

A b s t r a c t s

Weapons, Coat of Arms, Economy Russia's Glocal War against Ukraine

Hanna Notte

Infectious Refusal to Cooperate

USA vs. RF: The Death of Nuclear Arms Control

Exclusion is an important strategy in international politics. In spite of an overarching conflict, states set certain areas aside and cooperate to their mutual advantage. This practice is becoming increasingly rare in US-Russia relations. Moscow is threatening to end joint nuclear arms control, in order to get the US to stop supporting Ukraine. After the ABM Treaty and the INF Treaty, the New START Treaty, the last major bilateral agreement on nuclear arms control, is now teetering on the brink of collapse. Many other areas of international cooperation are also affected by the spreading logic of confrontation: the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the nuclear agreement with Iran, humanitarian aid deliveries to north-west Syria, and joint climate research in the Arctic.

Mykola Homaniuk

Empire, Union, Rossiia

The Symbolic Politics the Occupiers in Ukraine

Since its attack on Ukraine, Russia has been using all means of symbolic politics in an effort to justify the occupation and annexation of territories in the southeast of its western neighbour. Above all, toponyms from the era of the Russian Empire play a major role. But emblems and posters also display historical imagery that is supposed to justify the violent appropriation of territory. Soviet symbols, such as the monuments to Lenin that have been returned to public spaces, serve the same purpose. The occupiers are very restrained in their use of Russian toponyms from the Tsarist era and today's.

Egbert Jahn

Ceasefire by Arms Deliveries

Two Scenarios for Ukraine

Western states are supplying Ukraine with ever larger amounts of weapons in ever improving quality. At the same time, there are growing calls to stop the deliveries and start negotiations for a ceasefire. In Germany, the "Manifesto for Peace" has received considerable support. Implementation of the demands would lead to direct German support for Russia's policy of war and conquest, destroy Ukraine in its present form, and shake up the global order. German national pacifism would create a serious existential crisis for the EU and NATO. A peace policy is only conceivable as a European and transatlantic one. Russia and Ukraine are not yet ready for ceasefire negotiations. But it does already make sense to develop scenarios for negotiated solutions. Neither warring party will achieve its maximum war aims militarily.

Roland Götz
Wartime Economy
Russia's Economic Development in 2022

After Russia's attack on Ukraine, numerous institutes predicted a significant economic slump in Russia in 2022 due to tightened Western sanctions. This has not set in. As the energy sector remained almost completely exempt from sanctions until the end of 2022, Russia's economy saw a significant inflow of foreign currency. This prevented a collapse of the financial system. Statistical data shows that in 2022 the wartime economy was strengthened at the expense of the civilian economy.

Natal'ia Zubarevich
Sanction Resistant
Russia's Regions in 2022

The economic slump in Russia in 2022 was less severe than forecast. This was due to high global market prices for energy commodities, the rapid adaptation of companies to Western sanctions, and targeted intervention on the part of the state. However, development in the regions varied greatly. Oil-producing regions benefited from high prices. The situation was difficult due to the departure of international corporations from centres of the automotive industry. This also applies to the regions in the country's west, where the lumber processing and ferrous metal industries play a major role. In the country's west and east, where production is geared to the domestic market or export to Asia, this was less the case. Regional budgets are stable due to payments from Moscow. Unemployment is low. However, aging and emigration are leading to a shortage in skilled workers. No recovery is expected in 2023. Growth is to be expected only where armaments factories are located.

Sergei Vakulenko
Price Cap or Invisibility Cloak?
Russia's Oil Exports and Their Price

Western countries want to reduce Russia's revenues from oil exports. To this end, the EU and G7 states in early December 2022 decided on a price cap for crude oil that Russia brings to the world market by ship. Shipowners, technical service providers, financial service providers, and insurers from these countries are only allowed to participate in oil exports from Russia if the price achieved is no more than \$60 dollars per barrel. Official figures give the impression that the mechanism is working. Russia was said to be selling crude oil at an average of \$47 a barrel as of January 2023. In fact, however, it can be assumed that the Russian companies are achieving prices between \$70 and \$75 per barrel in the important market of India. The market for shipping services is so opaque that regulations can be circumvented and revenues directed to shadow accounts.

Katia Mikhailovskaia
Foreign Companies in Russia
A Portrait of Customs and Mores from the Year of War 2022

Many foreign companies left Russia after its attack on Ukraine in February 2022. But appearances are deceiving: many corporations are still active in Russia, especially in the agricultural, food and pharmaceutical sectors. They had to struggle with logistical problems and experienced a boom in demand. They adapted corporate strategies and developed justification strategies. The atmosphere within the labour force has also changed. Employees are contextualising themselves with new views of themselves and the world in a country that is committing war crimes every day. The spectrum ranges from indignation, which is openly expressed in circles of like-minded people, to repression and jingoism. Nobody wants to make any personal sacrifices for the fatherland.

Ulrich Schmid
Inside War's Hall of Mirrors
Zelens'kyi's and Putin's Political Rhetoric

Russia's war in Ukraine is also being fought on the media battlefield. Both presidents are employing rhetorical strategies to rally audiences at home and abroad to their side. However, Putin's wartime propaganda has become bogged down in absurd arguments and can hardly reach those addressed outside of his own ideological circle. Zelens'kyi benefits from his television experience and consistently orients his forceful speeches to the horizon of his audience's expectations. Whatever the military outcome of the war, Zelens'kyi has already won as a rhetorician.

Dar'ia Talanova
"Blood Is Dripping from the Satchel"
Patriotism Education in Russian Schools

Teaching patriotic duties is high on the agenda in Russia's schools. Pupils are forced to write letters to the front, collect humanitarian aid for the residents of the Donbas, and celebrate the "Russian Spring". Since September 1, 2022, teachers have had to start every school week by raising the Russian flag and conducting a classroom lesson on the "special operation". However, ideological education did not enter Russia's schools recently. Since 2012, it has played an increasingly important role in curricula and in extracurricular activities in particular.

Yuliya von Saal
Raised to Hate
The Militarisation of Childhood in Belarus

In response to the mass protests against the Lukashenka regime in 2020 and 2021, which were largely carried out by young people, the autocrat decreed a "new start" for the Belarusian education system under "military-patriotic" auspices. State institutions are inoculating children with an ideology that, under the guise of "loyalty to their homeland", incites hatred of internal and external

“enemies”. Drawing on models from the Soviet Union and Russia, young “defenders of the fatherland” are being cultivated. In pre-military classes, “military-patriotic clubs”, and summer camps, the security organs are introducing school-children to military service with promises of adventure and community. Through indoctrination, drill, and intimidation, they are seeking to mould them into loyal, docile subordinates.

Dietmar Neutatz
 Putin’s History Politics Machine
 The Russian Military Historical Society

History policy serves the Putin regime as an instrument to legitimize its imperialist great power politics and strengthen national unity. At its core lies a patriotic, heroic military history. The Russian Military Historical Society uses multimedia exhibitions, monumental memorials, battle re-enactments, military-historical tourism and intensive work with children and young people to charge the public sphere with patriotic warfare. The glorification of historical wars and victories under the firm leadership of strong rulers, and especially the memory of the heroic defence of the Fatherland in the Second World War have made up an integral part of anti-Western propaganda during the invasion of Ukraine and tightening of Western sanctions.

Christine Engel
 Victory, Victory, Victory!
 The Apotheosis of the Second World War in Russian Cinema

Feature films about the Great Patriotic War have been experiencing a boom in Russia for several years. Thanks to generous support from state funds, a flood of new productions has emerged that form part of the country’s general martial and patriotic mental rearmament. These films increasingly pay homage to an unadulterated cult of victory. Productions that are critical of war as such have disappeared. Instead, today’s films and television series often present combat as a (computer) adventure enriched with special effects. The new cinematic canon is characterized not only by a romanticization of war, but also by a revival of Stalin and a close connection to the Orthodox Church.

Sergei Chapnin
 The Armed Iconostasis
 Russia’s State, the Church, and the Army

In recent years, several churches for the army, the national guard, and the secret services have been built in Russia. They symbolize the alliance between the state and the Orthodox Church. In particular, the main church of the armed forces stands as an expression of the country’s militarization, Putin’s neo-imperial ideology, and the instrumentalization of the church for secular purposes. The architecture and furnishings of the church’s structure serve earthly purposes. Military values are to be consolidated and promoted, soldierly heroism glorified, and the memory of victorious wars in Russia’s history kept alive.