

The Future of EU-Russian Relations: a Common European Home?



Judas Everett

National Research University Higher School of Economics



Plan

Part I

1. What is a Common European Home?
2. Why did it fail to materialise?

Part II

1. Do shared aims, freedoms, values and responsibilities exist between Russia and the EU today?

A Common European Home

- Mikhail Gorbachev gave an address to the Council of Europe (6 July 1989)

‘Now that the twentieth century is entering a concluding phase and both the post-war period and the cold war are becoming a thing of the past, the Europeans have a truly unique chance — to play a role in building a new world, one that would be worthy of their past, of their economic and spiritual potential’



Soviet leader explains his vision for an undivided continent in the 21st century complete with free choice and economic reform

Gorbachev outlines common home plan

Hella Pick in Strasbourg

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev yesterday outlined his vision of a "united European community for the 21st century", based on political reality and a doctrine of restraint and targeted on the creation of a "vast economic space from the Atlantic to the Urals".

But in his Council of Europe address, the Soviet leader admitted that his blueprint for the common European home is far from complete.

Many of the post-war certainties have gone. Change in Europe is imminent and European leaders are now engaged in a race to manage the transition to a new Europe before anarchy breaks out.

Mr Gorbachev's perestroika, with its emphasis on political and economic reform and on free choice, has let a genie out of the bottle whose effects are almost impossible to foresee and hard to control.

His declaration yesterday, the culmination of efforts to find acceptance in the West for his drive to end the division of Europe, aims at defining the goals clearly enough to prevent the outbreak of political chaos and to narrow the East-West economic gap. He recognises that none of this can be achieved without reconciling Western interests with his own

He has put forward some new ideas, but also many old and tired ones. There is a jumble of proposals on security, economic and environmental co-operation, and a recognition that "a world where military arsenals would be reduced, but where human rights would be violated, would not be a safe place".

Mr Gorbachev was adamant that "overcoming the division of Europe" was not to be interpreted as open season on socialism. The West had to accept that the states of Europe "belong to different systems".

Yet Mr Gorbachev insisted "on the sovereign right of each people to choose their own social system at their own discretion" and said he could envisage "a change in the social and political order in some countries".

Did he have Poland in mind, or Hungary? Or perhaps the eventual reunification of Germany? These are questions that Mr Gorbachev may be called on to answer at the Warsaw Pact summit in Bucharest to which he flew from Strasbourg.

Here in France, Mr Gorbachev attempted to handle these uncomfortable issues by distinguishing between internally propelled change and foreign interference. He is suspicious of President Bush's foray to Poland and Hungary this week and warned "against any interference in internal affairs". But

he said the same rule would apply to the Soviet Union's relations with its allies.

During each of his visits to Western Europe this year, the Soviet leader has been adamant that there was no design to decouple Western Europe from Nato or to detach West Germany from its western alliance.

Mr Gorbachev repeated this yesterday, declaring that "the Soviet Union and the United States are a natural part of the European international and political structure. Their involvement is not only justified, but also historically conditioned. No other approach is acceptable".

The Soviet Union has put out feelers for a superpower summit later this year where European issues would have priority. But yesterday Mr Gorbachev spoke only of his proposal for a pan-European summit. It was high time, he asserted, for the successor generation to the leaders who signed the 1975 Helsinki Declaration to meet and review the options for a European Community in the 21st century.

The Soviet leader still hopes to see a world free of nuclear weapons by then. But for the first time yesterday, Mr Gorbachev admitted publicly that for the foreseeable future, the elimination of nuclear weapons is not a realistic prospect.

He was prepared to accept an interim stage, where "the



Raisa and Mikhail Gorbachev, holding a small girl in his arms, are greeted by the French Foreign Minister, Mr Roland Dumas, at the Council of Europe

Soviet Union remains faithful to its non-nuclear ideals, and the West replaced its strategy of flexible nuclear deterrence with the strategy of minimum deterrence".

France has expressed interest in minimum deterrence, but Mrs Thatcher, firmly wedded to flexible nuclear strategies, is certain to resist any attempt to reopen a debate about Nato doctrine. She would consider it still

less acceptable to include the Soviet Union in the discussion of such delicate defence issues, as Mr Gorbachev proposed.

Britain also sees a hidden catch in Mr Gorbachev's idea of talks between the nuclear powers — China excepted — to define a new nuclear doctrine.

There was nothing ambiguous about Mr Gorbachev's renewed call for negotiation to reduce, and eventually scrap,

short-range nuclear weapons. The only people threatened by these weapons, he argued, were "European countries who have no intention of waging war against one another".

Mr Gorbachev put security issues at the top of his agenda yesterday, but he left no doubt that he recognises that, for the Soviet Union, economic relations in Europe are an equally important. His visits to the

West have made him still more acutely aware of the Socialist system's shortcomings.

He knows that political reforms alone cannot satisfy the Soviet people. He needs Western capital and urged Western businesses yesterday to take a more long-term view of investment in the Soviet Union.

And he insisted that his European home must find space for

productive collaboration between the EC and its other inhabitants.

Mr Gorbachev envisages "one Europe, peaceful and democratic, a Europe that maintains all its diversity and common humanistic ideas, a prosperous Europe that it extends to the rest of the world".

He was not yet ready to say whether this "challenge was myth or reality."

Why did it fail to materialise?

- Vagueness of proposals
- Security concerns
 - Gorbachev wanted to extend the remit of OSCE
 - Promises not to extend NATO
 - Promises which were not kept
- Unwillingness to include Russia
- NATO–Russia Council (replaced the NATO–Russia Permanent Joint Council)



Do shared aims, freedoms, values and responsibilities exist between Russia and the EU today?

Attitudes to LGBT+

Attitudes to LGBT+

- 47% of Russians support equal rights for gay people in general.
- 63% would accept an acquaintance's homosexuality

Moscow Gay Dance Clubs & Parties

[HOTELS](#) [BARS](#) [DANCE CLUBS](#) [SAUNAS](#) [CRUISE CLUBS](#) [SERVICES](#) [CITY GUIDE](#)

Time for a night out? Check out Moscow's lively gay dance club & party scene. We recommend checking the venue's websites for the latest information.

**QUEER
EUROPE**



[Blog](#) [Map](#) [Western](#) [Northern](#) [Eastern](#)

LGBTQ+ Guide to Moscow

The  **Moscow Times**
INDEPENDENT NEWS FROM RUSSIA

[NEWS](#) [OPINION](#) [BUSINESS](#) [MEANWHILE](#) [ARTS AND LIFE](#) [PODCASTS](#) [VIDEOS](#) [IN-DEPTH](#) [MOSCOWLIVING](#)

Russian Support for LGBT Rights Hits 14-Year High, Poll Says

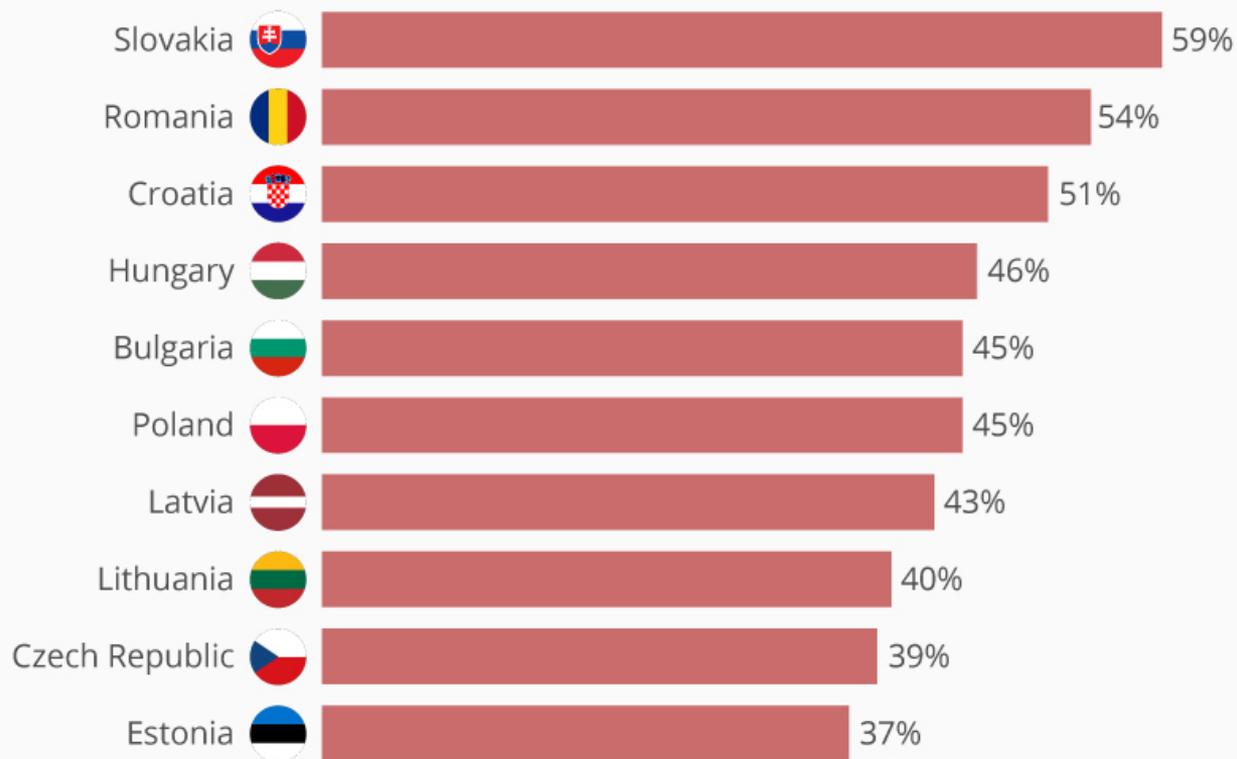
May 23, 2019



Eurobarometer 2019: % of people in each country who "total agree" with the statement that "Gay, lesbian and bisexual people should have the same rights as heterosexual people."									
Sweden	98%	Luxembourg	87%	Malta	73%	Czech Republic	57%	Croatia	44%
Netherlands	97%	France	85%	Austria	70%	Lithuania	53%	Bulgaria	39%
Spain	91%	Belgium	84%	Italy	68%	Estonia	53%	Romania	38%
United Kingdom	90%	Ireland	83%	Greece	64%	Poland	49%	Slovakia	31%
Denmark	89%	Finland	80%	Slovenia	64%	Latvia	49%		
Germany	88%	Portugal	78%	Cyprus	63%	Hungary	48%		

Where People Are Against Gay Rights In The EU

% disagreeing gay, lesbian and bisexual people should have the same rights as heterosexuals



@StatistaCharts

May 2019

Source: Eurobarometer

Russia's Relationship with Democracy

Does Democracy Exist in Russia Today? (2016)

It is hard to say

8.9%

Without a doubt, yes

15.8%

Recently some erosi...

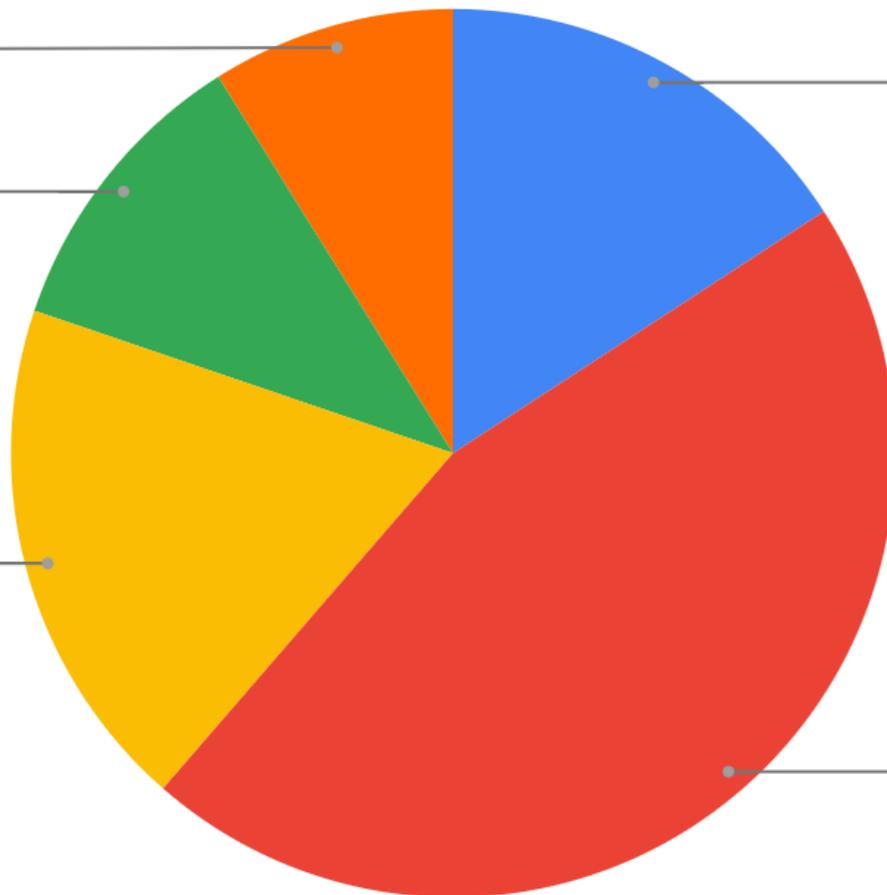
10.9%

As yet unestablished

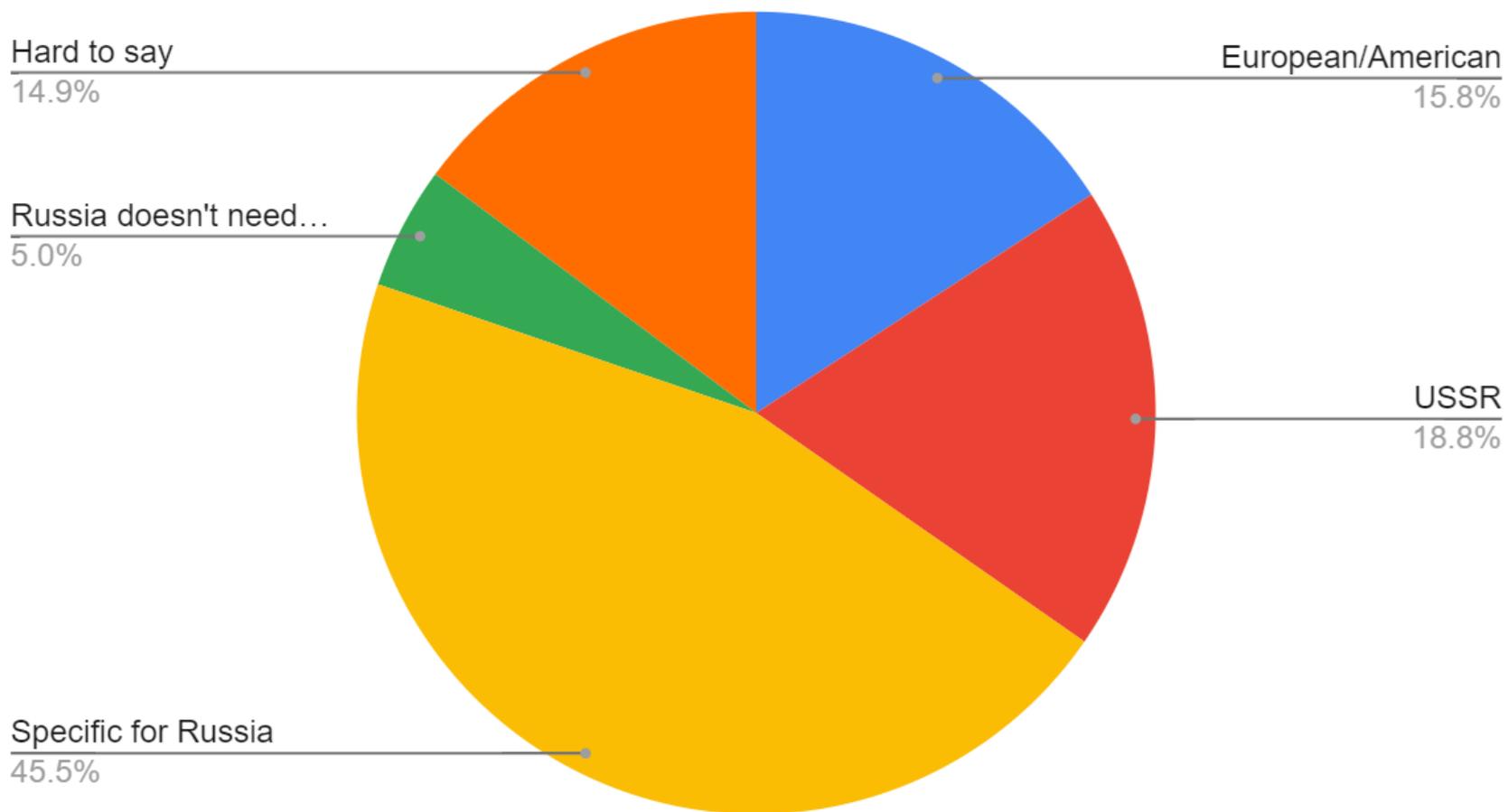
18.8%

Partly yes

45.5%



What Kind of Democracy Does Russia Need? (2016)



What Type of Government Would You Like to See in Russia in the Future

A state with a market economy, a democratic system, respect for human rights, similar to Western countries, but with its own way of life	31
I don't care what type of state will be in Russia, it only matters to me how well I and my family will live	27
A state with a very special structure and a special way of development	24
A socialist state with a communist ideology	10
An empire, with a monarchy, like what Russia was before 1917	3
Hard to say	5

Russia's Relationship with the EU

HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE RUSSIA'S CURRENT RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION?

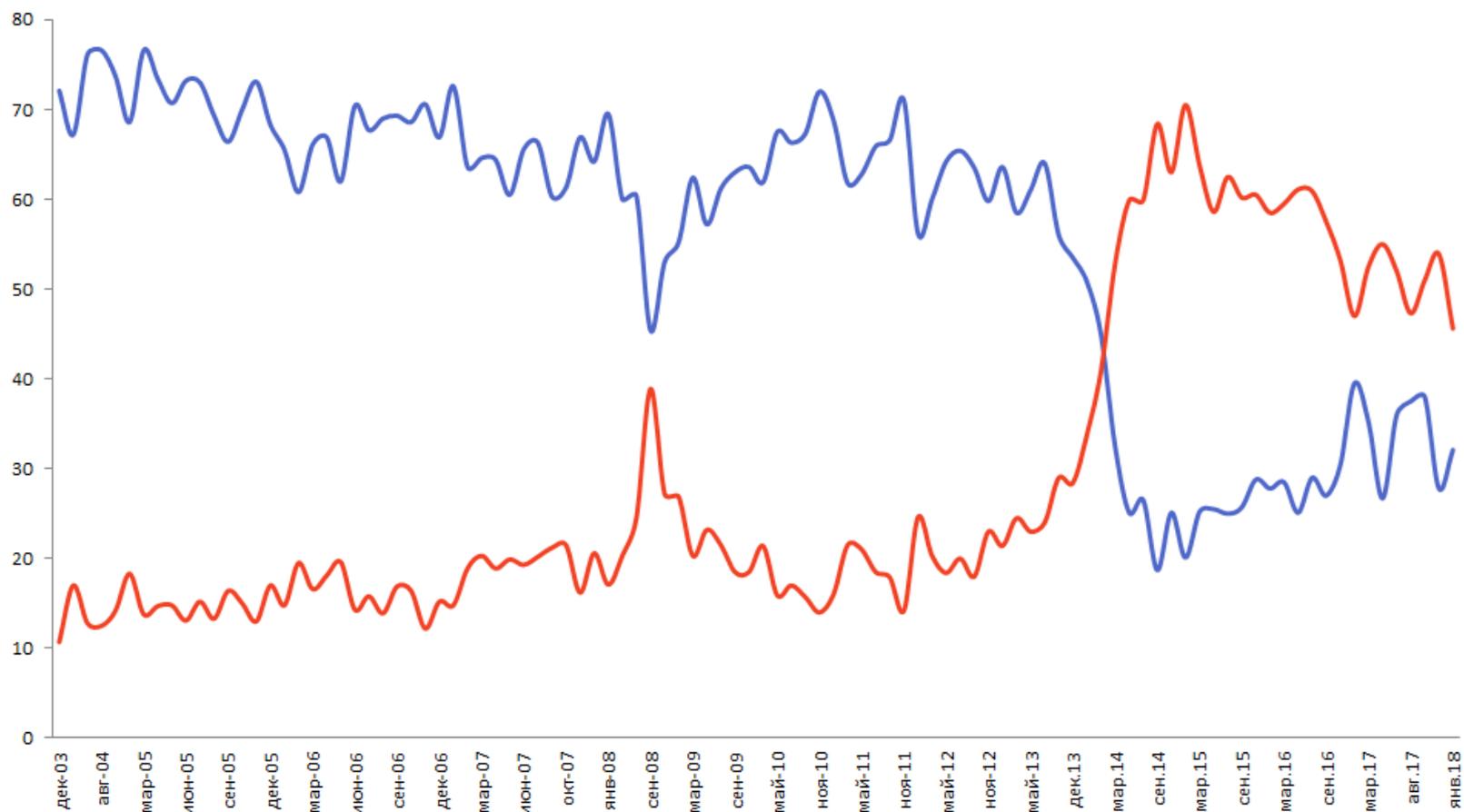
	Dec. 03	Oct. 05	Sept. 07	Jun. 09	Feb. 12	Mar. 14	Sept. 14	Jan. 15	Oct. 15	Oct. 15	Aug. 17
Friendly	6	8	5	5	3	3	1	<1	1	2	1
Good, neighborly	22	13	11	11	12	4	2	3	1	3	4
Normal, calm	49	44	45	42	43	25	3	5	7	15	15
Lukewarm	9	20	21	24	20	31	25	21	32	44	32
Strained	1	4	7	9	11	27	50	41	42	28	33
Hostile	1	1	1	1	2	5	16	24	12	4	8
It is difficult to say	12	10	10	8	10	6	4	6	4	3	7

DO YOU THINK RUSSIA SHOULD AIM TO BECOME A MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE FUTURE?

	Sept. 99	Aug. 00	Oct. 01	Nov. 05	Nov. 07	Apr. 09	Jun. 12	Sept. 14	Oct. 15	Aug. 17
Yes	35	23	23	19	23	14	8	3	4	4
Probably	30	31	35	34	29	39	35	13	19	21
Probably not	12	19	12	16	16	15	24	34	37	39
No	5	6	7	8	7	10	8	30	25	21
It is difficult to say	19	22	24	22	26	21	25	21	16	15

КАК ВЫ В ЦЕЛОМ ОТНОСИТЕСЬ К ЕВРОПЕЙСКОМУ СОЮЗУ?

— Хорошо — Плохо



PLEASE INDICATE WHETHER YOU FULLY AGREE, SOMEWHAT AGREE, SOMEWHAT DISAGREE, OR FULLY DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: "RUSSIA IS A EUROPEAN COUNTRY"

	Dec. 08	Sept. 09	Oct. 15	Aug. 17
Fully agree	17	13	6	7
Somewhat agree	39	34	26	37
Somewhat disagree	23	27	39	35
Fully disagree	9	9	20	13
It is difficult to say	12	16	9	9

European Russia

Arctic Sea

1000 Kilometers



Svalbard (Norway)

Norwegian Sea

NORWAY

SWEDEN

FINLAND

Kaliningrad

Saint Petersburg

Northwestern

Central

RELARUS

UKRAINE

Chernozemye

Moscow

Nizhny Novgorod

Kazan

Volga

Volgograd

Sochi

Dombai

Southern

KAZAKHSTAN

Border of Europe and Asia

Barents Sea

Kara Sea

Laptev Sea

East Siberian Sea

Asian Russia

Lena

Lake Baikal

Novosibirsk

Irkutsk

MONGOLIA

CHINA

Vladivostok

Sea of Japan

North Pacific

Volcanoes of Kamchatka

Sea of Okhotsk

JAPAN

Conclusion

Part I

1. What is a Common European Home?
2. Why did it fail to materialise?

Part II

1. Do shared aims, freedoms, values and responsibilities exist between Russia and the EU today?

Conclusion

Part I

1. Remains rather poorly defined
2. Security concerns
 - a. Expansion of NATO
 - b. Inability to extend the remit of OSCE

Part II

1. In many ways opinion in Russia is inline with what might be expected of a post-communist state in the region. However, questions remain over official governmental positions and orthodox thinking at governmental level more generally

Thank you for your attention!

Dziękuję za uwagę!

Спасибо за внимание!