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Director and Senior Associate Russia and Eurasia Program

# THE MYSTERY OF RUSSIAN STRATEGY FOR UKRAINE

The crisis in Ukraine is well into a new phase. The annexation of Crimea is in the past, and a new reality is emerging on the ground in Eastern and Southeastern Ukraine. Reports of joint actions by Russian military personnel in unmarked uniforms—denied by Russian officials in Moscow—and local pro-Russian activists suggest that Eastern and Southeastern Ukraine is slipping away from Kyiv. The Kyiv government has threatened to use force to restore its control of the territory, but evidently has neither the will nor the means to move decisively against the separatists. The threat of Moscow ordering its regular troops massed at the border into Ukraine in retaliation for Kyiv's use of force against the separatists appears to have a powerful deterrent effect on the government of Ukraine.

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Autor: **Nedžad Ahatović**

# PREGOVORI ZAPADA SA RUSIJOM ILI III SVJETSKI RAT?

Analitički gledano slučaj Ukrajine je, i pored raznih teza i korelacija sa raspadom SFRJ što konstanto tvrdi Lazanski, jedino usporediv sa Kubanskom krizom 1962. godine, gdje su dvije super sile bile na ivici nuklearnog rata, odnosno punih 13 dana bile direktno suprotavljene jedna drugoj i na kraju se složile oko povlačenja vojnih kapaciteta na bazi tajnog sporazuma. 50 godina poslije, Rusija ponovo direktno provocira Zapad otimajući Krim od Ukrajine.

Da li je tu po srijedi redefinisanje ekonomskog i političkog statusa Rusije u svijetu, kao što je to bio slučaj sa Kubanskom krizom, nakon koje se SSSR jače etablira kao svjetska velesila ostaje da se vidi. Ono što je sasvim izvjesno je činjenica da je Putin svjesno narušio svjetski mir i da je jedini put ka ponovnoj stabilizaciji politički i diplomatski dijalog, pa makar i tajni, između velikih sila, u suprotnom nas očekuje neizvjesna budućnost.

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- **Canadian** Service; Academy of the Arts, Humanities, and Sciences of Canada; Students for a Free Tibet; Human Rights Watch – Canada; Canadian Institute of International Affairs; Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies; Centre Canadian D; Centre for Conflict Studies; Centre for Defence and Security Studies; Centre for Foreign Policy Studies; Centre for Global Studies; Centre for International Governance Innovation; Centre for International Studies; Centre for Military and Strategic Studies; Centre for Peace Studies; Centre for Security and Defence Studies; Centre of International Relations; Conference Board of Canada; Couchiching Institute on Public Affairs; Human Security Center; International Development Research Centre; International Institute for Sustainable Development; Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Centre; Liu Institute for Global Issues; Mackenzie Institute; Munk Centre for International Studies; North-South Institute; Peace Research Institute; Quebec Institute of Advanced International Studies; Research Group in International Security; Rights and Democracy; Trudeau Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies; York Centre for International and Security Studies; Canadian Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Service Departments, Universities, Media...;

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- **German** Service; Union of German Academies of Sciences and Humanities / Union der deutschen Akademien der Wissenschaften/ consists of the seven Academies of Sciences and Humanities in the Federal Republic of Germany /Berlin, Muenich, Goettingen, Leipzig, Heidelberg, Mainz and Duesseldorf/; German Universities: Berlin – Freien Universitaet, Bonn, Darmstadt, Eichstaett, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Humboldt University, Muenchen, Passau, Slavistisches Seminar Universitaet Bonn, Trier...; Aussenpolitik; George C. Marshall Europäisches Zentrum für Sicherheitsstudien / George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies – GAP, Deutschland; Alexander von Humboldt Foundation; Allianz Kulturstiftung; Amadeu Antonio Stiftung; Art Forum Berlin; Berlin Information-Center for Transatlantic Security; Bertelsmann Stiftung; Bonn International Center for Conversion; Bundesvereinigung Soziokultureller Zentren; Bundeszentrale fuer Politische Bildung BPB; Center for Conflict Studies; Centre for International Relations; Centre for Science and International Security; Centre for Transnational Relations, Foreign and Security Policy; Centrum für Angewandte Politikforschung; Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtig Politik / German Society for Foreign Affairs; European Center for Minority Issues; European Stability Initiative; Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst – Bonn; Foundation Die Schwelle – Bremen; Frederick Ebert Stiftung; Friedrich Naumann Stiftung; Freudenberg Stiftung; Gemeinnuetzige Hertie Stiftung; German Institute of Global and Area Studies; Gesellschaft fuer moderne Kommunikation; Global Public Policy Institute; Gottlieb Daimler und Karl Benz Stiftung; Hamburg Institute for Social Research; Hanns Seidel Stiftung; Hessische Stiftung; Institut für Entwicklung und Frieden / Institute for Development and Peace; Institut für Europäische Politik; Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik / Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy; Institut für Friedenspaedagogik – Tuebingen; Institut für wissenschaftliche Zusammenarbeit; Internationales Musikinstitut Darmstadt; Journal for Politics and Economics of the Middle East; Koerber Stiftung; Kulturstiftung Bund; Kulturstiftung des Bundes; Kulturstiftung Haus Europa; Kurt Tucholsky

Stiftung; Minna James Heineman Stiftung; N-ost; Perlentaucher; Signandsight; Society for Threatened Peoples / Gesellschaft fuer bedrohte Voelker (GfbV) – Göttingen; German Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Justice, Defence..., Service Departments, Universities, NGOs, Media...;

- **Austrian** Service; Austrian Academy of Sciences; Internationale Zentrum fuer Kulturelle Zusammenarbeit im Miteuropaeischen Raum – Krems; Austrian Association for Foreign Policy and International Relations; Institute for European Integration Research; Institute of East and South-East European Studies; International Institute for Peace; Wiener Institut fuer Internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche; Österreichisches Institut für Internationale Politik / Austrian Institute for International Affairs – Wien; Österreichische Institut für Europa und Sicherheitspolitik / Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy; Austrian Institute for International Affairs – Wien; Austrian Institute for International Politics – Laxenburg; Institut fuer Donauraum und Mitteleuropa; International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis; Ost-und Suedosteuropa Institut; Österreichisches Institut für Internationale Politik / Austrian Institute for International Politics Affairs – Wien; Sustainable Europe Research Institute; Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution; University Center for Peace Research; Wiener Institut fuer Internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche; Federal President of the Republic of Austria / Bundespräsident der Republik Österreich; Austrian Federal Chancellor / Bundeskanzleramt; Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs; Federal Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture; Ministry of Defence and Sports / Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung und Sport; Service Departments, Universities, NGOs, Media...;
- **Turkish** Government, Ministry of Culture, Foreign Affairs, Service Departments, Libraries, Universities; Universities in U.S.A. – Associations of Turkish students in: Adelphi University, Arizona State University, Binghamton University, Brandeis University, Brigham Young University, California State University, Carnegie Mellon University, Carroll College, Case Western Reserve University, Clemson University, Columbia University, Concordia University – Canada, Cornell University, Drexell University, Duke University, Eastern New Mexico University, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Florida International University, George Mason University, Hawaii Pacific University, Hofstra University – NY, Indiana University, Iowa State University, Lawrence University, Lehigh University, Long Island University, Louisiana State University, Marquette University, Michigan State University, Midwestern State University, Montana State University, Montclair State University, Murray State University, New York University, North Carolina State University, Northwest Missouri State University, Ohio State University, Ohio University, Old Dominion University, Oregon State University, Pennsylvania State University, Purde University, San Diego State University, Seattle Central Community College, St. Johan` s College, State University of New York, State University Old Westbury, SUNY at Buffalo – NY, SUNY at Canton, Syracuse University – NY, Texas A&M University, The College of Saint Rose – NY, The George Washington University, The University of Nebraska-Lincoln, The University of Oklahoma, The University of Tulsa, Tiffin University, Troy State University, University of Arizona, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, University of Baltimore, University of California – Los Angeles, University of Central Florida, University of Colorado – Boulder, University of Colorado – Denver, University of Florida, University of Hartford, University of Illinois at Urbana – Champaign, University of Maryland, University of Massachusetts – Amherst, University of Massachusetts – Lowell, University of Michigan – for all members, University of Minnesota at Twin Cities, University of Minnesota, University of Nebraska, University of Nevada, University of North Alabama, University of Pennsylvania, University of Pittsburg – to all members, University of Rochester, University of San Francisco, University of Tennessee, University of Texas – Austin, University of Texas – Dallas, University of Toledo, University of Virginia, University of Wisconsin, Virginia Commonwealth University...; Media: Akit, Aksiyon, Anadolu, Bizim Anadolu, Cumhuriyet, Dunya, Eksen Broadcasting Company, GencTV, Hurriyet, Intermedya Basın Ve Yayincilik, Kanal D, Milliyet, NTV, Orkun, Pcworld, Radio Bilkent, Radyo 5, Sabah, Turkish Daily News Online, Turkish News Network, Turkish News, Voice Of Turkey News, Yeni Safak, Yeni Vatan Gazetesi, Zaman Daily Newspaper...; Turkish Service /Radio & Agencies/ in: Turkish, English, Arabic, German, French, Russian, Macedonian, Romanian, Bosnian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Kirghiz, Greek, Albanian, Azerbaijan, Chinese, Persian, Georgian, Macar, Uzbek, Serbian, Tatar and Turcoman;
- **Ukrainian** Service; National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; European Union – international contacts in Ukraine; Institute of International Education – Ukraine; Center for International Security and Strategic Studies; Center for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy of Ukraine; International Centre for Policy Studies; International Centre for Policy Studies; National Institute for Strategic Studies; National Institute for Ukrainian and Russian Relations; Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research; Ukrainian Centre for Economic and Political Studies; Ukrainian Centre for International Security Studies; Ukrainian Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Defense; Service Departments, Universities, NGOs, Media...;
- **Romanian** Service; Romanian Academy, Bucharest; Association for International Law and International Relations; Center for Defence and Security Strategic Studies; Conflict Prevention Center; EURISC Foundation; EUROED Foundation; Institute for Political Studies of Defence and Military History; Manfred Worner Euro-Atlantic Association; Nicolae Bălcescu Land Forces Military Academy; Romanian Institute of International Studies; Transparency International Romania; Romanian Government, Ministry Defence, Foreign Affairs, Service Departments, Universities, NGOs, Media...;
- **Georgian** Academy of Sciences; Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy, and Development; Institute for Policy Studies; South-Caucasus Institute of Regional Security; Georgian Government, International

Relations Department, State Ministry of Georgia on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, State Ministry for Euro-Atlantic Integration, Service Departments, Universities, NGOs, Art Media, Media...;

- **Slovakian** Academy of Sciences; Central European Foundation; Centre for European Policy; Institute for Public Affairs; Slovak Foreign Policy Association; Slovak Institute for International Studies; Transparency International Slovakia; Slovakian Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Service Departments, Universities, NGOs, Media...;
- **Polish Service**; Polish Academy of Sciences /Polska Akademia Nauk/; Center for International Relations; Center for Social and Economic Research; Centre for Europe – Warsaw University; European Institute; Foreign Trade Research Institute; Institute for Strategic Studies; Institute of Developing Countries; Institute of Public Affairs; Judaica Foundation – Center for Jewish Culture – Cracow; Polish Institute of International Affairs; World Economy Research Institute; Polish Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Service Departments, Universities, NGOs, Media...;
- **Hungarian** Service; Hungarian Academy of Sciences / Magyar Tudományos Akadémia; Central European University; Civic Education Project; Institute for Hungarian and Central Europe Studies; Centre for Security and Defence Studies; Eotvos Karoly Public Policy Institute; Freedom House; Hungarian and Central European International Studies Center – Szeged; Institute for Strategic and Defence Studies – Budapest; Institute for Transitional Democracy and International Security; Institute of International Education – Europe – Budapest; International Center for Economic Growth, European Center; Magyar Külügyi Intézet / Hungarian Institute of International Affairs; Manfred Wornier Institute; Miklos Zrinyi National Defence University; Teleki Laszlo Institute; Hungarian Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Service Departments, Universities, NGOs, Media...;
- **Uzbekistan** Academy of Sciences; Uzbekistan Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Service Departments, Universities, NGOs, Media...;
- **Czech** Service Departments; Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic; Association of International Affairs; EastWest Institute; EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy; Institute of International Relations; International Institute for Political Science of Masaryk University; Liberal Institute / Liberální Institut; Prague Security Studies Institute; Program of Atlantic Security Studies; Media...;
- **Latvian** Service; Latvian Academy of Sciences; Baltic Center for Strategic Studies; Centre for European and Transition Studies; Latvian Institute of International Affairs; Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Service Departments, Universities, NGOs, Media...;
- **Albanian–American** Association; America Online Inc.; American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters; American Foundation for Defense and Foreign Affairs; American Foundation; American Muslim Community; American National Academy of Sciences; American PEN Center; Amnesty International; BAACBH – Bosniak American Advisory Council for Bosnia and Herzegovina; Bank of America; Bosniaks.net/Bosnjaci.net; CATO Institute – Washington; Department of Veterans Affairs; Human Rights Action; Human Rights Group; Human Rights Watch; Institute for Security East West; Institute for Strategic Studies; Institute for War and Peace; MPAC – Muslim Public Affairs Council; National Democratic Institute; Political State Department of State University; United States Institute of Peace; American Government, Department of Defense, Department of State & Service Departments ...;
- **Albanews** – Albanian News and Information Network; Albanian Academy of Sciences; Albanian Center for Human Rights – Tirana; Bashkësia Islame e Kosovës – Prishtinë – Kosovë; Ebu Beker es–Siddik – Preshevo; European Union – international contacts in Albania; Faculty of Islamic Studies – Prishtinë – Kosovë; Humanitarian Law Center; Islamic library SELAM – Ulciny; Islamic union of Kosovo Opoye – Kosovë; Klubi Kulturor – Prishtinë – Kosovë; Koha – Albanian weekly – Prishtinë – Kosovë; Koha Javore – Podgoritza; Kosovapress – Prishtinë – Kosovë; Radio Prishtinë – Kosovë; Radio Tirana; Radiotelevizioni Shqiptar – Tirana – Albania; Secondary Islamic Medressah – Prishtinë – Kosovë; The Bosniaks Forum of Kosovo; The Muslim Forum of Albania; University of Tirana; Albanian & Kosovë Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Service Departments...;
- **Croatian** Academy of Sciences and Arts; Croatian President, Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Science, Education and Sports, Ministry of Culture & Service Departments...; Croatian Institute for History; Culturenet – Croatia; Institute for International Relations; Kulturpunkt – Croatia; Media: Croatian Radiotelevision (HRT) – Zagreb, including Radio Osijek, Radio Pula, Radio Rijeka, Radio Split, Radio Slyeme..., HINA, Jutarnji list, Vjesnik...; NGOs; Universities ...;
- **BAACBH** – Bosniak American Advisory Council for Bosnia and Herzegovina; Balkan Human Rights Network; Bosniaks.net/Bosnjaci.net; Bosnian–American Association New York, U.S.A.; Congress of the North American Bosniaks; Human Rights Centre, University of Sarajevo; Human Rights Office Tuzla; Infohouse – Sarajevo; National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Bosnian President, Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Justice, Service Departments, Libraries, Universities & Media; Institute for History – Sarajevo; Historical Archive – Sarajevo; Oriental Institute – Sarajevo, Voice of Bosnia and Herzegovina – New York ...;
- **Association of Women and Mothers "Anna"** – Novi Pazar – Sanjak; Center for Peace and Reconciliation – Sanjak – Novi Pazar; Civic Forum – Novi Pazar – Sanjak; Cultural Center "DamaD" – Novi Pazar – Sanjak;

Faculty of Islamic Studies – Novi Pazar – Sanjak; Flores – Syenitza – Sanjak; Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Sanjak; Impuls – Tutin – Sanjak; Islamic Community of Sanjak; Muslim Humanitarian Society "Merhamet – Sanjak" – Novi Pazar; New Vision – Priyepolye – Sanjak; Sanjak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms – Novi Pazar – Sanjak; Sanjak Intellectual Circle – SIK – Novi Pazar; The International University of Novi Pazar – Sanjak; Universa Television Sanjak; Urban-In – Novi Pazar – Sanjak; Women's Center – Priyepolye – Sanjak; Women's Forum – Priyepolye – Sanjak; Women's Initiative – Priboy – Sanjak ...;

- **Wojwodina's** Government, Culture and Education Department; Alternative Novi Sad organization; Center for Regionalism – Novi Sad – Wojwodina; Center for the Development of Civil Society; Civic Action; Civic Fund Panonia; Civic Wojwodina; Independent Journalists Associations of Wojwodina; Islamic Community of Novi Sad – Wojwodina; NLO – Novi Sad Lesbian Organization; Oper Lyceum; The Open University – Subotitza; Wojwodina Initiatives; NGOs, Media, Zentrum fuer Neue Medien, City of Novi Sad, Subotitza..., Libraries, foundations, free coalitions, flexibility groups, student organizations, cultural societies in Wojwodina ...;
- **European Union in Brussels & relations in the U.S.A., Canada & Australia** including EU centers in Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom; **European Union – international contacts in:** Albania, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan; **European Federation of Magazine Publishers in:** Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom ...;
- **Presidents of the States in:** Australia, Austria, Argentina, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kosovo, Latin American countries, Macedonia, Montenegro, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, U.S.A. ...;
- **Ministry of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Service Departments in:** Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Croatia, Cuba, Czech Republic, Ecuador, El-Salvador, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Lithuania, Macedonia, Mexico, Montenegro, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Turkey, U.S.A., Uruguay, Vatican, Venezuela ...;
- President of Serbia, Government, Ministry of Justice, Internal Affairs, Defence, Foreign Affairs, Religious Affairs, Center for Multicultural Education, Service Departments, Universities, NGOs, Media...; Belgrade Centre for Human Rights; Center for Cultural Decontamination; Center for Peace and Democracy Development; Civic Initiatives; E–novine; Fond for an Open Society; **Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia**; Humanitarian Law Center; Incest Trauma Center; Independent Journalists Association of Serbia; Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (YUCOM); Pescanik; Queeria Center; Serbian Fund for Development of Democracy; Women for Peace; Women in Action; Women in Black; Women's Reconstruction Fund; Youth Initiative for Human Rights ...;
- President of Montenegro, Government, Ministry of Justice, Internal Affairs, Defence, Foreign Affairs, Religious Affairs, Service Departments, Universities, NGOs, Media...;
- Media; International Networks; services; portals; organizations for international art program, democracy promotion and multicultural development; institutions and personalities – universities, libraries, publishing houses, associations, councils, districts, foundations, free coalitions and flexibility groups, student organizations, cultural societies, readers and global cultural establishment.

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**All the news we send everyone! / Alle Nachrichten die wir senden um alle! / Biz herkese tüm haber göndermek! / Küldünk minden hír mindenki! / Enviamos todas as notícias a todos! / 所有我們發送給所有的消息! / Всі новини ми посилаємо всім! / Tutte le notizie inviamo a tutti! / ყველა სიახლე გავაგზავნეთ ყველასათვის! / 우리는 모든 사람에게 보내는 모든 뉴스! / Все новости мы посылаем всем! / מלוכל מיחלוש ונאש תושדחה לא / אלעמען וקיש רימ נייעס יד אלע / Al het nieuws dat we iedereen te sturen! / हम हर किसी को भेजने के सभी समाचार! / Al die nuus wat ons stuur na almal! / Sve vijesti saljemo svima! / Lahat ng mga balita ipapadala namin sa lahat ng tao! / Të gjitha lajmet ne dërgojmë për të gjithë! / Toutes les nouvelles que nous envoyons tout le monde! / رابخالألك / عي مچالأسرن / Wszystkie wiadomości wysyłamy do wszystkich! / Al het nieuws dat we iedereen te sturen! / Alla nyheter vi skickar till alla! / ニュースはすべてに送信された! / Visos naujienos siunčiame visiems! / Ni sendos cxiujn la novajon al ĉiuj!**

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**Branko Zivkovic, International freelance journalist for Public Relations & Public Relations for Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia / Internationale freier Journalist fuer Oeffentlichkeitsarbeit und Oeffentlichkeitsarbeit fuer Helsinki Komitees fuer Menschenrechte in Serbien / Nemzetközi szabadúszó riporter PR és PR a Helsinki Bizottság az Emberi Jogokért a Szerbia / Relations publiques pour Comité Helsinki pour les droits de l'homme en Serbie et Journaliste indépendant des médias internationales, responsable des relations publiques / Halkla ilişkiler için Uluslararası serbest gazeteci – Sırbistan'daki Helsinki İnsan Hakları Komitesi Halkla İlişkiler**

If you no longer wish to receive this information, please send an e-mail to [branko\\_zivkovic@vektor.net](mailto:branko_zivkovic@vektor.net) with the subject: Please remove me from your list. / Wenn Sie nicht mehr wollen, um diese Informationen zu erhalten, senden Sie bitte eine e-Mail an [branko\\_zivkovic@vektor.net](mailto:branko_zivkovic@vektor.net) mit dem Betreff: Bitte streichen Sie mich aus Ihrer Liste. / Ukoliko ne želite da dobijate ove informacije, molimo Vas da nam napišete mail ( [branko\\_zivkovic@vektor.net](mailto:branko_zivkovic@vektor.net) ) i u subject-u navedete: Želim da me skinete sa liste.