion of that which in the terms of the system in question cannot be enunciated. The exclusion of the *différend* divests the subject of the very enunciative modality, within which a grievance may be expressed. In judicial terms, it is as if a plaintiff is divested of the means to argue his case and becomes for that reason an *a priori victim*. The mutual exclusion of the respective *différends* by the two parties is the primary reason for the intensification of the conflict beyond the discursive dimension and the recourse to violence. Every episodic instance of a mismatch between the policy logics of the two parties therefore harbours within it the potential of developing into an identity conflict. This argument permits us to understand why the transformation of a conflict discourse towards a situation of greater equivalence may be viewed as a stage of conflict resolution, irrespective of the policy logics at work in this equivalence: any enhancement of the compatibility between the subject positions of the two parties minimises the exclusion of the *différend* and thus removes structural obstacles to more effective conflict communication.

The strategic game of EU–Russian relations: an interpretative model

The combination of structural and interactional determinants permits us to describe the concrete policy encounters between Russia and the EU in the framework of a 'strategic game', in which both the logics of

sovereignty and integration are deployed by both parties and are matched or mismatched in various ways. We may schematically present the four possible patterns of the EU–Russian policy interface as in Table 4.1.

This theoretical model is applicable for the analysis of *any* international conflict from the perspective of the opposition between the logics of sovereignty and integration, as it exhausts all the logically possible policy outcomes in the interaction of the two parties. In the following chapters we shall address the resulting four avenues of interface with examples from actual EU–Russian policy encounters. At this stage, let us briefly describe the formal structure of each pattern.

The pattern of *mutual delimitation* is constituted by the occurrence of *equivalence* of the *sovereign* logics deployed by both parties. This pattern corresponds to the conventional understanding of foreign policies that constitute the international society of sovereign states, in which integrative policies remain limited and do not in any way challenge the ontopological mode of the constitution of the political community. Due to the existence of interparadigmatic equivalence, all the parties involved in the interaction appropriate and delimit their own sovereign political spaces and agree on the legitimacy of the corollary appropriation and delimitation by the other party. This mutual recognition is constitutive of the international society, as it grounds all subsequent rules and norms that 'mutually delimited' sovereign states might establish in their intersubjective interaction. Any episodic or issue conflict that takes place in this pattern is not likely to ascend to the level of identity conflict or erupt into a 'war of annihilation', precisely because any political difference or disaccord between the parties in this situation takes place on the basis of the underlying identity of their subject positions as, necessarily, *sovereign equals*.

The equivalence of integrationist logics results in the construction of 'common spaces', which may take many forms, from a modest institutionalisation of cross-border cooperation to the ultimate teleological

Table 4.1 An interpretative model of conflict emergence

Deployed Logic	*Response by Other Party*	
	Equivalence	*Dissent*
Sovereign Logic	Mutual Delimitation	Exclusion
Integrationist Logic	Common Spaces	Self-Exclusion

limit of world unification. In this scenario the respective parties abandon the ontopological mode of the constitution of their political communities and embark on the project of constructing new forms of community in the 'common spaces' in various spheres. As we discussed above, however, these common spaces necessarily remain bounded, exclusive and hence sovereign polities, insofar as they do not acquire a global dimension. Thus, rather than speak of the effacement of the sovereign logic in the pattern of transnational integration, we ought rather to speak of its displacement to the outside boundary of the new integrated unity, whereby the logic of sovereignty ceases to operate *between* the parties to an integrative process but continues to define the existence of the resulting unity in the wider context.

The dissensual reception of the sovereign logic of one party by the other produces a situation of the 'exclusion' of the latter. As the exclusionary policies of one party encounter the integrationist ambitions of the other, communication of disaccord becomes complicated by the exclusion of the *différend*, which intensifies the conflictual disposition. The excluded party may perceive the other's failure to respond in kind to its integrative initiatives as an indication of its being cast as a 'threat', while the excluding party may consider illegitimate or outright hostile any attempt to uncouple its own ontopological unity by opening it up to the integrative project of a 'common space' with the Other.

Conversely, the dissensual reception of the integrative logic of one party by the other generates practices of self-exclusion, whereby one attempts to evade unwelcome intrusion into one's bounded space and one's incorporation into the 'common space' of the Other. Communication is similarly jeopardised by the exclusion of the *différend*, whereby the integrative logic of the other is recast in purely negative terms of the 'assault on sovereignty' and the project of a 'common space' is rendered equivalent to intrusion or occupation.

We have now completed the task of formally outlining the theoretical model of conflict emergence as a synthesis of structural and interactional interpretations. The following two chapters apply this model to EU–Russian relations in a detailed analysis of the four avenues of the EU–Russian interface. Besides the empirical objective of demonstrating the operation of these four patterns in contemporary EU–Russian interactions, the analysis will also attempt a theoretical task of a further elucidation of the relation between the paradigms of sovereignty and integration. While the theoretical arguments of this chapter have been restricted to the reconstruction of the basic presuppositions of both paradigms in their articulation in the discourse of IR theory, the

following chapters will develop new theoretical arguments on the dynamic relation between sovereignty and integration on the basis of concrete empirical analyses. We ought to note that since our model is logically exhaustive of all possible permutations, its outcomes also include those that in the concrete case of EU–Russian relations presently remain hypothetical possibilities, i.e. equivalent, non-conflictual interfaces. In this case, we shall attempt to elucidate the conditions necessary for such scenarios to materialise. Chapter 5 is devoted to the analysis of two 'dissensual' patterns of the EU–Russian interface, which correspond to the problematics of exclusion and self-exclusion. As our analysis in Chapters 2 and 3 has demonstrated, it is these two patterns that presently form the actual substance of EU–Russian relations. Chapter 6 focuses on equivalent EU–Russian interfaces, which at present remain rare and exceptional in the overall dissensual context of EU–Russian interaction. The main task at this stage is to account for this exceptionality and rarity and to elucidate the conditions of possibility for the production of stable non-conflictual outcomes in the situation of equivalence of both sovereign and integrationist logics. We shall argue that the equivalent interface of integrationist logics remains an empirically unlikely and a conceptually unstable mode of conflict management. In contrast, the pattern of mutual delimitation, despite the lack of its explicit deployment in the policy discourses of both Russia and the EU, produces stable and non-conflictual outcomes. In the conclusion, we shall address the question of why it is sovereign rather than integrationist equivalences that form a pathway to the resolution of conflicts in EU–Russian relations.

5

Dissensual Interfaces: Interactional Asymmetries and EU–Russian Conflicts

European exclusion of Russia: the problem of visa and passport regimes

European limits on Russian integrationist designs

Let us begin our analysis of the dissensual mode of the EU–Russian interface with the pattern of exclusion of Russia in the EU's administrative and technical practices. As Chapter 2 has demonstrated, the problematic of the Schengen regime is a perfect illustration of the exclusionary outcome of the EU–Russian interface, whereby Russia's repeated initiatives to relax and ultimately abolish the visa regime between Russia and the EU (or, alternatively, the members of the Schengen Agreement) have either been received sceptically by the EU or made dependent on a multitude of conditions, which necessarily postpone the decision indefinitely. In August 2002 President Putin launched a proposal for the reciprocal abolition of visa regimes between Russia and the EU as a blanket resolution of the specific problem of Kaliningrad oblast' after the EU enlargement (*Newsru Editorial*, 2002) This proposal was supported across the entire Russian political spectrum, including the opposition parties. According to Grigory Yavlinsky, the leader of the left-liberal opposition party Yabloko, 'Russians are Europeans too', hence any restriction of their right to travel freely in Europe is an unwarranted exclusionary gesture, which jeopardises the entire policy course of intensifying EU–Russian cooperation (Yavlinsky, 2003). However, by 2005 there have been very few practical developments towards the goal of introducing visa-free travel. Instead of a concrete 'road map', proposed by Russia, which would indicate clear timelines for progressive steps in this direction, the 2004 *Joint Statement* of the two parties on the occasion of the EU enlargement clearly relegates the issue to the status

of a long-term prospect, despite the rhetoric which clearly points to the priority nature of the visa issue.

> The EU and Russia reaffirm their commitment to ensure that EU enlargement will bring the EU and Russia closer together in *a Europe without dividing lines*, inter alia by creating a common space of freedom, security and justice. The EU and Russia underline the importance of people-to-people contacts in promoting mutual understanding between our citizens . . . We confirm our intention to facilitate visa issuance for Russian and EU citizens on a reciprocal basis and plan to launch negotiations in 2004 with a view to concluding an agreement. We will continue to *examine the conditions for visa-free travel as a long-term perspective*. (*Joint Statement on EU Enlargement and EU–Russia Relations*)

The integrative nature of the Russian proposals for visa-free travel appears to be self-evident. Russia's proposals for a *mutual* abolition of visas are a perfect illustration of the attempt at a construction of a common space of the free movement of people.[59] The very notion of the free movement of people across the boundaries of sovereign states displaces the ontopological ideal of sovereignty, with its distinction between the 'inside' of freedom, security and identity and the 'outside' of difference, danger and enmity. The common space of free movement, of the kind that already exists in the EU (not merely the Schengen area) for EU residents, is the best example of the process that Ruggie (1998) refers to as 'unbundling territoriality' through uncoupling the linkage between territory and identity that is constitutive of sovereignty. This, of course, is not to say that a simple abolition of visa regimes would immediately effect the transcendence of sovereign statehood and the advent of world unity, but merely to suggest that inside the visa-free domains the logic of sovereignty is weakened or suspended in its function of constitution and maintenance of the political community. A space of free movement across sovereign borders dismantles the strict self/other coordinates presupposed by ontopology, and opens the political community to the continuous presence and circulation of Otherness. If the ontopological ideal is defined in terms of 'identity-in-location', the space of free movement may be approached in terms of 'identity-in-circulation'. At the same time, unless this common space of free movement is truly global, it remains a bounded space and hence a space delimited by the logic of sovereignty. The already-existing European common space of free movement is thus limited by the borders of the

sovereign member-states of the EU and its extension to Russia can only be achieved by virtue of a similar delimitation.

This paradox of integration is well illustrated by the problems Russia presently faces in its approaches to the EU regarding visa-free travel. Since the early 1990s Russia has had visa-free arrangements with most of the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and has thus already been a part of a 'common space' of free movement. According to the EU's preconditions for the beginning of negotiations about EU–Russian visa-free arrangements, discussed earlier, Russia must relinquish all visa-free arrangements of its own and establish border and visa regimes with all third parties that correspond to Schengen requirements. *The formation of one common space is therefore conditioned by the elimination of the other*. A visa-free regime must invariably be *supplemented* by its opposite in order to take effect. What is at stake is not whether the EU's security concerns about Russia's southern and eastern borders are legitimate or not, but rather that even in the best-case scenario for Russia, if its proposals were met with a gesture of equivalence by the EU, the common space of free movement would still remain bounded. The logic of integration, whose paradigm we have defined as necessarily limitless, turns out to have a clear territorial limit, even if Russia is ever included in the common visa-free space. This example illustrates most starkly the confluence of sovereignty and integration: every act of inclusion is simultaneously the act of redrawing or extending the line of exclusion elsewhere, unless inclusion is universalised to embrace the entire global political space. Yet, as we have argued with regard to the 'world state', even in this case exclusion would not be entirely absent, but simply transferred to the systemic level, whereby what is excluded is the existence of the space of the Outside as such.

Let us now address other limits that are established by the EU in the face of Russia's integrationist initiatives. In Chapter 3, we discussed three groups of conditions set by EU officials: the conclusion of the readmission treaty with the EU; the thoroughgoing reform of the passport system; and the wide-ranging changes in the management of Russia's southern borders. While the question of the readmission treaty belongs to the sphere of properly international relations between sovereign states that are subjects to a treaty, the insistence on the installation of the visa regime between Russia and its southern CIS neighbours, and particularly the demand for the reform of the passport system, are clearly expressions of the logic of sovereignty on the part of the EU. The condition for being integrated into the European common space of free movement is

the adoption by Russia of *domestic* governmental and administrative practices that are operating within the EU or that the EU considers to be beneficial for Russia. In a previous study we have demonstrated the ways in which the EU appropriates for itself a discursive monopoly on the definition of 'best practices' and 'good governance' to the effect that Russian counterparts in technical assistance and policy advice projects, for example, have virtually no possibility of challenging these policies on any grounds other than the dubious argument of 'local inapplicability' (see Prozorov, 2004b: chapter 2). In the same manner, the call to adopt 'European standards' in the passport system and border management carries an air of self-evidence and a priori merit, so that resistance to the proposed reforms is instantly incapacitated.

Of course, the inclusion that would be achieved in this manner would be manifestly hierarchical, conditioned by the adoption by one party of the rules and norms that operate domestically within another. Since Russia is presently offering a *reciprocal* abolition of visa requirements for EU citizens without any additional demands on the EU, the very setting in which negotiations may eventually be held and solutions devised appears asymmetric from the outset, with the EU's position making integration conditional upon the enfolding of Russia within the domain of the EU's sovereign domestic practices. Another clear limit to the integrationist logic is therefore the sovereignty that the EU exercises over Russian domestic politics through its policy of conditionality. We may call this the *interventionist* limit to integration, whereby the reception of integrationist initiatives is conditioned by the deployment of the asymmetric setting, in which one's entry into the common space is conditioned by the subjection of the 'integrated' party to the domestic rules and norms of the 'integrating' one. Once again we encounter the conceptual logic of sovereignty, according to which there can be no *dissolution* of statist practices, but only their *extension*.

Finally, besides territorial and 'interventionist' limits, the EU's reluctance to react positively to the Russian proposal illuminates what we may term the 'existential' limit to integration. Since an outright negative reaction to an integrationist initiative would in principle contradict the EU's own discourse of the openness of the integrationist project to the EU's neighbours, the reaction has instead been 'uncomfortably positive', yet surrounded by a web of conditions. The excessive nature of these conditions is understandable in the context of the wider European discourse on Russia as a source of new, 'soft' security threats – for example illegal migration, infectious diseases, trafficking in drugs and

human beings – which was initiated after a brief period of European enthusiasm about 'liberal-democratic reforms' in Russia in the early 1990s (see Pursiainen, 2001; Haukkala, 2000).

These threat constructions of Russia, which have replaced ideological and military threats in the European security discourse, serve a double function in the European policy towards Russia, reflected in the already discussed dualism of internal and external security threats. On the one hand, the securitisation of Russian societal issues (Wæver 1995) enters the problematic of European external security, which calls for EU efforts to contribute to the management of post-communist transformation through technical assistance and policy advice programmes, for example – the practices which we shall discuss below. These efforts are at first glance in accordance with the integrative logic, insofar as they are grounded in the imperative of the joint management of security threats and the creation of 'common spaces' of government, although as we shall see below, the programmes of technical assistance are hardly reducible to any single logic, but rather deploy a complex mode of governmentality, not sovereign but nonetheless highly asymmetric.

On the other hand, in the discourse of internal security the threats from Russia are perceived in the purely negative manner as grounds for the continuing exclusion of Russia from the European common space and the strengthening of barriers preventing the access of Russian citizens to the area of 'freedom, security and justice'. In this sense, the 'new security threats' from outside, whether plausible or outright fictitious, serve the function of permanently reconstituting the European political community in accordance with the ontopological principle of the unity of identity and locality. In this sense, the limit to the integrative logic is in the strict sense existential, insofar as the inclusion of the Other threatens the coherence of the identity of the Self. The securitisation of societal issues in Russia thereby justifies and perpetuates the ontopological constitution of the European polity through the exclusion of Russia. The visa regime is thus central to the existential principle of ontopology as the constitution of the Self through the exclusion of Otherness and the expulsion of existential dangers from the form of life of the polity in question. This is not the place to debate the extent to which the security of the Schengen societies is actually enabled by strict visa regimes. What is at stake is not the question of efficiency of visas, but the fundamental presuppositions governing this policy area, which lie clearly in the ontopological ideal of sovereignty.

The problematic of asymmetry and the demand for reciprocity

As we have seen, in the case of the problem of visa regimes, the EU's stance on Russia's integrationist proposals is constituted by three delimitations: the territorial limit placed on any eventually possible 'common space'; the interventionist delimitation of the asymmetric relation between Russia and the EU in the negotiations on the abolition of visas; and, finally, the existential delimitation of the European ontopological identity as distinct from the Russian 'outside', a space of security threats and existential otherness. Irrespective of the doctrinaire valorisation of integration that we observe in the EU policy discourse, these limits placed on the logic of integration in the EU's relations with Russia render the EU stance paradigmatically sovereign. The interface of Russia's integrationist logic and the EU's sovereign logic produces a mismatch that generates the narrative of exclusion that we analysed in detail in Chapter 2.

In terms of our theoretical model, this narrative arises due to the exclusion of the *différend* that separates the two approaches. The Russian grievances over the three groups of delimitations that are at work in the EU's position are impossible to render within the sovereign, 'internal security'-oriented discourse of the EU. The paradox, whereby the opening of a common space of free movement between Russia and the EU must come at the expense of the closure of a similar space within the CIS, is deproblematised by the ontopological argument that the EU's external borders must be secured if they are to be, as it were, expanded to Russia. The manifest asymmetry of the EU setting 'domestic-political' conditions for initiating negotiations on the international issue of visa and passport regimes is effaced in the EU's equation of its own administrative and technical practices with the standard of 'good governance', which makes Russian practices in this area a priori ineffective or inefficient. Finally, the repeated refutation in the Russian official and media discourse of the European attributions of extreme societal insecurity has been noticeably unproductive, since what is at stake in such attributions is less the precise and balanced judgement on the situation in Russia than the inherent logic of the delimitation of the political community inside the sovereign space from the outside of negativity, otherness and danger. Once a policy becomes governed by the logic of internal security, the outside of the sovereign polity becomes a space of security threats as a matter of ontological presupposition rather than as an empirically derived conclusion. From this perspective, the visa regime, which has of course historically been an additional (besides passport control) means of restricting the access of outsiders to the bounded

political community, is far from an isolated, purely technical area of policy. The visa regime should rather be conceived as a symbol of sovereignty or, even more precisely, its *symptom*, insofar as it is a manifest, visible and tangible indicator of the political ontology at work in the constitution of any particular community.

This exclusion of the *différend* in conflict communication leaves two options for Russia, which we have observed in our empirical analysis of the narrative of exclusion. On the one hand, Russia can continue to communicate its grievance and protest the unwarranted exclusionary practices. This option has been practised by many representatives of the liberal orientation (and is best exemplified by the RUE Committee), who do not wish to uncouple the linkage between Russia and Europe that is axiomatic for the liberal discourse on the constitution of Russian identity. We have already pointed out that this position is extremely difficult to sustain, which may account for the presently marginal status of the doctrinaire pro-European liberals (e.g. the Yabloko party) in Russian politics: the position of a permanent supplicant is ethically undignified and if, to add insult to injury, it fails to produce any desired effect, it becomes simply grotesque.

The pattern of European exclusion of Russia therefore logically leads to the gradual abandonment of the integrationist policy line, which is concretely exemplified by the problematisation of the policies of 'hierarchical inclusion' by the emergent orientation of 'liberal conservatism'. The following statement by a leading liberal conservative commentator, Alexander Privalov, demonstrates how the liberal discourse increasingly rids itself of the integrationist line that was central to the Russian liberalism of the 1990s:

> Russia is not doomed to forever oscillate between a *xenophobic localism* and *a 'common-European' liberalism that could not be bothered to look around itself*. We can only exit this century-old dead-end with the help of actors that realise their personal responsibility and are ready to act with the appropriate humility. They will be able to find that other thought, that other formula that can finally unite Russia and Freedom. (Privalov, 1999)

The very idea of a 'synthesis of Russia and Freedom', whose more philosophical implications we have discussed elsewhere (Prozorov, 2005b), recalls the already-cited claim by Boris Mezhuev that the essence of sovereignty lies in freedom. The consequences of this approach for the liberal discourse are tremendous: the idea of freedom, previously viewed

as universal and hence necessitating a strictly integrationist approach with its telos of world unity, becomes relativised in time and space and rendered a relational concept, presupposing the Other, from which the Self must be free. In this manner, integration is dissociated from the value of freedom and may even be viewed as jeopardising the freedom of a community by subjecting it to externally designed rules and norms – a discursive practice that is well familiar as a marker of Euroscepticism within the EU, which is presently reasserted in the pan-European resistance to the ongoing constitutional process.

In the specific case of visa policies, this new orientation generates a move away from the 'unmatched' proposal for a common space towards a policy of strict *reciprocity* on visa issues between Russia and individual EU member states. The examples of this reorientation include the bilateral agreements, concluded with France, Germany and Italy, on relaxed procedures for the acquisition of residence permits (which, unlike visas, remain within the competence of national legislation in the member states) for selected categories of applicants, e.g. students, researchers, seasonal workers, etc. As no such agreement has been reached on the question of visas, which remain within the EU competence, in early 2005 the Russian Duma initiated a bill that amends the Russian visa legislation, which complicates Russia's own visa application requirements, including the introduction of compulsory medical examination certificates for long-stay applicants and a more extensive set of criteria that permit the rejection of applications (*Newsru Editorial*, 2005)

This reciprocal gesture indicates a move away from the unilateral proposal for the relaxation of the visa regime towards a greater 'match' between Russian and EU policy logics in this field. Indeed, in the case of the confluence of sovereign logics of interaction, reciprocity is a foundational requirement, since, as we have described in detail in the previous chapter, sovereignty logically prescribes the equality of states *as* sovereign. Besides the juridical equality of states under international law, sovereign political communities are equal in the ontopological modality of their constitution. The 'inside/outside' logic of ontopology operates in a strictly relational manner, whereby it is impossible for a state, cast as the Outside of the Other, to presuppose the space, from which it is *excluded*, as its own *inside*. If Russia is cast as the outside of the EU, it must logically cast the EU as its own outside.

The tragedy of the pro-European Russian liberalism in this constellation is that it remains stuck in its own identity constitution, in the space that is *exterior to Russia itself*. To recall Privalov's words, cosmopolitan liberalism is not so much 'not bothering to look around itself' as it

locates its own onto-topos *outside* the boundaries of the Russian political community, the boundaries that are installed as much in the European practices of exclusion as they are in the Russian practices of entrenchment. The current anti-liberal rhetoric of Russian conservative parties that presents liberals as 'agents of the outside' is ironically truer than even its practitioners may believe: cosmopolitan liberals are 'agents' of the outside, not because they are directed by outside forces, but because they are, of their own free will, localising their identity in a topos exterior to the Russian political community, and thus must logically be, in the strict sense, *outsiders* in the present political constellation.

This status of the outsider does not necessarily entail minimal political influence or complete marginalisation, though such outcomes are of course highly likely. There have, however, been exceptional moments in Russian history, when such 'outsider discourses' dominated the political landscape. The triumph of Western Marxism in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 occurred irrespective of the fact that this ideology was thoroughly heterogeneous to the prevailing political discourses of that period and, moreover, Russia itself initially never figured as the topos of the socialist community in the Bolshevik discourse, which until the Stalinist period operated with a telos of 'world revolution' – an integrationist paradigm if there ever was one. Similarly, the perestroika period and its aftermath in the early 1990s, with its ecstatic cosmopolitanism and the hegemony of 'universal values' over anything local and particularistic, exemplifies the possibility of the political community constituting itself as, literally, 'beside itself', forfeiting its particular spatial identification in a project, however illusory, of world unification, constituted by what Schmitt referred to as 'spaceless universalism'.[60] In the former case, the failure of the global expansion of communism caused a profound existential disorientation, resolved in the Stalinist territorial delimitation of the communist community in the doctrine of 'socialism in one country'. By the same token, the disorientation and dislocation, resulting from the disappointed high hopes of the integrationist ambitions of the Gorbachev and Yeltsin periods, are presently remedied in the resurgence of the logic of sovereignty across the political spectrum in Russia. The unilateral character of integrationist initiatives and their dissensual reception by Russia's perceived partners, which remain committed to the ontopological ideal, invariably lead to the abandonment of the logic of integration and the re-spatialisation of Russia's identity. However universal in abstract terms, the values which formed the project of integration become spatially circumscribed and thus acquire a particularistic character. As the liberal-conservative

project of 'redoubling' the figure of Europe illustrates well, it is entirely possible to emulate European domestic-political practices in the absence of integrative or even cooperative arrangements with the EU.

We have now demonstrated the operation of the pattern of exclusion in the discourse on visa and passport policies and argued that the condition of emergence of the Russian narrative of exclusion lies in the mismatch between Russian integrationist proposals for a common space of free movement and the EU's sovereign response, which introduced interventionist, territorial and existential limitations to the very possibility of the emergence of the question of such a common space. We have seen how the exclusion of the *différend* in conflict communication made it impossible for Russia to advance its integrationist initiatives, restricting Russia's options to the choice between the disadvantaged position of a permanent supplicant and the shift away from the integrationist position to the reassertion of sovereignty. In terms of our theoretical model, the conflict over exclusion is either maintained in its current stage (e.g. in the discourse of cosmopolitan liberalism) or the pattern of the EU–Russian interface is transformed into that of mutual delimitation, whereby *both* sides approach each other with symmetrically sovereign logics. At the same time, since the position of the EU is not unequivocally sovereign and has its own integrationist agenda, another consequence of Russia's exclusion from the European common space in spheres such as visa regimes may be the reciprocal refusal of Russia to match the EU's integrationist gestures. In the following chapter, we shall address this diametrically opposite case of EU–Russian conflict, i.e. the encounter between European integrationist initiatives and Russia's response of sovereign self-exclusion.

Russia's self-exclusion from Europe: the problematic of integrated cross-border governance

Technical assistance and the extension of European 'good governance'

In our theoretical model of conflict emergence the pattern of Russia's self-exclusion takes place when the integrationist agenda of the EU is 'mismatched' by Russia's deployment of the sovereign logic that resists the enfolding of the Russian political community within the 'common space' of the EU. As we have discussed at length in Chapter 3, the narrative of self-exclusion emerges in a different manner for different political forces. While the more conservative orientations take the need for the

defence of Russia's sovereignty against external hegemony to be axiomatic, the more liberal discourses arrive at the need for self-exclusion through the disappointment of their own integrationist hopes, particularly the realisation of the fact that any inclusion of Russia in the European 'common space' is invariably hierarchical in nature, which contradicts the very hope of intersubjectivity and mutual recognition, associated with the process of integration.

An insightful illustration of the emergence of the conflictual disposition, centred on the problematic of self-exclusion, is provided by the technical assistance and policy advice policies of the EU in Russia, particularly in the regions of the Northwestern Federal District, which has been delineated as the area of particular interest of the EU in the framework of the Northern Dimension initiative (NDI) (see Joenniemi and Sergounin, 2003). The entire post-communist period in Russia has been marked by the existence of a dense network of international projects of technical assistance to the reform of the conventionally 'domestic' spheres of government: social welfare, environmental protection, education, energy management – areas of governmental activity, the management of which has either disintegrated with the collapse of the Soviet order or has been deemed unsatisfactory in the condition of the emergent market economy.

As the main EU policy instrument in the sphere of technical assistance to Russia, the EU Tacis (Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States) programme seeks to assist political and economic reforms by providing technical and managerial expertise and enabling international exchanges and linkages between Russian and European counterparts (*Common Strategy of the European Union on Russia*). Assistance to post-communist reform in the post-Soviet space within the framework of EU Tacis proceeds from the explicit imperative of minimising and managing the 'soft' security threats that allegedly emanate from Russia (*Country Strategy Paper 2002–2006*). The 1999 *Common Strategy of the European Union on Russia* lists the following 'common challenges to respond to': energy and nuclear safety, environment and health, organised crime, money laundering and illicit traffic in human beings and drugs. Thus, the socio-economic transformation in Russia has throughout the last decade been perceived as a source of threats, risks and challenges for the European Union and thereby cast as a problem of government. The dual objective of the EU technical assistance programme is to support 'Russia's efforts to consolidate its *democracy* and develop its economy, and to complete the transition to a *market economy*' (*Partnership and Cooperation Agreement: EU–Russian Federation*). The reform of the

Tacis programme in 1999 was justified by the need to 'place a greater emphasis on the development of good governance and civil society' (*Tacis Indicative Programme 2000–3*). These imperatives were given concrete policy shape in the three selected areas of cooperation designated by the *Tacis Indicative Programme for 2000–3*: support for institutional, legal and administrative reform, support to the private sector, and addressing the social consequences of reforms.

In the *Tacis Country Strategy Paper for 2002–6* these areas of cooperation were specified in terms of programme priorities that largely correspond to the reforms instantiated during the first terms of the Putin presidency: legal, administrative reform and regional policy; judicial reform; civil society, training and education; deregulation and corporate governance; social reform; municipal services.

> Over the past decade, Russia has already come a long way in reforming its legislative and regulatory framework. Since 2000, the process has gained a new momentum with the Government's socio-economic reform programme, which focuses particularly on establishing the legal and regulatory framework required to improve the business environment and to reform the social safety system. The new Government is also addressing administrative and civil service reform more resolutely than in the past. It is designing a reform strategy and developing a major programme to rebuild and re-organise public administration, as part of its efforts to develop a functioning state. *Technical assistance should be supportive to the implementation of this comprehensive reform of legislation and public administration*. (ibid.)

These statements demonstrate that the objective of EU technical assistance programmes in Russia consists in what Mitchell Dean (1999) refers to as the 'governmentalisation of government'. The domestic structures of government in Russia are problematised as not in accordance with the requirements of 'good governance' and generative of 'new security threats' and hence requiring EU intervention. As we have suggested above, in their general policy design technical assistance programmes exemplify the operation of the logic of integration insofar as they proceed from the imperative of 'external' or joint security and the creation of integrated, common spaces of governance. EU statements of the kind cited above also create the impression that the Tacis programme is indeed a matter of assisting the Russian federal government in its own reform activities, a benevolent gesture that accords with the imperative of joint management of risks, essential to the notion of

a common space: 'An ambitious programme of socio-economic reforms was launched in 2000 with an impressive amount of legislation passed by Parliament or under preparation. In its response strategy, the EU should *lend its full support to the Government's socioeconomic reform programme* and should concentrate on building the legal, institutional and administrative framework to allow economic development through private initiative and market forces' (*Country Strategy Paper 2002–6*).

At the same time, the exclusive focus on the aggregate level of the overall design of technical assistance policies at the level of the European Commission obscures the actual operation of the practices of technical assistance at regional and local levels, which frequently contradicts the benevolent image of the 'common space of good governance'. In our previous study we have addressed the latter question at length, attempting to reconstitute the structure of the discourse of technical assistance through the analysis of its local practices (Prozorov, 2004b: chapter 2). We have argued that the discourse of technical assistance exceeds the facile and unproblematic description of 'integrated cross-border governance' and is rather a complex and paradoxical unity of integrationist and sovereign logics.

Rather than merely *assist* Russian federal, regional or local governments in the reform of administrative and professional practices in various policy sectors, the EU practices take on an *active* and *autonomous* role of reconstituting the very context of government in Russia, including the identities of the EU's counterparts in the technical assistance projects. The European discourse of technical assistance, actualised in a variety of policy areas, instantiates what we may term a *pedagogical governmental technology*, whose ethos of autonomy and empowerment is specified in entrepreneurial terms and deployed as the goal of practices that subject local agents to an asymmetric initiation into the discourse of neoliberal socio-economic reforms with a view to their subsequent formation as autonomous discourse practitioners (ibid.: 234–324).

The concept of a pedagogical technology immediately problematises the facilitative pathos of the programme of technical assistance on the aggregate level by highlighting the power relations at work in what is apparently a goodwill gesture of assistance. The central paradox within the discourse of technical assistance consists in the tension between the principles of participatory and inclusive government, local knowledge, bottom-up empowerment and the actual practices of governmental operations on the part of EU project teams, which subject local agents to extensive retraining and re-education and prescribe in minute detail the content of professional and managerial practices that these agents

must subsequently undertake in an autonomous manner. There is thus an aporetic gap between autonomous local agency, posited as a locus of authentic identity and valuable local knowledge, and the operations of governmental construction that 'liberate' and 'authenticate' this very agent in pedagogic practices. Rather than being a case of faulty implementation or policy defect, this aporia of governmental *artefactuality* and pre-governmental *authenticity* is constitutive of the discourse of technical assistance and cannot be done away with by opting for one of the opposed assumptions without dissolving the very identity of technical assistance as a practice, the valorisation of authenticity rendering it superfluous and the affirmation of artefactuality delegitimising it as a cynical and authoritarian imposition.

This aporia aligns the European technical assistance with the wider discourse of global participatory development, practised by such institutions as the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (see Cooke and Kothari 2001). Participatory development, having emerged as a privileged alternative to 'traditional', top-down, non-participatory, economy- and state-centric practices, has nonetheless been unable to eliminate the paradox of the simultaneous valorisation of local authenticity and the task of governmental reconstruction of local practices. It is precisely this paradox that problematises the legitimacy claims of the practices of technical assistance, insofar as in the 'participatory' conception of government the proposed reforms must be conditioned by active participation of local agents with local knowledge, at the same time as these agents are subjected to pedagogical practices that initiate them into these very reform strategies.

Integrationist governance and the 'educational theory'

The paradox of technical assistance may be argued to be a specific and contextualised variant of the dualism between sovereignty and integration, which forms the theoretical basis of our study. As we have suggested above, in contrast to the particularistic logic of sovereignty, in which the freedom of a political community is strictly relational, conceivable only as a 'freedom from' the imposition of external will, the logic of integration operates with a universalist conception of freedom, according to which true freedom is only thinkable on the basis of the telos of world unity. The ontopological localisation of freedom is therefore not merely unnecessary but hazardous for freedom, insofar as any drawing of boundaries is held to place a restriction on it. Within this logic of 'world unity', however, freedom must necessarily also be

cast as a unitary concept, since all individuals or communities in the 'common space' must be free in an *identical* manner.

The very abolition of the particularistic and hence logically pluralist conception of freedom, which characterises the logic of sovereignty, brings in the concept of freedom that accords with Isaiah Berlin's notion of 'positive liberty', defined in terms of the 'self-realisation' by the individual of his 'true nature'. The deployment of the singular, unitary concept of freedom, logically required for the ideal of universal unity, results in the demand for a 'total self-identification *with a specific principle or ideal* in order to attain [freedom]' (Berlin, 2002: 181). This feature of the integrationist logic is operative across all integrationist paradigms, irrespective of their specific ideological substance: from the Marxist-Leninist identification of 'true freedom' with the global 'dictatorship of the proletariat' to the contemporary global promotion of Western liberal democracy as the universal standard of 'human rights', 'good governance', etc. The substantive definition of 'true freedom' is entirely beside the point, as what is at stake in these diverse examples is the universalisation of the necessarily particularistic, spatio-temporally circumscribed and culturally specific notion as *the* expression of the content of the concept of freedom. This universalisation paves the way for the limitless expansion of governmental powers in the name of freedom and, ultimately, humanity itself. As William Rasch notes in his insightful critique of the discourse of human rights as a form of ulterior geopolitics, 'the term "human" is not descriptive, but evaluative. *To be truly human, one needs to be corrected*.'[61]

At the very moment freedom is linked with the notion of truth, there opens an infinite possibility for pedagogical technologies of indoctrination that promise to guide the empirical individual towards the realisation of his true or higher self. 'To force empirical selves into the right pattern is no tyranny but liberation . . . *Liberty, so far from being incompatible with authority, becomes virtually identical with it* . . . Clearly, [individuals] must be educated. For the uneducated are irrational, heteronomous, and need to be coerced . . . *But the uneducated cannot be expected to understand or co-operate with the purposes of their educators*' (Berlin, 2002: 194–5). The very notion of 'true freedom' therefore permits the deployment of the pedagogical asymmetry that cancels out the immediate experience of freedom in the name of its 'true' acquisition in the pedagogical practices of 'technical assistance'.

> If the individual is ignorant, immature, uneducated, mentally crippled, denied adequate opportunities of health and development, he will

> not know how to choose. *Such a person will never know what it is he really wants*. If there are people who understand what human nature is and what it craves, and if they do for others, perhaps by some measure of control, *what these others would be doing for themselves* if they were wiser, better informed, maturer, more developed, are they curtailing their freedom? . . . Surely not. Teachers and parents are *bringing out their submerged or real selves*, and catering to their needs as against the transient demands of *the more superficial self*, which greater maturity will slough off like a skin.
>
> *If you substitute for parents a Church, or a Party or a State, you get a theory on which much modern authority is based*. (ibid.: 184)

This thesis parallels Carl Schmitt's critique of the 'educational theory' involved in the idea of the global promotion of liberal democracy:

> The people can be brought to recognise and express their own will correctly through the *right education*. This means nothing else that the *educator identifies his will at least provisionally with that of the people*, not to mention that the content of education that the pupil will receive is also decided by the educator. The consequence of this educational theory is a dictatorship that suspends democracy *in the name of a true democracy that is still to be created*. (Schmitt, 1985b: 28)

For Berlin, the pedagogical technology of government has been inherent to modern rule rather than an unfortunate exception that characterised only authoritarian or totalitarian regimes: 'All paternalist governments, however benevolent, cautious, disinterested and rational, have tended, in the end, *to treat the majority of men as minors*, or as being too often incurably foolish or irresponsible; or else as maturing too slowly as not to justify their liberation at any clearly foreseeable date (which in practice means at no definite time at all)' (Berlin, 2002: 54). The argument that the contemporary integrationist initiatives of the EU in their emphasis on 'pedagogical liberation' share a governmental technology with despotic governments should not therefore be read as an equation of European liberal democracy with authoritarianism.[62] For our purposes, the key affinity of the two concerns not substantive ideological issues, but their belonging to the integrationist paradigm with its inherent tendency to *universalise the particular* and to *unify the plural* in the deployment of a substantive doctrine of a 'true' freedom, equality, participation or any other value.

What then is the relation of this pedagogical technology of technical assistance to the principle of sovereignty? Does the inherent asymmetry involved in the integrationist project of creating 'common spaces' of government point to the continuing operation of the logic of sovereignty, in a concealed or perverted form, in practices that are manifestly generated by the integrationist ambition? In our view, such an answer, which characterises much of contemporary critical discussion on technical assistance and development aid, remains facile and ultimately unsatisfactory.[63] The argument that despite its integrationist mode of legitimation, European technical assistance is really about the exercise of sovereignty, proceeds from we have termed the 'hypocrisy hypothesis', the assumption that beneath the surface of the apparent there is always concealed the presence of the 'real' motive, which is usually revealed as rather more malicious than the declared objective (see Prozorov, 2004b: 244–62). The formula of the hypocrisy hypothesis is therefore: X is wrong because it is not (X) enough, where (X) denotes a certain ideal, concept or policy and X stands for its empirical manifestation in practice. Integrationist practices of participation and empowerment are thereby measured against a certain theoretical standard or ideal and are found wanting in its terms. Critical alternatives are subsequently presented as more 'genuine' or 'real' strategies for 'deeper integration'. Due to the lack of a positive alternative to participation and empowerment, their criticism only appears possible in terms of a negative assessment of a concrete actualisation of a practice in terms of its concept. This is not to deny that participatory rhetoric may be applied as a mere efficiency-enhancing instrument enabling easier implementation of policies, or that it is frequently used to legitimise reform proposals based on external doctrines quite at odds with whatever we take to be 'local knowledge'. However, the hypocrisy hypothesis both *weakens* the force of criticism in a number of ways and unwittingly *spares* its target. Firstly, it is at least questionable to place excessive analytical value on 'insincerity' and 'hidden' ulterior motives of the practitioners of technical assistance, as any derivation of the hidden presence of ulterior motives from their manifest absence in a discourse is highly dubious from an epistemological point of view. In the absence of (barely conceivable) empirical evidence regarding these motives and intentions, this type of criticism is reduced to a politically prejudiced polemic.

Secondly, the hypocrisy hypothesis disables the generation of meaningful alternatives to the object of criticism. If integration is 'bad', because it is 'not integrative enough', then the pathway to improvement is in the direction of more, better, more 'genuine' inte-

gration. For all the oppositional pathos of the critics of integration, they effectively exculpate their object of criticism and end up demanding 'more of the same'. If the problem with integrationist practices is their disjunction from the ideal concept of integration, criticism appears both obvious and superfluous, easily dismissible with a claim that 'nobody's perfect': reality is never exhausted by its concept and, conversely, the concept is never entirely actualised in practice. To criticise a governmental practice for its lack of conceptual purity, i.e. its failure to fully conform to its theoretical prescription, merely serves to stimulate the further refinement of the techniques in question. In this manner, the 'external' oppositional discourse on integration becomes reinscribed as 'internal' reflexive self-criticism, already abundant within the field of integration theory.

Finally, let us suggest that it is precisely the 'insulated' status of the concept of integration in critical thought that enables its 'abuses' in such cases as European technical assistance programmes. Local participation, emancipation and empowerment may be deployed as 'masks' or 'guises' for more contestable practices only insofar as they are themselves incontestable. The 'misapplication' of the discourse of integration in the projects whose participatory and empowering credentials are dubious is in large measure due to the fact that the only criticism that has been advanced against this discourse merely problematises the *practices* of integration in terms of their valorised *concept*. In other words, critical discussion has largely revolved around the question of whether integration is 'in fact' not integration at all, but rather an exercise of sovereignty. Simultaneously with the concrete practices of integration being dismissed as 'actually' sovereign, the concept of integration remains insulated in its self-evidence and purity, its inherent or structural paradoxes left unexplored and obscured by the postulation of a depth–surface relationship between discourse and practice.

Integration and 'quantitatively total governance'

To avoid the pitfalls of the hypocrisy hypothesis, we must not equate any asymmetric or authoritarian feature of the integrationist paradigm with the ulterior persistence of the logic of sovereignty, but rather attempt to specify in detail the mode of power relations that the integrationist logic itself brings about in such settings as EU technical assistance programmes in Russia. In this exercise we ought to begin with addressing the very concept of governance, which has emerged in recent decades as a privileged alternative to the 'modern' or 'statist' concept of government, which is tied to the logic of sovereignty, and

has been deployed in the official EU discourse as a designator of the central aspect of the EU's strategy towards Russia.[64]

The term 'governance' usually refers to a plurality of governing agencies beyond the state, frequently conceived of in terms of 'networks' or 'partnerships', modelled on the private sector, and connotes a more inclusive, participatory and voluntary orientation in contrast to the 'top-down' and 'coercive' image of state government.[65] The concept of governance, whose origins lie in the emergence of the neoliberal governmental rationality,[66] is constituted by the gradual dissolution of two distinctions, central to the sovereign logic of politics: the distinctions between *state and society*, and between *domestic and international spheres*. The dissolution of the former distinction is evident in the increasing prevalence of participatory, bottom-up, inclusive and decentralised approaches to government of the kind deployed by the EU in its practices of technical assistance. The distinction between the domestic and the international is dissolved as the statist notion of government is displaced in the extension of the notion of governance to the international domain, exemplified by the discourses of economic globalisation and international institutionalisation that are taken to embody 'governance without government'.[67]

The consequences of the dissolution of these distinctions, central to the politics of sovereignty, are twofold. Firstly, insofar as the disappearance of one member in the binary opposition simultaneously effaces the identity of the other member, which is relationally dependent on it, the extension of the governmental into the social and the international into the domestic deprives the government of the state of its own identity. The government is no longer a force transcendent in relation to the society that it takes as its object and its task is no longer to ensure the security of the sovereign space, constituted by the foundational separation of the 'inside' of the political community and the 'outside' of otherness and danger. Government thus loses its own identity insofar as it loses a clearly defined exterior. In Giorgio Agamben's (1998) terms, the inside and the outside enter a *zone of indistinction*.

Secondly, since both the figures of society and the international have in the logic of sovereignty functioned as limits to governmental power, the former in the sense of delegitimising excessive state intervention and the latter as drawing a boundary beyond which the state has no authority, the disappearance of these figures from the discourse of government makes governmental intervention potentially limitless. For all its connotations of dispersion and decentralisation of authority, the concept of 'governance without government' may thus 'incite and

justify a will to govern that imposes no limits on itself' (Rose, 2000: 1406). At the same time as sovereign statehood is increasingly problematised and theorised into decline,[68] dispersed and disseminated mechanisms of neoliberal 'governance' proliferate and intensify in the absence of critical reflection on them. Paradoxically, the disavowal of sovereignty, understood in a facile manner as supreme and absolute authority, results in the formation of the space of properly unlimited authority, the immanent authority that is decentred, dispersed and depersonalised, but no less *total* in its desire and capacity to 'give form to the life of the people'.[69]

This diagnosis of contemporary critical theory resonates strongly with Carl Schmitt's seminal discussion of the different modalities of the totality of government. A 'qualitative' total state, whose advancement is central to Schmitt's entire oeuvre, is constituted by the sharp state/society distinction, in which 'totality' refers to the necessarily absolute character of state sovereignty which has a transcendent status in relation to society. Qualitative totality has therefore nothing to do with any notion of 'totalitarianism' and is rather made possible through a policy of conscious non-intervention in the socio-economic domain (Schmitt, 1998, 1999; Cristi, 1998). '[The concept of sovereignty] does not imply that a political entity must necessarily determine every aspect of a person's life or that a centralised system should destroy every other association or corporation' (Schmitt, 1976: 38). On the contrary, 'only a strong state can remove itself from non-state affairs' (Schmitt, 1998: 213). The concept of qualitative totality corresponds to our reconstruction of the logic of sovereignty, with its emphasis on the institution of clear limits to the political community, which is necessarily constituted as spatially particularistic.

In contrast, a quantitative total state, the object of Schmitt's criticism, is total precisely by virtue of its *limitless* interventionist policies, which in Schmitt's argument are due to the democratisation of politics in the twentieth century and the increasing loss of state autonomy to the plurality of 'social' and party interests. 'This kind of total state is one that penetrates all domains and all spheres of human existence, one that knows of no state-free sphere *because it can no longer discriminate*. It is total in a purely quantitative sense, in the sense of pure volume and not in the sense of intensity or political energy… This totality in the sense of volume is the opposite of force and strength' (ibid.: 218). The extension of state mechanisms of government into the social domain, the subjection of the state to the allegedly 'objective' international processes and the universalisation of economic rationality, celebrated in contemporary discussions of 'governance', are for Schmitt dangerous symptoms of 'quantitative totality'.

On the global level, 'quantitative totalisation' is expected by Schmitt to lead to the nihilistic and technological administration of people and things, a premonition we have addressed above. With respect to the dualism between a multitude of sovereign states and one world state, which we have addressed in the previous chapter, Schmitt's diagnosis is more incisive that the purely logical denial of the possibility of the world state by Waltz and, to a lesser extent, Morgenthau: a 'world state' that is the telos of the logic of integration is indeed possible, yet it would no longer possess the particularistic and pluralistic attributes of sovereignty, but would instead resemble a 'self-propelling machine' of anonymous, decentred and dispersed technological administration, both limitless and ultimately meaningless, insofar as meaning for Schmitt must necessarily be spatially contextualised, as 'universal concepts are mere abstractions located in a void' (Ojakangas, 2004a: 134). In Ojakangas's fortunate formulation, the world constituted by integrated governance that no longer recognises the limitations established by borders is first and foremost not a 'brave new world' of the true realisation of the essence of man, nor the system of repression of the true essence of man by external forces, but rather 'a terrifying world without an exterior', a closed system of universal administration, where everything is policed by everyone and the possibility of exit is foreclosed by the absence of the Outside (see Ojakangas, 2004b).

Paradoxically at first glance, the affirmation of sovereignty in its most radical decisionist version simultaneously affirms limited government and both societal and international pluralism: 'The unity of state has always been a *unity of social multiplicity*' (Schmitt, 1999: 201). In contrast, the distinctive feature of integrative global governance is the establishment of a zone of indistinction between state and society and between the domestic and the international, and the consequent limitless expansion of governmental mechanisms. It is certainly ironic that so much critical effort is presently spent on what Jens Bartelson refers to as 'state-bashing' (Bartelson, 2001: 28), precisely at the moment of the state's retreat into the secondary role in relation to disseminated 'global governance'. No less ironic is the belief that this decline of the state carries a promise of 'liberation', when what it effects is the intensification of quantitatively total government on the global scale.[70]

Hierarchical inclusion and conflict communication

This detour into the interface of Schmitt's political realism and contemporary critical theory in the critique of power relations at work in theories and practices of global governance permits us to specify

the EU–Russian conflictual disposition of self-exclusion as a mode of resistance to the integrative logic of 'cross-border governance', which recognises no limits and effaces its own operations through a discourse of decentralisation, participation and exclusion. This argument is furthest away from the attribution to the EU of the sovereign logic in relation to Russia, which would then require an equivalent response on the part of Russia. Instead, the abandonment of the hypocrisy hypothesis permits us to appreciate the asymmetries operative in the EU's practices of technical assistance and other forms of cross-border governance as *inherent* in the logic of integration as a mode of 'governing without government' or, more literally, governing in the manner that *bypasses* the government of the Other. There is no place for sovereignty in the discourse of integrative global governance, both in the sense of a complete disregard for the sovereignty of the state that is the object of 'governmentalisation' and in the sense of an utter heterogeneity of the governmental rationality at work in these processes to the sovereign ideal of limits, boundaries and distinctions.

In this context, Russia's recourse to the reassertion of sovereignty is not an attempt at a 'matching' move in the game of EU–Russian relations, but rather the accentuation of dissent through the deployment of a thoroughly heterogeneous policy logic. The following statement from the *Doctrine of the Development of the Northwest of Russia* is a good illustration of the grievance communicated from the perspective of the logic of sovereignty:

> Having failed to work out its own strategies of economic development, the country *has desperately sought for harmonious integration* into the industrially developed world. Russia has shifted towards international projects and technological industrial links, but has not developed new methods and networks to skilfully guide its development . . . The acute *deficiency in strategic thinking* eventually resulted in *complete loss of international positions* and a sharp exacerbation of problems in the sphere of global cooperation. Those scenarios of Russia's participation in the processes of globalisation, which had been elaborated abroad, were *at odds with Russia's own strategic interests*.

As we have already discussed in Chapter 3, the discourse of the SDC, which is a key actor in the regional dimension of EU–Russian relations, centres on the problematisation of Russia's status as an object of EU policies of governance, an object that is 'built in' within European governmental structures. It is noticeable that the SDC problematises

less the specific examples of the substantive divergence of European scenarios and Russian interests (indeed, the *Doctrine* makes no mention of such concrete conflict episodes, apart from scant references to the problem of Kaliningrad) than the deprivation of Russia of the very *capacity* to strategically articulate and manage its interests. The result of such incapacity is the subjection of the region in question to the external designs of the EU that mould this space in accordance with its own particular interests. The *Doctrine* views the space of the Russian Northwestern macro-region as liable to a myriad of possible political constructions that delimit this space in various ways: '*Regional limits are in the eye of the beholder*. Consequently, the Northwest's borders may be stretched to where we perceive them to be or, *in case we remain passive on this issue, the Northwest's borders may be outlined by the European communities instead*' (ibid.).

Contrary to the integrationist logic of the EU programmes, in which the perceived 'commonality' of the space of cross-border governance makes 'outlining borders' redundant and anachronistic, the Russian approach is grounded in the ontopological mode of the constitution of a political community. In this mode it is precisely the delimitation of a topos, *the drawing of a borderline*, that is a primary political act, since it is only within a concrete, spatially bounded, particularistic unity that identities can be constituted, interests articulated and development policies undertaken. Externally designed policies are 'at odds' with Russia's interests not because of any specific contradictions, but simply because they are designed externally and are therefore inherently Other (or, literally, *odd* in the sense of existential strangeness) to the existence of Russia as a spatially bounded polity. In other words, the Russian criticism of the European integrationist initiatives in 'cross-border governance' targets precisely its foundational move of the erasure of all dividing lines, the neglect of the limit to governmental power that is drawn by state borders and, ultimately, the attempt to erase the line between the Self and the Other, between discrete, spatially bounded and *ipso facto* different communities, whose subjection to the universal standard of 'good governance' levels them to the unitary standard of the same (cf. Odysseos, 2004). The object of Russian criticism is thus the 'spaceless universalism' that is inherent in any policy guided by the logic of integration.

None of this should be read as excluding *cooperation* with the EU in the European North, but any such cooperation is made conditional in the SDC *Doctrine* on the existence of two subjects, spatially delimited from each other, possessing particular interests that may or may not be

distinct from each other and engaged in relations with each other on the basis of the principles of intersubjectivity, equal partnership and reciprocity. This pattern of the EU–Russian interface, which we shall describe below in terms of 'mutual delimitation', clearly does not prevent such cooperative projects, stipulated in the SDC *Doctrine*, as the promotion of multicultural communication and the establishment of transnational networks in science, research and development (see Shedrovitsky, 2001; Ukkone, 2001a, 2001b). What it does, however, is to reorient EU–Russian relations away from the imposition of external standards of 'good governance' in European integrationist practices towards the interface of two sovereign domains in a project of cooperation, whose results are contingent upon the possibility of the accommodation of distinct interests.

In other words, the discourse of self-exclusion is not the discourse of isolation, as what Russia excludes itself from are not relations with the EU *per se*, but a very specific asymmetric arrangement that we have referred to as 'integrated cross-border governance'. In more concrete terms, the resistance to integration proceeds from the anxiety over the fact that one would only be included in the integrative arrangement in the hierarchical manner, as an *object* rather than an autonomous *subject*, and at the same time would be deprived of one's own sovereign space, in which autonomous subjectivity is guaranteed by the boundaries of a political community. Therefore, the Russian deployment of the sovereign logic in resistance to its enfolding within the European space of integrated governance seeks to retain a space that is outside the integrated 'common space' or, metaphorically, to 'fill' that space with itself, enact the outside and thus pose a limit to integration.

The key element of conflict communication in this case is thus precisely the articulation of a grievance with respect to the 'subject–object' mode of EU–Russian interaction. The exclusion of the *différend* is immediately noticeable in the EU's reconstruction of this conflict communication in terms of Russia's failure to understand the EU's post-sovereign, postmodern and 'pro-globalisation' project due to its own anachronistic 'modernist' stance.[71] The expression of dissent with regard to the cosmopolitan standards of 'good governance' may, within the EU discourse, only come as a result of misunderstanding. This exclusion of the possibility of legitimately advocating a position, grounded in the logic of sovereignty, immediately disables the productivity of any intersubjective communication, as any expression of a grievance is only likely to result in more refined efforts to 'make Russia understand' the precepts of the integrationist logic.

The Russian sovereign response to the EU's initiatives of integrated cross-border governance is recast in the EU discourse in the purely negative terms of *deviance*, arising out of a cognitive failure. This 'normalisation' of dissent is indeed necessary for the avoidance of the cognitive dissonance within the EU's own perspective: any cosmopolitan discourse of 'world unity' must find a mechanism to resolve the problems caused by the re-entry of the particular into the universal as a form of resistance to unification and levelling. While the most extreme resolution of this problem logically consists in the exclusion of the disturbing particularist element from the universal category of humanity, which would ultimately legitimise its elimination, a more 'benign' solution is the recasting of difference in terms of *abnormality*, which permits either its complete silencing and neglect or the intensification of efforts to 'normalise' the deviant through forcible inclusion and integration.[72] As Louiza Odysseos has aptly suggested, within the discourse of spaceless universalism the lines of exclusion and inclusion are not eliminated; rather than remaining spatial, ontopological delimitations they now acquire a more abstract and yet more flexible form, readily available for deployment in the cases of a dissenting reception of integrationist initiatives (Odysseos, 2004: 13–18). To paraphrase William Rasch, it is as if the integrationist critique of sovereignty has effected the uncontested sovereignty of integration itself, the absence of any legitimate limits to integration giving the integrationist policy a literally limitless capacity to draw and redraw its foundational lines within its 'common space' (Rasch, 2003: 141).

Within this constellation, the recourse to the reassertion of the particularistic sovereignty of a concrete community is the only meaningful mode of resistance to the all-encompassing 'quasi-sovereignty' of the universal. 'Those found wanting are banished, as *outlaws*, from the civilised world. Ironically, *one of the signs of their outlaw status is their insistence on autonomy, on sovereignty*' (ibid.). The circular character of the conflict of sovereign and integrationist logics is now evident: the expression of dissent with the asymmetric power relations that are inherent in 'global governance' is necessarily recast, through the exclusion of the *différend*, as a form of deviance, leading the dissenting subject to reassert one's sovereignty in resistance to his objectification, while any gesture of reasserting sovereignty merely confirms one's status as an outlaw within the paradigm of 'good governance'.

This type of conflict becomes increasingly difficult to resolve or even sustain at a low-intensity stage of isolated episodic communication, since every instance of conflict communication produces the excess of

the *différend*, which accentuates the incommensurable difference between the two logics and thus animates conflict. We also ought to bear in mind that this conflictual disposition unfolds in the wider context, in which it is also the EU that practises policies, guided by the logic of sovereignty and the exclusion of Russia from the European space. The situation, whereby the EU simultaneously practises sovereignty and disqualifies the other (Russia) from the legitimate right to do so, also intensifies conflict communication and makes integration under the aegis of the EU's banner of 'good governance', promising the acquisition of true freedom in pedagogic practices, less and less attractive. After all, as Schmitt reminds us, 'freedom is freedom of movement, nothing else' (Schmitt cited in Ojakangas, 2004b: 6); and, since freedom of movement is denied to Russia in the EU's negative response to the initiative on visa-free travel, it is increasingly unclear what the extension of the EU's 'good governance' to Russia has to do with freedom.

6

Equivalent Interfaces: the Limits of Integration and the Stability of Sovereignty

Cross-border integration and its limits: the case of Euregio Karelia

Euregio Karelia as a paradigm of cross-border integration

In this chapter we shall address the pattern of equivalence between Russia and the EU that takes place when the integrative logics are deployed by both parties in relation to each other. According to our theoretical model, in this pattern both actors must consciously suspend the ontopological delimitations of their respective political communities and thus embark on the constitution of a common space, in which a new form of political identity may be constituted in cross-border interaction.

It is necessary to emphasise that the pattern of 'common spaces' is conditioned by the mutual consensus of the parties to open up their sovereign spaces to each other. This excludes both the already discussed imposition of the integrationist logic by one party and the hypothetical possibility that the integrationist logics deployed by the parties in question might not coincide, i.e. rather than articulating a joint project of a 'common space', the two parties merely target each other with incommensurable integrative projects. In the latter situation, each actor perceives the other as an object, rather than a subject, of integration, logically causing the sovereign entrenchment by the other – a pattern we already described in the previous chapter. In contrast, transnational integration is distinguished from a mere dissemination of the logic of governance across the border precisely by the existence of a common, intersubjectively designed project.

As we have discussed at length in previous chapters, in the present context of EU–Russian relations, characterised by the conflictual dispositions of exclusion and self-exclusion, the occurrence of such a pattern

of interface is manifestly exceptional. At the same time, a focus on a concrete case, which points to an attempt at such an interface, will permit us to elaborate in more detail the contemporary 'conditions of impossibility' of cross-border integration in EU–Russian relations. We shall first address in detail the Euregio Karelia project, whose ambitious integrationist design and relative success made it an official 'success story' in EU–Russian cooperation. We shall then discuss the key problems hampering the full implementation of the Euregio project and thereby attempt to articulate the limits to the equivalent interface of integrationist policies of Russia and the EU.

The origins of the EU–Russian project of Euregio Karelia lie in the gradual increase of the density of Russian–Finnish cooperation in the border areas, particularly the Republic of Karelia. One of the features of Karelian policy in the 1990s has been the active establishment of international links, primarily with the bordering Finland but also through membership in the multiple regional arrangements in the North of Europe (e.g. Barents Euro-Arctic Region, Council of Baltic Sea States).[73] Throughout the 1990s, the leadership of the Republic of Karelia prioritised the development of cross-border cooperation with Finland at the same time as it strongly maintained the federal policy line on the impossibility of raising the issue of border revision and the return to Finland of the territories ceded according to the Paris Treaty of 1947 in the aftermath of World War Two.[74] The strongly negative position on territorial restitution, which apparently points to the operation of the logic of sovereignty, nonetheless coexists with one of the most extensive programmes of international cooperation on the regional level in Russia. The following statement of the head of the Republic, Sergei Katanandov, illustrates the way the Republic has sought to advance its own integrationist ambitions while simultaneously dismissing the revisionist agenda as literally unreasonable.

> In a few years the border will become more transparent, people will be able to cross it more freely and the cooperation of Karelia with our neighbours will result in the growth of trade. Friendship with our neighbours is our main priority . . . The fact is that among the Finns, just like among the Russians, there are some weirdoes with all sorts of radical ideas that should be treated accordingly. (Katanandov cited in Farutin, 2003)

Katanandov's position accords with the view of President Putin who, in an interview with the Finnish press during his state visit in 2001,

explicitly posited 'integration and cooperation' as the solutions to the latent border dispute (ibid.). In our previous study we have termed this policy approach the logic of border *deproblematisation* (Prozorov, 2004a), in which no political decisions (either restrictive or facilitative, e.g. the abolition of visa controls) are taken with regard to the border *per se* but its function is reconstructed in the new cooperative context.

In contrast to the more ambitious, if vague, visions of 'de-bordering', characteristic of theoretical integrationist discourses (see, for example, Camilleri and Falk, 1992), the concept of border deproblematisation does not emphasise the irrelevance of the border, let alone its disappearance, but rather marks the change at a discursive level, whereby the political significance of the border becomes diminished and border regions become *zones of interaction, devoid of identity-related disaccord*. The border ceases to be the privileged marker of an ontopologically constituted identity and the object of contentious political discourses, while it retains its significance in the domain of depoliticised interaction as both a recognised obstacle and a source of opportunity. One might also suggest that 'anti-revisionist' and 'integrationist' stances with regard to the border dispute are in fact *mutually enabling*, insofar as cooperative practices, made possible by the deproblematisation of the border, are hampered by any reconstruction of the border area as a zone of conflict, whether in the Finnish discourse of restitution or in the Russian 'counter-discourse' of entrenchment that gives federal-level publicity to the Republic only negatively as the 'bastion' of Russian statehood in the Northwest.

Thus, the Republic's government, directly involved in concrete cooperation projects with Finland, is highly wary of recasting the border question as a divisive issue in the Russian political discourse and is therefore eager to dismiss or silence not merely the claims for restitution but all kinds of conflictual discourses as such, even those sympathetic to the Russian stance on the issue. In short, the government of the Republic of Karelia is opposed in principle to any kind of problematisation of the border. This entails that the Republic's policies cannot be conceived as conditioned by the logic of sovereignty, since the latter would require a sharp delimitation of the border as the container of the ontopologically grounded Russian polity and a consequent problematisation of cross-border integration as potentially disrupting the unity of that polity. On the contrary, the willingness to silence or dismiss Finnish demands for territorial restitution (which, by definition, are sovereign moves *par excellence*) indicates the operation of the integrationist logic, which prioritises international cooperation and institutionalisation over securing the inviolability of territorial borders.

Since Finland's entry into the EU in 1995, EU frameworks of cross-border cooperation (Interreg and Tacis, including the Tacis CBC subprogramme) have to a great extent supplanted bilateral Finnish–Russian programmes as the primary format of cooperation with Russia. In 1998 the Karelian government launched the proposal for the establishment of Euregio Karelia as an 'umbrella project', utilising the opportunities of the 'peripheral border area' status. Officially inaugurated in 2000, Euregio Karelia comprises the Republic of Karelia and the provinces of North Ostrobothnia, Kainuu and North Karelia in Finland. For the Republic of Karelia, the Euregio exemplifies a qualitative leap forward in Finnish–Karelian relations that both substantialises the EU initiative of the Northern Dimension and, conversely, places local-level cross-border cooperation in the wider macro-regional context.[75] The government also views the Euregio as a model of new forms of cooperation that could be replicated by other Russian regions in the North of Europe (Leningrad, Murmansk and Pskov oblasts). Katanandov's speech at the 4th meeting of the Management Committee of the Euregio proclaims that in the two years of its operation the Euregio project has become a genuine 'pilot project for the EU and Russia to design the mechanism of cooperation at the regional level' (Katanandov, 2000; see also Shlyamin, 2000a, 2002a).

In December 2000 a joint cross-border development programme entitled 'Our Common Border' was accepted by the Management Committee of the Euregio, articulating a joint approach of the four territories of the region to the management of cross-border interactions. The development of 'civil and information society' was officially stated as a grand 'umbrella objective' of the Euregio. In 2002 the EU officially approved the e-Karelia (electronic Karelia) programme, with the funding exceeding €2 000 000, that seeks to contribute to the development of 'information society' in the region. The e-Karelia programme posits the objective of the development of a 'knowledge-based', innovational economy and the strengthening of civil society through the utilisation of new information technologies for the stimulation of local civic activity. The programme, which envisions the intensification of cross-border contacts between both experts and citizens' organisations, explicitly invokes the conventional integrationist argument about international institutionalisation being conducive to the promotion of peace and 'joint security': '[the programme will] create opportunities at the *level of individual citizens and communities* for interaction, changing attitudes and pursuing more in-depth co-operation in order to prevent *border-related conflicts* and thereby at the local level *promote security*

between states' (*e-Karelia: Euregio Karelia as a Cultural Information Society*). This statement also indicates the abandonment of the ontopological mode of the constitution of the political community in the newly emergent 'common space': the actual subjects of integration are no longer sovereign states but individuals and communities within them, whose identity is no longer contained within the sovereign polity but is open to reconstruction through interactions in the common space.

The reception of the Euregio initiative among local analysts has been rather optimistic, with high expectations regarding the formation of a new macro-entity of 'Karelia' transcending the division between Russian and Finnish Karelias. According to Alexei Ukkone, the formation of the Euregio carries profound implications for the transformation of the very entity of Karelia from an area divided by borders into a new, cross-border regional body. 'This very model of cross border cooperation, if it continues to develop, creates a *wholly new situation in the region*. There is an invisible process of the *erosion of the interstate border*... As we are claiming the unity of a regional body, the obstacles to our interaction must logically weaken, which requires the transformation of the Russian–Finnish border climate with respect to the population of the new interstate entity of Karelia' (Ukkone, 2001a).

This optimistic vision demonstrates the significance of the Euregio project in displacing the divisive discourse of the border dispute and launching the construction of a new regional identity that transcends state borders. In terms of the dualism between sovereign and integrationist logics, this vision is a striking exemplar of the integrationist ideal of creating 'common spaces' that not merely promotes peace and cooperation, but ultimately operates on the ontological level, reshaping the identities of the political communities involved in the Euregio from distinct, ontopologically grounded sovereign entities to becoming the subjects within a new transnational polity. A similar vision has been expounded in the Finnish discourse by Pertti Joenniemi:

> The strategies applied tend to *work around borders*, thereby catering to a formation that transcends the previous territorially defined space along the border *without leading to new territorial demarcations*... A *regional system* may emerge with close interaction among the participating entities creating *integrated spaces* that diminish the hindrances caused by distance. The *spell of the territorial logic can be broken* by the utilisation and pooling of different location-specific strengths, i.e. resources not previously available because of the divisive effects of borders. (Joenniemi, 1998: 198)

This quotation features all the constitutive characteristics of the integrationist ideal, whose many affirmations and denials we have addressed in previous chapters: the eschatological vision of dispensing with the 'territorial logic', displacing existing dividing lines without creating new ones in this very process, the hope for the emergence of a political entity that is not bounded yet is internally integrated.

Tarja Cronberg, who played a key role in the establishment of Euregio Karelia as the Executive Director of the Regional Council of North Karelia, has both provided a first-hand empirical account of the formation and functioning of this model of cooperation in Karelia and addressed the implications of the growth of Euroregions theoretically, arguing for the appearance of new spaces for action that testify to a 'postmodern' transformation of the logic of sovereignty, as divisive borders turn into integrated borderlands. Cronberg explicitly notes that the background for the development of cooperation across the Finnish–Russian border has been made problematic by the 'scars of the war' and the continued existence of the 'Karelia back' discourse, both viewed as remnants from the period of the clash of sovereign logics (Cronberg, 2003).

Similarly, Karelian Minister of Foreign Relations Valery Shlyamin has remarked that the model of the Euroregion that the Karelian government analysed in greatest detail and eventually decided to emulate is the Egrenzis Euroregion on the border of Germany and the Czech Republic, precisely because it exemplifies successful cooperation across the border that used to '*divide* different sociopolitical and economic systems and two states with a *history of war* between them' (Shlyamin, 2000a). Nonetheless, the degree of cooperation and mutual trust between Finland and Russia, reached during the 1990s, is deemed to be impressive and explicitly linked with Finland's accession to the EU. The success is deemed all the more profound, since the border around which integration is unfolding is one of the lines along which a Huntingtonian 'clash of civilisations' has been envisioned.

According to Cronberg the formation of the Euregio is an instance of the *desecuritisation* of the Finnish–Russian border, in which the high political security agenda is sidelined by regional and local cooperation on issues that may be united under the rubric of 'soft security'. 'Security, seen in terms of threats to a national survival, is not part of cross-border activities. Trust building across the border, through cooperation and interaction in small projects on the local level, builds, however, *microstructures of security* for the future. *Healing the scars of wars* is an important aspect of the Euregio formation, and an activity which naturally takes place in a cross-border context' (Cronberg, 2003: 265). Thus, however

limited in scope, the case of Euregio Karelia exemplifies the local and practical operation of the logic whose theoretical articulation is frequently global and excessively abstract: the Euregio is a practical site, at which grand discourses of desecuritisation, peace through integration and the transcendence of the nation-state clash with similarly global visions of the 'clash of civilisations'.

The limits of integrationist equivalence

Despite the overwhelmingly positive reception of the Euregio project in both Russia and Finland, this form of cross-border integration is not without its problems. As we have argued in Chapter 2, the very institutional structure of the European Commission itself poses problems for the model such as the Euregio: since regional development and external relations are handled by different directorates-general of the Commission, the coordination of these activities (which is the very substance of the Euregio as a project of cross-border regional development) is frequently made problematic by bureaucratic hurdles. The combination of Tacis (external affairs) and Interreg (regional development) programmes under the umbrella of the Euregio is thus institutionally complicated. Cronberg has argued that the overall design of the Euregio, in which all decisions are made by the Joint Management Committee of Finnish and Russian representatives, is hampered by the EU's unwillingness to grant the Russian party any control over Interreg funds, which logically entails an asymmetric relation between Russian and Finnish partners in budgetary matters, which skews the overall managerial authority towards the EU side (Cronberg 2000, 2003; Shlyamin, 2002a, 2002c).

Besides the problems inherent in the very structure of the Euregio, its full integrative potential is also hampered by a number of problems that have to do with the overall context of EU–Russian interaction, which we have addressed at length in Chapter 5. Firstly, the equivalence of integrationist logics at the concrete site of the Euregio conflicts with the EU's uniform deployment of the sovereign logic in its visa policies towards Russia. The strict visa regime is the primary obstacle to the further development of cross-border cooperation within the framework of the Euregio. The insistence of the EU on the uniformity of the rules of the Schengen Agreement for all Russian regions contradicts its own ambition of fostering regional integration across the formerly contested borderlands. If what is at stake in the Euregio project is the establishment of a regional political entity with a higher degree of integration than between the EU and Russia in general, it follows logically that the population of this entity must be given privileged rights of access in

comparison with other Russian citizens; otherwise, the very concept of a cross-border community becomes entirely vacuous. The EU is thus simultaneously the 'condition of possibility' of the transformation of the Finnish–Russian border into an integrated borderland of the Euregio and the main structural constraint to this very transformation.

Secondly, the Russian deployment of the sovereign logic in resistance to the EU's dissemination of its mode of governance across the border similarly destabilises the pattern of equivalence at the site of the Euregio. As we have noted above, the Euregio is not a project with its own substantive programme of integration, but rather a common platform that connects manifold Tacis, Interreg and bilateral projects presently operating in Karelia. Thus, despite its own ambition of equal intersubjective partnership, the Euregio does not resolve the problems of asymmetric governance at work in technical assistance and policy advice projects, since these problems are not of local origin but rather descend from the more general design of 'integrated cross-border governance' that is at work in the EU's external relations policies. Despite Russia's positive reception of the Euregio as a format of cooperation, particular projects in this framework nonetheless continue to encounter resistance from both the regional authorities and from the policy designers on the level of the Northwestern Federal District. According to Valery Shlyamin, 'we have insistently raised the question of *harmonising EU programmes with Russian interests*, our own plans, since *we have ourselves designed a long-term programme of the socioeconomic development of the region until 2010*' (Shlyamin, 2000a). Similarly, the scientific director of the SDC-NW Yuri Perelygin is highly critical of the situation whereby Russian policy designers are cast in the a priori passive modality of apprentices or trainees in 'joint' projects with the EU and urges the regional expert community to develop autonomous strategic visions for the development of the Russian Northwest, which may then be found to partially overlap with the EU visions, thus creating the possibility of an intersubjective interface between sovereign spaces (see Perelygin, 2002).

Finally, the pattern of equivalence of integrationist logics suffers from the internal contradiction within the logic of integration that we have discussed at length in terms of both theoretical and practical implications. Any common space, created in international integrative practices, must logically be *bounded*, unless it is expanded to embrace the entire globe. Any 'incomplete' integrated unity logically continues to function as a sovereign polity alongside other sovereign polities, so the only transformation of the logic of sovereignty merely concerns a relocation of the

borderline rather than its dissolution. In the case of the Euregio, which is promoted as an entity that is both subnational (i.e. regional) and transnational, this conceptual problem is compounded by the relation of the integrated space of the Euregio to the sovereign states of Finland and Russia. It is evident that the Finnish provinces that belong to the Euregio do not in any way loosen their relations with the national authorities, if only because their membership in the Euregio does not entail any changes in their structures of governance, which are 'exported' to Russia, not the other way round. The 'European' segment of the Euregio is thus integrating a Russian region within the EU orbit, without itself being integrated anywhere, as it is already part of the EU and is in no way integrated into the Russian Federation.

In contrast, the Euregio automatically renders the Republic of Karelia distinct from other subjects of the Russian Federation not only nominally (by virtue of its membership in a transnational regional entity that is so far unprecedented in Russia) but also substantively, as the projects of the Euregio entail the extension of the EU's mode of governmentality to the Republic. Alexei Ukkone's (2001c) concerns that the Euregio project may be negatively perceived on the national level as fostering regional separatism are therefore correct in principle, even though such reception never manifested itself in practice, largely because of the relatively modest degree of integration that the Euregio has achieved so far. The problem is not so much the possibility of 'Karelian separatism' (which has so far been virtually non-existent in the Republic's politics) but the fact that the telos of 'ever-greater integration', inherent in the project of the creation of a transnational regional entity, poses the question of the actual limit of the process of integration: at what point will the inclusion of the Republic into the European 'common space' mean its exit, *de facto* if not *de jure*, from the ontopological space of Russian sovereign territoriality?

This question is not merely of academic interest, since from the perspective of the Russian Federation the 'commonality' of the space of the Euregio is highly questionable since other Russian regions are manifestly excluded from this form of cooperation. If the Russian population of the Euregio is ever endowed with rights and privileges (e.g. in visa policies) that are denied to the rest of the population, the European exclusionary practices would cut right through the Russian political community. In this manner, the integrationist logic would penetrate the sovereign polity, establishing its own zone of sovereignty within it, rather than dispensing with sovereignty as such. On the other hand, if no such exception is made and the EU's logic of sovereignty is deployed

uniformly in relation to all Russian regions, then the very ambition of the Euregio to become a 'transnational common space' is thoroughly compromised. The very development of the project of the Euregio towards the realisation of its ultimate ambition may thus cause it to collapse under the weight of its own contradictions.

Let us now summarise the 'conditions of impossibility' of the development of transnational integration in EU–Russian relations. Firstly, the integrationist framework itself may be structurally designed in a manner that installs asymmetries that contradict the intentions of both parties to engage in equal intersubjective partnership and rather recalls the logic of hierarchical inclusion. Secondly, local integrationist practices may unfold in the unfavourable context, in which at least one of the parties persists in the deployment of the logic of sovereignty at the national or Union level. Finally, the logic of integration itself stops being functional when the scope of its application is limited to subnational units, which poses the danger of new lines of exclusion being drawn inside a polity rather than on its external borders. Thus, the pattern of equivalence of integrative logics may at any point in time be disrupted by the resurgence of conflictual dispositions that are related either to the persistence of the sovereign logic in the policies of either of the parties or to the internal contradictions of the logic of integration itself. The integrationist mode of the equivalent interface between Russia and the EU therefore remains chronically unstable and at permanent risk of renewed dissent. In the final chapter we shall elucidate the more conceptual aspects of the instability of integrationist equivalences in terms of the constitutive paradoxes of the logic of integration. In the meantime we shall complete our analysis of the four patterns of the EU–Russian interface by addressing the final pattern, constituted by the equivalence of sovereign logics, and accounting for its relative stability in comparison with the integrationist interface.

Mutual delimitation: intersubjectivity and sovereign stability

EU–Russian intersubjectivity and legitimate difference

In our theoretical model of conflict emergence we have defined the pattern of mutual delimitation as constituted by the equivalent interface of two sovereign logics, i.e. a situation when both Russia and the EU renounce the ambitions of creating an overarching common space of integrated governance and a unitary political subjectivity and instead

mutually agree on guiding their relations with each other by the recognition of each other's particularity and, hence, legitimate difference. In this manner, the deployment of universalist discourses, akin to those of 'good governance', is disqualified from the interaction of the two parties, which no longer seek to reshape or convert the other but rather to cooperate in the areas where their respective interests may overlap. Simply put, cooperation in this pattern of interface is based on locating the lowest common denominator in the policy visions of the two parties, which serves as the ground for the design and implementation of cooperative activities.

The central principle in this model is therefore *intersubjectivity*, understood as the assumption of a fundamental equality of the two parties in communicative processes. The 'subject–object' relationship, problematised in the Russian critique of the EU's extension of its model of governance to Russia in technical assistance policies, thereby gives way to a 'subject–subject' relationship, whereby a minimal identity of the two parties is not to be achieved through conversion, but is rather present from the outset, being inherent in the mutual recognition of difference. 'Two actors cannot recognise each other as different without recognising that, at some level, they are also the same' (Wendt, 2003: 512). However minimalist, this assumption of identity provides sufficient common ground for cooperation and logically excludes the two modalities of conflict that relate to the problematics of exclusion and self-exclusion, since neither of the parties entertains an interest in the establishment of an integrated unity with the other. What this pattern also excludes is of course the very possibility of transnational 'common spaces', since the latter approach would contradict the foundational assumption of the distinct and particularistic character of the respective political communities, which calls for the retention of their autonomous identities rather than the construction of a common identity. Thus, the mutual delimitation of sovereignties results in the creation of a pluralistic space of interaction, whose 'commonality' is exhausted by the mutual recognition of the legitimate difference of the other.

As we have argued in the previous chapter, this pattern is not necessarily cooperative and may in principle produce conflicts, though of a very particular kind. The recognition of legitimate difference makes impossible the conflicts that seek subordination, conquest or the elimination of the other, restricting the possible violence to what John Ruggie (1998) terms 'positional' as opposed to 'constitutive' warfare, i.e. wars of limited objective and intensity, in which the goal may be to reconfigure

the balance of power or decide on the appropriation of contested territories or possessions.

These conflicts, historically characteristic of the European states' system of the Westphalian era, have been conspicuous by their absence in the twentieth century, marked by the wars of ideological enmity and annihilation. As we discussed above, the very emergence of highly intense wars of annihilation is theorised in political realism, most notably by Carl Schmitt, as owing to the relativisation of the principle of sovereignty in the twentieth century, through a double gesture of the weakening of sovereignty domestically in the subjection of state to society and the delegitimation of sovereignty internationally through the spread of universalist doctrines of humanitarianism and 'just war'.[76]

> Universalistic concepts can be put to intensive political use . . . The enemy is easily expropriated of his human quality. He is declared an outlaw of humanity. A war against this kind of 'absolute enemy', as Schmitt calls him, is necessarily unusually intense and inhuman because . . . it reduces the enemy into moral and other value categories, turning him into a monster that must not only be defeated but also utterly destroyed. The absolute enemy encounters an *undivided humanity* that regards him as already always proscribed by God or by nature. (Ojakangas, 2004a: 76–7)

Paradoxically, the integrationist desire to eliminate war as such from the human condition results in the emergence of highly intense 'wars to end all wars', while the recognition of the ever-present possibility of war as inherent to the human condition has led to the establishment of sophisticated arrangements to *bracket* war, i.e. to limit its occurrence and destructive effects. 'The essence of such wars was a *regulated contest of forces* gauged by witnesses in a *bracketed space*. Such wars are the *opposite of disorder*' (Schmitt, 2003: 187). In this pattern of conflict, which accords with our construct of mutual delimitation, war stops being equivalent to chaos and indiscriminate destruction and becomes in itself an *international institution*, a set of principles and arrangements shared by the states that compose the system.

Since military conflict is logically the most extreme stage of conflict development, we may suggest that the *mitigating logic* of mutual delimitation also characterises the non-violent stages of the conflict, i.e. issue and identity conflicts, with which we are dealing in the case of EU–Russian relations. Mutual delimitation can be viewed as a reciprocal renunciation by both parties of integrationist designs towards each

other. In terms of our theoretical model, both parties thereby simultaneously practise both the *exclusion* of the other from their sovereign space of the constitution of the political community and the *self-exclusion* of themselves from each other's internal processes. Crucially, both of these practices must be undertaken and accepted by both parties in a reciprocal manner, so that no conflict-generating asymmetries that we have described in the previous chapter may arise.

Just as the abandonment of the utopia of eradication of war results in the success of practical measures at its limitation and rationalisation, the abandonment of the unqualified integrationist ideal may generate, in the course of intersubjective interaction, a variety of practical measures towards the development and even institutionalisation of cooperation. For example, Russia's withdrawal of its proposals for visa-free travel between Russia and the EU and the reorientation of its own visa policies in accordance with a principle of strict reciprocity may, in the process of negotiations and bargaining, result in decisions on the mutual relaxation of the visa regime without unilateral concessions on the part of Russia. Similarly, the EU's renunciation of its policies of promotion of democracy and 'good governance' in Russia may produce a pattern of intersubjective interface, of the kind sought by SDC-NW in its programme of the development of the Russian Northwest, in which both parties manage to locate overlapping areas of interest and shared policy approaches, in which cooperative arrangements may be developed and institutionalised, without the risk of the resurgence of conflict due to the clash of incompatible logics.

It is to be emphasised that as a state that is not even potentially viewed in terms of prospective EU membership, Russia is only to be expected to 'take exception' from externally designed rules and norms of European 'good governance'. As the prospect of Russia's EU membership is increasingly perceived even by the liberal political forces (e.g. Chubais's 'liberal imperialism') as both unlikely and ultimately unattractive, and Russia's foreign policy becomes more assertive due to the political stabilisation and consolidation in the Putin presidency, it appears unrealistic to anticipate Russia embarking (even in a selective and lukewarm manner) on the course of approximating its legislation and practices to the EU *acquis communautaire*, all the while remaining excluded from the institutional format of integration, i.e. from all processes of decision-making. 'Sharing everything except institutions', the official formula of the EU's Wider Europe policy begins to appear far less benign in its consequences than is usually thought. What is this formula, if not a precise definition of hierarchical inclusion, an offer to

become part of a 'common space' without playing any part in its establishment and management? Indeed, the basic asymmetry in EU–Russian relations relates precisely to the paradoxical combination of the extension of the EU's governmental rationality to the Russian polity and the institutional exclusion of Russia from integrative arrangements. Bluntly put, the EU attempts to operate as a governmental actor *in* Russia, at the same time as it seeks to leave Russia *out* of its own structures of governance. Superimposed upon one another, the cases of the visa regime and technical assistance demonstrate this unity of exclusion and inclusion, which leads to the simultaneous articulation of the conflict narratives of exclusion and self-exclusion in the Russian discourse. It therefore appears evident that in order to prevent the occurrence of these types of conflicts Russia and the EU must first resolve the presently ambivalent status of Russia in relation to 'European integration' as both 'included' in it and 'excluded' from it, or, more precisely, 'included-as-excluded' (cf. Agamben, 1998). Since Russia's accession to the EU is not envisioned as a viable option by both parties, the relations between them must logically remain international in the sense of being grounded in the mutual recognition and delimitation of sovereignties, in which both exclusion and self-exclusion are, as we have argued, reciprocal and hence not conflictual.

Thus, the pattern of mutual delimitation may be viewed as an intermediate, if not a final, stage of conflict resolution. As we have defined conflict in terms of the incompatibility of subject positions (i.e. a dissensual mode of their interface), conflict resolution may be understood as the process of achieving greater compatibility between the positions of the two parties. In our theoretical model, this compatibility may take the shape of the equivalence of either integrationist or sovereign logics. However, in the previous section we have already claimed that the equivalent interface of integrationist designs in EU–Russian relations remains unstable for reasons that are not merely contextual, but also have to do with the internal contradictions of the integrationist logic, which must be limitless in order to be sustainable and fully symmetric in order not to be equivalent to hierarchical inclusion. We must now pose the questions of whether the equivalent interface of sovereign logics produces any more stable outcomes and of what accounts for this stability.

The arguments for the stability of the pattern of mutual delimitation may be both empirical and conceptual. Empirically, we need only note the extraordinary historical stability of the Westphalian system of sovereign statehood, which was able to withstand a variety of universalist

challenges, from the integrationist claims of the Roman Catholic Church at the moment of its emergence to the 'world-revolutionary' aspirations of international communism. Even the presently perceived 'crisis' of the Westphalian order and the premonitions of a 'post-Westphalian era' of globalisation are only tentative indications of the existence of powerful tendencies that contradict the Westphalian ideal, but clearly not a confirmation of the demise of sovereign statehood. Since addressing the interminable theoretical discourse on 'overcoming sovereignty' is beyond the scope of this book, let us merely recall that despite the evident desire to overcome the logic of sovereignty through integration and unification, the conceptual dilemma of the one and the many sovereign states remains unresolved. Firstly, the world state, the inevitability of which is not merely pronounced by Wendt (2003) but also implied in the entire genre of the cosmopolitan discourse of integration, is not yet on the horizon. Secondly, as we will discuss in more detail below, were it ever to be established, the world state would necessarily be chronically unstable and permanently relapse into violence that in this constellation will take the form of wars of secession – the extreme version of the conflict of self-exclusion.

The empirical evidence of the stability of the mutual delimitation of sovereignties may be supported with conceptual arguments. Firstly, this pattern is constituted by the recognition of legitimate difference, which makes every actor in this system a priori valuable rather than in need of transformation, correction or re-education that would validate his right of existence. There is no possibility of any legitimate intervention for the purpose of the hierarchical inclusion of the other in the integrated space of governance, however 'good'. Secondly, if this recognition of difference is reciprocal, both exclusion and self-exclusion are no longer communicated as grievances, since they are in fact constitutive of the system itself. The two central narratives of conflict that we have identified in EU–Russian relations are both rendered impossible, once mutual delimitation has been achieved. Finally and consequently, if the two parties do decide intersubjectively to embark on the creation of symmetrically integrated 'common spaces', such integration can only be relatively modest and therefore non-conflictual, since the limits to any more ambitious integration, that would dissolve difference in the constitution of a common identity, are present in the very structure of the system.

Thus, within the pattern of mutual delimitation a relation between two parties A and B is likely be both stable and non-conflictual. We must nonetheless issue a caveat that this argument does not cover the relations between A and B with regard to party C, with which at least

one of the parties does *not* have a relation of mutual delimitation. The classical example from the European states' system is the existence of the so-called 'amity lines', which delimited the space of bracketed and limited conflict between European states from the open space of unrestrained pursuit of colonial possessions (Schmitt, 2003). As with every regulated system, the model of mutual delimitation must either be global and thus closed (which precludes the existence of the open space of unlimited conflict) or spatially circumscribed and thus surrounded by the Outside, where its principles do not apply. However, in contrast to the integrationist logic, in which 'global closure' is inscribed as the telos of integration, the sovereign logic of mutual delimitation produces identical effects irrespective of the degree of its universalisation – we may easily envision both a bilateral structure of mutual delimitation, operating between two states or blocs and a universal structure of the same kind, whose contours are at least hinted at by the post-war development of the United Nations. While in the latter case there is no exterior to the space of recognised legitimate difference, in the case of the non-universal character of mutual delimitation there remain spaces whose legitimate difference is not recognised and which are therefore open to integrationist designs and hierarchical inclusion.

In the case of EU–Russian relations, such an exterior may be provided by the post-Soviet space of the CIS. Since the theme of bilateral relations of Russia and the EU with the post-Soviet states is beyond the scope of our discussion, let us merely remark that conflicts between Russia and the EU over the influence on these states, such as the conflict episode during the electoral controversy in the Ukraine in 2004,[77] may well persist even if the relations between Russia and the EU are characterised by mutual delimitation, just as long as at least one of the parties does not enjoy a similar delimitative arrangement with the 'third party' in question. In other words, if either Russia or the EU maintains the integrationist logic in relations with a third party that the other perceives as either illegitimate in terms of the principle of sovereignty (e.g. the hierarchical inclusion of a CIS state into the EU space of governance) or as conflicting with its own integrationist logic with regard to that party (e.g. the Russian attempts at the reintegration of the post-Soviet space), conflictual dispositions may be reactivated despite the pattern of mutual delimitation, although in a strict sense they will be no longer directed at each other. The logical conclusion is that it is only the universalisation of mutual delimitation in interstate relations that disables the formation of conflictual dispositions of the kind that we have articulated in our interpretative model.

If mutual delimitation does indeed produce stable and relatively pacific effects, it may be puzzling that this pattern of interface remains rarely theorised or posited as a practical solution to the problems in EU–Russian relations. Moreover, even in our account mutual delimitation figures as a largely hypothetical case, a possible scenario of the development of EU–Russian relations that has not yet been explicitly proposed as a policy design. This is not to say that the effects of mutual delimitation are not observable: Russia's shift towards reciprocity on visa issues and the noticeable downgrading of ambitious EU initiatives towards Russia (e.g. the Northern Dimension) all point to the resurgence of symmetric, reciprocal policies. However, in the public discourse these effects are either ignored or perceived as failures of the integrationist approaches of both parties (Haukkala, 2003; Bordachev, 2004). Both the European disillusionment with the course of events in Russia during the second term of the Putin presidency, evident in the highly critical reception of Putin's administrative reforms and 'anti-oligarchic' campaigns, and the increasing relevance of the Russian 'left-conservative' discourse, which proposes to 'get over' Europe point to the mutual disappointment of the parties in each other (see Trenin, 2004; Åslund, 2005; Myers, 2003).

This perception of the turn to more symmetric and sovereignty-based relations as a failure demonstrates the continued predominance of the integrationist logic as a hegemonic vision for EU–Russian relations. This is of course not surprising in the case of the EU, which is an integrationist project *par excellence*, since the disavowal of the goal of the integration of Russia in principle, in some form and at some point, would contradict the substance of the European project. However, this is also true in the case of Russia, for which Europe has historically been a key, if highly problematic, element in its own self-definition. Aside from the left-conservative attempt to banish Europe from the constitution of Russian political identity, 'integration with Europe' has remained a virtually uncontestable telos, even as practically all attempts at its practical implementation have ended in disappointment. As President Putin remarked in his annual Address to the Federal Assembly in May 2004, shortly after the EU enlargement, European integration is not only a matter of economic policy, but also a 'spiritual' question (Putin, 2004). As long as a certain policy is elevated to the level of a 'spiritual' necessity, its ideal may remain immune from criticism despite its negative manifestations in practice.

Thus, as we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, the Russian conflict discourse has largely oscillated between the criticism of actual integrative

efforts on behalf of the EU as 'not really, properly, fully' integrative and the proposals for remedying these problems through more symmetric, equitable and non-hierarchical integration. The innovative character of left conservatism consists precisely in its thoroughgoing delegitimation of the paradigm of integration as such. In a less extreme manner, a similar rethinking of the virtues of integration characterises the 'right-wing-liberal' discourse of reduplication of the figure of Europe: to *become* European one no longer needs to *join* Europe in its current institutional form of the EU. Thus, at the moment of writing, the Russian political discourse is only beginning to be stripped of the valorisation of the telos of integration as an a priori good.

Mutual delimitation vs the 'world state': world unity and the denigration of sovereignty

This hegemonic status of the telos of integration is of course understandable in the context of the predominance of integrationist and cosmopolitan approaches in contemporary international theory and practice.[78] In contrast, the sovereign logic appears strongly delegitimised, unless it is supplemented by at least a purely rhetorical invocation of the telos of 'world unity' as a regulative idea. Let us suggest that the primary reason for this is the current tendency to construct a daunting 'straw-figure' out of the principle of sovereignty. Innumerable articles, books and conferences promise to take us 'beyond Westphalia' with surprisingly little appreciation of what the Westphalian system actually managed to achieve in terms of conflict management. The dense historical reality of the reconfiguration of the European political order from an internally torn universality, ridden with extremely violent conflicts, towards a universally recognised delimitation of particularisms, in which intra-European war was bracketed and regulated, disappears in the proliferation of abstract notions of 'anarchy' and questionable references to Hobbes's 'war of all against all'. In order to account for the lack of attention to and appreciation of the conflict-mitigating potential of the pattern of mutual delimitation of sovereignties, we therefore need to probe the ways in which the pluralistic logic of sovereignty is reinscribed in the integrationist discourse.

The construction of the straw-figure of the sovereign states' system is well illustrated by Wendt's thesis on the inevitability of the world state, one of the most influential and thoroughgoing integrationist arguments in contemporary IR theory, which we shall rely on in our interpretation of the contemporary denigration of the sovereign logic of mutual delimitation. In Wendt's teleological argument, that is admittedly purely

conceptual rather than historical (Wendt 2003: 517), it is the very 'logic of anarchy' (i.e. the pluralistic logic of sovereignty) that drives the international system from the territorial (ontopological) mode of constitution of political communities to the establishment of a global structure of authority. Contrary to our argument about the stability of the pattern of mutual delimitation, Wendt argues that 'all stages short of the world state are unstable' (ibid.). At the same time, Wendt remains surprisingly optimistic about the stability of the global figure of the world state and dismissive of the concerns about its dangers that have been expressed in the IR tradition since its very emergence: the despotic nature of the world state, its proneness to wars of secession, etc. (ibid.: 525–8). The world state is simply cast as a stable outcome, since the appropriation of the monopoly on legitimate violence by one actor rather than a plurality of them serves to delegitimise all 'non-world-state' violence as crime and thus *rhetorically* eliminates the condition of war, without of course any necessary decrease in the actual exercise of violence. 'Since even a world state would not be a closed system, it would always be vulnerable to *temporary disruptions*. However, a world state would differ from anarchy in that it would constitute such disruptions as *crime, not as politics or history*. The possibility of crime may always be with us, but it does not constitute a stable alternative to a world state' (Wendt, 2003: 28).

This vision bears a striking resemblance to Schmitt's ominous prophecy of world unity as the administration of people and things by a global police power. Yet, unlike Schmitt, Wendt appears to have no normative disagreement with the fact that struggles against hegemony or domination, which indeed have constituted politics and history as we know them, would be recast as criminal acts in the new order of the world state, subject to global police interventions rather than interstate war. Unwittingly or otherwise, this thesis legitimises contemporary 'pre-emptive wars', both multilateral and unilateral, as police operations against illegitimate, criminal 'foes' rather than 'bracketed' encounters between legitimate enemies. In fact, the structural unity of the world state does not logically do anything to prevent one of the most violent forms of conflict, civil war, from unfolding on the global scale. Yet, none of this seems to invalidate the purely logical argument that the monopolisation of the right to exercise violence by a global structure of authority is more stable that its dispersion among a plurality of particularistic communities. The argument for the stability of the world state has therefore less to do with the actual features of the world state itself than with a highly idiosyncratic understanding of the system that the

world state is meant to transcend, i.e. the 'anarchic' system of sovereign states.

This argument, which to a certain extent characterises the entire integrationist genre, proceeds from the initial assumption that the logic of anarchy in the system of sovereign states is invariably characterised by the universal relation of enmity. Wendt's 'first stage' in the development of the world system is the so-called Hobbesian 'culture of anarchy':

> This is the stage of *complete non-recognition*, what Hobbes called the 'war of all against all'... This system is constituted by three boundary conditions – the fact of multiple interacting states, or *simple difference*; the absence of any mechanism to enforce cooperation among these states (*anarchy*); and a *mutual belief that they are 'enemies'*... Because there is no recognition there is no perceived collective identity in the system, and by implication states *do not even have genuine subjectivity*. (Wendt, 2003: 517)

It is evident that this description is furthest away from the concept of mutual delimitation that in our argument characterises the equivalence between the logics of sovereignty, deployed by interacting states.[79] Yet we ought to pose the question of whether this 'culture' has ever existed in practice at any point in world history. The compulsory reference to Hobbes is unhelpful here, since even in Hobbes's account (whose problematic applicability to the international realm has been addressed in Hedley Bull's (1977) classic thesis on the 'domestic analogy') the 'war of all against all' is manifestly *not* a historical condition, but a *conceptual construct*, deployed rhetorically to legitimise the foundation of the state and the absolute powers of the sovereign.

> What Hobbes calls the war of every man against every man is in no sense *a real historical war, but a play of presentations* that allows every man to evaluate the threat that every man represents to him, to evaluate the willingness of others to fight, and to assess the risk that he himself would run if he resorted to force. Sovereignty ... is established not by the fact of warlike domination, but, on the contrary, by a calculation that makes it possible to avoid war. *For Hobbes, it is a nonwar that founds the State and gives it its form*. (Foucault, 2003: 270)

In this sense, Wendt's own argument is itself strictly Hobbesian in the sense of deploying a 'play of presentations' to gain adherence to the

submission of a plurality of sovereign authorities to the world state. The Hobbesian 'culture of anarchy' is a purely abstract construct that could never be actualised in practice: the existence of universal enmity between states, none of which recognise each other as states and lack even their own subjectivity, is simply inconceivable. Yet it is precisely this *impossible* situation that plays a crucial role in the teleological argument for integration and world unity.

In line with Hobbes's rhetoric, it is in order to evade this 'unpleasant' situation that states allegedly embark on the road to integration, exchanging mutual recognition at the second stage of 'international society', delegitimising violent resolution of interstate conflict at the third stage of 'world society', agreeing to defend each other against anyone's threat at the fourth stage of 'collective security' and, finally, surrendering their sovereignty at the final stage of 'world statehood'. These stages are apparently constituted by the gradual limitation of state sovereignty in favour of international integrative arrangements. At the same time, Wendt explicitly notes that each of the stages preceding the world state remains unstable, precisely because at these stages states still *retain* their sovereignty, which gives them capacity to revoke recognition and engage in aggression: 'As long as the right to kill is not permanently surrendered to an authority with the capability to enforce recognition, Others will remain vulnerable to a change of policy by the Self' (Wendt, 2003: 523).

It follows logically from this that all the intermediate stages in Wendt's teleological process are perfectly conceivable as outcomes of the sovereign logic of mutual delimitation rather than the telos of integration. As we have argued above, nothing in the logic of sovereignty precludes cooperative arrangements that may achieve various degrees of institutionalisation. Evidently, sovereign states *must*, for their sovereignty to mean anything at all, recognise the sovereignty of the Other (stage II), *may* intersubjectively agree on the non-violent resolution of conflicts (stage III) and *could* even install mechanisms of collective security to protect themselves from attempts at global or regional hegemony, or, in other words, a 'hierarchical inclusion' into the 'common space' of the Other (stage IV). All of these developments may take place on the basis of particular interests of the participating states and precisely for the purpose of the retention of their sovereignty rather than its ultimate renunciation at the final stage: the disqualification of the violent resolution of interstate disputes and the establishment of collective mechanisms to resist aggression ultimately protect spatially bounded, particularistic communities from their enfolding in the integrationist

designs of the Other. After all, what is a collective security system, if not a protective mechanism that ensures the preservation of the pluralistic space of legitimate difference, whose members are mutually recognised sovereign states?

The teleological argument for world statehood thereby appears to be inherently flawed, since the advent of the final stage appears to be purely contingent rather than necessitated by prior dynamics, which may rather be guided by the desire to maintain and protect sovereignty. We suggest that the flaws of this teleological scheme are grounded in the initial deployment of the Hobbesian fiction of universal enmity as the constitutive feature of the system of sovereign states. Let us recall that in this construction the system is characterised by 'simple difference', enmity is a priori present, while recognition and subjectivity are absent. The analysis of the relation between these three assumptions will allow us to pinpoint the fundamental features of the integrationist logic, which, due to its present discursive hegemony, lead to the misconstrual of the system of mutual delimitation as unstable or violent.

Difference, otherness and enmity in the logics of sovereignty and integration

Why does the ontological condition of 'simple difference' lead to the absence of recognition and, in turn, the lack of subjectivity? As we have discussed above, Wendt's argument relies on the thesis that recognition of difference depends on the assumption of at least a minimal identity: for two states to recognise each other as different, they must also recognise themselves as, to a certain degree, the same. Yet, this logical assumption of 'sameness-in-difference' is further substantialised by Wendt in a highly contestable manner: 'Perhaps paradoxically, if the desire for recognition is about being accepted as different, the effect of mutual recognition is to constitute *collective identity* or *solidarity* . . . By recognising the status of the other and accepting normative constraints on the Self, which that implies, one is *making the Other part of the Self* – she is no longer purely Other. When recognition is reciprocal, therefore, *two Selves in effect become one, a "We"* or collective identity' (ibid.: 512).

This argument goes far beyond the mere recognition of 'sameness-in-difference' but rather posits that mutually recognised, rather than 'simple', difference is only thinkable on the basis of a more fundamental Sameness. By the same token, the Self only becomes endowed with subjectivity, when this subjectivity is recognised by the Other, which also logically presupposes that any subjectivity gained through recognition is necessarily *common*: any Self is thus necessarily a product

of the process that Wendt describes as 'two Selves becoming one', which makes 'collective identity' the only possible identity. Indeed, if recognition depends on 'making the Other part of the Self', then any subjectivity at all is only thinkable on the basis of an underlying structure of identity, paving the way for the telos of world unity, which is merely the actualisation of this fundamental Sameness. Yet this argument suffers from two flaws.

Firstly, if subjectivity is an effect of recognition, *what* is the Self at the initial moment of the struggle for recognition, before recognition is granted? Some subjectivity needs to be there for the Self to figure as a party to any possible encounter, which entails that besides 'social interaction', subjectivity is also gained through *self-fashioning*, i.e. the constitution of one's own self in 'individual' rather than 'collective' practices. The problem is contained in Wendt's definition of subjectivity in sociological terms of identity or role, which is necessarily relational. Yet why must subjectivity be thought as *identity* (which logically invokes Sameness by inviting the question 'identity with *what*?') rather than *difference itself*? Indeed, such an understanding characterises a number of philosophical traditions, from Foucault's conceptualisation of the subject as the very opposite of socially or governmentally constructed identity, constituted in resistance to it, to Slavoj Žižek's reading of the subject as the *gap*, the purely negative figure that indicates the non-coincidence of the individual with his role in the symbolic order.[80] In both cases, the subject is posited precisely as difference, and, moreover, the difference from the identity that is constructed socially or assigned to the subject in a certain distribution of power relations. Subjectivity may thus well be constituted through acts of non-recognition of the other, particularly insofar as the other in question remains hostile to the 'simple difference' of the self and seeks to incorporate it within its own identity.

Secondly, and consequently, it appears impossible to equate the process of recognition with the constitution of a collective identity. Such an argument is only plausible at a highly abstract level and even a mild concretisation renders it questionable. It is as if the recognition of sexual equality in social, political or economic terms displaces the very question of sexual difference through the installation of some underlying identity (necessarily abstract and politically meaningless, such as 'human being'). Similarly, the recognition of cultural difference in any multiculturalism worthy of its name, must not invoke a postulate of a deeper cultural identity in order not to be a vacuous hypocrisy. When the recognition of difference is indeed reciprocal (as in the pattern of mutual delimitation of sovereignties), what is created is a pluralistic

system, with which the subjects of interaction indeed identify themselves, but not an identity that incorporates and effaces difference. For instance, the establishment of legal guarantees of non-discrimination by gender, race, faith or sexual orientation transforms the environment of interaction of particular differences, but does nothing to ameliorate the differences themselves. Subjectivity is thus possible prior to the process of recognition and the effect of this process need not be the erasure of the distinction between the Self and the Other through their subsumption under the category of the Same. Indeed, the history of the Westphalian system demonstrates that a relational structure of sovereign equality may easily coexist with the maintenance of irreducible difference between the participants.

If this is true, then the assumption of the necessary link between 'simple difference' and 'mutual enmity' no longer holds. We may well envision a system, constituted by the minimal mutual recognition of sovereign states as 'simply different', particularistic communities, in the absence of any overarching structure of authority. The possibility of conflict is, in accordance with the maxims of political realism, indeed ever-present, simply because differences may of course be or become incommensurable. However, this incommensurability acquires conflict potential only when at least one party to the interstate interaction begins to perceive the difference of the Other as illegitimate or, in Wendt's terms, 'as crime, not as politics and history'. At this point the interaction abandons the pattern of mutual delimitation and is recast in terms of the dissensual interface of sovereign and integrationist logics. Territorial conquest, manifest or covert intervention into domestic politics, hegemonic and imperial forms of rule are not effects of mutual delimitation, but rather of its failure or, in terms of our theoretical model, the replacement of the equivalence of sovereign logics by a dissensual interface. In this reading, enmity is not an inherent characteristic of some presupposed primordial stage in the development of the international domain towards world unity, but a permanently possible relation, constituted by the intensification of the mismatch between the logics that the respective parties apply towards each other.

Why, then, is Wendt's construction of the international system of sovereign states characterised by the a priori attribution of enmity? An answer is provided by the intriguing identity that is established between three distinct concepts: *difference, otherness* and *enmity*. For Wendt, 'simple difference', unmediated by reciprocal recognition, produces a situation of 'pure otherness', in which there is no common identity between the states, which in turn renders them 'mutual

enemies'. Difference thereby collapses into otherness, which in turn is deemed causal of enmity. Both of these moves are problematic. Firstly, the concepts of difference and otherness are not equivalent, since the very idea of otherness makes sense only from the perspective of a certain self, while difference is easily conceivable without any mediation through an identity. Difference is an ontological characteristic of the human condition, and, by extension, an inherent feature of the political ontology of international relations. In international relations, there is necessarily an Outside to any identity or community and thus an ever-present possibility of radical difference, which cannot be accommodated under a common identity. The attempt to 'domesticate' the international through the deployment of the teleology of world unity would, if successful, only entail that the Outside would *penetrate* the inside of the new structure, permanently *destabilising* it from within through civil wars or wars of secession. While in the pluralistic international space conflict is always possible, in the domesticated space of the world state it would be almost inevitable, possible to contain only through extreme repression.

In contrast, the concept of otherness belongs not to the ontological but rather to the ontic or empirical domain. Otherness is constituted by arresting the free flow of difference through drawing dividing lines between the Self (constituted in and by difference) and that which is outside it. Since the Self is by definition a positivity, then so is the Other, who is in a strict sense co-dependent on the Self for his existence. Otherness is nothing other than the identification of difference. The process of 'othering' is the other side of the process of the constitution of the self: contrary to what a 'social constructivist' argument suggests, the Other does not pre-exist the Self, but emerges simultaneously with it in the very act of the distinction between the two. 'Othering' is thus a process that goes beyond what Wendt calls 'simple difference', since it conceives of difference as *problematic*, opting for a clear identification and localisation of both the Self and the Other.

The ultimate difference between sovereign and integrationist paradigms is that the former is constituted and sustained by these ontopological practices of identification and localisation, while the latter is animated by the desire to overcome this division in the advent of the final unity of the Self and the Other. Thus, the logics of sovereignty and integration both practise the gestures of othering, yet only in the logic of integration does otherness figure as a problem to be *resolved* rather than a condition to be *maintained* through the ontopological delimitation of the space of the sovereign Self. Secondly, only in this logic does otherness lead to

the assumption of enmity, an assumption that has little to do with one's malevolence or hostility towards any concrete embodiment of otherness, since the enemy in this configuration is otherness itself. Otherness *embodies* difference and marks the existence of the Outside, which testifies to the absence of world unity and the incomplete nature of any process of integration. The existence of otherness is what poses the limit to integration and simultaneously drives it forward, indicating a space yet to be incorporated into the system of inclusion.

Returning to Wendt's characterisation of the initial stage in the development of the international system, we may finally elucidate the reasoning at work in it: simple, unmediated difference is dangerous because it threatens the stability of the subjectivity of the Self, since it leaves the Other unidentified and unlocalised, which entails that the entire space outside of the Self is the space populated by the Enemy. Evidently, this argument is only thinkable from the perspective of the logic of integration at its conclusive stage of 'world statehood'. Only when the Self posits itself as an embryonic form of the Universal, may otherness be viewed as inherently inimical. Ironically, Wendt's teleological process works better backwards: each subsequent stage provides the perspective from which the critique of previous stages becomes meaningful. The strongly prejudiced, 'straw-figure' construction of the system, constituted by the logic of sovereignty, is made meaningful only in the context of the desire for the domestication of the international, whereby all difference will, firstly, be assigned a concrete locus of otherness, and, secondly, incorporated into the general frame of the Same.

The fundamental feature of the logic of integration is therefore *its utter intolerance of difference*, unless the latter is identified in positive, spatial terms of otherness, so that it then could be subsumed under the grand identity of 'world unity'. Irrespective of all proclamations of pluralism, multiculturalism, decentralisation and participation that characterise the contemporary integrationist discourse, this logic only accepts *that* difference, which it incorporates in its own system and does not tolerate the existence of either pure difference outside it or unidentified, 'blind-spot' difference within it. In Jacques Ranciere's terms, this logic, which he labels 'police' as opposed to politics, which is precisely about the expression of difference and dissent, is constituted by 'the intolerance for the void':

> The police is a partition of the sensible, whose principle is the *absence of a void and of a supplement*... The essence of the police is neither repression nor even control over the living. Society consists

> of groups dedicated to specific modes of action, in places where these occupations are exercised, in modes of being corresponding to these occupations and these places. *In this fittingness of functions, places and ways of being there is no place for a void*. (Ranciere, 2001: 8)

This reading is highly illuminating for the understanding of the relation of the integrationist logic to difference. It is obviously not the case that all integrationist designs are intolerant of all expressions of difference or dissent. Indeed, many of them, including the 'participatory governance' operative in the EU's logic of integration with respect to Russia, pride themselves on appreciating and respecting difference and creating conditions for it to flourish. Yet this appreciation refers to the internal pluralism within the integrated unity, the pluralism that is sanctioned by the system and the difference that is rendered positive by this sanction, assigned both a locus and a function in the system. On the other hand, the difference that is truly extrasystemic and the demands for pluralism on the level of the system itself rather than its internal structure are invariably perceived as a danger to the system and cast, as both Schmitt and Wendt demonstrate with sharply different normative implications, as criminal, illegitimate or simply monstrous. Logically, the integrationist project, which poses as its ultimate outcome the world state, cannot tolerate the presence of extrasystemic difference that challenges the very possibility of world unity. The 'sleight of hand', involved in the 'respect for otherness', enunciated in contemporary integrationist designs that take pride in advancing 'unity-in-diversity', is evident: such forms of 'pluralism' are essentially vacuous, since they are conditioned by the prior occupation of the systemic meta-level that necessarily remains vacant in a structure of mutual delimitation by a necessarily particularistic subjectivity, which defines the legitimate boundaries of the expression of difference. The characterisation of oneself as a 'pluralist' is therefore both hypocritical and ultimately meaningless: pluralism is an attribute of the environment of interaction between differences that are ontologically equal to each other, rather than a designator of a privileged status of a particular subjectivity (e.g. a European liberal-democrat) that practises a condescending 'tolerance' of the Other.

Thus, the key contrast between the logics of sovereignty and integration concerns their relation to political difference: the logic of sovereignty stops short of the equation of otherness with the figure of the enemy that the telos of integration must logically presuppose. While both logics efface pure, ontological difference through spatially bounding

the identities of the selves and the construction of empirical others, within the sovereign logic these figures simultaneously function as both guarantees of and limits to sovereignty. In contrast, within the logic of integration otherness is a transitory phenomenon, eventually to be incorporated within the system of world unity, in which all difference is safely grounded in the underlying identity of the Same. The logic of mutual delimitation is thus considerably less violent in relation to otherness, though it can also be read as 'betraying' pure difference that is the ontological condition of international politics. It may therefore be proposed as the mechanism of conflict resolution between Russia and the EU, without being viewed as an ideal mode of reconstructing the EU–Russian relationship.

In the final chapter, we shall discuss the possibilities of going beyond the pattern of mutual delimitation and reconstructing the EU–Russian relationship on the basis of principles that are more appreciative of difference and genuine pluralism. At this stage, let us conclude that the pattern of mutual delimitation between Russia and the EU may be anticipated to produce outcomes that are both stable and relatively non-conflictual. The absence of a detailed theorisation of this model and its explicit invocation in policy design, aside from the recent discursive innovations of the Russian 'left conservatism', results from the hegemonic status of the telos of integration in both Russian and European political discourses, which delegitimises sovereignty as a value, if not as a practical arrangement. Our detailed analysis of the construction of the system of sovereign statehood in the teleology of integration points to the fact that the hostility to sovereignty in the integrationist discourse is due to the latter's inherent intolerance for political difference, which it cannot accommodate within its own domain and which it therefore perceives in terms of enmity. In contrast, within mutual delimitation difference is similarly recast as otherness by virtue of the ontopological principle of the constitution of a political community, yet this otherness is not to be eradicated, but rather maintained as the limit to sovereignty, both of the Self and the Other. Insofar as it is universalised, the pattern of mutual delimitation is therefore more conducive to the maintenance of international pluralism and less prone to conflict than the equivalence of integrationist logics, which runs the permanent risk of collapsing under the weight of its own contradictions.

A policy-relevant conclusion from the analysis of EU–Russian conflicts in terms of our theoretical scheme is therefore that a possible avenue for conflict resolution in EU–Russian relations consists in the reorientation of the relationship from the mismatch of the logics of sovereignty and

integration towards mutual delimitation of Russia and the EU on the basis of the reciprocal recognition of sovereignty. This delimitation may be achieved by the abandonment by both parties of overly ambitious integrationist visions with respect to each other and, as it were, a voluntary self-exclusion of both parties from the sovereign space of the other. To achieve mutual delimitation, Europe must cease its effort to govern Russia, while Russia must in turn abandon its desire to 'enter' Europe. We have argued extensively that such a policy orientation is furthest away from 'isolationist' scenarios for both Russia and the EU: besides preventing conflicts, mutual delimitation also establishes conditions for cooperation, i.e. the recognition of the legitimate difference of the two parties as equal subjects in international interactions. Practical cooperation is thus enabled, rather than hampered, by the suspension of the telos of ever-greater integration. Thus, we may propose the concept of 'interaction without integration' as a designation of the least conflictual mode of structuring the relations between Russia and the EU. Contrary to both Russian and Western accounts, which deploy similar terminology to describe the problematic or disappointing status of EU–Russian relations (cf. Trenin, 2004; Myers, 2003), we shall use this concept in a normatively positive sense. This arrangement is not a 'second-best' alternative to the ambitious, if vacuous, slogan of 'integration with Europe', but rather a means of achieving cooperative outcomes without sacrificing both international pluralism and domestic autonomy in the project of 'hierarchical inclusion'. In the final chapter we shall complete our conceptual analysis of the relationship between the logics of sovereignty and integration and draw empirical conclusions for the site of EU–Russian relations.

7

The Persistence of Sovereignty: Russia and the EU at the Limit of Integration

The paradoxes of integration in EU–Russian relations

In the final chapter of this book we shall draw together the theoretical and empirical results of the analysis in the previous chapters in a more general critique of the operation of the integrationist paradigm in EU–Russian relations. In the preceding chapters we have discussed extensively both the internal contradictions of the logic of integration and its intricate conceptual interdependence with the logic of sovereignty. In this section we shall summarise these findings in order to elucidate the paradoxical structure of the logic of integration, which accounts for its problematic operation in EU–Russian relations. Although the empirical domain of our study is limited to the site of EU–Russian relations, the conceptual analysis of the fundamental structure of the logic of integration goes beyond any particular empirical domain and may be anticipated to be valid for any other site of operation of integrationist designs. We shall proceed by elucidating four paradoxes of the logic of integration in a line of succession, whereby each of the paradoxes is logically deductible from the previous one in the series.

The teleological paradox

The logic of integration is teleologically driven to embrace the vision of a final 'world unification', in which the pluralistic and always potentially antagonistic construction of the space of international relations gives way to a variably conceived global structure of authority. This telos is logically necessary, since any territorially limited integration, however thoroughgoing in the substantial sense, would merely entail the creation of a larger sovereign unit among others of the same kind, though not necessarily on the same scale. Thus, even if an all-but-global 'world

state' coexisted with a single state, however insignificant, which 'defected' from the process of integration, the structure of the international system would remain that of sovereign pluralism. This conceptual thesis is also applicable to any empirical integrative arrangement, however limited in scope. As we have argued in our discussion of the sub-/trans-national project of Euregio Karelia, the mutually integrationist logic of both Russia and the EU suffers from the same problem of universal application as any global vision of integration: any spatially delimited polity that emerges as a result of integration would either be endowed with a new sovereignty (as a political community among others) or its development would be sharply limited by the two (or more) sovereignties of the states that are parties to regional integration.

And yet, the paradox of this teleology is that its ultimate fulfilment would merely entail the establishment of a single state of a global scope. Although this highly unlikely event would clearly have a systemic significance, transforming the system from antagonistic pluralism into global monism and making sovereignty in its relational meaning obsolete, this logic of 'world unification' does not break with the principles of statism that operate *within* sovereign political communities. Wendt's argument illustrates this logic with admirable clarity: all stages of the integrative process, from 'world society' to 'collective security', are insufficient and unstable, precisely since they are characterised by the retention of sovereignty. Once sovereignty is surrendered to the global authority of the 'world state', the very existence of this new structure 'domesticates' the international realm, with the consequence of the recasting of international conflicts and crises in the internal-political terms of crime, disturbance and, ultimately, civil war.

While both classical and neorealisms have long advocated a conceptual logic according to which the only alternative to a system of many sovereign states is one alone, the contribution of Carl Schmitt's approach, presently revived in the post-structuralist critique of cosmopolitanism, is the thesis that the only consequence of such a 'transcendence' of sovereignty would be neither world peace nor a more just and equitable world order, but the erasure of the outside and the closure of the system into a self-propelling self-immanence. This structure of authority is indeed no longer equivalent to the pluralistic and (logically) limited mode of sovereign power, but rather resembles the more contemporary Foucauldian analyses of power in terms of discipline and biopolitics, the processes of objectification and subjectification of individuals and communities (Foucault, 1977, 1990a, 1991a). We ought to recall that, contrary to a frequent misunderstanding, Foucault's hostility to sovereignty was

conceptual rather than normative (cf. Miller, 1990; Megill, 1985). It is not that he was critical of sovereign power, but rather that he considered it to be heterogeneous to what the contemporary tendencies of the development of power relations were. Indeed, Foucault's accounts of disciplinary and biopolitical power do not veer far away from Schmitt's diagnosis of the 'world state' as a nihilistic technological mode of administration of people and things, a self-immanent system without an exterior (cf. Ewald, 1992).

The same diagnosis is evident in the more contemporary approaches, which are grounded in Foucault's conception of power: Giorgio Agamben's (1998) concept of 'biopolitical sovereignty' and Hardt and Negri's (2000) notion of 'imperial sovereignty' both retain the term 'sovereignty' but entirely deprive it of its original, historically specific meaning. In these accounts 'sovereignty' is a mere synonym of 'power', while power is exercised in ways that manifestly contradict the limited and pluralistic nature of sovereign statehood. As we have argued in our discussion of contemporary 'quantitatively total' global governance, the disavowal of sovereignty does not disable interventionist, total and violent government, but merely removes limits to it, which formerly at least protected particular communities from government by the other. By the same token, the installation of a global policing structure of the world state does little to mitigate conflict, but rather provokes it by restricting the free expression of dissent through its criminalisation.

The teleological paradox of integration thus lies in the fact that its necessarily presupposed effect of 'world unity' logically produces outcomes that are heterogeneous to the axiological objectives of integration, be they pacifist or liberationist. On a purely formal level, therefore, the paradox is that the only achievement of the logic that seeks to transcend sovereign statehood as inherently conflictual is the establishment of a single state, within which we must logically presuppose the continued existence of conflicts, albeit construed in the 'domesticated' modality of deviance or crime. In a more substantive sense, the paradox is contained in the very logic, according to which the way to resolve conflict *between* states is to eliminate *states as such*, while the only way to eliminate states is to force them, through direct coercion or manipulation of interests, to surrender their sovereignty to a global structure. In Wendt's rather ominous phrase, 'if a world state is inevitable, states that pursue such policies will do better for themselves in the long run than those that take a Realist view. In short, *better to "get on with the program" than wait till it gets to you*' (Wendt, 2003: 530). The interventionist, coercive and potentially violent modus operandi that, according to the integrationist

logic, characterises sovereign statehood and calls for liberation through integration, is thereby transferred both to the process of establishing a world state and to its subsequent maintenance and reproduction, which would require the use of coercion against secession.

> The political project based concretely upon an ideal of 'peace' has continually *produced* its nemesis, war. Not only does the recurrence of war throughout modernity serve to underline its paradoxical character. *But the very forms of war that recur are of such increasing violence and intensity as to threaten the very sustainability of the project of modernity understood in terms of the pursuit of perpetual peace*. (Reid, 2004: 75)

We have encountered this teleological paradox throughout our discussion of conflict in EU–Russian relations: the inherent contradictions of subnational arrangements such as Euregio Karelia; the paradoxical nature of the 'common space of free movement' between Russia and the EU, whose hypothetical possibility would definitely require the closure of other 'common spaces' that Russia enjoys with its neighbours; the governmental character of the EU's integrationist practices of technical assistance and policy advice, etc. All three patterns of the EU–Russian interface, which we have designated as conflictual and unstable, pose the same questions to the EU's programme of integrating Russia into its normative (if not institutional) space and to Russia's persistent (and permanently disappointing) effort of 'integration with Europe': why exchange one's autonomous statist practices for one's subjection to the similarly statist practices of the Other; why cease being a sovereign state among others and become a dependent entity within a new, global, hierarchical structure of authority; why trade a pluralism between sovereign unities for a world unity, in which pluralism is far from guaranteed? The teleological paradox entails that the very telos of integration problematises it axiologically: the elucidation of 'where to?' inevitably brings up the question of 'what for?'

The structural paradox

The second paradox of the integrationist logic consists in the structural asymmetry built into any project of integration. We have described in detail the ways in which all European programmes of the 'inclusion' of Russia are manifestly hierarchical, installing a clear division between the 'integrating' and the 'integrated', the subjects and the objects of integration. To recapitulate the argument that we advanced throughout this book: the integrative designs of the EU in relation to Russia have,

practically with no exception, been structured according to the logic of hierarchical inclusion, which either installs asymmetries in the very format of intersubjective interaction (e.g. the structure of the Euregio, which deprives the Russian party of budgetary authority) or deploys a pedagogical technology of governance, which conditions the recognition of equal subjectivity by the prior subjection of the Russian counterparts to a certain normative doctrine (e.g. the structure of the discourse of technical assistance). It is therefore possible to empirically establish the existence of the 'subject–object' asymmetry in any concrete project of EU–Russian integration by focusing on either its design or the process of its implementation.

This structural paradox may be logically deduced from the teleological paradox of integration. Indeed, if the integrative process is incomplete (i.e. not global in scope), its outcome (either intermediate or final) is a sovereign state of a greater scale, within which hierarchy naturally persists as its constitutive principle. Moreover, such a state, that is an effect of integration, necessarily depends for its existence on the drawing of *new* sovereign lines of exclusion that restrict the access of outsiders to the new community. On the other hand, should the integrative process be completed, its final outcome would be the world state, whose hierarchical character is self-evident. The paradox is that, however non-hierarchical and intersubjective the process of integration may be, its outcome, at any given stage, will be a hierarchical structure of authority, in which it will be possible to clearly identify the integrators and the integrated. This accounts for the instability of the integrationist logic even in the equivalent mode of the EU–Russian interface: even if the process were to be characterised by intersubjective symmetry, which is a rare occasion indeed in the concrete domain of EU–Russian relations, its outcomes would be necessarily asymmetric.

However, we also observe the existence of asymmetries on the process level (e.g. in the case of technical assistance and policy advice) that should not be viewed as merely contingent and independent of the structure of the logic of integration. These asymmetries are due to the absence of the recognition of legitimate difference, which, as we have argued, distinguishes the logic of integration from the pattern of mutual delimitation of sovereignties. Since any integration must possess its own political or ideological substance in order to be a meaningful project, it must logically presuppose the existence of principles or interests that are adversarial or antithetical to this substance. If the relation between the parties, advocating these principles, is genuinely intersubjective, any integrative project must take place on the basis of the lowest common

denominator between them, which may be expected to be minimal in the case of any meaningful difference between the two positions. In this case, we observe the existence of the pattern of mutual delimitation, constituted by the equivalent deployment of the logic of sovereignty.

In contrast, within the integrationist logic the respect for difference is conditioned by the possibility of accommodating this difference within the substantive structure of the integrationist project. Thus, the encounter of an integrationist approach with difference unfolds in an a priori asymmetric modality, in which what is at stake is not the inter-subjective synthesis of two distinct approaches, but the possibility of a translation of one in the terms of the other, a translation that is by definition reductionist and characterised by the exclusion of the *différend*.[81] Indeed, unless the recognition of legitimate difference is a constitutive principle of interstate interaction, as it is in the pattern of mutual delimitation of sovereignties, it appears impossible to avoid a priori asymmetries even on the level of the process of design and implementation of integrationist initiatives.

The presence of structural asymmetry is not in itself a criterion of the illegitimacy of a political order. Of course, structural asymmetries exist within all sovereign states, but *inside* states asymmetry and hierarchy are in no way paradoxical, as well as combined with symmetry in their international environment. As Carl Schmitt famously argued, the system of sovereign states is characterised by the monopoly on the political *within* the state (not to be confused with social homogeneity or autocracy) and radical political pluralism *between* states.[82] Within the logic of integration, on the other hand, international pluralism is effaced in the extension of the domestic model of hierarchical order to the global level, as domestic hierarchies are in no way diminished in their transfer to the international domain. While the logic of sovereignty limits pluralism inside the community and makes possible pluralistic interaction between equal sovereign communities, the logic of integration effaces pluralism *as such* on the systemic level, while its replication of the state form on the global level logically implies that the 'domestic' limitation of pluralism in the world state would not be any less than within sovereign states. The structural paradox of the logic of integration thus consists in the fact that, rather than liberate individuals and groups from political asymmetries inherent in the structure of the sovereign state, it replicates these asymmetries on the global level, while simultaneously dispensing with pluralism entirely on the systemic level, since the 'system' of world statehood would logically have only *one unit*.

In the case of EU–Russian relations, the structural paradox creates powerful incentives for the party that is asymmetrically cast as the 'object of integration' to self-exclude itself from the integrative process and reassert sovereignty over its spatially delimited polity. Given that no relaxation of 'internal' hierarchies is effected in the inclusion of Russia in the EU's common space of integrated governance and, moreover, new hierarchies are established internationally through the asymmetric process of inclusion, there arises a question of what kind of benefits integration could possibly carry that could justify the acquiescence with the status of a passive object in the hierarchical structure of asymmetric governance. The increasing Russian disillusionment with the project of 'integration with Europe' indicates that no satisfactory answer to this question has yet been given.

The epistemological paradox

The epistemological paradox of the logic of integration may be logically deduced from the structural paradox. As we have argued above, the hierarchical structure of any integrative design and process implies the existence of a substantive content, vision or ideology of integration, be it neoliberalism, social democracy or world communism. This positive content must logically be *particular* in origin, yet its deployment in the teleologically global integrationist logic must entail its *universalisation*. Moreover, the structure of the integrative process is hierarchical, presupposing the active subject that is the carrier of the 'doctrine' of integration and the passive object that must be 'indoctrinated' into it. Thus, a particular vision of the form of order that is to be expanded universally acquires a higher status in relation to its necessarily present competitors.

In the specific case of EU–Russian relations, this hegemonic universalisation takes the shape of the appropriation by the EU of the right to define its own mode of 'governance' as 'good', which presupposes that it is also 'good' for others and that their resistance to it is merely an indicator of irrationality or malevolence, and that, for their own 'good', the others must be indoctrinated or, if necessary, coerced into the acceptance of the doctrine. In the case of EU technical assistance programmes in Russia, attempts to enunciate alternatives to the dominant doctrine of governance tend to be either dismissed as outright unreasonable or delegitimised as guided by particular and ulterior interests (Prozorov, 2004b: chapter 2). The discourse of technical assistance is able to disqualify as particularistic the counter-arguments made by local counterparts, be it business representatives, government officials or

local professionals, without accounting for the necessarily particularistic status of its own proposals. We may recall our discussion of Berlin's notion of 'positive freedom' and Schmitt's conception of 'educational theory' and emphasise that any universalisation of a particular rationality, its endowment with the status of a priori normatively good and epistemologically true, serves to justify the subjection of others to this doctrine in, if necessary, a violent manner.

This violence is well exemplified by Wendt's endowment of the world state with the legitimate right to prosecute political dissent, that in the international realm may well take violent forms, as acts of crime, mere disruptions by rampant particularities of the smooth functioning of the universal order. What Wendt's argument silences is of course the necessarily particularistic origins of the world state itself, which even in its abstract model has a clear resemblance to a Western liberal democracy. Due to the abstract nature of his argument Wendt remains highly evasive about the grounds for the legitimacy of the universalised order of the world state and its despotic potential.[83] At the same time, his empirical identification of the world state with the eventually 'globalised' EU (Wendt, 2003: 506) entails that the abstract legitimacy granted to the theoretical construct of the world state also implies concrete legitimation of the empirical practices of the universalisation of the EU's 'good governance' of the kind that we addressed in Chapter 5.

Yet what are the grounds for legitimising the universalisation of a manifestly particularistic doctrine? After all, no integrationist theory has ever argued for the possibility of legitimate universalisation of *any* normative doctrine. A simple thought-experiment is sufficient to demonstrate that what is at stake is merely the universalisation of one integrationist model among many others: it is doubtful that a global Soviet Union or a world state, created according to the contemporary 'Chinese model', would ever be pronounced legitimate in the Western theoretical discourse. What, then, is the principle that distinguishes the comfortable utopia that Wendt constructs from Schmitt's premonition of world unity as a 'Kingdom of Satan'? It is indisputable that a manifold of such, possibly incompatible, principles could be provided by normative-theoretical arguments. However, the debate between these principles would be entirely futile, since no possibility of adjudication exists between normatively incommensurable values, systems or ideologies. As Ian Hacking has argued, foundational principles that constitute normative or epistemic systems provide a possibility for authenticating particular statements or practices in terms of truth or falsity but are themselves not subject to such authentication, being, as it were,

'self-authenticating' styles of reasoning, within which reasoning could occur, but between which reasoning and adjudication are powerless.

> Propositions of the sort that necessarily require reasoning to be substantiated have a positivity, a being-true-or-false only in consequence of a style of reasoning in which they occur . . . The propositions that are objectively found to be true are determined as true by styles of reasoning *for which in principle there can be no external justification*. A justification would be an independent way of showing that the style gets at the truth, but there is *no characterisation of the truth over and above what is reached by the style of reasoning itself*. (Hacking, 2002: 175)

This argument, advanced in such diverse philosophical orientations as Michel Foucault's understanding of discourse as a 'regime of truth' (1991b) and Thomas Kuhn's notion of a paradigm as immune to experimental refutations (1970), logically entails that there is no neutral external standard, by which to measure the 'comparative legitimacy' of particular doctrines which seek their own universalisation. Any preference for the universalisation of a particular form of order is thus necessarily contingent and, hence, from an epistemological standpoint, relativistic. The epistemological paradox of the logic of integration is therefore that its very ambition of universality renders it manifestly relativistic, despite all objections to the contrary and the regular charges of relativism brought against the opponents of cosmopolitanism and universalism.

Let us elucidate this paradox through the comparison of the epistemologies of sovereign and integrationist logics. The logic of sovereignty universalises the mutual recognition of legitimate particularities and therefore logically forgoes any introduction of positive content to the resulting universal order. The universal principle at the heart of the system of sovereign states is merely contained in the spatial delimitation of legitimate difference. Thus, the argument for the logic of sovereignty is, in the epistemological sense, absolute, i.e. entirely independent of the normative content of these differences, precisely because difference itself is the grounding legitimating principle. Any attempt to introduce normative content to the system is foreclosed by its very structure, which must logically accept *any* particular normative principle as a difference among others inside the system and simultaneously disqualify any such principle from a privileged status on the level of the system itself. If we juxtapose the logic of integration to the logic of sovereignty at this level, it becomes evident that it cannot be argued for

in a similarly universalist and absolute manner. No argument that *any kind* of world unity is inherently preferable to sovereign statehood has, to our best knowledge, ever been advanced. The legitimacy of integration is thus rendered relative, i.e. dependent on the particular substantive features of the order to be universalised.

Ironically, while the argument for the system of coexistence of delimited particularities can be advanced in an epistemologically universalist manner, the valorisation of the universal political order can only be advocated on the basis of a most rampant epistemic particularism. The legitimacy of the order to be universalised as a 'world state' figures in the integrationist discourse as relative to a myriad of factors, all located at the 'domestic-political' rather than 'international-systemic' level: the composition of the structure of authority, the procedure for the legitimate exercise of military force, the economic system, the status of various groups deemed to be 'relevant minorities' in different schools of thought. The puzzle of why such a manifestly relativistic and particularistic approach appears to have become an epitome of an epistemologically absolute universalism is resolved by pointing to a sleight of hand at work in the advocation of world unity. The discourse of integration begins from the 'internal' (i.e. particularist) legitimation of the order to be universalised, *as if it is already universal*, thereby dropping out the systemic level as such and treating the international domain as already domesticated, so that all that remains is the interminable debate between incommensurable visions of domestic politics. However, it is precisely on the systemic level, which at present remains anarchic and pluralistic, that the universalisation of one such particularity appears extremely problematic, since any 'domesticating' transformation would unrecognisably alter the structure of the system. Dropping out the systemic level effaces the fact that in order for the 'second', more familiar and interminable debate between the competing (and epistemologically identical) visions of a domesticated world order even to become possible, there needs to be resolution of the first, far more interesting, debate between two radically different logics of approaching world politics as such. The present hegemony of the logic of integration is evident in the fact that so much discussion has revolved around the alternative visions of 'global domestication' with relatively little attention paid to the question of why aim for domestication in the first place. The integrationist discourse thereby rids itself of epistemically justifying a radical transformation of the existing structure of international relations by immediately lapsing into a necessarily relativistic legitimation of the outcome of such transformation.

The logic of integration thereby suffers from two distinct epistemological problems, both clearly evident at the site of EU–Russian relations. Firstly, what are the grounds for the adjudication between competing visions of 'universalised particularity'? The inherently problematic attempt to give a satisfactory answer to this question fuels anti-hegemonic resistance that we described in terms of the narrative of self-exclusion. If every universal model is necessarily an abstraction from the concrete spatio-temporal context of its emergence, then any imposition of EU 'governance' through technical assistance programmes or a conditionality policy becomes a priori illegitimate and resistance to such imposition becomes, in accordance with Mezhuev's thesis we have discussed above, both an exercise and a defence of freedom.

Secondly, what are the grounds for opting for the universalisation of a specific particularity rather than the universal delimitation of spatially contained particularities? The impossibility of answering this question in a determinate manner points to the need to reorient EU–Russian relations towards the pattern of mutual delimitation. Cooperation is both possible and may actually thrive, when it is grounded in the strict systemic requirement of intersubjectivity and the recognition of legitimate difference. On the contrary, the asymmetric and hierarchical extension of 'good governance' to Russia and the subjection of Russian counterparts in accordance with the 'educational theory' provide a highly unfavourable context for those rare occasions of EU–Russian cooperation that are characterised by the equivalent deployment of integrationist logics. If universalisation and domestication are so evidently problematic and conflict-prone, then the obvious mechanism of conflict prevention is the abandonment of the very assumption of the domestication of the world, whereby the particular will continue to function as the particular, and the mutual recognition of the legitimacy of every particularity will provide the only genuine element of universality in international relations.

The ontological paradox

Finally, we ought to account for the highly contradictory political ontology that grounds integrationist policy designs. Despite being the most foundational and abstract, the ontological paradox is deducible from the epistemological aporia we have elucidated above. The problematic entanglement of the universal and the particular in the logic of integration points to the paradoxical nature of the conception of pluralism at work in the cosmopolitan argument for integration.

Despite the obligatory reference to (a 'cosmopolitan' or 'global') democracy in practically any integrationist vision (including even such presently discredited forms as international communism), integrationism logically has a problem with identifying the *demos* of the new global polity. The problem is owing to the inherently pluralistic nature of the very concept of *demos*, presupposing a multiplicity of such communities and the existence of boundaries or lines of exclusion between them (Mouffe, 1999: 41–2). Drawing on Schmitt's characterisation of democracy in terms of substantive rather than formal equality within the *demos*, Chantal Mouffe and other representatives of critical theory have repeatedly charged cosmopolitanism with the inability to construct a meaningful political community to correspond to the global structure of authority.[84] 'In all probability, such a cosmopolitan democracy, if it were ever to be realised, would be no more than an empty name disguising the *actual disappearance of democratic forms of government* and indicating the triumph of the *liberal forms of governmental rationality*' (Mouffe, 1999: 42).

The notion of *demos* is both substantive and pluralistic, presupposing the existence of a concrete political identity within the community and, logically, the existence of substantive differences between the communities. In this sense, democracy is easily accommodated within the logic of sovereignty, even though problems may indeed occur in the case of the absence of coincidence between the identity boundaries of the *demos* and the territorial borders of the state, as has been the case with colonial systems and is presently the case with separatist movements. These, however, are the exceptions that prove the rule: the logical consequence of the political self-awareness of a *demos* is a desire for its ontopological delimitation, which in the modern era has taken the form of the establishment of a sovereign state. The disintegration of colonial empires and multinational socialist states, e.g. Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, testifies to the inherent confluence of the pluralistic, or, more precisely, pluralising force of the democratic aspiration, which tends to fragment existing unities rather than lead to the establishment of larger ones, with the ontopological ideal of sovereignty. The permanent critique of the EU as troubled by a 'democratic deficit' similarly points to the problems involved in the articulation of the democratic ideal on the level of an international organisation: even if EU 'governance' were entirely democratic in formal procedural terms, such a democracy would be remarkably shallow in substantive terms, lacking a *demos* that endows it with a positive identity domestically and a substantive difference internationally.

This concrete, particularistic logic of the foundation of a political community is jeopardised in the integrationist vision of 'world unity' by the sheer absence of any alternative form of *demos* aside from the universalist concept of humanity, which, as we discussed above with reliance on Schmitt's seminal thesis, is not itself a political concept and, when deployed politically, merely serves to designate the substantively different groups as 'inhuman' and hence deserving annihilation (Schmitt, 1999: 205). The ontological paradox of the logic of integration is thus contained in the uncanny relationship between pluralism and monism. On the one hand, cosmopolitanism attempts to transcend the ontopological prescription of at least a minimal homogeneity within the *demos* through the construction of a world state, deprived of all internal boundaries, in which individuals are politically present *qua* individuals rather than members of a particular *demos* and the manifold of their differences therefore need no longer be reduced to ontopological state identities. On the other hand, this very 'pluralistic' gesture brings in monism through the back door in the form of the concept of humanity.

> The pluralism of modern social theory is vague and in itself problematic. It is polemically directed against, and seeks to relativise, the established unity of the state. *At the same time, the pluralistic theorists, for the most part, speak a highly individualistic language when it comes to the most decisive points of their arguments* . . . Ethical individualism has its correlate in the concept of humanity. For an ethic of individuality, the individual has value only as a human being; the prescriptive concept is, correspondingly, humanity . . . *But just that is quintessential universalism and monism, and completely different from a pluralistic theory*. (Schmitt, 1999: 201)

Contrary to frequent misunderstandings, Schmitt's seminal critique of liberal pluralism is not itself anti-pluralistic, but rather aims at restoring, in the conditions of the monistic universalisation of the concept of humanity, the pluralism that is the ontological condition of international politics. 'The political world is by nature pluralistic. And the bearers of this pluralism are the political unities as such – that is, the states . . . It is an intellectual historical misunderstanding of an astonishing kind to want to dissolve these plural political entities in response to the call of universal and monistic representations, and to designate that as pluralist' (ibid.: 204). From this perspective, Schmitt's defence of sovereignty against the designs of 'world unity' is clearly a manifestation of pluralism

on the level of political ontology, contrasted with a monistic political ontology that pervades any attempt at the establishment of a cosmopolitan *demos*. As Schmitt famously argues in *The Concept of the Political* (1976: 72–9), the political world is, ontologically, a *pluriverse* not a *universe*; i.e. its pluralism is not something to be fostered through liberal institutional designs and bottom-up, participatory governance, but something that is always present from the outset, in the form of concrete, spatially delimited polities, and thus creates the very possibility of international politics as we know it.

> In a spiritual world ruled by the law of pluralism, a piece of concrete order is more valuable than any empty generalisations of a false totality. For it is an actual order, not a constructed and imaginary abstraction . . . *It would be a false pluralism, which played world-comprehending totalities off against the concrete actuality of such plural orders*. (Schmitt, 1999: 206)

The paradox of integrative pluralism may also be approached from a different angle. Even if we bracket off the logical contradiction of deriving pluralism from a monistic identity of humanity, the paradox returns at a more empirical level. Monism is inherent in the very conception of world unity as a substantive unity, which, as we have argued is both structurally and epistemologically necessary for the integrationist discourse. The actual doctrine of unification must therefore be characterised by a prescription of an identity or a series of identities, that are perceived as legitimate within the system, and those that are not (separatists, terrorists, advocates of 'world revolution', etc.). At any, not necessarily global, level, the conflict of the logics of integration and sovereignty is a conflict between such prescribed identities and the differences that escape them.

As we have discussed in our analysis of Wendt's representation of the international system of sovereign statehood, the integrationist discourse is intrinsically hostile to difference, which cannot be subsumed under the positivity of the 'globalised' system. The existence of a multitude of states in the condition of 'simple difference' can be conceived as automatically resulting in enmity, only if difference itself is treated as an enemy in the discourse in question. In other words, since world unity logically presupposes a closed system of pure self-immanence, in which there is no longer an outside and hence no possibility of transcendence, any presence of difference that transcends the boundaries of the system and testifies

to the absence of its closure is received as an ontological threat to the very existence of world unity.

If it is difference itself rather than any particular figure of the Other that is the enemy of integration, then one may anticipate the reorientation of the use of power and violence in the world state from limited wars against concrete adversaries to the global programme for the transformation of individuals and communities in accordance with the identities prescribed by the doctrine of integration. Louiza Odysseos (2004: 19) has argued that the essence of the cosmopolitan project is the transformation of others in accordance with the identity of the Self, which is concretely embodied by the figure of the modern Western subjectivity. Numerous studies in the critical IR orientations have concretised and illustrated this thesis, demonstrating the ways in which cosmopolitan practices of empowerment, participatory governance, inclusion, the development of 'civil society', etc. necessarily serve to install a privileged mode of subjectivity in the targeted population, be it the model of the rational economic actor or the construct of 'active citizen'.[85] Similarly, our study of EU technical assistance programmes in Russia points to the deployment of a highly specific mode of subjectivity, an enterprising, self-governing active individual, at local sites of project design and implementation (Prozorov, 2004b). The Foucauldian concept of governmentality as productive and decentred power, which (re)constructs subjectivities rather than merely represses them, provides crucial insights into the contemporary operation of integrative cosmopolitan forms of power (see Foucault, 1991a; Dean, 1999; Rose, 1996a, 1998, 2000). The integrationist logic of global governmentality is not reducible to the exercise of conventional state powers globally (in this sense Schmitt's diagnosis of a 'global police' is insufficient) but rather consists in the active production of subjectivities in accordance with the positive doctrine of integration through a variety of mechanisms, from conditionality clauses in aid projects to the fostering of local advocates of integration through empowerment programmes.

It would thus be facile to suggest that cosmopolitan integrationism simply excludes difference; on the contrary, it includes it into a hierarchical structure of identities, thereby depriving difference of its extrasystemic character and the international realm of its ontologically necessary pluralism. As a result, the integrationist discourse tolerates difference only on the basis of identity, i.e. it treats as legitimate only the difference between individuals or groups that are both self-identical and identical to each other. Self-identity refers to the containment of difference within the boundaries of a particular identity, whereby

individual existence is entirely exhausted by a socially or governmentally instituted identity.[86] In this manner, individual and collective subjects are assigned a role (either positive or negative) within the global structure and must act in accordance with this role to be tolerated by the system. In Foucauldian terms, individuals are endowed with an identity by virtue of their subjection, which deprives them of subjectivity in the sense of an active vital force of resistance.[87]

'Identity to each other' refers to the quaintly uniform character of the mode of subjectivity that is recognised as legitimate, which entails that any assertion of difference must be made on the basis of the underlying identity of the 'world citizen'. If *every* political subject must be an active citizen, a rational actor, a participating subject, a self-empowering individual, a tolerant multiculturalist, a liberal, a democrat and, ironically, a pluralist, then it becomes difficult to see what kind of differences the integrated unity *does* in fact tolerate, since the subjects constituted in this manner are not likely be all that different from each other. This situation recalls the notion of the *différend* which we have relied on in articulating our interpretative model of conflict emergence in EU–Russian relations: when the assertion of difference depends on its translation into the terms of a hegemonic identity, the subject is a priori deprived of an enunciative modality, in which his difference may be communicated adequately, and becomes a victim even prior to the start of litigation.

The ontological paradox of the logic of integration may therefore be formulated in the following manner: despite its declaratory endorsement of pluralism, the logic of integration both dismantles the actually existing international pluralism in the drive for world unity and conditions the pluralism of individuals and groups by their enfolding into the hierarchical distribution of identities. Difference is thus subsumed under identity and pluralism becomes conditioned by monism. Despite its philosophical overtones, the ontological paradox unfolds in a most concrete manner at the site of EU–Russian relations. The problematic nature of integrative pluralism is revealed in such concrete practices as the asymmetric structure of Euregio Karelia, which disadvantages the Russian party in decision-making; the visa issue, in which the EU installs conditions whose fulfilment would render Russian passport and border control practices identical to European ones; and, of course, in technical assistance projects, in which the pluralism of local actors is delimited from the outset through partner selection, the formulation of project agenda, the asymmetric, pedagogical structure of implementation and the appropriation by the EU experts of the right of adjudication between competing

visions of reforms. In practical terms, the ontological paradox is what deprives actual local encounters between Russia and the EU of the dimension of intersubjectivity, resulting in the two modes of conflict that we have addressed in Chapter 5.

'Beyond Westphalia' or beyond integration?

The four paradoxes of integration render this logic highly contradictory in its basic assumptions, which may account for its problematic application in practice both historically and at present. We have seen how the ambition of a pluralistic and equal non-statist world community can easily turn into the establishment of a hierarchical asymmetric order of unlimited governmentality that is intolerant of all difference that cannot be incorporated into its system. To recall Schmitt, it is of course not that world unity is necessarily likely to become something like a 'Kingdom of Satan', whatever the latter might mean, but rather that the possibility of the outcomes of integration being radically heterogeneous to its best intentions is contained in the very discourse of integration, rather than being purely contingent. We must therefore abandon the 'hypocrisy hypothesis', according to which the only alternative to the disappointing practices of integration is the ever-greater approximation of its ideal concept, simply because, as we have shown, it is the *concept itself* that harbours the seeds of eventual disappointment. The desire to dispense with difference, alterity or transcendence through the artificial construction of 'world unity' is bound to result in tragic disappointment. As Claude Lefort argues, 'no human society, whatever it may be, can be organised in terms of pure self-immanence' (Lefort, 1988: 29). Ultimately, the paradoxicality of the logic of integration is not due to the presence of contradicting, 'not properly' integrationist elements. Our argument should therefore not be confused with a 'hermeneutics of suspicion' that unravels integration as merely the continuing exercise of sovereignty under the guise of its dissolution. The paradoxes rather unfold at a more fundamental level of the political metaphysics of 'world unity', which, as we have shown, attempts to efface 'the experience of a difference which is not at the disposal of human beings, *whose advent does not take place within human history, and which can not be abolished therein*; the experience of a difference that relates human beings to their humanity, and which means that their humanity cannot be self-contained, that it cannot set its own limits, and that it cannot absorb its origins and ends into those limits.'[88] We may conclude that the limits to integration, which we have outlined both empirically and conceptually throughout this book, are ultimately posited by the ontological condition of

irreducible difference and pluralism, which is not an effect of human design or political artifice and therefore can never be reduced to any form of identity and unity in any non-conflictual and non-violent manner.

Ironically, the overall paradoxicality of the logic of integration consists in the fact that many, if not all, of its practical objectives (rather than its teleological end-state) appear perfectly feasible within the logic of sovereignty that is its apparent opposite. Indeed, international cooperation may well unfold and even acquire an impressive degree of institutionalisation in the absence of any teleology of world unity or, for that matter, any teleology whatsoever. As we have argued above, all of Wendt's stages of the process of world unification, short of the final end-state, are easily conceivable as grounded in the sovereign imperative of mutual delimitation of difference. Secondly, cooperation is enabled rather than hampered by the absence of structural asymmetries in integrationist designs and the unilateral assertion of epistemological privileges on the part of the doctrine of integration. Finally, pluralism and the respect for difference are more likely to flourish in the system governed by the logic of sovereignty, which retains and respects the inherently pluralistic structure of the international realm, than in the integrated world unity, which is monistic both by logical necessity and in its actual practices of subsuming difference under a hegemonic identity.

Thus, there is little reason to believe that cooperative interaction between states cannot be achieved within the logic of sovereignty. The notion of 'interaction without integration', frequently used as a designator of a less than satisfactory status of EU–Russian relations, now appears to point a way out of the four constitutive paradoxes that we have outlined. The resolution of conflict in EU–Russian relations is significantly enabled by the renunciation by both parties of integrationist visions with regard to each other, which both eliminates the possibility of a dissensual interface and the possibility of an equivalent deployment of integrationist logics, which, as we have argued, is inherently problematic. Rather than construct utopian visions of going 'beyond Westphalia', it appears more fruitful to attempt to redeem its promise of pluralism.

Our argument may thus be read as a confirmation of the 'postmodernist' critiques of sovereignty in IR, which argue that the very ideal of sovereignty poses limits to political imagination, precluding even a conceptual articulation of alternative forms of political life, which are always bound to be plagued by paradoxes and aporias of the kind that we have outlined (see Walker, 1993; Bartelson, 1998, 2001). However,

let us argue that the limits in question are not imposed by the principle of sovereignty as such but by the political ontology of the international realm, which is inherently pluralistic and defined by the brute presence of 'pure' or 'simple' difference. If the task of dispensing with sovereignty appears so insurmountable, it is because any such attempt must resolve not merely abstract theoretical problems (e.g. the conceptual logic of sovereignty that descends from classical realism) but also provide answers to concrete questions of political life that avoid the four paradoxes of integration. How is international pluralism to be maintained with the emergence of a global structure of authority? How can a particular form of political order be legitimately universalised at the expense of competing alternatives? How can integration transcend 'domestic' hierarchies and asymmetries without installing new, 'global' ones in the process? What should be the relation between established sovereign polities and new, non- or post-sovereign arrangements, e.g. a transnational regional entity such as Euregio Karelia?

These and other questions must be answered in order to salvage the ideal of integration from the constitutive paradoxes of its paradigm. We have argued that the international order, constituted by the mutual delimitation of sovereignties, is free of such paradoxes and, for all its shortcomings, generates less conflictual patterns of relations between Russia and the EU. In the final section of the book we shall address the possibilities for the development of EU–Russian relations on the basis of the logic of mutual delimitation that would not merely prevent the occurrence of conflicts but also provide an opening for more effective cooperation between Russia and the EU. In this manner we shall attempt to exercise political imagination on the basis of, rather than in resistance to, the logic of sovereignty.

Toward a common European pluralism: EU–Russian relations and interaction without integration

Throughout the book, we have argued that the logic of integration is characterised by the desire to domesticate the international, i.e. to transform it from a space of irreducible and potentially antagonistic pluralism, particularism and difference into a hierarchically structured world unity, in which all difference is assigned an identity and all transcendence is eliminated. We have demonstrated that this logic is prone to the generation of conflicts not merely in its encounters with empirical others and their resistance to or self-exclusion from the process of integration, but also in its very conceptual structure, which paradoxically

transforms what is at face value a discourse of freedom, pluralism and peace into a doctrine of hostility to difference. Finally, we have suggested that the former values may be successfully accommodated within the logic of mutual delimitation of sovereignties, which, *pace* its caricatured and historically inaccurate constructions, does not preclude cooperation and international institutionalisation. In Chapter 6 we have illustrated the ways in which the existing cooperative designs between Russia and the EU may be recast in the pattern of mutual delimitation, whose emphasis on intersubjectivity and the recognition of legitimate difference would remove the present hindrances to their implementation. The domestication of the international is therefore not necessary to the achievement of policy outcomes, usually associated with the logic of integration. Yet, when achieved within the pattern of mutual delimitation these outcomes fulfil a radically different function in relation to the space of international relations. We would therefore like to conclude our study of conflict in EU–Russian relations by addressing the wider implications of 'interaction without integration' that we offer as the least conflictual scenario for EU–Russian encounters.

Let us begin with the notion of 'common spaces', which has been central to the integrationist narrative in both Russia and the EU and is conceptually foundational for the logic of integration as such. As we have demonstrated in our empirical analysis, the problematic feature of the designs for 'common spaces' has inevitably been their manifest asymmetry, be it the common space of visa-free travel, furnished according to the EU's internal regulations; the common space of cross-border governance, constituted by the extension of the EU's governmental models through technical assistance; or the cross-border regional entity of Euregio Karelia, structurally geared to minimise the decision-making capacity of the Russian counterpart. These empirical asymmetries connect with the more conceptual problem of the definition of the common space in terms of a common *identity*, i.e. the conception of such a space as necessarily governed by a certain positive model, founded on specific rules, norms and principles, with which its subjects must identify to be legitimate members of the newly created community. In this construction, a common space is manifestly *not* a space of international pluralism, but rather a domesticated realm, in which difference is incorporated into a certain hierarchical distribution of identities. This kind of a 'common space' is indeed common to all its members in the sense of formal inclusion and membership, but is also marked by the existence of hierarchical relations between the integrators and the integrated, between the privileged identity and the difference that must be accommodated within it.

Yet, it is also possible to conceive of the common not in terms of a stable identity structure but in terms of a space of irreducible difference akin to Hardt and Negri's (2004) concept of the *multitude*.

> The people is one. The population, of course, is composed of numerous different individuals and classes, but the people synthesises or reduces these social differences into one identity. *The multitude, by contrast, is not unified, but remains plural and multiple*... The multitude is composed of a set of singularities – and by singularity we here mean a social subject *whose difference cannot be reduced to sameness, a difference that remains different*. The component parts of the people are indifferent in their unity; they *become an identity by negating or setting aside their differences*. The plural singularities of the multitude thus stand in contrast to the undifferentiated unity of the people. (Hardt and Negri, 2004: 99)

In such a conception, commonality is no longer owing to any substantive similarity, unity or identity, but is rather sustained by the mutual recognition of irreducible difference: after all, *our difference is what we have in common*. Commonality should therefore be distinguished from the concept of community, or at least those conventional understandings of community that view it in terms of a unitary, substantive identity.[89] The common space may be a space of interaction between particular communities and groups with stable and bounded identities but must itself remain a space of irreducible difference. However, this 'systemic' feature of the common space, which of course corresponds to the ontological structure of the international realm, is insufficient to produce cooperative outcomes. It is easily possible to conceive of a pluralistic structure, in which states encounter each other with mutually exclusive, antagonistic identities that are internally closed. In such a scenario, the pluralism of the common guarantees the impossibility of legitimate subjection of one state to the will of the other but does not in itself lead to cooperation. Besides the systemic requirement of mutual delimitation, cooperation is also conditioned by the reorientation of relations between the actors in the pluralistic system. On the actor level, the principle of commonality installs the requirement that the identities of the interacting parties be de-essentialised and, as it were, unwound.

In contrast to the integrationist logic which *effaces* the identity of the Other through its incorporation into the new aggregate identity of the Self, the logic of commonality rather points to the need to *relax* the

ontopological containment of identity in the appreciation of the radical pluralism, which is in fact the very condition of possibility of ontopology itself. Contrary to the discourse on sovereignty in critical IR theory,[90] the logic of sovereignty does not merely generate exclusion and delimitation of 'subjectivities-in-place', but also simultaneously produces a wider space of difference in which such subjectivities exist and interact. The 'ethos of pluralisation' (Connolly, 1995), which critical theory deploys in resistance to the principle of sovereignty, may be argued to be at work in the logic of sovereignty itself. Sovereignty enables the proliferation of autonomous, ontopologically bounded polities through the establishment of the systemic domain as a space of legitimate difference, irreducible to any ontopological identity. Within this domain a multitude of subjectivities can interact in the state of 'simple difference' without integrating into a unitary identity. Such symmetric intersubjective interaction provides a possibility for the creation of innumerable points of successful, equivalent interface, whether transitory or permanent. This entails that new subjectivities can always continue to emerge, just as long as no subjectivity lays a claim to represent the system itself. The space of interaction between legitimate differences remains pluralistic just as long as no particular subjectivity can assume the meta-level enunciative modality that defines and thereby delimits pluralism.

The conditions of existence of the common space of interaction are therefore that, firstly, the ontological pluralism of the international domain be preserved, and, secondly, that the participating states retain what we may call 'fidelity to the international', i.e. the openness to the international pluralism that has made sovereign states possible in the first place. Rather than domesticate the international, which is the substance of the logic of integration, the pluralistic logic of common spaces might rather consist in the *internationalisation of the domestic*. Our concept of internationalisation should by no means be equated with Wendt's 'international states' and other integrationist constructs, which refer to the subjection of the state to a certain internationally hegemonic doctrine, be it globalisation, human rights or world communism. Neither does our concept of internationalisation simply denote the participation of the state in international integrative arrangements and institutions, if only because the latter may in principle be themselves hostile to the pluralistic character of the international realm. In our argument, internationalisation rather refers to the responsiveness of the state to its own conditions of possibility that consist in the irreducible pluralism and the ineradicable difference of the international realm. Such responsiveness precludes the closure of state identity into self-immanence,

whereby it functions as a certain microcosm of a 'world unity' in its own right. In Foucauldian terms, we may conceptualise internationalisation as a transformation of the utopian space of integration into a 'heterotopia of difference'.

In Foucault's understanding, 'utopias afford consolation: although they have *no real locality*, there is nevertheless a fantastic untroubled region, in which they are able to unfold . . . where life is easy even if the road to [it] is chimerical' (Foucault, 1970: xvii). The utopian dimension is integral to the very notion of integration and constitutive of its basic presupposition that the international domain of radical difference is amenable to ordering in terms of a certain 'spaceless universalist' identity. In contrast to this utopian pathos, Foucault presents the notion of heterotopia, which is not a space of coexistence of differences under the umbrella of an overarching identity, but rather a space of pure difference, in which all identities are unwound as merely transitory fixations of the free flow of difference.

> There is a worse kind of disorder that that of the incongruous . . . the disorder in which fragments of a large number of possible orders glitter separately in the dimension of the heteroclite: things are laid, placed, arranged in sites so very different from one another that *it is impossible to find a place of residence for them* . . . Heterotopias are disturbing, probably because they *secretly undermine language*, because they make it impossible to name this *and* that because they destroy syntax in advance . . . Heterotopias *desiccate speech, stop words in their tracks, contest the very possibility of grammar at its source, they dissolve our myths and sterilise the lyricism of our sentences*.[91]

To speak of the international realm as a heterotopia is to emphasise the insurmountable character of difference in this space, the impossibility of ever arriving at a fundamental identity, on the basis of which differences could be resolved, the futility of attempting to efface difference through the artifice of world unification. The concept of heterotopia also carries an affinity with Ruggie's understanding of heteronomy, characterised by the emergence of 'fictitious spaces of extraterritoriality', which we have discussed in Chapter 4. Indeed, the pluralistic realm of the international is inherently *extraterritorial*, since the territorial delimitation of mutually recognised sovereignties covers the entire global political space, leaving no segment of material space, which is not appropriated by a particularity or difference. In literal geographical terms, the international space does not really exist other

than as a presupposition, governing interstate conduct. Thus, the pluralistic space of the international heterotopia is both extraterritorial and fictitious. It is a space of and for sovereign states (and other political entities), but in itself it is not a sovereign, i.e. hierarchically and ontopologically ordered, space. Instead, it is constituted by a web of relations between legitimate differences, in which sovereignty, *pace* Ruggie's own interpretations, is not suspended or transcended, but merely 'relaxed' in its ontopological dimension. The relaxation of one's sovereign identity does not mean the subjection to the sovereign identity of the Other, but rather the openness to the international, which logically is a space of non-identity and non-sovereignty. While the conditions of possibility of the logic of integration lie in the application of the paradigm of sovereignty to the global international realm, the conditions of possibility of the existence of plural sovereign entities consist in the mutual effort to maintain the responsiveness to the international by opening one's ontopologically constituted identity to the non-identical difference of the international.

Although the concept of a heterotopia may appear philosophically abstruse, the 'heterotopian' disposition of responsiveness to the international can be concretised in terms of three practical conditions, all of which are of a timely significance in EU–Russian relations.

Firstly, internationalisation implies that the criteria of legitimacy that govern domestic politics of any particular state or union of states are not applicable in the international space of interaction. Logically, the maintenance of the common pluralistic space entails the impossibility of universalising any particular form of domestic-political order, any specific mode of state–society relations, any concrete type of subjectivity. In practice, this principle would require a suspension of the use of such EU mechanisms of asymmetric governance as 'promotion of democracy' and the conditioning of properly international cooperation by the fulfilment by Russia of the demands that lie squarely in the domestic realm.

This is not to say that the EU's internal political practices are necessarily deficient or that 'good governance' is somehow less than good. However, as we have discussed in detail with reference to the epistemological paradox of integration, any positive model that may be viewed as legitimate, normatively correct or practically effective *inside* the community may not be legitimised in the pluralistic realm of irreducible difference without the imposition of a monistic standard, which obliterates pluralism itself. In its relations with Russia, the challenge for the EU lies in abandoning the understanding of Russia's political difference from the EU in the purely negative terms of deficiency, underdevelopment or

irrationality and the appreciation of the fact that this difference is not a transitory effect of the 'transitional' period, but quite possibly a permanent feature of Russian politics, likely to be consolidated rather than left behind in the present period of socio-political stabilisation.

On the other hand, the principle of pluralism makes self-exclusion from cooperation a legitimate option for all involved parties. Just as Russia may legitimately choose to refrain from the internal process of European integration and the emergence of a European polity, the EU may choose to abstain from cooperation with Russia, should it perceive the political differences between the two parties to be so incommensurable as to make it impossible to achieve a constructive interface. At the same time, we ought to reiterate that such perceptions of incommensurability frequently arise from the monistic disposition that universalises and absolutises its *own* ideal to the extent that any difference whatsoever becomes cast in terms of deviance. The responsiveness to the international therefore necessitates the attitude of greater humility towards one's own identity, its reappraisal as ultimately little more than a difference among others. What is at stake is thus not at all the already trite demand for 'respect for otherness', but rather a greater appreciation of the differential structure of one's own identity and hence the impossibility of its universalisation.

Secondly, internationalisation presupposes that the differences between the parties in the common pluralistic space must not merely be 'tolerated' but be allowed to express themselves without being essentialised and reduced to static categories of 'cultural' or 'civilisational difference'. Such essentialisation leads to the containment of difference within the locus of otherness, i.e. the endowment of difference with a negative identity. In this manner, Russia's difference from the normative principles of EU governance is reinscribed as a historico-cultural feature of 'Russian identity', which, as we have discussed above, has been considered 'the Other' of Europe. By the same token, European criticism of Russia's policies is reinscribed in Russian conservative and geopolitically oriented discourses as a contemporary manifestation of the perennial hostility of Europe to Russia.

In both cases, concrete expressions of difference are deproblematised as merely epiphenomenal manifestations of something historical, stable or even perennial. Such essentialising gestures, which, moreover, are extremely problematic from precisely the historical point of view, serve to secure the stability and closure of one's own identity by recasting the challenge of the concrete difference of the other party as a manifestation of its deep-seated otherness. Interaction in the pluralistic realm therefore

becomes disabled by the attribution by the parties of inherent otherness to each other. This understanding provides a more intricate perspective on the notion of recognition, central to Wendt's argument for world statehood and multiple other arguments for multiculturalism. Slavoj Žižek's work has been particularly illuminating of the ways in which 'recognition of otherness', rather than being an a priori good, may in fact serve to *contain* difference by assigning a clear locus of otherness, which may then be, as it were, 'contemptuously tolerated' (see Žižek, 2004a). Moreover, such hypocritical tolerance may be used to install further dividing and exclusionary lines between the Self as a 'tolerant' subject and plural Others, whose lack of explicit 'multiculturalism' renders them a priori intolerant. Recognition of difference is a merely reactive and potentially even violent gesture, unless what is recognised in this process is not merely the otherness of the other, but rather that *the Self itself is nothing but difference*.

> The diagnosis does not establish a fact of our identity by the play of distinctions. It establishes that *we are difference, that our reason is the difference of discourses, our history the difference of times, our selves the difference of masks*. That difference, far from being the forgotten and recovered origin, is this dispersion that we are and make. (Foucault, 1989: 131)

Such an understanding of difference would undoubtedly permit a more dynamic and flexible practice of EU–Russian relations than the interaction under the weight of historical fiction, in which concrete practical problems are mere symptoms of perennial Self–Other contradictions. Much of the contemporary European criticism of Russian politics would be relativised and weakened, were it not accompanied by a traditionalist attribution to Russia of inherent 'non-Europeanness', 'authoritarian political culture', 'anti-democratic mentality', 'lack of capitalist work ethics', 'imperialist ambitions', etc. Similarly, the Russian problematisation of the EU's asymmetric practices of cross-border governance would be more successfully communicated to the EU as a grievance, were it not frequently combined with the recourse to geopolitical fantasies about the historical animosity of Europe towards Russia. In short, the refusal to reduce difference to otherness would minimise the exclusion of the *différend* in the EU–Russian communication and thus enable the resolution of practical problems without relapsing into an interminable discourse on the 'clash of civilisations' or cultures.

Thirdly, the establishment of an internationalised common space of EU–Russian relations requires the dissociation of the notion of the 'European' from the institutional figure of the EU. As we have discussed in detail above, the increasing identification of the historico-cultural figure of Europe, which is part of Russia's own self-definition, with the institution of the EU as its political embodiment has been frequently problematised in the Russian political discourse. However, such an identification of 'European identity' with the constitutive principles of the EU has also been criticised in the European discussion. In his Nietzschean reading of the concept of Europe, Stephan Elbe suggests that the contemporary version of the disposition that Nietzsche termed 'good European' must be characterised by the suspension of all attempts to strictly delimit and ground 'European identity', which only serve to replicate the exclusionary mode of identity constitution, which the 'European project' historically sought to transcend, on a higher level of the integrated unity of the EU (Elbe, 2003). In Elbe's terms such designs are characterised by what Nietzsche called 'incomplete nihilism' – the attempt to deal with the presently problematic status of formerly secure foundations (e.g. nationhood) by inventing new ones (e.g. 'European integration'). While it is evident that in order to be meaningful as a political actor, the EU will inevitably need to be an ontopologically delimited body, this does not mean that the space of Europe itself must simultaneously be transformed into a monistic unity, defined in terms of a particular political orientation. We can easily envision the co-existence of the EU as a particular, rather than universalised, political entity alongside other particular entities, such as Russia or the Ukraine, within the pluralistic space of Europe. After the 2004 round of the EU enlargement, the problem of managing relations with the EU is particularly acute for Russia and other post-Soviet states. From the perspective of pluralism, the choice between accession and simple exclusion appears entirely dissatisfactory, as it is ultimately a choice between the effacement of difference through one's subjection to the identity of the integrated unity and the effacement of difference through its non-recognition and containment within a stable locus of otherness, which denies 'Europeanness' by sheer virtue of non-membership in the EU. The dissociation of Europe from the EU permits us to evade this dualism by positing the existence of a European political space that is wider than the integrated unity of the EU, a space in which the EU interacts as an 'international', rather than a 'domestic', actor with other European actors, which, unlike the EU, are sovereign states, but are no less equal to the EU in the common space of pluralistic interaction.

If met by both Russia and the EU, these conditions reorient the substance of EU–Russian relations from Russia's problematic status in the process of 'European integration' towards what may be termed a project of 'common European pluralism'. The difference between the concepts is evident: while the logic of European integration is antagonistic to difference, which cannot be accommodated within the foundational principles of the EU, the logic of common European pluralism seeks to maintain Europe as a space of pluralistic interaction, in which commonality is ensured by the mutual recognition of legitimate difference and the relaxation of the rigid delimitation of ontopological identities. In this pluralistic setting, Russia and the EU may successfully interact and cooperate in the absence of the temptations of integration, which have animated both the European hierarchical inclusion of Russia and Russia's tenacious assertion of its 'European identity'. While these temptations have so far done little more than lead the two parties into a conflictual impasse, their abandonment makes it possible to create intersubjective common spaces of cooperation that are not confined within the limits inherent in every project of integration. Ironically, to get over these limits, Russia and the EU must first 'get over' each other.

Notes

1. See *Common Strategy of the European Union on Russia*; *Russia's Midterm Strategy towards the EU; Joint Statement on EU Enlargement and EU–Russia Relations*.
2. See Kandel, 1999; Trenin, 2000a, 2000b; Bordachev, 2001; Holmogorov, 2004.
3. See Trenin, 2002; Nicholson, 2001; Hyde, 2001; Thompson, 2002; Treisman, 2002; Schleifer and Treisman, 2004.
4. See Khudolei, 2003; Haukkala, 2003; Fedorov, 2004; Kobrinskaya, 2004.
5. This criticism was expressed most intensely in the *Open Letter to the Heads of State and Government of the European Union and NATO*, written by European and North American politicians and analysts in the aftermath of the Beslan terrorist attack. See Kraus, 2004 for a stinging criticism of the position of the authors of the letter, coming from a Western observer.
6. See Pavlovsky, 2004; Belkovsky, 2005; Dolgin, 2005. Cf. Trenin, 2005; Åslund, 2005.
7. See particularly Yurjev, 2004; Pavlovsky, 2004; Belkovsky, 2005; Holmogorov, 2004.
8. See e.g. Pavlovsky, 2004; Surkov, 2004; Kraus, 2004; Krylov, 2002.
9. Voronkov, 2005. See also Bordachev, 2003a, 2004; Trenin, 2004, Potemkina, 2003.
10. See e.g. Trenin, 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2004; Haukkala, 2001, 2003; Khudolei, 2003; Baunov, 2003a, 2003b.
11. During its election campaign in 2003 the liberal Union of Right Forces launched a slogan 'Do you want to live like they do in Europe?' and explicitly claimed that the end result of the implementation of the programme of the URF would be Russia's membership in the EU. As we shall discuss below, the electoral failure of this staunchly pro-European position eventually led to the crisis within the Russian liberal movement and the adoption by many of its members of a more 'conservative' stance.
12. See e.g. Bordachev, 2001, 2003a, 2003b; Browning, 2003; Cronberg, 2000, 2003; Fairlie and Sergounin, 2001; Joenniemi and Sergounin, 2003; Leshukov, 2000; Potemkina, 2003; Tkachenko, 2000.
13. In the American discourse the cultural-conservative position with regard to Russia has of course been advanced by such key figures as Samuel Huntington and Zbigniew Brzezinsky. In the European political and academic establishment such views have been highly scarce, which may be a reflection of the lack of serious European commitment to the 'civilisational' paradigm. For an exceptional example see e.g. Gerner et al., 1995.
14. See Dugin, 2000; Narochnitskaya, 2004d; Rogozin, 2004e. For a more philosophically oriented conservative approach to Russian–European relations see Remizov, 2002d. For the extensive analysis of the Russian conservative discourse see Prozorov, 2005b.
15. See Treisman, 2002 for the discussion of the strangely uniform disillusionment with Russian post-communist reforms which follows the similarly uniform enthusiasm of the early 1990s. Treisman's own work (Treisman, 2000; Schleifer and Treisman, 2001) is one of the few examples of a study of Russian

post-communist transformation that dispenses with the teleology of liberal progress in the detailed analysis of the process of liberal reforms in Russia without lapsing into a quasi-cultural traditionalism in the explanation of their failures. See also Schleifer and Treisman, 2004 for the argument that, *pace* the transitionalist accounts of the failure of Russian reforms and the traditionalist attribution to Russia of a 'unique' status, Russia is a manifestly 'normal country'.

16. See e.g. Trenin, 2000a, 2000b, 2004; Bordachev, 2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Leshukov, 2000; Tkachenko, 2000; Khudolei, 2003; Baunov, 2003a, 2003b; Potemkina, 2003.
17. This distinction between issue and identity conflicts is owing to Stetter, Diez and Albert, 2003. At the same time, against the authors' interpretation of this distinction in terms of 'conflict stages', we propose to focus on the permanent relays between the two categories.
18. See Potemkina, 2003 for the detailed analysis that counters the prevailing understanding that Russia has, as it were, 'slept through' the process of enlargement and began voicing its concerns far too late for them to be addressed properly.
19. See Fairlie and Sergounin, 2001 for the discussion of the border and visa regime around Kaliningrad and Potemkina, 2003 for the analysis of the policy process leading to the temporary EU–Russian compromise regarding the transit to Kaliningrad through the territory of Lithuania.
20. Cronberg, 2000, 2003. Such a conceptualisation is also articulated in Joenniemi, 1998; Christiansen and Joenniemi, 1999; Paasi, 1996.
21. See Bordachev, 2003a, 2003b; Potemkina, 2003; Trenin, 2000a, 2004.
22. See Haukkala, 2001, 2003; Pursiainen 2001. Cf. Joenniemi, 2003; Potemkina, 2003.
23. For the more detailed analysis of Russian 'left conservatism' see Prozorov, 2005b.
24. See particularly *Schengen: Novy Barrier Mezhdu Evropoi i Rossiej* (hereafter abbreviated as '*Schengen*'); *Bezvizovy Rezhim Mezhdu Rossiei i ES: Mechta ili Realnost*' (hereafter abbreviated as '*Bezvizovy Rezhim*'); *Kaliningrad: Evromost ili Evrotupik* (hereafter abbreviated as '*Kaliningrad*').
25. This position is best exemplified by the works of the leader of the CPRF, Gennady Zyuganov. See e.g. Zyuganov, 2004.
26. See particularly Rogozin, 2004e; Narochnitskaya, 2004a, 2004c. These simultaneous attacks on liberals and communists may be said to anticipate the current trend of the gradual convergence of Russian left-liberals and communists in opposition to the Putin presidency.
27. Narochnitskaya, 2004a. The goal of protecting Russian minorities abroad has long been advocated by Dmitry Rogozin who in 1992 founded the Congress of Russian Communities, an NGO that seeks to defend the rights of ethnic Russians in the New Independent States.
28. See Agamben, 1998; Foucault, 1990a, 1991a; Dean, 1999; Rose 1996a, 1996b, 2001; Cruikshank, 1999.
29. See Prozorov, 2004b: chapter 2. See also Prozorov, 2004d for the more general critique of the liberal politics of inclusion.
30. This criticism of cosmopolitanism is particularly characteristic of the work of Carl Schmitt. See Schmitt, 1976, 1985a, 1985b, 2003. See also Norris, 2000; Rasch, 2000, 2003; Ojakangas, 2004a, 2004b.

31. See Neumann, 1996. For an application of this distinction to contemporary Russian politics see Morozov, 2003.
32. For a discussion of these problems see Cronberg, 2003; Aleksandrov, 2001; Tkachenko, 2000; Fairlie and Sergounin, 2001; Khudolei, 2003. See also Joenniemi and Sergounin, 2003.
33. See Shlyamin, 2000a, 2000b, 2001a, 2001b, 2002a; Katanandov, 2000, 2003a, 2003b. See also Ukkone, 2001a.
34. See *National Indicative Programme 2004–2006; Tacis Indicative Programme. Russian Federation. 2000–2003*; *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on Relations with Russia*.
35. See Bordachev, 2003a; Khudolei, 2003. See also Haukkala, 2001 for the Finnish perspective on this question. For the detailed discussion of the Russian reception of the Northern Dimension see Joenniemi and Sergounin, 2003: chapters 3, 4.
36. Prozorov, 2004a, 2004c. See also Gutnik, 2003; Afontsev, 2003; Romanova, 2003.
37. The following 'mega-projects', stipulated in the *Doctrine*, substantively connect with the priorities of the Northern Dimension initiative and may thus serve as possible points of the EU–Russian interface: the introduction of innovations in energy production and consumption, development of innovative technologies in forestry and timber industry, development of human capital through lifelong education, construction of 'multicultural communication networks' through cross-border regional cooperation, the development of Kaliningrad as a pilot project of EU-Russian regional cooperation and the development of the Russian Far North. See *Doctrine of the Development of the Northwest of Russia*.
38. See *Tacis Indicative Programme. Russian Federation. 2000–2003; Country Strategy Paper 2002–2006. Indicative Action Programme 2002–2003. Russian Federation; National Indicative Programme 2004–2006. Russian Federation*. The working paper on the reform of EU Tacis into the new Neighbourhood policy instrument also emphasises the aspect of democracy promotion and the development of civil society in Russia in contrast to the Central Asian countries, in relation to which poverty relief remains a top priority of EU programmes. See *Towards a New Concept and Regulation for the Tacis Programme*.
39. See e.g. Shlyamin, 2001b; Ukkone, 2001b, 2001c. See also Tkachenko, 2000; Khudolei, 2003.
40. Kaveshnikov and Potemkina, 2003, p. 336. A similar argument is advanced in Cronberg, 2003: 286–7.
41. See e.g. Baunov, 2003a, 2003b; Remizov, 2001b; Privalov, 1999, 2003; Leontiev et al., 2003.
42. It must be noted that it was precisely the Chubais 'wing' of the party that triumphed in the intra-party conflict following the parliamentary elections of 2003, with the other leaders (Irina Khakamada, Boris Nemtsov) splitting from the party either to launch new political projects or to pursue a business career. One may therefore expect the liberal-imperialist theme to resurface in the URF discourse, as the party seeks to reassert itself prior to the 2007 parliamentary elections under the leadership of Nikita Belyh.
43. For the best examples of such tendencies see the work of Alexander Dugin, the leading Eurasianist thinker of the 1990s. See e.g. Dugin, 2000. See also Tsimbursky, 2002.

44. Remizov, 2002b. This thesis accords with the seminal critique of multiculturalism in the work of Slavoj Žižek. See Žižek, 2004a: 110–38.
45. Remizov, 2001a. See also Remizov, 2002c. Cf. Elbe, 2003 for a 'European' attempt at a similar rupture of the self-evidence of 'Europe'.
46. For the more conventionally geopolitical argument on the inherent antagonism between Russia and Europe see Tsimbursky, 2002. Geopolitical readings of Europe differ from the left-conservative ones, in that the latter discourse perceives European normative expansion as a threat to Russia, while for geopoliticians the thrust of European policies is simply to push Russia aside from European affairs, to deny it any presence in continental politics. The 'colonising' or expansionist drive of Europe is, according to Tsimbursky, directed towards the Mediterranean rather than Eurasia.
47. Fairlie and Sergounin, 2001: pp. 14–19. The tension between external and internal security, i.e. between an 'open and secure Union' is also the point of departure of Potemkina's (2003) analysis of Russian concerns with regard to the enlargement. See particularly pp. 229–34.
48. See Prozorov, 2000 for a more detailed discussion of this theme. See also Walker, 1993; Ashley and Walker, 1990; Ashley, 1990; Bartelson, 1995; Biersteker and Weber, 1996; Edkins et al., 1999; Shapiro, 1991.
49. See Petersen, 1999; Megill, 1985; Williams, 2003; Ojakangas, 2001, 2004a.
50. See Schmitt, 1985a. See also Ojakangas, 2004a; Norris, 2000; Rasch, 2000; Prozorov, 2005c for the discussion of sovereignty as a 'constitutive outside'.
51. See Derrida, 1993. See Campbell, 1998 for the application of this concept in IR theory.
52. See Prozorov, 2004b: chapter 5; 2004d for a different philosophical linkage of sovereignty and freedom, achieved through a synthesis of political ontologies of Carl Schmitt and Michel Foucault.
53. See e.g. Mitrany, 1933, 1975; Deutsch, 1978, 1993; Haas, 1965, 1970. See more generally Wiener and Diez, 2003.
54. Schmitt cited in Ojakangas, 2004a: 80. See also Kervegan, 1999; Žižek, 1999.
55. See Wiener and Diez, 2003; Williams and Kelstrup, 2000; Rosamond, 2000; Hooghe and Marks, 2001.
56. Wendt, 1996: 59. See also Cox, 1996; Sørensen, 1999.
57. See Petito, 2004 for the detailed discussion of the relation between Wendt's claims for the inevitability of the world state and Schmitt's apocalyptic scenarios of global police.
58. Thus, we shall bracket off from our discussion of the situation of equivalence the hypothetical case of two conflict parties encountering each other with integrationist logics that are, however, diametrically opposed to each other in their ideological substance. An illustration of this possibility is apparently offered by the period of the Cold War, when the two rival blocs encountered each other with hegemonic projects of global reach. At the same time, in this situation the subject-positions of the conflict parties were manifestly *not* compatible and they did not perceive each other's logic of interaction as legitimate. The two integrationist projects were thus perceived by both parties in purely negative terms as assaults on their sovereignty, which necessitated the sovereign response of self-exclusion. This case is therefore best analysed as a case of a mismatch of policy logics despite the superficial appearance of equivalence between the parties.

59. We ought to note that in this section we discuss the proposals for a general reform of the visa regime between Russia and the EU rather than more specific and considerably more modest initiatives such as Russia's request for visa-free arrangements for travel between Kaliningrad Oblast' and mainland Russia. The latter initiatives may well be read as expressions of the logic of sovereignty, whereby Russia rejects the possibility of external parties deciding on the rights of Russian citizens to travel within their own country. The conflict discourse on Kaliningrad is thus more about the grievance over potential violations of Russia's sovereignty than Russia's integrationist initiatives. Cf. Fairlie and Sergounin, 2001; Joenniemi and Sergounin, 2003; Potemkina, 2003; Browning, 2003.
60. Schmitt, 2003. See also Ojakangas, 2004a: chapter 6; Petito, 2004; Odysseos, 2004.
61. Rasch, 2003: 137. This argument is of course central to Michel Foucault's philosophical project of the inquiry into the constitution of subjectivity and the post-Foucauldian studies of the governmentality of the subject. See e.g. Foucault, 1988, 1990a, 1991a; Cruikshank, 1999; Dean, 1999, 2002a; Rose, 1996a, 1998, 2000; Burchell, 1991, 1996. See Prozorov, 2004b: chapter 3 for the more detailed discussion of this problematic.
62. See Dean, 2002a, 2002b; Hindess, 2001 for the detailed discussion of the intricate relation between liberal government and authoritarianism.
63. See the various contributions to the edited volume of Cooke and Kothari, 2001. See also Brigg, 2001, 2002; Bryant, 2002; Rankin, 2001.
64. See *Country Strategy Paper 2002–2006*. See more generally Wiener and Diez, 2003; Hooghe and Marks, 2001.
65. See Pierre, 2000; Hooghe and Marks, 2001; Du Gay, 2002; Prozorov, 2004d.
66. See Foucault, 1991a; Dean, 1998, 1999; Burchell, 1996; Rose, 1990, 1996a; Lemke, 2001.
67. This is the title of Rosenau and Czempiel, 1992. For the discussion of the relation of neoliberalism and the discourse of globalisation see Dean, 1998, 2002a, 2002b; Rose, 1996a, 1998; Salskov-Iversen et al., 2000; Dillon, 1995; Reid, 2004.
68. See e.g. Biersteker and Weber, 1996; Campbell, 1992; Walker, 1993; Connolly, 1991, 1995; Williams and Kelstrup, 2000.
69. Ottmar von Verschuer cited in Rose, 2001: 2. For the discussion of the 'totality' of liberal government see Helen, 2000; Dean, 2002b.
70. For a more extended critique of the discourses of cosmopolitanism and global governance see also Odysseos, 2004; Petito, 2004; Calhoun, 2003; Brennan, 2003; Mouffe, 2000, 2004. These critical accounts address a plurality of problematic features of the cosmopolitan discourse that we, for lack of space, must bracket off from the present discussion: genealogical linkages between cosmopolitanism and colonialism, the neoimperialist overtones of the discourse of cosmopolitanism, the elitist nature of the a priori beneficial view of international integration, the fundamentally intolerant nature of cosmopolitanism as a militant doctrine of universalised 'tolerance', the exceedingly shallow understanding of 'culture' in the multiculturalist paradigm of integration and, ultimately, the inherently violent potential that is harboured within any discourse of 'world unity'.

71. See e.g. Haukkala, 2001, 2003; Åslund 2005. Interestingly, the same argument of 'misunderstanding' is imported into the Russian discussions of EU–Russian relations in the works of scholars of the liberal persuasion. See Trenin, 2000a, 2004, 2005; Bordachev, 2003a, 2003b.
72. In Prozorov, 2004b: chapter 2 we have described in detail the ways in which both of these resolutions of the problem of difference are deployed at the most local sites of EU technical assistance projects. On the one hand, the dissenting statements of the local counterparts may be ignored or silenced in the project's discourse through the exclusion of the dissenting individuals from the process of policy deliberation and their stigmatisation as 'anti-reformist', 'reactionary' or belonging to the 'old bureaucracy'. Besides, the appropriation by the EU consultants of the status of 'experts' in the process of project management permits them to unceremoniously dismiss certain dissenting initiatives as, simply, 'unreasonable' or 'groundless'. On the other hand, the dissensual reception of project initiatives by the local counterparts is frequently viewed as a mere effect of a lack of knowledge and understanding, which necessitates the undertaking of additional training exercises, the desirable outcome of training apparently being full agreement of the local counterparts with EU experts. In both cases, local dissent has been invariably recast in the projects' discourse in purely negative terms as an 'irruption' that merely causes delays in project administration and is otherwise unworthy of serious attention.
73. See Shlyamin, 2002b for the detailed presentation of the Republic's vision of its foreign relations agenda in the framework of regional integration processes in Europe. For the detailed discussion of Karelia's foreign relations policy see also Aleksandrov, 2001.
74. See *The Karelian Issue*. For the detailed historical analysis of the evolution of the border dispute between Russia and Finland see Joenniemi, 1998; Prozorov, 2004a. The areas in question are presently located in the two subjects of the Russian Federation: Leningrad Oblast' (the Karelian Isthmus and the city of Vyborg) and the Republic of Karelia ('White Sea Karelia' and the city of Sortavala). The notion of 'Karelia' that is used in the Finnish discourse of restitution is highly ambiguous, as it has been used to refer to a plurality of areas: the 'Russian' or 'Eastern' Karelia, coterminous with today's Republic; the ceded Finnish territories; the contemporary Finnish province of North Karelia or the entire cross-border area of Karelia. In this study we use the notion to refer solely to the Republic of Karelia as a subject of the Russian Federation.
75. Katanandov, 2000, 2003b. See also *Main Topics of Bulletin no. 1 of the Tacis project 'Euregio Karelia as a Tool of Civil Society'*.
76. See Schmitt, 1976, 2003; Rasch, 2000, 2003; Norris, 2000; Petito, 2004.
77. See Belkovsky, 2005; Dolgin, 2005; Trenin, 2005; Åslund, 2005 for the analysis of this conflict episode. According to these interpretations, in this conflict both Russia and the EU deployed integrationist logics with regard to the Ukraine, Russia seeking to strengthen political and economic ties with the Ukraine in the format of the Common Economic Space within the CIS and the EU venturing to extend its mode of governance to the Ukraine, without the full accession of the latter to the EU. The two logics are thus incompatible and mutually exclusive, also in the sense of excluding the other party from

exercising influence in Ukrainian politics. In this sense, these logics may be viewed as integrationist in relation to the third party (Ukraine) but sovereign in relation to each other.

78. An apparent exception to this predominance may at first glance be the unilateralist policy course of the USA during the Bush presidency. However, the opposition between unilateralism and cosmopolitanism is highly facile: both approaches are universalist in their axiological structure and seek to achieve global application of their particular norms and principles of government. Whether the states in question do so through disseminated, decentred multilateral 'governance' or through imperialist wars of subjection is entirely beside the point from the perspective of the dualism of sovereignty and integration. See Petito, 2004; Odysseos, 2004; Mouffe, 2004 for the more detailed analysis of the underlying affinities between unilateralism and cosmopolitanism.
79. With some reservations, mutual delimitation may be said to correspond to Wendt's second stage in the teleological advance towards world statehood, the 'Lockean' culture of anarchy, constituted by minimal mutual recognition. See Wendt, 2003: 519–20.
80. See Foucault, 1982, 1990b, 1990c; Žižek, 2002, 2003, 2004b. See also Bernauer, 1990; Rajchman, 1985; Dumm, 1996 for the illustration of the post-structuralist approach to the constitution of the subject that goes beyond the naïvely sociological understanding of 'identity construction'.
81. See Prozorov, 2004b: chapter 2 for the detailed analysis of the operation of this reductionist and asymmetric logic in the EU projects of technical assistance.
82. See Schmitt, 1976, 1985a. See also Cristi, 1998; McCormick, 1997; Scheuerman 1999. 'Monopoly on the political' refers to the existence of a single locus of sovereignty within the state, rather than its dispersal among a plurality of centres of authority. This monopoly does not in any way entail the authoritarian control of society by the state, but merely the unity of the state as a political subject: 'The unity of state has always been a *unity of social multiplicity*' (Schmitt, 1999: 201).
83. Wendt, 2003: 526. Wendt dismisses the concerns that the world state would be despotic with the claim that 'whatever the accountability problems in a world state might be, they seem far less than those in anarchy' (ibid.: 526). This dismissal is nonetheless hardly plausible, as it ignores the structural obstacles to accountability that are posed by the existence of only one unit in the system and are therefore *unique* to the world state: the non-existence of any international route of appeal, the impossibility of international intervention of the kind presupposed by the principles of collective security, and, ultimately, the absence of any empirical alternatives to the existing system, which could serve as modes of identification by the forces of resistance to the world state.
84. See Mouffe, 2000, 2004; Brennan, 2003; Calhoun, 2003; Petito, 2004; Odysseos, 2004; Rasch, 2000, 2003; Dean, 2002a, 2002b; Dillon, 1995; Reid, 2004; Salskov-Iversen et al., 2000.
85. See Marinetto, 2003; Triandafillou and Nielsen, 2001; Edwards, 2002; Rankin, 2001; Salskov-Iversen et al., 2000; Cruikshank, 1996, 1999; Rose, 1990, 1996a; Burchell, 1996; Brigg, 2001, 2002.

86. See Prozorov, 2004b: chapter 5 for the detailed critique of the assumption of 'self-identity' in the neoliberal rationality of EU technical assistance projects in Russia. See also Prozorov, 2005c.
87. See Foucault, 1982, 1990a; Deleuze, 1988; Dumm, 1996.
88. Lefort, 1988: 222. In Prozorov, 2005c we have advanced a similar critique of the postulate of self-immanence in the constitution of particular forms of order, e.g. sovereign states. We therefore do not attempt to deproblematise the anti-pluralist nature of many of the statist practices, which efface the dependence of their own existence on the pluralistic structure of the international realm. For our purposes in the present study, we focus on the international systemic level, in which the 'self-immanentist' features characterise not the logic of sovereignty, which remains faithful to radical international pluralism, but the logic of integration, which effaces it through attempts at the domestication of the international. Just as integration may ultimately be viewed as the transfer of the domestic model onto the international terrain, we may conversely approach self-immanentist practices inside states as local applications of the global logic of integration, whereby particularistic communities posit themselves as embryonic forms of 'world unity'. Foreign policies of such states may then be expected to be characterised by the deployment of most extremely asymmetric integrationist designs that are commonly known as 'imperial'. There is therefore a linkage between the self-immanentist tendencies inside a state and its deployment of an integrationist logic in external relations.
89. The theme of theorising community without essentialising it by postulating the presence of identity is increasingly prominent in post-structuralist philosophy. See Derrida, 1996; Agamben, 2000; Nancy, 1991 for the discussion of community as 'inoperative' or, in the Derridean phrase, a 'community without community'.
90. See Campbell, 1992, 1998; Walker, 1993; Edkins et al., 1999; Edkins and Pin-Fat, 2003.
91. Foucault, 1970: xvii, emphasis added. See Prozorov, 2004b: chapter 5; 2005c for the application of the concept of heterotopia to the deconstruction of self-immanentist discourses in 'domestic politics'.

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Index