

RUSSIA VIS A VIS SEE

«What transpires behind the lofty rhetoric of fraternity, pan-Slavism, Orthodox solidarity, and historical bonds is often crude opportunism»

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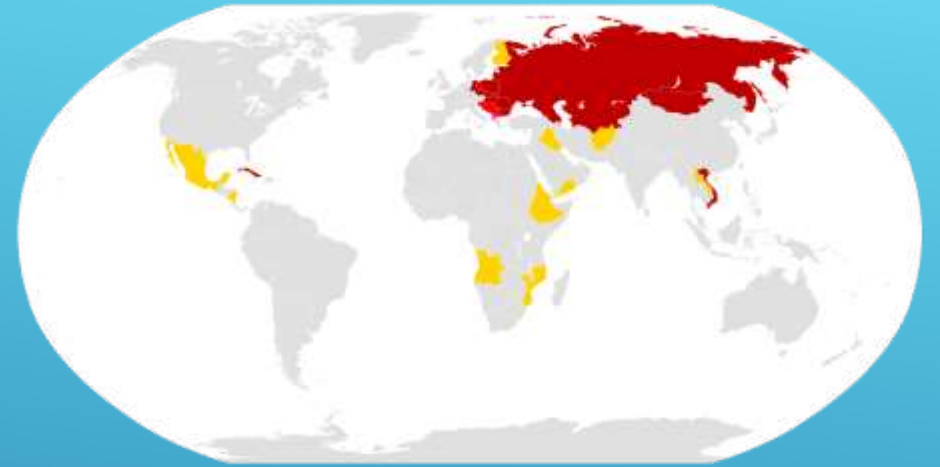


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COLD WAR PERIOD

- ▶ Warsaw pact
- ▶ Comecon



RUSSIA - YUGOSLAVIA – THE BEGINNING

- ▶ Moscow - from a tough partner to exposure of its weakness
- ▶ Russian federation – the state of all its citizens (rossiane)
- ▶ Yeltsin & Kozyrev – prioritization of good relations with the West
- ▶ Accepting the faits accomplis - adjustment

The efforts to balance:

- ▶ The Orthodox Religious tradition – one side of the coin
- ▶ The need of Moscow to be equal – counted – the other side of it



PLUS ÇA CHANGE PLUS C'EST LA MÊME CHOSE.

- Russia plays the role of the intermediary.
- Siding with UN mandates – insertion of troops
- The three assumptions regarding BiH
- The goal to restrain NATO – but massacres in Zepa and Srebrenica (followed by genocide), tied Russia's hands.
- Dayton exposed Russia's weakness – trying to balance between the two lead to be ignored by both.
- Under USA's demand - Talbott's parole

UN Security Council resolutions		
UNSC 757	30 May 1992	Sanctions against FRY (Serbia and Montenegro)
UNSC 816	31 March 1993	No-fly zone over Bosnia and Herzegovina
UNSC 819	16 April 1993	'Safe area' around the city of Srebrenica
UNSC 824	6 May 1993	Sarajevo, Tuzla, Žepa, Goražde, Bihać proclaimed safe areas.
UNSC 827	25 May 1993	Fully establishing the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY), following UNSC 808 (February 22, 1993)
UNSC 836	4 June 1993	UNPROFOR, UN peace mission, authorized to use force in defence of safe areas

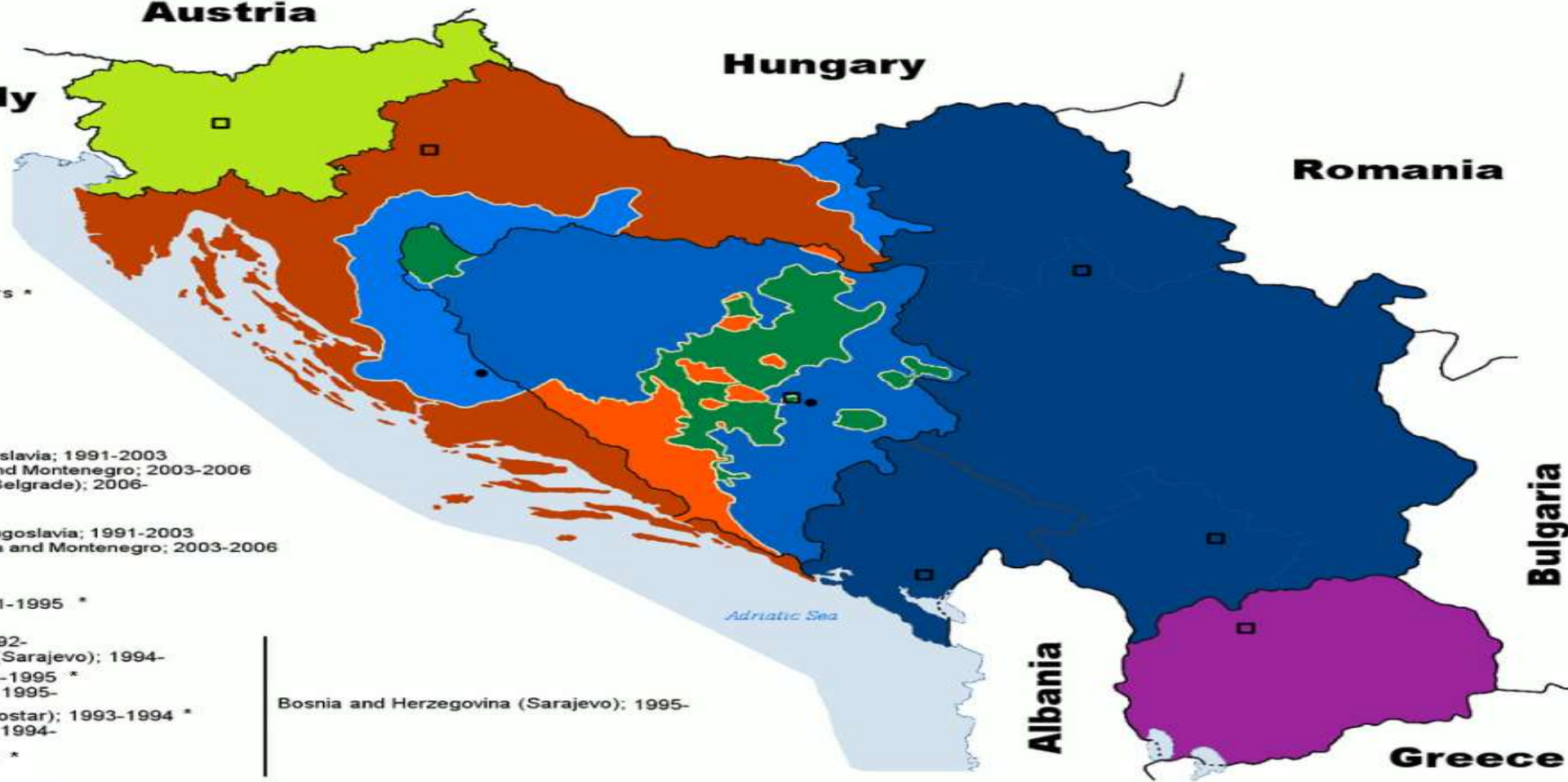
Figure 2 Key UN Security Council resolutions endorsed by Russia

Former Yugoslavia during war front lines in 1993

- capital cities (name in brackets)
- wartime political and military centers *



* Means that that entity was not internationally recognized



AFTER THE WAR

▶ “Russia’s prestige is very high and President Putin’s rating is over nearly any politician in Serbia,” mused Finance Minister Božidar Đelić of DS.

ENERGY

Country	Percentage of gas dependency from Russia
N. Macedonia	100%
BiH	100%
Serbia	97%
Bulgaria	77%
Greece	33%
Albania	30%
Romania	10%
Montenegro	0%
Kosovo	0%





THE FRIDAY COVER

Putin's Revenge

Humiliated by the 1990s, Russia's strongman is determined to win Cold War 2.0. He may be succeeding.

By **MICHAEL CROWLEY** | December 16, 2016

WBS - THE EU'S
BACKYARD
THE FERTILE GROUND
FOR RUSSIA'S STRATEGIC
COMMUNICATIONS

- Serbia: Soft love or hard love? Furthering the FTA - FIAT cars / Gazprom cut deliveries
- Montenegro: The loss of a historic ally
- Repúblika Srpska : the trustworthy brotherhood
- Slovenia – Croatia: The Western allies
- Albania : the one lagged behind
- North Macedonia: the special case

WALKING WESTWARDS, LOOKING EAST

Bulgaria



Sergei Stanishev: “With Europe but never against Russia”.

- ▶ Gas pressure: “Boy, I will either bypass you or roll over you,” the Gazprom CEO, Rem Viakhirev, told Prime Minister Videnov.
- ▶ 2000-2008: the golden epoque – Parvanov, a new Russian friend

The ‘grand energy slam’:

- ▶ Belene nuclear power plant -Ovcharov – 2012 abandoned.
- ▶ Burgas – Alexandroupolis – 2011 suspended

Romania



- ▶ Gas pressure: Lukoil’s acquisitions
- ▶ 2000-2004 : the golden epoque – BLACKSEAFOR
- ▶ Host elements of NATO missile shield - 2010



GREECE, CYPRUS & RUSSIA – “THE FORBIDDEN LOVE”

Putin, 2016: *“We value the centuries-old traditions of friendship between our peoples. Our co-operation rests in a rock-solid base of common civilizational values, the Orthodox culture and a genuine mutual affection”.*

90's creating counter-balance?

- ▶ 1993-94 : Yeltsin in Athens –PCA & “Balkan Helsinki”.
- ▶ Noninvolvement in Greek-Turkish hostilities – Military-technical agreement with Cyprus (1996).

00's not in need of Russia's support?

- ▶ Russian Gas receiver since 1987 .
- ▶ Burgas – Alexandroupolis oil pipeline – South Stream didn't bear fruit.
- ▶ The replacement – TurkStream 2014
- ▶ Cyprus and Moscow – tight economic relations
- ▶ Gatilov veto resolution on security arrangements in a unified Cyprus

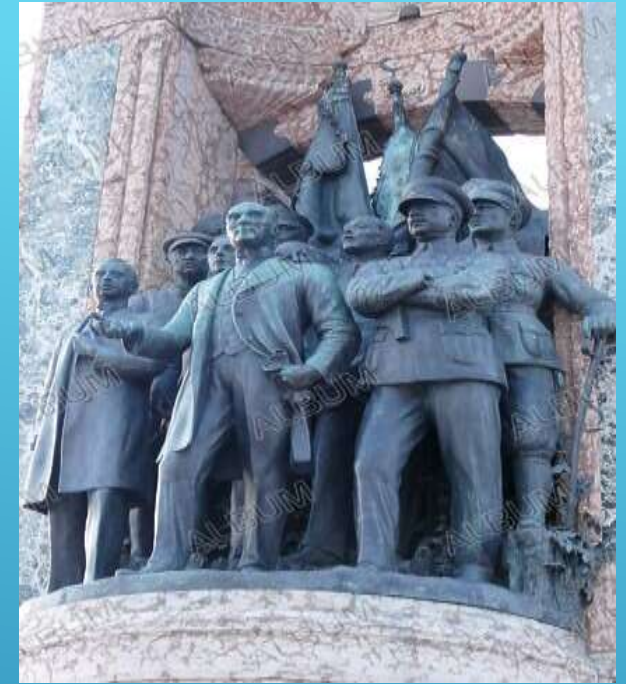


TURKEY – RUSSIA : THE RIVAL FRIENDS

- ▶ Özal for an imaginary Turkic World - in Caucasus 1990-93 – recognition of Azerbaijan – visit to Kazakhstan.
- ▶ Enmeshed on opposing sides in violent conflicts – Bosnia – Nagorno Karabakh – Syria.
- ▶ The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline – confrontation – launch of Burgas – Alexandroupolis project.

Know your limits:

- ▶ Russia's economic weight, China's emergence, building ties with the USA – altering the balance of power – Ankara not the Trojan horse anymore.
- ▶ Shifting attention to non-contentious issues – a tactic of choice until today.
- ▶ Economic interests first! Gas from the South – Blue Stream - TurkStream.
- ▶ More than 4.6 million Russian tourists visited Türkiye in 2021.
- ▶ Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant – Rosatom.



THE AFTERMATH OF THE INVASION

- ▶ Slovenia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece and Cyprus – in line with EU's sanctions against Russia
- ▶ N. Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro 100% in line with the sanctions
- ▶ Turkey, Serbia and BiH the outliers.

