

# A b s t r a c t s

## On All Fronts Russia's War: Conflicts and Consequences

Jörn Leonhard

The Limits of Analogies

The War in Ukraine as Historical Turning Point

The war in Ukraine is not just a “shooting war” with tanks and artillery that recalls early 20th century conflicts. The model of an imperial centre inflicting violence on a colonized periphery could apply as well. But it is also a new asymmetric war with drones, cyber-attacks, economic sanctions, and a war of images and narratives with global reach. At the moment, we can say little about the new global quality and consequences of this war other than we are witnesses to this change. History does not offer any easy analogies and blueprints for the decision-making situations associated with this war.

Stephan v. Cramon-Taubadel

War Produces Hunger

The Consequences of Russia's Invasion for Ukrainian Agriculture and Global Food Security

Due to their fertile black earth soils and modernized agricultural sectors, Ukraine and Russia have become important exporters of grain in recent years. Russia's attack on its neighbour has had significant consequences for Ukraine's agricultural sector and grain exports. The impact on food security in many of the world's poorer countries is massive given the already strained situation on agricultural markets. The overland export of grain from Ukraine urgently needs to be accelerated and expanded. Russia's war against Ukraine demonstrates that German agricultural policy must be considered in a more global way in order to prevent hunger and the political unrest associated with it.

Lev Gudkov  
Phases of Habituation  
Russia's War in Public Opinion

In opinion polls, a large majority of people in Russia have expressed approval of the war that their country has been waging against Ukraine since February 2022. This reflects a totalitarian consensus that has been produced by propaganda over more than two decades. The total control of information as well as massively intensified repression lead people to adopt the ideological formulas and phrases that state television feed them. Those who have access to other sources of information, especially younger people in big cities, are much better able to form their own opinion and to recognize the suffering that Russia's leadership and the army it commands are inflicting on their neighbour without cause.

Documentation

"The ruling classes of Western countries are in essence supranational and globalist": A Speech by Vladimir Putin

OSTEUROPA documents a speech by the Russian president given on 7 July 2022. It is a testimonial to theurgic speaking. A world that does not exist is conjured up to create reality - with praise that is in truth command, and with threats to all who do not obey.

Documentation

"You have to be on your country's side."

Hermitage Director Mikhail Piotrovskii in Conversation

For many years, Mikhail Piotrovskij, director of the Hermitage Museum, was a central figure in German-Russian and European museum cooperation. Today, he sees Russia as culturally on the rise, calls exhibitions "special operations", and would like the muses to voice their support for the cannons. Piotrovskii also takes up clear positions on the return of looted cultural property. Documentation of an interview with the museum director conducted by the state newspaper Rossiiskaia Gazeta.

Il'ia Veniavkin

The De-Ukrainizator

Timofei Sergeitsev: "Methodologist", Political Technologist, War-time Propagandist

In April 2022, Moscow-based political technologist Timofei Sergeitsev openly called for genocide in Ukraine on the website of the state news agency Ria Novosti. The goal of Russia's "special operation," he said, must be to carry out "de-nazification" by means of mass repression and re-education, that is, to make the idea of a Ukrainian nation disappear. Sergeitsev's intellectual biography exemplifies the development of thinking in Russia's ruling class over the past 40 years. In the beginning, there was the idea of society as a controllable system. Georgii Shchedrovitskii, a companion of the philosopher and former dissident Aleksandr Zinov'ev, developed from this a "method", which Sergeitsev then applied as election campaign manager for Ukrainian politicians in the 2000s. In addition, as early as the 1990s, the notion began circulating that the West was conspiring against Russia. In the 2010s, Shchedrovitskii's and Zinov'ev's disciples increasingly came to speak of the inevitability of a "Great War" against the West. Sergeitsev's text is one of many documents devoted to the practical aspects, the "methods," in a "metaphysical struggle" to revive the Russian "people's empire."

Nikolay Mitrokhin

Bombed to Pieces for Once and for All

Relations between the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Russian Orthodox Church

Russia's war against Ukraine has finally destroyed the connection between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Until February 2022, the UOC had always maintained its autonomous status within the common church of the Moscow Patriarchate because of an intra-Ukrainian church dispute with the Orthodox Church of Ukraine. But the bombs of Russia's army and the imperial stance of the Moscow patriarch, who supports this war of aggression, have led to a tectonic shift. The fate of the common church is sealed. What remains open is how relations develop between the Ukraine's Orthodox churches.

The Long Road to the Sidelines

Alexander Libman on the Impact of Western Sanctions on Russia's Economy

Russia's national economy seems to have weathered the sanctions well. Foreign exchange earnings are high, inflation is low, and the rouble is strong. But appearances are deceiving. The actual impact of the sanctions is yet to come: Russian companies are cut off from key supply chains. Import substitution, parallel imports, and new trade relations do not promise any fundamental remedy. Russia's technological backwardness will grow, hidden unemployment and poverty will spread. However, the sanctions will hardly achieve their political end.

More and more people in Russia will be dependent on the state, dissatisfaction will not result in an ability to act.

Natal'ia Zubarevich

### The Impact of Sanctions on Russia's Regions The Example of Krasnoiar'sk

In Krasnoiar'sk, the sanctions imposed by the West will take full effect only in the summer. Jobs will fall off, real incomes will decline, and the supply of goods will succumb to a sharp drop that cannot be absorbed by the domestic economy. China is already benefiting from the sanctions. The massive emigration of employees from the IT sector represents a large problem.

Aleksandr Kynev

### Disintegration of an Empire? Why Russia Won't Go the Same Way as the Soviet Union

Since Moscow's attack on Ukraine, opponents of the regime have viewed Russia's disintegration as a desirable or probable scenario. The disintegration of the Soviet Union serves as a model. Comparison, however, reveals that there is no basis for this scenario. While the union republics of the Soviet Union were already proto-nation states, the same cannot be said of almost any of the subjects of the Russian Federation. Only in very few of them does the titular nation have an absolute or even relative majority. In addition, by means of centralized instruments of personnel policy, Moscow over the past 20 years has weakened the governors and their regional administrations in such a way that they can hardly become the focal point for the crystallization of regional interests.

Kai-Olaf Lang

### Caught between Two Fronts The Impact of the War against Ukraine on Poland's and Hungary's Relations with the EU

For several years, Poland and Hungary have been at odds with the European Commission over issues concerning the rule of law. To fend off demands and pressure, Warsaw and Budapest acted in concert. Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine has changed things. Poland has improved relations with Brussels and sees itself at the forefront of those states helping Ukraine by taking in refugees and supplying weapons. Hungary wants to maintain good bilateral relations with Russia, especially for economic reasons. This has also weakened the two states' alliance for sovereignty vis a vis the EU. Both assess Germany's policies in a similar way, albeit in opposite directions. Warsaw regards the

reduction in energy imports from Russia as too halting, Berlin's deliveries of weapons to Ukraine as insufficient, and the investments in the German armed forces as a potential risk. Budapest, on the other hand, sees its policy of restraint confirmed.

Jens Hildebrandt

Solidarity, Integration, Conflict

A Conversation about the Reception of Refugees from Ukraine in Germany

Around 800,000 people have arrived in Germany since the Russian war of aggression on Ukraine began in February 2022. Arrival, emergency care, and accommodation take place in the municipalities. Using the example of the city of Mannheim, the local head of labour and social affairs discusses the social characteristics of the refugees, the legal status of Ukrainian women, municipal administrations' approaches to integration, and the emerging competition in distribution between various social groups in need of help in gaining access to support, education, work, and basic security benefits.

Ellen Bos

Power Cemented

Parliamentary Elections in Hungary: Another Win for Fidesz

For the fourth time in a row, the party alliance Fidesz-KDNP has won Hungary's parliamentary elections and obtained a two-thirds majority of seats. This clear-cut victory came as a surprise. The opposition parties may have been severely disadvantaged and confronted with an electoral system worked to their detriment. Nonetheless, it had been expected that the opposition parties, which campaigned on a joint list, were going to be able to pose a danger to Fidesz. That this did not succeed lay in their own mistakes – in rivalries and distrust in their alliance. Moreover the new radical right-wing party Mi Hazánk entered parliament, which also benefitted Viktor Orbán and Fidesz. Viktor Orbán and Fidesz have emerged from the elections stronger. The restructuring of the country to secure power continues. The first constitutional amendment to ensue after the elections introduced a new form of state of emergency, which was immediately imposed.

András Rácz  
War, Change of Course, Continuity  
Hungary's Ukraine and Russia Policy

With Hungary's approval, Ukraine was declared a candidate for EU membership on June 23, 2022. This marked a change of course for Budapest. Due to bilateral conflicts with Kyiv, Budapest had previously blocked all of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic ambitions. Hungary's Ukraine policy remains in flux. Irrespective of the war, Hungary continues to pursue its "opening to the East" towards Russia. This strategy aims to expand economic cooperation. Hungary has so far supported the EU sanctions against Russia, but Viktor Orbán makes no secret of the fact that he opposes them. Domestically, Orbán has used the war to consolidate his power.

Franziska Sandkühler  
Identity and Conflict  
Polish Tatars and Religious Pluralization

The Polish Tatars are an autochthonous Muslim minority whose connection to Poland dates back to the 14th century. In their community, religion has an important identity-forming function. Their traditions are shaped by syncretism and pre-Islamic practices. Today, they are also increasingly taking on customs not connotated with religion, such as dances and costumes that originated from other Tatar groups in Eastern Europe. This effort is intended to strengthen their own identity and distinguish themselves from other Muslim groups in Poland.