

In this thesis my aim is to examine the strategic importance of the Kaliningrad District, its place and role in the Russian security policy, and its influence on security of Europe. I do not analyze its influence on security of Hungary, because the Republic of Hungary is member state of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

My thesis covers almost two decades from the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 till July 2008. I analyze energy, economic, military, environmental, and social security of the Russian exclave. I lay stress on strategic importance of the Kaliningrad District because of the under-mentioned reasons: firstly, it has had no direct access to the Russian motherland since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991; secondly, it is bordered by the Baltic Sea and some member states of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; thirdly, the Baltic Fleet is stationing in the district; fourthly, it accommodates the headquarters of the Russian Baltic Fleet and since 1997 has been functioning as a Special Defence District.

In addition to military security I study the security aspects of the energy supply in Kaliningrad District. The exclave is poor in natural resources, which are received from the Russian mainland through Lithuania. This – in itself – represents a security risk. If the Lithuanian government stops the transit, the supply of the Russian military in the district will be in danger.

RESEARCH GOALS:

1. To analyze place and role of the Kaliningrad District in the Russian security policy; study its influence on Europe.
2. To analyze security risk of the Kaliningrad District on the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and those risks, which the Russian exclave feels from the side of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
3. To analyze those problems, which the Kaliningrad District had to tackle after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 and joining the Baltic States the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

4. To analyze Russia's relation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; its east enlargement; joining Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; the deployment of the American anti-missile system into Eastern Europe. To study the problem of military transit after joining the Lithuanian Republic the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
5. To analyze its bilateral relations with Lithuania and Poland.
6. To study place and role of the Kaliningrad District in the Baltic and northern European regional organizations (Council of Baltic Sea States, Northern Dimension, Northern European Initiative).
7. To analyze the reasons of establishment and functioning of the free and special economic zone and those reasons, which led to the forced cessation of them.
8. To analyse the alternatives to the energy supply for the enclave, which separated involuntarily from the mainland after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. To study those problems, which the Kaliningrad District had to tackle after joining the Baltic States the UCTE system and closure of the atomic power station in Ignalin.
9. To prognosticate how long the present exclave situation could be preserve.
10. To understand deeper the security problems of the Kaliningrad District.

RESEARCH METHODS

- I studied the documents of the European Union, bilateral agreements and contracts between the European Union and the Russian Federation, documents of the Security Council of the Russian Federation. I researched in the library of the Central European University, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in the Parliamentary Library, in the National Széchenyi Library and in the library of the Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University.
- 2005/2006 academic year I spent in Saint Petersburg as doctoral student of the Hungarian Scholarship Board. In Saint Petersburg I attended lectures in Russian history, foreign policy and international law in the School of International Relations at the Saint Petersburg State University, and researched in the Gorki Library at the Saint Petersburg State University, in the library of the School of International Relations at the Saint Petersburg State University, in the European Documentation Centre in Saint Petersburg and in the National Library of Russia.
- I consulted with internationally recognized experts.
- I took part in international conferences „*Russia and the European Union after enlargement: new prospects and new problems*” (October 2005), „*Russia and the NATO: towards effective co-operation in a changing world*” (May 2006) and the „*Russian-American Seminar*” (May 2006), which were held in the School of International Relations at the Saint Petersburg State University.

My Ph.D. thesis consists of 5 chapters.

In the introduction

- I explain the choice of my theme
- I draft research goals and research methods
- I summarize the content of the chapters of my thesis shortly.

1. History of the Kaliningrad District, and its ethnic composition

In the first chapter I demonstrate history of the Kaliningrad District, and its ethnic composition in order to better understand the strategic role of the Russian exclave.

2. Strategic importance of the Kaliningrad District

The second chapter is devoted to the strategic importance of the Russian exclave. I study its place and role in the Russian national security strategy, military and naval doctrines. I analyze Russia's relation to east enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, first of all, joining the Baltic States the NATO, deployment of the American anti-missile system into Eastern Europe and the EU-accession of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. I study the problem of military and civil transit after 1st May 2004.

3. Bilateral and multilateral relations of the Kaliningrad District with the states of the Baltic region

In this chapter I analyze the bilateral relations of the Russian exclave with Lithuania and Poland. I present the Council of the Baltic Sea States, the Northern Dimension, the Northern European Initiative. I study place and role of the Kaliningrad District in the northern European regional organizations.

4. Economy of the Kaliningrad District after the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Attempts to ease the crisis situation in the exclave: free and special economic zone

In the fourth chapter I analyze the agricultural and industrial situation in the exclave after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. I study the reasons of establishment and functioning of the free and special economic zone and those reasons, which led to the forced cessation of them.

5. Energy supply in the Kaliningrad District after the fall of the Soviet Union

The fifth chapter deals with the energy supply of the Russian exclave. I analyze the alternatives to the energy supply for the enclave, which separated involuntarily from the mainland after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, joining the Baltic States the UCTE system and closure of the atomic power station in Ignalin. I analyze security risk of the energy transit through Lithuania. I predict perspectives on future energy supply of the Russian exclave.

In the last chapter of my Ph.D. thesis I summarize the history of the Russian Federation after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. I conclude Russia's relation with the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization after 1991. I sum up my opinion on the future of the Kaliningrad District and the Russian Federation.

In the final chapter I draw my conclusions, draft the new scientific achievements and the recommendations for the usability of my thesis.

CONCLUSIONS

The Kaliningrad District is of strategic importance for the Russian Federation, because it is bordered by some member states of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Because of the deployment of the American anti-missile system into the Czech Republic and Poland (or Lithuania), the exclave becomes more important in the Russian national security strategy, military and naval doctrines. The Kaliningrad District is important not only for the Russian Federation, but it was important for the Teutonic Knights, the Prussian Empire, the German Empire and the Soviet Union as well, because it is located on the Baltic-sea, and possesses more than 90% of the world's amber deposits.

The demographic situation in the exclave is negative and represents a security risk, because mortality is increasing and fertility is declining.

The standard of living between the Russian exclave and its neighbours is different. It represents the risk that the inhabitants of the exclave get work in the neighbouring states in the hope of better living. Therefore, shortage of labour may occur in several trades, and it will be necessary to invite migrant workers. Ethnic conflicts could break out between the residents with different cultural background. However, it is worth investing in the tourism to reduce the number of unemployed.

The Russian government is concerned about the enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, because NATO bases come closer and closer to its borders. The Russian government has to reckon with it, that „grey zone” arises at his borders, because CFE and „Agreement on Adaptation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe” are not ratified by the newly joined member states of the NATO. This “grey zone” endangers the national security of the Russian Federation.

The deployment of the American anti-missile system into Eastern Europe influences negatively on security of the Russian Federation and its allied, and upsets balance of military power in Europe, and induces Russia to arm. There were plans to jointly operate a radar station, which will cover whole Europe. The American and the Russian government have not yet agreed, because the United States of America and the Russian Federation consider differently the security challenges because of their different geographical position.

The Russian government was concerned about the east enlargement of the European Union as well, because Lithuania is a transit state between the Russian Federation and the exclave. Russia transports military technology and personnel to the exclave by rail. If the Lithuanian government stops the transit, the supply of the Russian military in the district will be in danger and the Russian government will meet with difficulties to transport uniform, military technology, munitions and personnel to the exclave. The European Union considers the Kaliningrad District as a crisis area. For this reason, the EU spent more than 40 million euro on development of the Russian exclave during the last two decades. If the European Union gets economically the Kaliningrad District, the exclave will get lost for the Russian Federation.

The Russian leadership pays a special to Poland too, because the Kaliningrad District is bordered Poland to the south.

The European Union considers the district as security risk, since the standard of living is lower than in the old member states of the European Union. For this reason, the Northern European regional organisations try to increase the stage of development in the Russian exclave, to reduce security risk and at the same time keep an eye on the political and military processes in the Kaliningrad District.

Nevertheless, the Kaliningrad District is member of several euro-regions, its autonomy is limited. It could be explained by the under-mentioned reasons: on the one hand, the Kaliningrad District since 1997 has been functioning as a Special Defence District, on the other hand, the Russian government is concerned about the seceding of the Kaliningrad District from the Russian Federation, because it could be setting a precedent for several subjects of the Russian Federation, primarily, for the south Russian subjects. However, the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation would be in danger.

Due to its geographical situation, the Kaliningrad District would have a booming economy. In order to achieve it, the Russian exclave has to maintain more intensive economic and commercial relations with its neighbours. If the bank and transport infrastructure, airport, road network, railway, ports and fishery fleet were modernized, the neighbouring countries would be interested in investing in the exclave, and creating new jobs.

To solve the problem of energy supply it is very important to conduct a branch of gas pipeline „Nord Stream” to the Kaliningrad District. After its construction, the Kaliningrad District and the Baltic Fleet would receive natural gas directly, avoiding Lithuania. So the security risk deriving from the uncertain gas supply would be significantly reduced. It is important to solve the energy supply and reduce the dependency on the Lithuanian transit, because the Kaliningrad District accommodates the headquarters of the Russian Baltic Fleet. It would cause a serious problem for Russia, if the energy transit were to exercise a detrimental effect on the Baltic Fleet’s operation.

The Kaliningrad District will be part of the Russian Federation, as long as, Russia is enough strong to maintain the current status of the Russian exclave.

SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF MY PhD THESIS

- 1) I am the first one in Hungary, who analyzed the ethnic composition, the economical, energy and military security of the Kaliningrad District in Hungarian. I proved that its stability plays significant role in security of the Baltic region and Europe.
- 2) I proved that the Kaliningrad District is of strategic importance, and its geographical and geopolitical situation also influences the formation of the Russian security policy.
- 3) Analyzing the deployment of the American anti-missile system into Eastern Europe, I proved that deployment of the Russian missiles into the Kaliningrad District would upset the balance of military power, launch arms race in Europe and in the world.

USABILITY OF MY THESIS, RECOMMENDATIONS

- This may be utilized in the education. It gives information for students, studying at civil and/or military colleges or universities.
- It would be used as source material for researchers, studying security policy of the Baltic region, as well as, working out further themes.
- It gives information about security aspects and security risks of the Baltic region for experts in international relations as well.

SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES

Articles

- *Russians in the Baltic States*. In Kard és Toll, 2004/2. p. 125-130. ISSN 1587-558X
- *The Kaliningrad District in the context of EU-accession of the Baltic States*.
In Doktorandusz, 2005/2. p. 148-160. ISSN 1587-558X
- *The Kaliningrad District: Brussels and Moscow worry about east enlargement of the EU*. In Felderítő Szemle, 2008/2. ISSN 1588-242X
- *East enlargement of the NATO – changes in the line of conduct of the Russian security policy*. In Szakmai Szemle, 2008/3. ISSN 1785-1181
- *Security aspects of the energy supply in Kaliningrad District*.
In Special Issue, 2008/2. ISSN 1785-1181
- *Transformation of the economy in Kaliningrad District and its influence on the security of the region after the fall of the Soviet Union*.
In Felderítő Szemle, 2008/3. ISSN 1588-242X

Lectures, conferences

- 18.05.2004.: *Russians in the Baltic States*.
Paper at “Kard és Toll” conference at the Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University.
- 24.09.2004: *The Kaliningrad District*.
Lecture at the Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University for graduate students of KVKSZ-11 (2 hours)
- 01.10.2004: *Conflicts in the Caucasus. History of the Russian-Chechen conflicts*.
Lecture at the Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University for graduate students of KVKSZ-11 (2 hours)
- 01.12.2005: *The main problem of the Kaliningrad District*.
Lecture in the School of International Relations at the Saint Petersburg State University for graduate students of international relations and regional studies (30 minutes in Russian)

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Family name/First name: Barabás Anett
Nationality: Hungarian
Date of birth: 04.06.1976
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EDUCATION

09.1990-06.1994: Széchenyi István Grammar School, Szolnok
School-leaving certificate (1994)
09.1994-01.1998: József Attila University, Faculty of Arts
Russian Language and Literature
02.1998-06.2000: Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities
Russian Language and Literature
10.1999-06.2000: University of Vienna, Vienna International University Courses
German Language
10.1999-07.2004: University of Vienna, Faculty of Philological and Cultural Studies
Institute for Slavonic Studies
Major: Russian
Minor: „Combination of Subjects” (Russian Literature in the 20th century, Slovenian, History of Eastern Europe, Political Science, Journalism and Communication)
Thesis: Freedom and totalitarianism in the works of Ivan Elagin
Qualification/academic degree: Magistra der Philosophie (2004)
09.2003- Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University, Graduate School of Military Science, Security Studies
PhD thesis: Strategic importance of the Kaliningrad District, its place and role in the Russian security policy and influence on security of Europe

Scholarships/Study abroad:

09.1996-10.1996: Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia
Russian Language and Literature
Donor: Hungarian Scholarship Board
01.07.2001-15.07.2001: University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts
Seminar in Slovenian Language, Literature and Culture
Donor: Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology of the Republic of Slovenia
09.2005-06.2006: Saint Petersburg State University, School of International Relations
Donor: Hungarian Scholarship Board
09.2005-06.2006: Saint Petersburg State University, Faculty of Philology
Department of Russian for foreigners-non-philologists
Donor: Hungarian Scholarship Board

FIELD OF RESEARCH

Russian Federation

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

07.2006-08.2006: Consulate General of the Republic of Hungary in Saint Petersburg

KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES

Mother tongue: Hungarian

Foreign languages: English – “A”-type intermediate-level state language examination (1994)

French – reading and translation

German – Austrian diploma

Russian – “C”-type advanced-level state language examination (1997),

TORFL-3 (2006)

Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian – reading and translation

Slovenian – reading and translation

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