

## Abstracts and Keywords

**Artyom BARYNKIN, Irina NOVIKOVA**

### HISTORY AND POLITICS IN CONTEMPORARY RUSSIAN-POLISH RELATIONS

**Abstract.** *Issues of history have long been a subject of acute controversy between Russia and Poland and occupy a particular place in their contemporary relations. Poland is the leader in the institutionalization of historical policy, and the country's international identity has been built on its image as a "victim", with a visible inclination for confrontation. Warsaw's attempts to blackmail Germany and Russia on the issue of reparations for the World War II, which could look comic, are taking a new dimension in today's context. Poland's outsized involvement in Ukraine, extraordinary growth in Polish military spending for 2023, ambitious and aggressive statements by Polish politicians and military experts — all invoke analogies with Warsaw's reckless policy in the years before World War II and portends serious risks for Europe.*

**Keywords:** *Russia, Poland, historical policies, transformations, politics of memory.*

**Oksana KORNILOVA**

### GRAY ZONE OF KATYN, HOLOCAUST AND POLISH COLLABORATIONISM

**Abstract.** *The historical/ political concept of Katyn crime is a prime example of strategic mental warfare. The narrative of the Katyn affair has followed the dualistic executioner-victim pattern from the very beginning. A large group of actors involved in one or another way in the Nazi Germany's propaganda effort around the burials in the Goat Hills near Smolensk have been excluded from research. Yet, Berlin launched this campaign in April 1943 in the context of ongoing radical turn in World War II in order to drive a wedge within the anti-Hitler coalition. The author suggests to examine the Katyn case using the Gray Zone methodology from the Holocaust studies — namely, identifying the gray-zone actors, such as witnesses, compromisers, various beneficiaries and other involved groups. The article reveals the active participation of Polish collaborationists in the implementation of the 1943 Katyn provocation and traces a link between the scope of anti-Semitism in prewar Poland, Poles' collaboration with Nazis and the emergence of the Katyn narrative.*

**Keywords:** *Katyn affair, Katyn provocation, Holocaust, Polish collaborationism, anti-Semitism, Katyn narrative, beneficiaries.*

**Olga LEBEDEVA****THE WILD WEST OF SANCTIONS: CONFISCATION OF FROZEN RUSSIAN ASSETS AS A POSSIBLE NEW TOOL OF U.S. SANCTION POLICY**

**Abstract.** *The article considers the Biden administration's approach to the use of sanctions in international relations. The focus is on changes in United States sanction policy and the corresponding legal framework after the start of Russia's Special Military Operation in Ukraine. The sanctions war against Russia has demonstrated the collective West's willingness to abandon its key principles of global trade freedom in favor of political purposes. The widely discussed possibility to confiscate Russian foreign assets as a next round of sanctions requires modernizing the tools of sanctions, and Washington, like Brussels, has begun to prepare the ground for giving up one of its basic rights — the right of property.*

**Keywords:** *anti-Russian sanctions, U.S. sanction policy, Biden administration, asset confiscation, legal mechanisms for confiscating property.*

**Natalia NAROCHNITSKAYA****RUSSIA AND SERBIA IN A TIME OF CHANGE. LINES OF TENSION IN THE EUROPEAN HISTORY OF THE 19TH — 21ST CENTURIES. I. SERBIA IN A NEW CLASH BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE WEST**

**Abstract.** *2022 marked the end of an era by an unprecedented clash between Russia and the West, which should be seen not only as a geopolitical conflict, but also as a struggle of alternative visions of progress and the future of humanity. In this context, the task of suppressing the resistance of Serbia, geographically squeezed by NATO, is a particular challenge for the West, and for more reasons than the strategic location of this Balkan country. The Serbs remain one of few European nations that stubbornly resist the imposition of postmodernist paradigm of human history. The Serbian attraction to Russia is deeply rooted in ineradicable civilizational kinship, parallelism in historical experiences and certain connectedness within geopolitical and social transformations. The article opens a series of works devoted to retrospective analysis of this phenomenon.*

**Keywords:** *Russia and the West, clash of interests and values, Serbia, Russian-Serbian ties, historical parallels, image of Russia.*

**Natalia NAROCHNITSKAYA****RUSSIA AND SERBIA IN A TIME OF CHANGE. LINES OF TENSION IN THE EUROPEAN HISTORY OF THE 19TH — 21ST CENTURIES. II. RUSSIAN-SERBIAN PARALLELS IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL RIVALRIES**

**Abstract.** *The Balkans, retaining its strategic role, remain a cultural borderland in today's clash of civilizations, and the dominant Western worldview paradigm still draws the borderline of the "civilized" world along the Serbs. The goal to push Russia east of the Black Sea Straits has always implied ousting Russia from the Balkans. In the eyes of Europe/ the West Serbia has always been a potential instrument of Russian influence and an unassimilable hotbed of an alien civilization, a spiritual and political support for a powerful Russia. The parallels of national histories bring Russians and Serbs even closer together, in particular, the experience of clashing with militantly anti-Russian Ukrainianism (in Russian case) and with the terror of the Ustasha Croats (in Serbian case), similar outcomes of social experiments and losses in the collapse of socialist federations. An especially painful blow for the Serbs has become the drama of Kosovo — a kind of Golgotha for Serbian historical consciousness.*

**Keywords:** *Russia and the West, Balkans, civilizational borderland, international rivalries, Russian-Serbian ties, Russian-Serbian parallels, ethnic and national histories, Kosovo.*

**Natalia TRAVKINA****THE NOVEMBER 2022 U.S. ELECTION: A RETURN TO THE ROOTS OF THE AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT**

**Abstract.** *The results of the midterm elections in the United States, held on November 8, 2022, came as a surprise to many analysts and sociological agencies. The course of this electoral campaign and its results are a telling symptom of American society's condition and of major changes in its political system, which dates back to the last third of the XIX century. The reason for the crisis of predictive electoral models, starting in 2016, is the fact that most of the models have been based on classical patterns of American voters' behavior. Yet, such patterns have been changing due to increasing polarization, erosion of the middle class and other key changes in the U.S. social structure and political system. The growing crisis trends in the United States directly affect the institutional fundamentals of American liberal democracy. Both the 2020 presidential election and the 2022-midterm elections might indicate an accelerating transition to a kind of oligarchy.*

**Keywords:** *U.S. midterm elections, liberal democracy, institutions of democracy, existential threat, progressive polarization, discrediting the presidency, election technologies, campaign finance, voting behavior.*

**Petr YAKOVLEV****RUSSIA AND BRAZIL IN THE PARADIGM OF STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP**

**Abstract.** *In the fall of 2022, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, a prominent statesman and the leader of the left party spectrum, was elected president of Brazil. He already held the presidency in 2003–2010, and under his leadership the largest Latin American country made a significant step forward in social and economic development. Significant positive changes were observed in the foreign policy. Brazil gained considerable weight in the UN and its institutions, strengthened its leadership in Latin America and the Global South in general, intensified its activity within the G20, became a member of BRICS, and diversified its foreign economic relations, in particular by unprecedentedly expanding its business relations with China and Russia. It was during Lula da Silva's first two terms in office that Russian-Brazilian interaction elevated to the status of a strategic partnership. His return to power might give a fresh impetus to the bilateral partnership, after unfavorable years of the late 2010s to early 2020s.*

**Keywords:** *Russia, Brazil, presidential elections, Russian-Brazilian strategic partnership, bilateral dialogue, trade and economic relations, military-technical cooperation, digitalization, technology companies.*

**Ladislav ZEMÁNEK****CZECH REPUBLIC: AN OPPOSITION ALLIANCE AGAINST LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM**

**Abstract.** *The political as well as socio-economic situation in the Czech Republic is increasingly tense. Whereas the liberal cabinet has conducted its radical programme based on a firm alignment with Washington externally, and on imposing its own vision of liberal democracy internally, the ongoing transition to postliberal authoritarianism arouses people's discontent. The opposition has started to consolidate itself, establishing new tactical alliances which overcome the traditional division between the left and right. The programme of the opposition movement is concentrated on sovereignty, patriotism, military neutrality, solidarity and social justice, regional integration, and last but not least democracy. These objectives and principles are the common denominator uniting populists, conservatives, communists, nationalists, and other streams opposing the increasing radicalism and extremism of the liberal democratic mainstream. The government has refused to enter into dialogue with the opposition referring to the need for the protection of freedom and democracy in the Czech Republic. Paradoxically, the analysis shows that it is especially the discourse and policies of the liberal democrats that threaten the fundamental rights and freedoms, as well as the democratic character of the Czech statehood.*

**Keywords:** *Czech Republic, liberal democracy, liberal authoritarianism, opposition, energy crisis, sovereignty, censorship, NATO, EU, Ukraine, USA.*