

Kirill Rogov

## Freedom or Equality

### The Reasons for the Split in the Democratic Movement in Russia

Russia's political development has been decisively influenced by the split in the democratic movement since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The apparently unbreachable chasm is generally explained by pointing to personal animosities among its leading figures. In actuality, however, there are two fundamentally differing interpretations of key concepts such as freedom, the market and democracy at the heart of the split. These have their historical roots in the Soviet debates on reform dating from the 1960s. While the strand embodied by *Yabloko* understands democracy to mean the political equality of all citizens of the Russian Federation, the liberal market-oriented strand which is currently united in the *Soiuz pravyykh sil* emphasizes the economic freedoms of citizens.

Miriam Kosmehl

## The Power of Law or The Law of Power

### International Law and Human Rights in Chechnya

When the European Council admitted Russia as a new member in 1996, it hoped to foster the country's adaptation to European human rights standards. A detailed investigation of the human rights violations committed by Russia in the Chechen War shows that this hope has largely shattered. While it is true that Moscow has technically adopted the norms of the European Council, neither their implementation nor the prosecution of human rights violations have improved. Russia must no longer be treated with forbearance should the European Council wish to remain credible.

Edwin Czerwick and Gulbaat Rzchiladse

## Democracy and Autocracy

### Caucasian Vicious Circles in Georgia

Democracy in Georgia has a pathbreaking and exemplary political function for the whole of the Caucasus. Up until now, however, the democratization process in Georgia has been characterized by a discrepancy between the development of formal democratic institutions and unsatisfactory political practice. In addition, democratization is permanently threatened by a multitude of international and domestic problems which overload the problem-solving capacity of the political system. In this respect, democracy in Georgia has not yet reached the stage of self-sustainability.

Heiko Fürst

## Discord over the Danube

### Hungary torn over the Dam Construction Project Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros

Conflicts over environmental issues played a pivotal role during the radical changes of 1989 in many Central and Eastern European countries. In Hungary, the ruckus caused by the Dam Construction Project Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros was a decisive force behind the protests against the socialist government. When the opponents prevailed over the supporters, the formerly domestic conflict turned international because Czechoslovakia, and after 1993 the Slovak government, insisted that work on the project move on. Not even a 1997 decision by the International Court in The Hague could resolve the issue, contrary to what many had hoped. Depending on the distribution of seats in the Hungarian Parliament, the conflict continues to alternate between being domestic and international.

Zoltan Barany

## The Tragedy of the Kursk

### Crisis Management in Putin's Russia

The objective of this article is to reconstruct both the Kursk incident and the reaction to it on the part of the Russian military and political authorities. The article also endeavors to gauge the extent of continuity and change with Soviet-era practices in three key areas of contemporary Russia's public institutional life: (1) the organizational behavior and institutional culture of the Russian military; (2) the behavior of Russia's executive political leadership, i.e. President Vladimir Putin; and (3) the media of mass communication. The author argues that reactions to such crises can shed much light on the actual behavioral patterns and operating assumptions of the relevant institutions and leaders.

Christine Engel

### “Survivor po-russki”

#### The Russian Reality TV Show “Za steklom”

The broadcast of the first episodes of *Za steklom*, a Russian reality tv show, has acted as a catalyst in exposing the ruptures between new and old norms and values in Russia. The impact of the show has been very profound indeed. It is comparable only to the times of the *Perestroyka* when the whole country was immersed in discussions of “hot” issues. Moreover, the country’s cultural elites advocated the most diverse normative conceptions during a fierce debate accompanying the show. Its global format, which can be suited to regional particularities, demonstrated that Russian viewers’ sympathies were awarded according to whom they would have preferred as a family member rather than according to the candidates’ cleverness in presenting themselves or their willingness to transgress boundaries. Cooperation was put at a higher value than confrontation, and supporters of the idea of separating sex and love were in the minority. However, other potentially controversial issues such as homosexuality or drug abuse were banned from the show.

Iris Kempe and Wim van Meurs

### New Thinking for A Wider Europe

As a consequence of Eastern enlargement the European Union will reach the limits of its ability to secure stability and prosperity in Europe. Despite some substantive proposals, the EU has not yet been able to enact a neighbourhood policy that is both attractive to the countries bordering the Union and realistic for the EU. Farsighted solutions should not be limited to mental exercises in the EU bureaucracies. There is a need for new ideas that go beyond Brussels’ institutional framework and the dominant idea of enlargement. Multi-Layered Europe illustrates one forward-looking option for functional cooperation beyond Eastern enlargement.