Poland and the Ukrainian Crisis
Poland, Ukraine, and...
Actors of the Crisis

- Ukraine
- Russia
- Germany and France (Normandy format)
- European Union
- United States
- NATO
- What role for Poland?
Polish Politics & Ukrainian Crisis

- Multi-partisan pro-Maidan consensus
- Only fringe groupings pro-Russian
- Dating back to the 2004 Orange Revolution (Wałęsa and Kwaśniewski in Kyiv)
- Radosław Sikorski and the Feb 21, 2014, agreement
What Drives Polish Policy?

• History:
  - Coexistence and conflicts
  - Mutual negative stereotypes
  - Need for reconciliation

• Geo-politics:
  - Russia: enemy at the gates?
Commonwealth of Two Nations, late 16th c.
The Difficult History

- 17th century: Khmelnytsky and other rebels
- 1654: enter Russia (Treaty of Pereyaslav)
- 1918: Lemberg: Lwów or Lviv?
- 1918-39: persecution of Ukrainian nationalists in Poland (but also the Promethean project)
- 1943: the Volhynia Massacre
- 1946: the Action Vistula
- The Ghost of Stepan Bandera
Geopolitics: the Wounded Bear

- The collapse of the USSR as “the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th c.”

- Or rather the USSR as a brief episode in the history of the Russian imperialism?
The Russian Federation
Chechnya, Georgia, Ukraine...
The Stakes of Russia’s Game

- Political survival of the elite?
- Survival of the Russian economy?
- Clash of civilizations?
Clash of Civilizations

- Controversial theories
- Feliks Koneczny, Arnold Toynbee
- Samuel Huntington and the Ukrainian question
- Nikolai Berdyaev, Lev Gumilov, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn
- Viktor Erofeyev’s counterpoint
- Aleksandr Dugin’s Euroasianism
- Russkyi Mir
Russkiy Mir (Русский мир)

- Mir = rural community/commune
- Mir = the world
- Mir = peace
- Russkiy Mir = the Russian order of the world?
- Ukraine as its constitutive part
Against the “End of History”?

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Russkiy Mir and Ethnic Russians
Russians in Baltic States

- Estonia 25%
- Latvia 27%
- Lithuania 5%
Russian Corridor?
What Is To Be Done?

- The need for unity:
- Within the EU (“rogue” states: Hungary, Greece)
- Between EU and US
- Security: NATO
- Negotiations: the Normand format?
- A role for Poland: Ukraine’s spokesman
- Adverse effects of Russia’s policy
Ukrainian elections, 2004-12
Ukraine: 2014 Presidential Election
History’s Full Circle?