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**THE UNION STATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF BELARUS AND THE
RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY**

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INTRODUCTION

Relevance of research

After the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, end of the bipolar system and the Cold War, the world has undergone deep transformations. Many Western political scientists have propagated the “end of history” and total victory of the liberal world.¹ However, there was another point of view.

Samuel Huntington in his work “Clash of Civilizations” has predicted that absence of bipolar stability would lead to the conflicts between different countries on the basis of spiritual, cultural and civilizational differences.²

Nowadays, in 2022, we see that Huntington’s point of view more truthfully describes the situation in the world. We observe the occurrence of a multipolar world where the West tries to preserve domination, nevertheless, it is impossible not to recognize the successes of aspiring great powers such as Russia and China. The world has changed, the reality becomes more unpredictable, and international security is under threat like never before³.

To illustrate this point of view, I would like to provide an example of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) that in its agenda NATO 2030 underlines the necessity to make a strong alliance even stronger amidst fast changing world.⁴ In NATO 2030 factsheet in Proposal 5 - Uphold the Rules-Based International Order explaining why it matters - Russia and China were named as main threats to the alliance in terms of security, values and democratic way of life. Despite the fact that the USSR has been dissolved and the Cold War has ended, NATO continues to exist and enlarges towards the East, in spite of promises not to do this, that, in its turn, destabilizes Eurasian countries, especially the post-Soviet space. Moreover, in

¹ Fukuyama, F. (1989). The end of history? *The National Interest*, (16), 3-18.

² Huntington, S. P. (1996). The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*, 72(3), 22-49.

³ Bousquet, A. (2022). *The scientific way of warfare: order and chaos on the battlefields of modernity*. Hurst Publishers.

⁴ North Atlantic Treaty Organization. (2021, June). NATO 2030 factsheet. https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/2021/6/pdf/2106-factsheet-nato2030-en.pdf

Brussels Summit Communiqué, the Heads of States and Governments of 30 NATO Allies blamed Russia for breaching the core principles that underpin the NATO-Russia relationship. In addition, they accused Russia of fast unjustified military buildup and intensification of its hybrid actions against NATO Allies and partners.⁵

In this context, the attitude of Russia towards these actions established in the Russian National Security Strategy published in 2021 is quite rigid. According to the main tenets of the strategy, mendacity in foreign policy of Western block countries undermines the effectiveness of multilateral cooperation between different countries.⁶ Besides, it suggests that the USA and its allies shatter universally accepted norms and institutions as well as sabotage international law and sharpen the political atmosphere around the world.⁷

Reflecting more narrowly, the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation has also undergone deep transformations within changing geopolitical conditions. It is possible to trace these changes in the transition from Military doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation (2001) to the new version of the military doctrine (2021). Due to the fact that they were written in different times, first draft presupposes less threatening situation of intervention in the territory of states parties whereas the newest doctrine revises this tenet and argues that nowadays the threat is more than real especially due to the hotbeds of armed conflict in neighbouring countries (Ukraine, Georgia, Nagorny Karabakh, Transnistria).⁸

⁵ North Atlantic Treaty Organization. (2021, June 14). Brussels Summit Communiqué. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_185000.htm?selectedLocale=en

⁶ The President of the Russian Federation. (2021, July 2). Decree of the President of the Russian Federation № 400 "On the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation". <http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001202107030001?index=0&rangeSize=1>

⁷ Güler Mehmet Çağatay, Shakirova Anna. (2021, September). Deciphering Russia's 2021 National Security Strategy document. SETA. Perspective. Number 67. <https://setav.org/en/assets/uploads/2021/09/P67En.pdf>

⁸ The Supreme Council of the Union State. (2001, December 26). Decree №8. "On Military Doctrine of the Union State". <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/456089527>

The problem of military intervention of Western block countries (full-scale NATO intervention) has become a very sensitive issue because of the beginning of Russian special military operation in Ukraine announced by the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on February 24, 2022.⁹ Of course, the start point was a bit earlier when the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on behalf of the Russian people recognized the sovereignty of Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics on February 21, 2022.¹⁰ Even then, in special announcement with deep historical immersion there was an explanation of such a solution. And at the end of the speech there was one crucial point: the President urged Kievan authorities to cease hostilities on the East of Ukraine. Unfortunately, this requirement was not fulfilled. Moreover, it intensified resistance from central Ukrainian authorities to any chance of peaceful conflict resolution. That is why, there was a decision of the Russian President to start a special military operation in the Ukraine. It coincided with the end of joint military activities within the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation – Union Determination – 2022. Of course, it was not a coincidence. Even without deep analysis it is quite understandable that those military activities were the preparation for further steps made by the Russian Federation. But it is important to mention that the possibility of conflict avoidance existed.

The reaction of the Western Community to the Russian special military operation in Ukraine was quite predictable. Collective West argued and argues that it is full-scale invasion in peaceful democratic country that won't stop after the achievement of all established goals and will continue to occupy free and democratic Europe. This situation was explained as an existential threat to the West and exactly for this reason the United States and its allies announced a huge amount of measures aimed at not

⁹ The President of the Russian Federation. (2022, February 24). Address of the President of the Russian Federation. <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843>

¹⁰ The President of the Russian Federation. (2022, February 21). Address of the President of the Russian Federation. <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67828>

only weakening Russian military forces to stop any activity in the Eastern direction, but also damaging all the sectors of Russian economy and hurting ordinary people that were usually protected (verbally) by the West and were separated from the ruling regime and elites¹¹. Also, it is necessary to mention that escalation of Ukrainian conflict is not a Russian prerogative. On the contrary, the West is interested in further deterioration of current situation¹². It is profitable for Western bloc countries to have constantly bleeding conflict between Slavs in the post-Soviet space.

In this regard it is obvious to ask the question: why the West is so interested in weakening Russia and its allies, especially in contemporaneity? It is not necessary to dive deeply into history, because Russian world, in any stage of its development, was an existential threat, an alternative to the Western model of state. Probably, the current shock that we feel is connected with the illusions of cooperation that were so popular in 1990-s and early 2000-s. Nowadays we observe so called disillusionment in American dream and attempts to build an alternative way of development by itself and also in cooperation with aspiring great powers such as China and India. And don't forget about close cooperation within Eurasian Economic Union, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Collective Security Treaty Organization and BRICS formats.

But if we forget about solely Russian threat and try to understand, why Belarus is also under sanctions' pressure, we notice that despite all Belarussian attempts to preserve its multi-vector, after 2020 protests due to the re-election of incumbent president Alexander Lukashenko (Western regime change technologies or so called colour revolution), Belarus has more consolidated with Russia in many issues. Why even the existence of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian

¹¹ Harrington B. The Russian Elite Can't Stand the Sanctions. (March 5, 2022). Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/03/russian-sanctions-oligarchs-offshore-wealth/623886/>

¹² NATO and EU Ambassadors meet to discuss crisis in Ukraine. (February 3, 2022). Retrieved from https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_191389.htm?selectedLocale=en

Federation is so painful for the West? What are the most powerful factors of integration of the Union State that influence the international security? Exactly these questions are necessary to answer to understand the current events, predict further development of confrontation between collective West and Russian world, and adapt the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation to more than ever turbulent international environment.

All above mentioned indicates the relevance and theoretical significance of the topic of this master's thesis.

Literature review

International Security Studies

Scholarly literature defines several approaches to study international security. For instance, Paul D. Williams and Matt McDonald divide approaches into two categories: traditional (they include realism, liberalism and constructivism) and critical (they include critical theory, feminism, poststructuralism, securitization and postcolonialism).¹³ They demonstrate differences between traditional and critical approaches saying that traditional approaches tend to embrace positivist epistemology (possibility of objective analysis of a world external to the analyst) and tend to focus on a material ontology (distribution of physical dimensions of power) whereas critical approaches embrace a post-positivist epistemology (questioning the idea of genuinely objective analysis) and a broader ontology of security (moving beyond material power to focus on ideas, identity, discourses and dynamics of interactions between actors in what is for them a social realm). In the book "Critical Security Studies. An Introduction" there is further development of critical approaches to international security mentioned earlier. Besides them, authors add ontological security and International Political Sociology.¹⁴

¹³ Williams, P. D. (Ed.). (2012). *Security studies: An introduction*. Routledge.

¹⁴ Peoples, C., & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2020). *Critical security studies: An introduction*. Routledge.

On the contrary, in the book «The Routledge Handbook of New Security Studies» the main emphasis is placed not on the approaches, but on the New Security concepts (civilizational security, risk, instruments of insecurity, human security, relationship between critical geopolitics and security), New Security subjects (biopolitics, gender, identity, ethics, finance, international law), New Security objects (environment, food, energy, cyberspace, pandemic, biology) and New Security practices (surveillance, commerce, migration, security technologies, security design, new mobile crime) to contribute to a self-critique of the field of security studies.¹⁵ Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, in turn, in their book “The Evolution of International Security Studies” draw our attention to the history of development of International Security Studies and enumerate advantages of such a historical approach. It contains all previous knowledge, questions commonly held assumptions about a field’s development, and deeply examines political and normative implications of core concepts.¹⁶

In Russian political science there are also prominent articles related to the study of international security. Sergunin A. mainly focuses on the system approach defining unipolar, concert of states, multipolar and global systems as competing between themselves and argues that cooperative, collective and universal security determine the form of relations between states¹⁷. Kovalev A. supposes that civilizational contradictions shape international security systems.¹⁸ Karakulyan E. believes that

¹⁵ Burgess, J. P. (Ed.). (2010). *Handbook of new security studies*. Routledge.

¹⁶ Buzan, B., & Hansen, L. (2009). *The evolution of international security studies*. Cambridge University Press.

¹⁷ Sergunin A.A. (2005). International security: new approaches and concepts. *Polis. Political Studies*, (6), p. 126-137.

¹⁸ Kovalev, A. (2017). Analysis of options for formation of international security system in the era of civilization confrontation. *National interests: priorities and security*, 13(12 (357)), 2349-2362.

the supremacy of international law ensures the security in the global system of international relations.¹⁹

Integration theories

As for integration theories, the most studied case of integration – the European Union. Most integration theories are dedicated to this case. In their book “European Integration Theory” Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez use different approaches to explain European integration. For instance, they believe that European integration can be explained by federalism, neofunctionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism, governance approach, policy networks, new institutionalism, social constructivism, discursive approach, gender theory, normative theory and critical political economy.

²⁰

In Russian Economic Science one of the recent and most comprehensive studies is devoted to the issue of economic integration. Bagdasaryan K. highlights the importance of deeper integration mentioning that it is determined by institutional mechanisms and juridical agreements.²¹

The Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation

In the Russian Political Science the question of functioning of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation has paramount importance. So, Kosov A. in his article “The Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation in 1999-2018: geopolitical aspect” emphasizes that the role of the Union State is to form its own unique centre of power and development on its own cultural-

¹⁹ Karakulyan, E. A. (2017). International security in the context of modern trends in the law of the international community. Bulletin of Nizhny Novgorod University. N. I. Lobachevsky, (1), p. 122-129.

²⁰ Wiener, A. (2019). *European integration theory*. Oxford University Press.

²¹ Bagdasaryan K. M. (2019). Analysis of the economic integration model. *Journal of economic theory*, 16(3), p. 352-361.

civilizational basis to renew the reintegration on the post-Soviet space.²² In her work “Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus in the sphere of culture within the Union State” Manuilova P. highlights that this cooperation between two countries is based on the principle of mutual enrichment of cultures and is aimed at preserving and developing the ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity of nations.²³ Shurubovich A. in his article “The Union State and current problems of Russian-Belarusian integration” underlines that the main obstacle for deeper integration between two countries is the fear of the Republic of Belarus to lose its sovereignty.²⁴

Aim and Tasks of Research

The aim of this research is to define how the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation²⁵ influences the international security, and trace changes in the degree of influence from 2000 till nowadays.

In order to achieve this aim, the research objectives are as follows:

1. To conceptualize such terms as “integration” and “factors of integration”.
2. To distinguish the factors of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.
3. To analyze the factors of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.
4. To explore the influence of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation on the international security within determined factors of integration.

²² Kosov A. P. (2018). The Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation in 1999-2018: geopolitical aspect. *Post-Soviet studies*, 1(6), p. 537-549.

²³ Manuilova P. V. (2019). Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus in the sphere of culture within the Union state. *Post-Soviet studies*, 2(6), p. 1420-1428.

²⁴ Shurubovich A. V. (2019). The Union State and current problems of Russian-Belarusian integration. *Problems of post-Soviet space*, 6(3), p. 244-258.

²⁵ Note! The short variant of “The Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation” is “The Union State” and can be applied equally during thesis.

The object of this research is the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.

The subject of this research is the influence of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation on the international security within determined factors of integration.

Research question – what factors of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation have impact on the international security?

Chronological scope. The study will cover the period from 2000 (after the Treaty on the Establishment of the Union State was ratified both by parliaments of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation and came into force) till 2022. This period will allow analyzing changes in the degree of influence of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation retrospectively. The reason why exactly this period of time was chosen is that during the whole period the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation has undergone significant amount of changes connected with shifting political landscape as well as intermittent disputes between the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation over sensible issues and different vectors of development.

Theoretical and methodological research basis

Given current geopolitical situation in the world it is quite hard to choose an appropriate theoretical and methodological research basis due to the fact that at different stages of development of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation it would be appropriate to choose different modes of analysis. However, in order to simplify the analysis and avoid misinterpretations I suppose that it is necessary to choose one mode of analysis for each analyzed aspect.

Let's start with searching for an appropriate mode of analysis for international security. According to preliminary observations, liberalism is not suitable approach as current Russian military operation in Ukraine excludes the possibility of cooperation and negotiations. On the contrary, it reopens an era when the threat of the Third World War is not just words, but has translated into practice. Of course, it is not a usual type of war, it is a hybrid war: economic war (the toughest sanctions'

regime against Russia to ruin the economy), military support (still not regular NATO military contingent, but foreign mercenaries and supply of arms)²⁶, ideological and information war (blocking Russian government channels on YouTube in violation of the fundamental human rights to freedom of speech, DdoS-attacks of Russian government websites to paralyze its normal functioning, blaming Russia for the military intervention on Ukraine, cancellation of many foreign companies' activity in Russia)²⁷²⁸. It is also impossible to analyze through the lens of critical theory, feminism, poststructuralism and postcolonialism due to the detachment of these approaches from current situation. Thus, only three approaches, to my mind, will be useful for comprehensive analysis: namely realism, in particular, defensive structural realism (based on rational choice, offence-defence balance supporting the status quo)²⁹, constructivism as rival parties have different understandings of security³⁰ and securitization theory as nowadays the threats are not only military ones³¹.

As for integration theories, in my opinion, it would be a mistake to directly compare the cases of the European Union and the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation as different establishment goals were set.

²⁶ Bill Signed: S. 3522. (May 9, 2022). Retrieved from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/legislation/2022/05/09/bill-signed-s-3522/>

²⁷ Almost 1,000 Companies Have Curtailed Operations in Russia – But Some Remain. (May 10, 2022). Retrieved from <https://som.yale.edu/story/2022/almost-1000-companies-have-curtailed-operations-russia-some-remain>

²⁸ YouTube blocks Russian state-funded media channels globally. (March 11, 2022). Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2022/mar/11/youtube-blocks-russian-state-funded-media>

²⁹ Glaser, C. L. (2003). Structural Realism in a more complex world. *Review of International Studies*, 29(3), 403-414.

³⁰ Onuf, N. (1989). *World of our making: Rules and rule in social theory and international relations*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, Routledge.

³¹ Buzan, B., Wæver, O., Wæver, O., & De Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Nevertheless, the exploration of European integration theories will help us to choose the most suitable one for the Union State. In this particular case, I believe that it is also possible to use several approaches. Firstly, federalism³² is one of the most suitable approaches to analyze the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, because it is directly connected with the core idea of Russian-Belarusian integration: to create a Union where there will be a separation of powers and possibility of mild federation (idea of Alexander Lukashenko). Secondly, policy network analysis³³ that describes all powerful stakeholders involved in the process of integration. Thirdly, liberal intergovernmentalism³⁴ that puts an emphasis on the crucial role of states as actors in the international relations and advocates for the rationality of such actors.

Moreover, to analyze more deeply the decision-making system and the effectiveness of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation it is necessary to use policy cycle model consisting of agenda-setting, policy formulation, decision-making, policy implementation and policy evaluation to explain when and why the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus made this or that decision and what were the implications of such decisions.³⁵

Research methods

Within my thesis I conducted mixed method research. To explore the factors of integration and understand what factors have impact on the international security, I am going the inductive way.

Given available empirical data, I used the following methods:

³² Bodin, J., & Tooley, M. J. (1955). *Six books of the commonwealth* (Vol. 56). Oxford: B. Blackwell.

³³ Heclo, H., & King, A. (1978). Issue networks and the executive establishment. *Washington, DC*.

³⁴ Moravcsik, A. (1995). Liberal intergovernmentalism and integration: a rejoinder. *J. Common Mkt. Stud.*, 33, 611.

³⁵ Howlett, M., Ramesh, M., & Perl, A. (2009). *Studying public policy: Policy cycles and policy subsystems* (Vol. 3). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1) Quantitative Content Analysis of official documents of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, NATO and the European Union; official statements made by the President of the Russian Federation, the President of the Republic of Belarus, NATO Secretary General and the bodies of the European Union about main threats.

2) Case Study Method with the help of which I explore the factors of integration of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.

Empirical base of research is represented by official documents of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, NATO and the European Union; official statements made by the President of the Russian Federation, the President of the Republic of Belarus and NATO Secretary General about main threats.

Scientific novelty of my thesis lies in the use of content analysis method in relation to the factors of integration of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation to overcome the predominant use of solely qualitative methods, thus giving more nuanced picture.

Structure of research

In the first chapter, there is an analysis of such integration theories as federalism, policy network analysis and liberal intergovernmentalism in relation to the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. In particular, the factors of integration are distinguished.

In the second chapter, the identified factors of integration of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation are analyzed according to the policy cycle model and with the help of such approaches as defensive structural realism, constructivism and securitization theory. As a result of analysis, the effectiveness of integration between the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation within determined factors of integration through policy cycle model with the use of such approaches as defensive structural realism, constructivism and securitization theory is evaluated.

In the third chapter, quantitative content analysis is used to analyze the identified integration factors of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. Following the research results, the trend line of influence change of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation on the international security is determined.

In conclusion, the proposals for further development of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation given determined trend line of influence change on the international security are formulated.

CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO ANALYZE INTEGRATION

In the first chapter I will conceptualize the definitions “integration” and “integration factors” providing the basis for further analysis. Then I will study such approaches to integration as federalism, policy network analysis and liberal intergovernmentalism to distinguish specific factors of integration inherent in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. Finally, I will summarize all the information about integration factors.

1.1. Conceptualization of integration and integration factors

Integration, as a definition, has a lot of different meanings. According to Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, it means 1) the act or process of combining two or more things so that they work together; or 2) the act or process of mixing people who have previously been separated, usually because of colour, race, religion, etc.³⁶ In Macmillan Dictionary there are 3 definitions: 1) the process of becoming a full member of a group or society, and becoming involved completely in its activities; 2) the process of allowing people of all races to use a place, institution, or organization; 3) the process of combining with other things in a single larger unit or system.³⁷ In Merriam-Webster Dictionary there are four definitions: 1) the act or process of incorporation as equals into society or an organization of individuals of different groups; 2) the act or process of coordination of mental processes into a normal effective personality or with the environment; 3) the operation of finding a function whose differential is known (math.); 4) the operation of solving a differential equation (math.).³⁸ Among all of them, the most well suited is the first one from Merriam-Webster Dictionary.

³⁶ Integration (2022). In Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (10th edition). Retrieved from <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/integration?q=integration>

³⁷ Integration (2022). In macmillandictionary.com. Retrieved from <https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/integration>

³⁸ Integration (2022). In merriam-webster.com. Retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/integration>

However, it is also not full and necessary for our further analysis. I would like to provide two best (in my opinion) definitions of integration that I will use for further analysis. Political integration – uniting and centralization presupposing the establishment of a unified law frame, creation of common institutions, development of decision-making centre and projection of identity.³⁹ In its turn, economic integration – is an arrangement among nations that typically includes the reduction or elimination of trade barriers and the coordination of monetary and fiscal policies. Economic integration aims to reduce costs for both consumers and producers and to increase trade between the countries involved in the agreement.⁴⁰

Defining factors of integration, I would like to provide an article “Linkage, Leverage and Post-communist Divide” written by Lucan A. Way and Steven Levitsky. Despite the fact that they are not writing about the definition of integration factors, but they introduce definitions “leverage” and “linkage”. Leverage is a governments’ vulnerability to external pressure, and linkage is the density of countries’ ties to other countries⁴¹. Thus, describing factors of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation I will pay attention to the ambiguity of them: it means that the same factor of integration for the Republic of Belarus, the Russian Federation, NATO and the European Union is viewed in different ways.

Given provided definitions, nevertheless, I will not study the whole process of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, because it is not my aim. On the contrary, I would like to put an emphasis on the factors of integration in the Union State due to the fact that I am going to trace

³⁹ Ilievski, N. L. (2015). The concept of political integration: the perspectives of neofunctionalist theory. *J. Liberty & Int'l Aff.*, 1, 38.

⁴⁰ Will Kenton. (2022). Economic Integration. Investopedia.com. Retrieved from <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/e/economic-integration.asp>

⁴¹ Way, L. A., & Levitsky, S. (2007). Linkage, leverage, and the post-communist divide. *East European Politics and Societies*, 21(1), 48-66.

different importance of different factors of integration. Of course, any factor of integration is important, and my task is to find all possible ones, but it is also useful for the analysis to discover those ones that have paramount importance. That is why, in order to start our analysis, it is necessary to determine, what types of factors may be referred to political or economic integration. To make narrower the angle of analysis, I will not consider all factors of integration related to different types of integration actors. Also, it is not necessary to enumerate all possible variants of integration factors related to states. That is why, I will try to mention the most prominent ones. In upcoming parts and chapters I will study different integration factors of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation through the lens of different approaches: federalism, policy network analysis and liberal intergovernmentalism.

1.2. Study of integration in the Union State within federalism framework

1.2.1. Federalism: framework

Before we start to analyze the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation and its factors of integration, it is necessary to build a theoretical framework of different approaches to integration. Let's start with the first approach to integration – federalism.

The roots of federalism we can find in the work of Jean Bodin “Six books of the Commonwealth” published in 1576. It coincided with the rise of the modern type states, probably, that is why, his conception of state was closely related to sovereignty.⁴²

However, it was just a beginning. Johannes Althusius is named the first federalist as in his book “Politics” published in 1603 he articulated basic tenets of federalism as a prerequisite for the modern state.⁴³

Basic principles of federalism such as reciprocity, mutuality, equality, recognition became more sound in the book of Albert Venn Dicey “The law of the Constitution” where he described the main purpose of federalism as an integration of different entities, rather than their assimilation.⁴⁴

As for rules in federalism, Daniel Elazar in his book “Exploring federalism” published in 1987 refers to self-rule and shared rule. In his opinion, a federal union has two faces: both a unifying force and maintaining diversity, and this ambiguity perfectly describes the complexity of federalism.⁴⁵

But what are the main principles of modern federalism? What traits are the most peculiar in relation to other unions? And why the states choose to be federal, and not unitary or confederal? Before answering first two questions, let's explain the difference between federation, confederation and the unitary state.

⁴² Bodin, J., & Tooley, M. J. (1955). *Six books of the commonwealth* (Vol. 56). Oxford: B. Blackwell.

⁴³ Althusius, J. (1995). *Politica*. Ianssonius.

⁴⁴ Dicey, A. V. (2013). *The law of the constitution* (Vol. 1). Oxford University Press.

⁴⁵ Elazar, D. J. (1987). *Exploring federalism*. University of Alabama Press.

P.King in his book “Federalism and Federation” defines federation as an institutional arrangement, taking the form of a sovereign state, and distinguished from other such states solely by the fact that its central government incorporates regional units in its decision procedure on some constitutionally entrenched basis.⁴⁶

M.Forsyth in his book “The theory and practice of confederation” defines confederation as a union of states in a body politic in contrast to a federation that is a union of individuals in a body politic, suggesting the union of one people or nation.⁴⁷

A unitary state refers to a country that has one supreme authority which rules over all other delegations.⁴⁸

As we can see from definitions there is clear division between unitary state, federation and confederation. Then we should concentrate our attention on the peculiar traits of federalism as an approach, because namely federalism, not federation is a topic of our interest.

Before we can outline basic principles of modern federalism, we should divide concepts “federalism” and “federation”. The difference between these two concepts lies in the fact that federalism is a driving force of the federation. More simply, federalism serves as a prerequisite for the federation.

When we defined the difference between federalism and federation, let’s describe basic principles of modern federalism. If we would like to find a modern example of federalism, let’s analyze the Constitution of the United States where there are principles of federalism that were used then in many other world constitutions. According to the Constitution of the United States, the principles of the federalism refer to the division and sharing of power. Thus, the main three principles of federalism are:

⁴⁶ King, P. T. (1982). *Federalism and federation*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

⁴⁷ Forsyth, M. G. (1981). *Unions of states: The theory and practice of confederation*. Burns & Oates.

⁴⁸ “What is a Unitary State?” (August, 2017). *WorldAtlas*. Retrieved from <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/what-is-a-unitary-state.html>

- 1) Separation of powers;
- 2) Checks and balances;
- 3) Bicameralism.⁴⁹

Based on this three, at first glance, simple rules of federalism, I will organize my further analysis. The main task for this analysis will be, firstly, the coincidence of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation with all three principles. If there is any mismatch, I will explain why. And, secondly - last, but not the least – I will define factors of integration that contribute to the federalism in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. Of course, it will not be an easy task since federalism, unfortunately, is an abstract topic, and factors of integration are also abstract. In my efforts only suggest possible factors of integration that contribute to the federalism in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. And confirm them by providing examples of intensification or weakening of integration processes. That is why the only method that I will use within that part is case study.

1.2.2. Federalism in the Union State

In order to start our analysis, firstly, we should check the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation for the compliance with the principles of federalism determined earlier – separation of power, checks and balances, bicameralism.

Let's start with the first principle of federalism – the separation of power. According to the Treaty on the Establishment of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, the power is separated within three branches: executive, legislative and judiciary. The Supreme State Council is the highest authority in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation and stays above all branches of power. The Council of Ministers represents the

⁴⁹ Story, J. (1873). Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States: with a Preliminary Review of the Constitutional History of the Colonies and States Before the Adoption of the Constitution.

executive power in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. The Union Parliament is the representative body of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation and represents the legislative power. The Court of the Union State represents the judiciary power in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. And also Accounting Chamber of the Union State controls finances of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. Thus, the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation fully corresponds the first principle of the federalism – the separation of powers.

Let's continue with the second principle of the federalism – checks and balances. It is quite easy to check this principle in accordance with the adoption of laws in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. According to the Treaty on the Establishment of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, the legislative initiative belongs to the Supreme State Council, the Council of Ministers of the Union State, the Chamber of the Union, and also to the group of deputies of the House of Representatives of at least 20 deputies. Legislative projects are submitted to the House of Representatives. After the adoption of the law by the House of Representatives it is sent for the approval of the Chamber of the Union. Draft laws providing for expenses covered by the budget of the Union State may be introduced only with the consent of the Council of Ministers of the Union State. The decision of the House of Representatives is considered not to be adopted if more than one quarter of the total number of deputies voted against it. The laws of the Union State are adopted by a majority vote of the total number of members of each Chamber. In case of disapproval of the bill by the Chamber of the Union, the Chambers may create a conciliation commission to overcome the differences that have arisen, after which the bill is subject to reconsideration in the Chambers. The adopted law is sent to the Supreme State Council no later than 7 days from the date of approval by the Chamber of the Union for signature by the Chairman of the Supreme State Council and publication. The Chairman of the Supreme State Council shall sign it no later than 30 days from the date of adoption

of the law, if he and the head of the participating State, who is not the Chairman of the Supreme State Council at the time of signing the law, have no objections to the adoption of this law. If the Chairman of the Supreme State Council or the head of the participating State, who is not the Chairman of the Supreme State Council at the time of signing the law, has objections, the law is rejected. The rejection of the law is formalized by the decision of the Supreme State Council and sent to the chambers of Parliament no later than 7 days from the date of its rejection. The Chairman of the Supreme State Council has the right to propose to the Chambers of Parliament to create a conciliation commission to overcome the differences that have arisen.⁵⁰ Thus, the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation fully corresponds the second principle of federalism – checks and balances.

Let's review the third principle of federalism – bicameralism. According to the Treaty on the Creation of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, the Union Parliament consists of two chambers: The Chamber of the Union and the House of Representatives. The Chamber of the Union is the upper house and consists of 36 members of the Council of Federation, deputies of the State Duma delegated by the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation and 36 members of the Council of the Republic, deputies of the House of Representatives delegated by the National Assembly of the Republic of Belarus. The composition of the Chamber of the Union is delegated by the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation for 4 years. The House of Representatives is the lower house and consists of 75 deputies from the Russian Federation and 28 deputies from the Republic of Belarus that are elected on the basis of the universal suffrage by secret ballot for 4 years. Thus, the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation fully corresponds the third principle of federalism – bicameralism.

After the check of compliance of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation for the principles of federalism it is necessary to identify

⁵⁰ The Treaty on the Creation of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. (1999). Retrieved from https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_25282/

possible factors of integration that contribute to the intensification of the federation strengthening. Firstly, the establishment of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation as a federation is possible due to the common ethnic origin of Belarusians and Russians. However, it does not explain namely the integration of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation into the Union State. For instance, Ukraine despite the common origin with Russians has tendencies to avoid a lot of cooperation with Russia. That is why, trust is one of the main factors of integration development in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. Only when the trust between two countries is at the highest level, the integration is also deepening⁵¹. I will try to follow it further within other approaches. Then, the second factor of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation is close neighbourhood. Unlike countries of the European Union, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus have the common border (almost without any border points). This factor is connected more with security issues whereas trust is more about the preservation of sovereignty. As for close neighbourhood, I will try to explain it more within other approaches.

⁵¹ Trust is a foundation for the integration. (July 2, 2021). Retrieved from <https://www.souzveche.ru/articles/our-union/58220/>

1.3. Study of integration in the Union State within policy network analysis

1.3.1. Policy network analysis: framework

J. Richardson that in his article “Government, interest groups and policy change” suggests that networks are the reason why people regard each other as knowledgeable.⁵² R.A.W. Rhodes was the first policy network scholar that in his article “Policy networks: a British perspective” insists on significant influence of British school.⁵³ Some scholars think that the development of policy network analysis began even earlier when H. Heclo in his article “Issue networks and the executive establishment” describes the American political process as a subject of activity of mutually supportive legislators, bureaucrats, and private actors.⁵⁴

Anyway, even these arguments prove that this approach is highly influential and debatable, so it will be very useful, to my mind, to analyze the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation via this approach. But how to do it? What are the main tenets of this approach? And how to transform it into the convenient model of analysis for the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation?

Before answering first and third question, let's, firstly, explore the main tenets of the policy network analysis. For this we need to understand, why the policy network analysis is so useful for the analysis of integration? If we look a bit closer, we can see that the policy network analysis does not constitute a theory of political or economic integration. However, despite this fact, it can be used for the analysis of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. Many other approaches are not well suitable for the analysis of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, because they analyze only its

⁵² Richardson, J. (2000). Government, interest groups and policy change. *Political studies*, 48(5), 1006-1025.

⁵³ Rhodes, R. A. (1990). Policy networks: a British perspective. *Journal of theoretical politics*, 2(3), 293-317.

⁵⁴ Heclo, H., & King, A. (1978). Issue networks and the executive establishment. *Washington, DC*.

effectiveness ignoring the importance of the President of the Russian Federation and the President of the Republic of Belarus. Nevertheless, their activity is very crucial for the development of integration of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. That is why, the importance of policy network analysis is indisputable.

What are the main tenets of policy network analysis? Firstly, the importance of networks density. In other words, it is very crucial for the policy networks analysis to know whether actors are mutually dependent or not. For instance, in the European Union this point means that the level of institutions' integration should be very high to achieve established goal as much quickly as possible. Secondly, supremacy of policy networks over federalism. And it does not mean that the policy network analysis is more important than federalism. On the contrary, it means that they are mutually complimentary. But in this concrete case it means that private networks may be stronger than juridically codified laws. For instance, the European Union is based on the strictly codified laws, but the implementation of these laws is highly dependent on the people who are elected to be the Head of the European Parliament, the European Commission, the Council of the European Union, etc. Probably, this thought is quite evident, even not taking into account the policy network analysis, but it is very important to understand this fact within this approach. Thirdly, there is also a danger in this approach. In spite of the fact that leaders of Russia and Belarus have a lot of personal face-to-face meetings, it can not only increase, but also decrease the effectiveness of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. That is why for further deepening of integration and institutions' development, it is necessary to increase the number of policy networks at different levels. Only then the Union State will function much better than nowadays⁵⁵.

⁵⁵ Either Lukashenko or integration: what awaits the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. (December 29, 2021). Retrieved from <https://www.gazeta.ru/politics/2021/12/29/14371213.shtml>

So, we observed the main tenets of the policy network analysis. But how to do it within the analysis of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation?

As the first component of the policy network analysis is mutual dependence, we should find all possible spheres where the Republic of Belarus is highly dependent on the Russian Federation, or, on the contrary, find the fields where the Russian Federation is highly dependent on the Republic of Belarus. Namely these fields will be the factors of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation

As the second component of the policy network analysis is supremacy of personal networks over federal laws, it is very important to recognize all spheres and levels of contacts. It may not add any factors of integration of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, but it may show the intensity and the importance of each cooperation sphere. Hereinafter, it may bring us closer to the understanding of the prevalence of some factors over other.

As the third component of the policy network analysis is the intensification of policy networks, it will be very helpful to find all new spheres where the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation still begin to cooperate or to build and try to predict their development based on the course of international events and responses of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.

To sum up, the policy network analysis is quite useful for the analysis of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation due to such peculiarity as the big number of personal contacts and big friendship of Vladimir Putin and Alexander Lukashenko. Of course, the policy network analysis will demonstrate what types of integration factors exist in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, but it is very important to remember that each approach has its own drawbacks and limitations that may be the barriers for the full-scale analysis. Within the policy network approach, we may analyze only personal initiatives of two presidents.

1.3.2. Policy network analysis in the Union State

In order to start our analysis, firstly, it is necessary to analyze the activity of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation within three components of the policy network analysis – mutual dependence, supremacy of personal networks over the federal laws, intensification of policy networks.

As for the first component of our analysis which is mutual dependence, it is necessary to study the information about export-import relationships between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus, because on their basis it will be quite understandable to trace the mutual dependence between two countries. According to an authoritative website ru-stat.com, the main type of goods exported by the Republic of Belarus to the Russian Federation is animal products. It represents 18,9% of all Belarusian export. The second place is machinery equipment (especially in the agriculture), 15,4% respectively. And the third place is transport, 14,3% respectively⁵⁶. The main type of goods exported by the Russian Federation to the Republic of Belarus is mineral resources, 28,1% respectively. The second place is metals and products made of them, 13,5% respectively. And the third place is machinery equipment.⁵⁷ Also there are other articles of export and import in both countries. Thus, the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation fully corresponds the first component of policy network analysis – mutual dependence. It is necessary to mention that the analysis of the full structure of Russian export-import, and Belarusian export-import is unnecessary due to the fact that there is no prevalence of some other countries over the Republic of Belarus in export or the Russian Federation in import. The subject of the analysis is the bilateral trade of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus.

As for the second component of our analysis which is supremacy of personal networks over the federal laws, I would like to provide an example that, in my

⁵⁶ Russian import from Belarus. (2021-2022). Ru-stat.com. Retrieved from <https://ru-stat.com/date-M202102-202201/RU/import/BY>

⁵⁷ Russian export to Belarus. (2021-2022). Ru-stat.com. Retrieved from <https://ru-stat.com/date-M202102-202201/RU/export/BY>

opinion, perfectly illustrates this point of analysis. The process of negotiations dedicated to the integration maps between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus has been prolonged many times. Once there were 31 integration maps, then only 28 (from the words of the Presidents of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko they were modified and improved). Many problems revolved around such crucial issues as Russian oil and gas supplies to the Republic of Belarus, namely the price. Eventually, all integration maps were agreed. As for oil and gas question, the principles of the functioning of the united gas market in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation will have formulated by December 2023. The most remarkable in this fact is that all barriers were overcome strictly after the mass protests in the Republic of Belarus directly supported by the collective West. That is why, in this case the breakthrough in the negotiations was achieved not because of well-developed institutional structure of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation (it is still a matter of time), but strong political will of the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin and the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko. Thus, the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation fully corresponds the second component of policy network analysis – supremacy of personal networks over the federal laws.

As for the third component of our analysis which is the intensification of policy networks, it almost directly correlates with the second component – supremacy of personal networks over the federal laws. The last component of the policy network analysis should be explained by the adoption of the new version of the Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. Of course, it is not a unique and new programme of cooperation within the Union State. However, even the adoption of the new version of this important document shows us the reaction of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus to the changes on the international arena coupled with unprecedented pressure on both countries from the Western community. That is why, the establishment of three educational centres of joint preparation of Russian and Belarusian soldiers, joint

strategic military exercises clearly demonstrate that with the adoption of the new version of the Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation there was an intensification of cooperation in the military sphere. Thus, the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation fully corresponds to the third component of the policy network analysis – intensification of policy networks.

After the analysis of all three components of the policy network analysis it is possible to conclude that such factor as trust between the President of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus plays the crucial role in the development of integration. However, we can also add the factor of changes on the international arena. It means that not only the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation influences the international security, but there is also a backward trend. The other important factor of integration that should be explored more is energy dependence of the Republic of Belarus on oil and gas supplies from the Russian Federation.

1.4. Study of integration in the Union State within liberal intergovernmentalism

1.4.1. Liberal intergovernmentalism: framework

Liberal intergovernmentalism for many scholars is one of the commonly applicable approaches for the analysis of integration. But will it be suitable for the analysis of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation? And if yes, to what extent? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to find the roots of liberal intergovernmentalism and provide the main tenets of the liberal intergovernmentalism. And only then try to modify it for the analysis of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.

Liberal intergovernmentalism is grounded in broader social science theory. It is an application of rational choice institutionalism where institutionalism and intergovernmentalism are mutually dependent.⁵⁸ Liberal intergovernmentalism is also parsimonious as it summarizes almost all possible political interrelationships found, for instance, in the European Union.⁵⁹

What are the main tenets of liberal intergovernmentalism that may be used for further analysis? There are only two basic assumptions of liberal intergovernmentalism about politics. Firstly, states are the actors. Speaking more broadly, states try to achieve their goals by making and enforcing certain political decisions, and the main power of states is to make different treaties. Secondly, the states are rational. It means that state (that are the actors) calculates the utility of each alternative course of action and choose the one that maximizes (or satisfies) their utility under certain circumstances.

The integration initiatives from the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko have become more intense after the protest events after presidential

⁵⁸ Pollack, M. A. (1996). The new institutionalism and EC governance: the promise and limits of institutional analysis. *Governance*, 9(4), 429-458.

⁵⁹ Jachtenfuchs, M. (1997). Conceptualizing European Governance. In *Reflective approaches to European governance* (pp. 39-50). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

elections in 2020⁶⁰. The Belarusian president tried to pursue multivector policy afraid of being totally dependent from Russia or even disappearance of the Republic of Belarus from the political world map⁶¹. This example shows us different types of rationality of Alexander Lukashenko. One type incentivizes him to much closer cooperation with the Russian Federation. The other type of rationality frightens Belarusian President. The main obstacle for further integration of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation is grounded in the struggle of these two types of rationality.

The examples of two types' rationality of Alexander Lukashenko is just a theoretical example, but it proves the importance of such approach as liberal intergovernmentalism.

So, when we know about the main tenets of liberal intergovernmentalism, we should adapt it to the analysis of the integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.

As for the first tenet of the liberal intergovernmentalism which is actorness of states, we will analyze the decisions made by the President of the Republic of Belarus and the President of the Russian Federation from the position of concluding new treaties or making amendments into old treaties. Thus, we can understand the importance and relevance of each treaty that, in its turn, demonstrate us factors of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.

As for the second tenet of the liberal intergovernmentalism which is rationality of states, we will analyze the reasons of decisions made by the President of the Republic of Belarus and the President of the Russian Federation. Thus, we, possibly, understand the factors of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation connected with rationality.

⁶⁰ Belarus and Russia resume talks on deepening integration. (September 29, 2020). Retrieved from <https://lenta.ru/news/2020/09/29/integrats/>

⁶¹ Lukashenko: Belarus has had and will have a multi-vector foreign policy. (October 30, 2020). Retrieved from <https://www.belta.by/president/view/lukashenko-u-belarusi-byla-i-budet-mnogovektornaja-vneshnjaja-politika-413436-2020/>

Before providing further analysis, it is necessary to mention that there is an overlap between policy network analysis and liberal intergovernmentalism in the framework of future analysis. However, they are quite different. Both approaches may analyze relevance of integration factors or factors of integration themselves, but from different angles. Policy network analysis pays attention to the networks themselves, studies their depth and intensity. On the contrary, liberal intergovernmentalism is more interested in the ability of concluding treaties based in the rationality, and, thus, more mathematical, if it is possible to say.

1.4.2. Liberal intergovernmentalism in the Union State

Before starting our analysis, it is necessary to mention that within such approach as liberal intergovernmentalism we are interested not in the possibility of concluding treaties, but in already concluded treaties. It discovers the established structure of relationships between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus within the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. Also it is necessary to note that it is unnecessary to use all treaties of the Union State. The attention should be focused solely on the treaties concluded apart from basic, fundamental treaties. It may show us the development of relationships between two states within integration community.

As for already realized programmes within the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, it is useful to mention that they didn't get a lot of media coverage. 57 programmes for the development of new technologies and the creation of innovative products have been realized since 2000 including 10 programmes on radio electronics, microelectronics, microwave electronics, optoelectronics, microsystem engineering, thermal imaging technology; 9 programmes on defense, security, law enforcement; 5 programmes on customs infrastructure and technologies of customs processes; 5 programmes on agriculture and food industry; 4 programmes on space technologies, instruments and equipment; 4 programmes on ultra-high-performance computing and software; 4 programmes on joint activities to overcome the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster; 3 programmes on the production of chemical fibers, yarns and composite materials; 3

programmes on the hydrometeorology and environmental protection; 3 programmes on the diesel automotive and agricultural machinery; 3 programmes on the medicine and pharmacology; 3 programmes on the protection of shared information resources; 1 programme on the social and labor relations.⁶²

Probably, one of the most significant breakthroughs was achieved in 2021 when all 28 integration roadmaps were agreed on. They, in particular, presuppose convergence of macroeconomic policy; harmonization of monetary policy, rules for opening bank accounts and conducting currency transactions; harmonization of regulations of banks and other financial organizations; Integration of national payment systems, financial message transmission systems, introduction of a common system of fast payments; integration of information systems for tracking the movement and labeling of goods; integration of tax and customs legislation, creation of general principles of taxation; development of common software for transport control, unification of the common transport market, development of common requirements for road infrastructure; creation of a common market for gas, oil, petroleum products and electricity; unification of the communications market and creation of common rules; unification of legislation in the field of tourism; implementation of a coordinated policy in the social and labor sphere.⁶³

After the analysis within liberal intergovernmentalism framework, it becomes evident that previously determined integration factors are the explanation of many processes in the integration process in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. However, despite all realized programmes, many goals were not realized due to the unwillingness of the Republic of Belarus to lose its sovereignty. That is why, I suppose that the struggle for sovereignty may be determined as another factor of integration in the Union State.

⁶² Permanent Committee of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.

Retrieved from <https://www.postkomsg.com/programs/>

⁶³ Government of the Russian Federation. Retrieved from <http://government.ru/news/43234/>

1.5. Factors of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.

Thus, after the analysis of the integration processes within the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation with the use of integration approaches, I came to the conclusion that the main integration factors of the Union State are trust, close neighbourhood, energy dependence, changes on the international arena and struggle for sovereignty.

I strongly believe that determined integration factors may be divided into two groups: positive and negative factors of integration. Trust, close neighbourhood and energy dependence can be attributed to the positive factors of integration whereas changes on the international arena and struggle for sovereignty can be attributed to the negative factors of integration. Let me explain such a division on the basis of each determined factor of integration.

Trust is the most important integration factor in the Union State. It proved its pivotal role of an impetus and driver of the integration. It is quite uneasy to analyze it, but in our case it may be done through the rationality of main actors making important decisions and common historical roots of two peoples: Russians and Belarusians.

Close neighbourhood is one of the basic principles of any integration. Proximity of two countries makes possible much closer cooperation. That is why, we will analyze this factor though the question of the border between two countries.

Energy dependence is quite ambivalent factor of integration, because it may be classified both as positive and negative. But we use it as positive factor, because it strengthens the trade relationships between two countries.

Changes on the international arena, at first glance, seem too vague and abstract factor of integration. Nevertheless, any significant event that led to the changes in the stability and security of the region may be used for the analysis.

Struggle for sovereignty is closely intertwined with another integration factor – trust. However, we will analyze it separately concentrating on the statements and actions of the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko.

In next chapters the identified factors of integration will be analyzed via different methods. Firstly, via the policy cycle model to determine the importance of each integration factor within different approaches to the international security. And then via the quantitative content analysis we can identify temporal changes in the influence of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation on the international security.

CHAPTER 2. ANALYSIS OF INTEGRATION FACTORS VIA THE POLICY CYCLE MODEL

In the second chapter I will introduce policy cycle model for further analysis of integration factors in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. Then I will cover such approaches to the international security as defensive structural realism, constructivism and securitization theory and analyze factors of integration in the Union State within their framework with the use of certain stages of the policy cycle model. Finally, I will provide the evaluation of the effectiveness of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation within determined factors of integration.

2.1. Policy cycle model in the Union State

2.1.1. Policy cycle model: framework

The policy cycle model consists of agenda-setting, policy formulation, decision-making, policy implementation and policy evaluation⁶⁴. We need it to explain when and why the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus made this or that decision and what were the implications of such decisions for the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. Now it is necessary to mention that analysis of every decision made by the two presidents is not compulsory for our work due to the fact that our aim is to analyze factors of integration in the Union State. Thus, policy cycle model is necessary not in full measure, but its truncated version simplified with concrete goal to suit theoretical approaches. That is why, firstly, I will describe each stage of policy cycle, and then I will adapt them to the analysis of integration factors.

Let's start with the first stage: agenda-setting. Initially, the study of agenda-setting began with the book of Walter Lippmann "Public Opinion" published in 1922, and namely in the first chapter "The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads" where he emphasizes the significance of mass-media as an important channel of

⁶⁴ Howlett, M., Ramesh, M., & Perl, A. (2009). *Studying public policy: Policy cycles and policy subsystems* (Vol. 3). Oxford: Oxford university press.

communication between events and people's understanding of these events. Of course, he does not say the word "agenda-setting", but he underlines that event is really an event when people know about it.⁶⁵ Then Bernard Cohen in his article "The press and foreign policy in the United States" doubts the effectiveness of mass-media in telling people what to think. But he is convinced that even though all people are different, the press successfully shapes our thinking (not what to think, but what to think about).⁶⁶ Finally, the idea of agenda-setting was designed in the article of Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw "The agenda-setting function of mass-media" where they empirically prove the correlation between news agenda and voters' agenda.⁶⁷ Thus, agenda-setting plays very important role at the beginning of policy cycle. The most suitable (in my opinion) definition for our further analysis, agenda-setting – the ability to influence the importance placed on the topics of the public agenda.⁶⁸

As for policy formulation, it is necessary to study four phases of policy formulation identified by Harold Thomas in his article "Towards a new higher education law in Lithuania: reflections on the process of policy formulation". In the first, appraisal phase, there is data and evidence collection representing input about policy problems and solutions. In the second, dialogue phase, the communication between policy actors reduces the number of problems and solutions. In the third, formulation phase, draft legislation or regulation provokes more detailed discussion. In the fourth, consolidation phase, there is a consent for or dissent against chosen solution.⁶⁹ For

⁶⁵ Lippmann, W. (1922). Public opinion. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company.

⁶⁶ Cohen, B. C. (1956). The press and foreign policy in the United States. *Journal of International Affairs*, p. 128-137.

⁶⁷ McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public opinion quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187.

⁶⁸ McCombs, M., & Reynolds, A. (2002). News influence on our pictures of the world. In *Media effects* (pp. 11-28). Routledge.

⁶⁹ J. Hodson, P., & Thomas, H. G. (2001). Higher education as an international commodity: Ensuring quality in partnerships. *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education*, 26(2), p. 101-112.

our analysis the identification of these phases is very important, because it may be less or more phases depending on the number of crucial actors. The most suitable (in my opinion) definition for our further analysis, policy formulation – the process of arriving at statements by organizing policy resources and supporting information to convert ideas into solutions that are practically implementable to deal with certain activity or address challenges evolved therewith and which are in the direction of the policy objectives.⁷⁰

As for decision-making, the most crucial stage, is quite easy to analyze when we use an approach suggested by P.Bachrach and M.S. Baratz in their article “Decisions and nondecisions: An analytical framework”. They differentiate positive, negative and nondecisions. Whereas positive and negative decisions are almost the same for scholars, just another sign from the status quo, the nondecisions are very special for them as they believe that it is necessary to analyze even ignoring certain issues despite the public discontent.⁷¹ Thus, for our analysis this approach will help to distinguish more important problems for the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. The most suitable (in my opinion) definition for our further analysis, decision-making – the choice among policy alternatives that have been generated and their likely effects on the problem estimated.⁷²

As for policy implementation, scholarly literature distinguishes top-down, bottom-up and combined approaches.⁷³ In top-down approach, policy designers play the pivotal role and place the emphasis at the central level. In bottom-up approaches, on

⁷⁰ Baporikar, N. (Ed.). (2014). *Handbook of Research on Higher Education in the MENA region: Policy and practice*. IGI Global.

⁷¹ Bachrach, P., & Baratz, M. S. (1963). Decisions and nondecisions: An analytical framework. *American political science review*, 57(3), p. 632-642.

⁷² Brewer, G. D., & DeLeon, P. (1983). The Policy Process. *The Science of Public Policy: Essential readings in policy sciences II*. T. Miyakawa. London and New York, Routledge.

⁷³ Cerna, L. (2013). The nature of policy change and implementation: A review of different theoretical approaches. *Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report*, p. 492-502.

the contrary, target groups and service deliverers are the object of close attention, and policy is made at local level. Combined approach, in its turn, presupposes interaction between central and local levels of implementation. Of course, the third approach is more favourable, but it is quite difficult to achieve it. For our analysis, however, it is not necessary to dive deeply into details of implementation, but the drivers of implementation are very important. The most suitable (in my opinion) definition for our further analysis, policy implementation – the effective execution of the policy, involving several stakeholders taking actions to pursue policy goals.⁷⁴

As for policy evaluation, it is very interesting to consider it not only as policy failure or success, but also as policy learning. According to J.Grın and A.Loeber, it not only analyzes failures and successes of policy, but also includes the analysis of intended and unintended consequences.⁷⁵ This stage of policy cycle is usually ignored or absent in many policy cycles (at least, publicly). For our analysis we will use policy evaluation as any consequence after policy implementation. The most suitable (in my opinion) definition for our further analysis, policy evaluation – the stage of the policy process that assesses the effectiveness of a public policy in terms of its perceived intentions and results.⁷⁶

2.1.2. The Union State policy cycle: mode of analysis

After the description of all stages of the policy cycle, there is a question how to analyze the factors of integration of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation given provided information.

To my mind, the best option will be the selective analysis of chosen cases within determined factors of integration through selected approaches. More simply, to trace the influence change of integration factors it is necessary to choose within each stage of policy cycle in the case those parameters that coincide not only with factors of

⁷⁴ Francesca Constanza. (2020). *Managing Patients' Organizations to Improve Healthcare: Emerging Research and Opportunities*. University LUMSA. 173 p.

⁷⁵ Grın, J., & Loeber, A. (2017). Theories of policy learning: agency, structure, and change. In *Handbook of public policy analysis* (pp. 227-246). Routledge.

⁷⁶ Gerston, L. N. (2014). *Public policy making: Process and principles*. Routledge.

integration, but also with selected approaches, and then monitor different policy results.

2.2. Analysis of integration factors within defensive structural realism

2.2.1. Defensive structural realism: framework

Realism in all its forms has significantly influenced the study of international security. Before we start to describe the defensive structural realism, it is necessary to mention other approaches within realism. Realism may be divided into three groups of approaches: classical realism, neorealism and neoclassical realism.

Classical realism, as an approach, is generally dated from 1939 and the publication of Edward Carr “The Twenty Year’s Crisis”⁷⁷ But one of the most well-known classical realists was Hans Morgenthau. His work “Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace” became so-called handbook of classical realism.⁷⁸ According to classical realism, all states are selfish and desire to increase their power in a struggle with other countries. States are the main actors of international relations.

The pioneer of neorealism, Kenneth Waltz, in his work “Theory of International Politics” there is a shift from states as main actors to the system of international relations composed of a structure and interacting units. According to the scholar, the states’ behaviour is not the result of their leaders’ preferences, but an attempt of states to be stable and secure within international anarchic system.⁷⁹

Neoclassical realism, according to one of his supporters, Gideon Rose, employs a ‘transmission belt’ approach to foreign policy, which illustrates how systemic pressures are filtered through variables at the unit level to produce specific foreign policy decisions.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Carr, E. H., & Cox, M. (1939). *The Twenty Years’ Crisis, 1919-1939: Reissued with a New Preface from Michael Cox.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁷⁸ Morgenthau, H., (1948). *Politics Among Nations: The struggle for power and peace.* N. Y., A. A. Knopf.

⁷⁹ Kenneth N. Waltz, (1979). *Theory of International Politics*, New York In *Schlüsselwerke der Politikwissenschaft*(pp. 481-485). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

⁸⁰ Rose, G. (1998). Neoclassical realism and theories of foreign policy. *World politics*, 51(1), 144-172.

Now we gave definitions for classical realism, neorealism and neoclassical realism. But what is defensive structural realism? What are the main points of defensive structural realism? And how to analyze determined factors of integration of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation?

Firstly, we should define defensive structural realism. Despite the fact that defensive structural realism developed from realism, they are different from each other. However, there is a similarity between neorealism and defensive structural realism. They both share the view that all states look for security in the anarchic international system.⁸¹ There are three main differences between defensive structural realism and neorealism. Firstly, whereas neorealism explains state's behaviour differently, defensive structural realism does it only through the rational choice lens. Secondly, in defensive structural realism there is new variable: offence-defence balance (prevalence of defence over offence). Thirdly, in defensive structural realism the state prefers to preserve status quo, whereas in neorealism states may violate an international order to gain as much security as possible.

As for the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, defensive structural realism is more preferable than neorealism. Nevertheless, at first glance, it may seem that nowadays, in 2022, when the world looks like more anarchy than order⁸², neorealism suits better. And for the description of current international situation it is absolutely true. However, for the description of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, defensive structural realism suits much better. For instance, the so called 'balance of threat theory' suggested by Stephen Walt in his article "The search for a science of strategy: A review essay" perfectly describes (in my opinion) the establishment of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. According to the theory, states

⁸¹ Glaser, C. L. (2003). Structural Realism in a more complex world. *Review of International Studies*, 29(3), 403-414.

⁸² A new anarchy? Scenarios of the dynamics of the world order. (August 2, 2019). Retrieved from <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/analytics/novaya-anarkhiya-stsenarii-dinamiki-mirovogo-poryadka/>

being in anarchy tend to form alliances protecting themselves. Thus, the main reason for the establishment of any union lies in the fact that countries try to protect themselves from threats they perceive.⁸³

So, we describe the defensive structural realism as an approach. But how to analyze determined clusters of integration factors of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation? To my mind, the most obvious answer is to study military documents of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus (especially these parts that touch upon the issue of defence) and find there clusters of integration factors (or separate ones). If there is a temporal change, try to trace them via this approach. If the situation is stable, explain, why. As for the policy cycle model, in my opinion, it is necessary to use such stage as agenda-setting as it, in my opinion, perfectly describes the reasons why such a threat was chosen to withdraw. The main reason of further analysis with the use of defensive structural realism is to determine factors of integration that play more important role in security issues in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.

2.2.2. Integration factors within defensive structural realism

Within my analysis of integration factors within defensive structural realism I will use two versions of military doctrine: Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation from December 26, 2001⁸⁴ and the Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation from November 4, 2021.⁸⁵

In the Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation from December 26, 2001 from the first page there is a clarification that this doctrine has a defensive character. Describing political-

⁸³ Walt, S. M. (1987). The search for a science of strategy: A review essay. *International Security*, 12(1), 140-165.

⁸⁴ Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation from (December 26, 2001). Retrieved from <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/456089527>

⁸⁵ Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation from (November 4, 2021) Retrieved from <https://www.postkomsg.com/documentation/document/1899/>

military basis, the doctrine asserts that in contemporaneity the threat of full-scale aggression has significantly decreased. The rivals of the Union State place a bet on the historically formed contradictions in the post-Soviet space supporting from outside destructive political forces, extremist nationalist and separatist movements involving participating states in conflicts along the perimeter of their borders. There is also a clarification about the coalition character of the modern war. According to the doctrine, a full-scale (regional) war may become the result of escalation of an armed conflict or local war and be conducted with the participation of two or more states (coalition, military alliance) of the region using both conventional and nuclear weapons. The main goal of the creation of all military groups within the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation is to repel aggression, protect the population, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the participating States and inflict such a defeat on the enemy that will force him to cease hostilities and create prerequisites for a negotiated settlement of the conflict.

Let's continue our analysis. In the Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation from November 4, 2021 represents more detailed version of the previous Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. At the beginning of the Military Doctrine there are provided the main definitions of the doctrine such as, for instance, military security/insecurity, military threat, armed conflict, collective defense, etc. There is a change in comparison with the previous Military Doctrine in the geopolitical situation. According to the doctrine, the current situation is an imbalance of the existing system of ensuring global and regional security, requires constant monitoring of the military-political situation, as well as flexible and adequate adjustments of military policy. Another difference from the previous version of the Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation lies in the introduction of the new chapter which is called final provisions. It is said that the provisions of the Military Doctrine may be clarified with changes in the nature of military dangers and military threats, tasks in the field of ensuring military security and joint defense, conditions for the

development of the Union State, as well as national legislations of the participating States. Thus, it means that the Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation becomes more flexible than before.

Let's make a comparison of two versions of the Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. After brief description of the main tenets of two versions of the Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, it becomes evident that Russia supports Belarus' readiness to form a united defense space. It should be noted that the new Military Doctrine was published at a time when the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation is facing unprecedented threats. First of all, we are talking about a sharp escalation of the geopolitical conflict with the West over Ukraine. It is no coincidence that the new strategic document pays great attention to the analysis of hybrid challenges that Russia and Belarus have to deal with. In general, compared with the previous version of the Doctrine, the military-political situation that develops on the borders of the Union State is characterized by an increase in negative processes in the field of global and regional security. In the new version of the document, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus undertake to coordinate their actions on the development of integration processes in the format of the CSTO, the CIS and the EAEU as one of the main measures to ensure the military security of the participating states in peacetime. This provision looks quite justified considering that at the moment issues of economic and humanitarian cooperation are being rapidly securitized, therefore, Moscow and Minsk should form common approaches in the field of integration in different directions. Unlike previous version of the Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, there is a threat of the consolidation in military doctrines, strategies, concepts and other political and legal acts of states of provisions on the unresolved territorial disputes and other interstate contradictions with the participating States, as well as the mention in these documents of the participating states as a threatening factor.

Let's try to find clusters of integration factors (or separate ones) of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. To my mind, the strongest factors of integration that influence the situation on the international arena and the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation are changes on the international arena and struggle for sovereignty.

Changes on the international arena. More than twice, there is a clarification that it is very important to stabilize situation on the basis of the UN regulations, Helsinki agreements, etc. However, both versions of the Military Doctrine of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation underline the necessity to adapt to the fast changing conditions on the international arena.

Struggle for sovereignty. In these Military Doctrines this factor of integration plays very different role unlike the constantly changing position of the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko. Here the fear of losing sovereignty by the Republic of Belarus due to the absorption by the Russian Federation transforms into the fear of military invasion because of NATO intervention or someone else. Here primarily negative factor of integration turns into the positive one, thus, proving that on the basis of collective security and mutual trust the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation may build united collective security strategy.

2.3. Analysis of integration factors within constructivism

2.3.1. Constructivism: framework

Constructivism is a theory that is broader than an approach for the analysis of integration factors, it contains a lot of different dimensions. But what are the key characteristics of constructivism, what are the peculiarities of the constructivism that may be used for the analysis of the international security? And how to adapt these determined characteristics to the analysis of determined clusters of integration factors of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation?

The term ‘constructivism’ was first elaborated by Nicholas Onuf in his work “World of our making: rules and rule in social theory and international relations” published in 1989. He describes it as an approach where identity and interests of the actors are the object of analysis. For him international relations are socially constructed.⁸⁶ This approach may be used for the analysis of different things, from political economy to international organizations and security. However, constructivism does not necessarily offer an analysis of new problems, it may also be more sophisticated analysis of old problems. For instance, the nature of power, the security dilemma and the balance of power that is usually considered to be in the analysis of realism, may also be studied through the lens of constructivism.

So, we briefly observe the opportunities of constructivism and its basic meaning, but what are the main tenets of constructivism? In international relations, constructivism is a social theory that asserts that significant aspects of international relations are shaped by ideational factors (which are historically and socially constructed), not simply material factors.⁸⁷ The most important ideational factors are those that are collectively held; these collectively held beliefs construct the interests and identities of actors.⁸⁸ In contrast to some other prominent International Relations

⁸⁶ Onuf, Nicholas. (1989). *World of our making: rules and rule in social theory and international relations*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, Routledge.

⁸⁷ Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (2001). Taking stock: the constructivist research program in international relations and comparative politics. *Annual review of political science*, 4(1), 391-416.

⁸⁸ Wendt, A. (1999). *Social theory of international politics* (Vol. 67). Cambridge University Press.

approaches and theories (such as realism and rational choice), constructivists see identities and interests of actors as socially constructed and changeable; identities are not static and cannot be exogenously assumed. Similarly to rational choice, constructivism does not make broad and specific predictions about international relations; it is an approach to study international politics, not a substantive theory of international politics. Constructivist analysis can only provide substantive explanations or predictions once the relevant actors and their interests have been identified, as well as the content of social structures.⁸⁹

Now we know the main ideas of constructivism. But for further analysis of international security, we need special approaches within constructivism. To my mind, firstly, we need the definition of security from the point of view of constructivism. The most well-suited, in my opinion, is the definition of Arnold Wolfers that in his article "National security as an ambiguous symbol" argues that security can be understood as a preservation of group's core values.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, this definition is too common, and having only it we cannot make an analysis of security. Given the fact that the aim of the research is to analyze the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, I suppose that it is also necessary to give the definition of identity, because, in my opinion, the struggle between NATO, the Russian Federation and its allies grows on the basis of the struggle of different identities (according to the official statements). It is important to mention that over the definition of 'identity' there are debates within constructivism. There are two frameworks: conventional constructivism and critical constructivism. For conventional constructivists, the central concern in outlining the relationship between security and identity is to point to how national identity (and associated historical experience or cultural context) helps determine the content of a

⁸⁹ Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics. *International organization*, 46(2), 391-425.

⁹⁰ Wolfers, A. (1952). "National security" as an ambiguous symbol. *Political science quarterly*, 67(4), 481-502.

state's interests and therefore the way it will 'act' in global politics. For critical constructivists, the central concern in exploring the relationship between security and identity is to outline how narratives of national identity become dominant and help set the limits for legitimate or feasible political action in particular settings at particular times.

In my opinion, the most appropriate way of analysis of identity in security studies is the view of conventional constructivists. In order to analyze the integration factors in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation via constructivism, it is necessary to formulate identity of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation and NATO identity. If it is possible to trace any changes in rival identities, it should be explained why. And one important remark: I suppose that for the analysis of identity it is not necessary to use full-scale policy cycle model. To my mind, the most useful will be to take the stage of decision-making in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation and NATO and try to connect them with their identities. In my opinion, this transformation of policy cycle model will help to add more details into the functioning of NATO and the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.

2.3.2. Integration factors within constructivism

In order to start the analysis of integration factors of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, firstly, it is necessary to build temporal identity of NATO and the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. As for NATO, I will use the Secretary General's Annual Reports, NATO strategic concepts and statements since determined dates: NATO Strategic Concept 2010, two years after Russian-Georgian war as a first collide of strategic interests between Russian and Western world; Secretary General's Annual Report 2014, where there is the reaction of NATO on the recognition of the results of Crimean referendum by the Russian Federation; Statement by NATO Heads of State and Government on Russia's attack on Ukraine, February 25, 2022 where there is the reaction of NATO on the Russian special military operation on Ukraine. As for the

Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, I will analyze the meeting of Alexander Lukashenko with the presidents of Abkhazia and South Ossetia on August 20, 2008; statement of the President of the Republic of Belarus about the recognition of the results of the Crimean referendum on March 23, 2014; statement of the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko about the Russian special military operation on March 11, 2022. It is necessary to mention that for our analysis the position of the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko is much more interesting and useful as it demonstrates the level of solidarity with the actions of the Russian Federation.

Let's start with the analysis of NATO documents and statements. In NATO Strategic Concept 2010, despite previous charges of NATO in Russian invasion into Georgia, NATO-Russia cooperation is still of strategic importance. Thus, it demonstrates the realist position of NATO leadership in relation to Russia.⁹¹

In NATO Secretary General's Annual Report 2014 Jens Stoltenberg directly blames Russia for breaching the international law, the Helsinki Final Act, principles of NATO-Russia Council and the Partnership for Peace because of violence campaign aimed at destabilising Ukraine as a sovereign state. One month later, NATO Foreign Ministers agreed to suspend all practical civilian and military cooperation with Russia, but to maintain political contacts at and above the level of Ambassador to enable NATO and Russia to exchange views. Despite the evident anger of NATO leaders in relation to Russia that, in their opinion, destabilized the situation in the region, the understanding of the importance of the dialogue continuation still existed.⁹²

⁹¹ NATO Strategic Concept 2010. Retrieved from https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_publications/20120214_strategic-concept-2010-eng.pdf

⁹² NATO Secretary General's Annual Report 2014. Retrieved from https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2015_01/20150130_SG_AnnualReport_2014_en.pdf

In the Statement by NATO Heads of States and Governments on Russia's attack on Ukraine from February 25, 2022, we can see the total condemnation of the Russian Federation and also the Republic of Belarus for the full-scale invasion in Ukraine. They urged to hold the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus accountable for their actions. At the same time, in this statement there is no desire to start war with Russia and its allies, on the contrary, it is underlined that the fulfillment of Article 5 of the Washington Treaty that presupposes the protection of NATO allies is iron-clad. Thus, we can see the final phase in the confrontation between NATO and Russia where Russia, in NATO's opinion, is the only perpetrator.⁹³

Let's continue our analysis with the analysis of statement made by the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko. During the meeting of Alexander Lukashenko with the Presidents of Abkhazia and South Ossetia on August 20, 2008, the President of the Republic of Belarus in reply to the condemnation of Russia said that war in Georgia is a result of the policy of Georgian authorities. In his opinion, it was the protection of Russian and not only borders. Thus, the President of the republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko supported the actions of that President of the Russian Federation Dmitry Medvedev, thus showing full solidarity with Moscow's actions.⁹⁴

In the statement of the President of the Republic of Belarus about the recognition of the results of the Crimean referendum on March 23, 2014, Alexander Lukashenko de-facto recognized the Crimean Peninsula as a part of the Russian Federation. Analyzing this statement, it is possible to conclude that Alexander Lukashenko

⁹³ Statement by NATO Heads of State and Government on Russia's attack on Ukraine. (February 25, 2022). Retrieved from https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_192489.htm?selectedLocale=en

⁹⁴ The meeting of the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko with the Presidents of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. (August 20, 2008). Retrieved from <https://president.gov.by/ru/events/aleksandr-lukashenko-vstretilsja-s-prezidentami-juzhnoj-osetii-i-abxazii-2761>

expressed careful opinion trying to sit on two chairs simultaneously. Of course, it is not a betrayal of its ally, the Russian Federation. However, more support at that time would only strengthen the integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.⁹⁵

In the statement of the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko about the Russian special military operation on March 11, 2022, he supported the actions of the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin. At the same time, he denied any participation of the Republic of Belarus in the special military operation. Thus, this act demonstrates both the strengthening unity of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation and the desire of the Republic of Belarus to prevent the dissemination of war conflict that is quite rational.⁹⁶

To sum up, NATO position in relation to the Russian Federation and its allies gradually changes with negative trend. Despite the fact that in official NATO documents there is only desire for peace, the promises of NATO countries do not correspond aggressive defense actions. President Lukashenko demonstrated strong support despite the fluctuations in its level.

As for the factors of integration playing important role within constructivist approach, trust and close neighbourhood are the main drivers as trust measures the level of support of the President of the Republic of Belarus, and close neighbourhood plays a reverse role in relation to NATO countries.

⁹⁵ Statement of the President of the Republic of Belarus about the recognition of the results of the Crimean referendum. (March 23, 2014). Retrieved from <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2436613>

⁹⁶ The Statement of the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko about the Russian special military operation. (March 11, 2022). Retrieved from <https://www.interfax.ru/world/825392>

2.4. Analysis of integration factors within securitization theory

2.4.1. Securitization theory: framework

Securitization theory is a response to the changes in the system of international relations that occurred at the end of Cold War. It was developed in many works and culminated in the book of Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde “Security; A new framework for analysis” where they examine the distinctive character and dynamics of security in five sectors: military, political, economic, environmental and societal.⁹⁷ The securitization theory rejects a traditionalist view of security as restricted to only one sector arguing that security is a particular type of politics applicable to a wide range of issues. It will be more useful to speak about different dimensions of security within securitization theory.

Energy security plays a pivotal role not only in the integration of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, but also in the relationships between the Russian Federation and the European Union. Energy is one of the most important factors of human development. It influences a lot of spheres in our life such as the construction of cities, fortifications, factories, ships, roads, railways, etc. Without significant amount of energy, no industry can function well and grow. That is why, the ensuring of enough quantity of energy via supply of natural resources or producing it through nuclear reactions, is necessary. However, in order to achieve energy security, the country needs enough natural resources. Otherwise it has to purchase them from those countries where there is an abundance of such resources. It creates a dependence of one country from another that, in its turn, creates energy insecurity thus giving the leverage of pressure for the country-exporter. As for research of energy security, the most prominent article of D. Yergin “Ensuring energy security” published in Foreign Affairs gives the importance of making right decisions in the question of buying natural energy resources.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Buzan, B., Wæver, O., Wæver, O., & De Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

⁹⁸ Yergin, D. (2006). Ensuring energy security. *Foreign affairs*, 69-82.

Another important point that influences the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation is cybersecurity. Nowadays the hacker attacks on the government websites are launched not only by individuals, but also by other countries. In this context cybersecurity may transform even into the cyber war.

We can speak about different dimensions of security within securitization theory, but for our further analysis of integration factors of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation we should analyze all possible threats to the integration for the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, and also for NATO within determined clusters of integration factors due to the fact that posing a threat is a reversible process which influences both sides. Thus, analyzing integration factors of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, we can provide an information for the evaluation of threats for the Union State and NATO, thus, giving us a basis for tracing changes in the type of threats, intensity of threats and spheres of threats. In the view of the author, the most appropriate stage of policy cycle necessary for our further analysis, is policy evaluation due to the fact that enough time from the establishment of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation has passed. That is why, it is possible to sum up some results of the NATO activity and the activity of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. Within securitization theory it is possible to evaluate the change in the intensity and the number of threats. Of course, the analysis will be purely theoretical, but it may paint different possibilities of further development.

2.4.2. Integration factors within securitization theory

Before the analysis of integration factors, it is necessary to provide some details. Firstly, different types of security threats may seem different for rival parties. That is why, it is important to note all security threats regardless of the attitude. Secondly, despite the fact that the identified factors were chosen to explain the integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, these factors also influence the international security, especially NATO countries. That is why, all main security threats are necessary for the analysis of complex international

situation. And finally, information received from further analysis will contribute to the formulation of policy recommendation for the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.

Trust. This factor of integration that was already mentioned plays the most pivotal role in the integration of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. Nowadays the relationships between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus are at the highest level of trust in the history. This happens mainly because of long story of successful cooperation and coordination, and also due to the fullhearted support from the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin for the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko during mass protests in the Republic of Belarus after the presidential elections in 2020. Now for our countries the trust is not a problem, the main task is to preserve and multiply it. As for the Western countries, the situation looks slightly different. While the Russian special military operation in Ukraine goes on, Western countries put an enormous pressure on the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus trying to isolate them from the world economic and political system. However, even in the Western camp there are disagreements on the future of the Russia-West relationships. Some countries such as Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia that are strong russophobes stand for further deterioration of relationships. Other countries such as France and Germany in spite of the fact that they give military support for Ukraine speak about the continuation of the dialogue at all levels with the Russian Federation after the end of the Russian special military operation. That is why we may say that not in all countries the trust is undermined. Nevertheless, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus should not rely on the statements of Western politicians, especially after the violation of their promises not to expand NATO towards the East. Along with that, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus should preserve the space for the normalization of the relationships.

Close neighbourhood. This factor of integration also plays the pivotal role both for NATO countries and for the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, but from the different angle. For the Union State of the Republic of

Belarus and the Russian Federation close neighbourhood means the proximity of peoples and the protection of their own frontiers⁹⁹. For NATO countries close neighbourhood means the proximity of opportunities for quicker response to the possible aggression from the Russian Federation¹⁰⁰. Thus, the main threat for NATO countries is Russian full-scale invasion in any country of alliance, On the contrary, the main threat for the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus is the NATO full-scale invasion in the post-Soviet space. It is necessary to mention that in official documents of both organizations there are commitments only to defense systems. However, Western countries in their statements and actions demonstrate total hypocrisy, strengthening their offense systems near all Russian borders. That is why, for NATO countries the best result of their policy will be the defeat of the Russian Federation in their operation in Ukraine and return of the Crimea¹⁰¹. It may legitimize sanctions' regime against the Russian Federation and consolidate European governments against the common enemy. For the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus - only the full victory in the special military operation, full demilitarization and denazification of Ukraine¹⁰².

Energy dependence. Earlier the energy dependence of the Republic of Belarus from the Russian Federation was mentioned. However, it is necessary to mention the energy dependence of NATO countries from the Russian Federation. It is very

⁹⁹ Treaty on friendship, good neighbourliness and cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus. Retrieved from <https://soyuz.by/dogovor-o-druzhbe-dobrososedstve-i-sotrudnichestve-mezhdu-rossiyskoy-federaciy-i-respublikoy-belarus>

¹⁰⁰ Press conference by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg with the US Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken. (June 1, 2022). Retrieved from https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_196030.htm?selectedLocale=en

¹⁰¹ Special Address by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting. (May 24, 2022). Retrieved from https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_195755.htm?selectedLocale=en

¹⁰² The end of special operation will stop Western attempts to promote unipolar world. (May 11, 2022). Retrieved from <https://ntv-ru.turbopages.org/ntv.ru/s/novosti/2705259/>

sensible issue for both sides¹⁰³. For the Russian Federation it means possible financial losses. For European countries because of their own sanctions' regime and precedents of gas termination deliveries, the total independence from Russian natural resources is the highest priority¹⁰⁴. It is not possible within short time, but in long term the freedom from Russian supplies will untie the hands for the European Union, and also for the United States. That is why, the resolution of energy issue will alleviate the situation in all regions.

Changes on the international arena. It is one of the most abstract factors of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, because it includes a lot of countries at the same time. However, even this factor may be evaluated. As for the risks for NATO countries, the main threat is the loss of influence and authority in the eyes of international community. And the situation looks like blurring of the Western dominance and real establishment of multipolar world. For the Russian Federation such blurring is a positive sign, nevertheless, the Russian Federation is also not capable of becoming the leader of the world order. It may be possible only with the help of such powers as China and India. However, an excessive hope for these countries is also premature as they have close trade and military relationships with the United States, the main rival of the Russian Federation. That is why, it is necessary to develop alone as much as it is possible and create national industry.

Struggle for sovereignty. It is another point of struggle between two sides. For NATO countries exists only the sovereignty of countries-allies. For the Russian Federation and its allies there exists the world order based on the equality. It is possible to reflect about the strategic thinking of NATO, but it is impossible to deny

¹⁰³ It is important that the Russian Federation has stable relations with the Republic of Belarus on oil and gas supplies. (September 3, 2020). Retrieved from <https://www.belta.by/economics/view/novak-vazhno-chtoby-u-rossii-byli-stabilnye-otnosheniya-s-belarusju-po-postavkam-nefti-i-gaza-405388-2020/>

¹⁰⁴ The European Union seeks independence from Russian oil and gas. (March 8, 2022). Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/08/business/european-union-russia-oil-gas.html>

that nowadays countries within NATO are divided¹⁰⁵. Unfortunately, Russian camp also needs more consolidation. As for sovereignty threats, for NATO countries it will be the disagreements in the Western Camp and the cancellation of the unanimity. This may lead to the fragmentation and weakening of the alliance. For the Russian Federation it is more important to preserve the role of one of the leaders in the forming of new alternative to the West world order¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁵ Emmanuel Macron warns Europe: NATO is becoming brain-dead. (November 7, 2019). Retrieved from <https://www.economist.com/europe/2019/11/07/emmanuel-macron-warns-europe-nato-is-becoming-brain-dead>

¹⁰⁶ False alternative. (July 11, 2018). Retrieved from <https://globalaffairs.ru/articles/lozhnaya-alternativa/>

2.5. Evaluation of the effectiveness of the Union State within integration factors

After the analysis of the integration factors in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, it may be possible to make some conclusions.

Trust. It is the best achieved integration factor, because the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus could coordinate all their actions in all spheres of cooperation. It becomes possible due to the adoption of 28 integration maps¹⁰⁷ and support for Alexander Lukashenko by Vladimir Putin during mass protests in the Republic of Belarus.

Close neighbourhood. This factor is still needed to be improved as despite integration maps adopted earlier still schedule the perspective of further improvements. More concrete goals and dates may improve the situation.

Energy dependence. For the Republic of Belarus nowadays the energy dependence is not a problem. As the trust is at the highest level only the implementation of gas and oil contracts is needed.

Changes on the international arena. It is a decisive time for the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus. Further strengthening of cooperation within not only the Union State, but also in the Eurasian Economic Union, BRICS and CSTO will stabilize the situation and improve the security.

Struggle for sovereignty. Despite the highest level of trust between two countries, the sovereignty issue is very sensible issue as the topic of including the Republic of Belarus into the territory of the Russian Federation still remains in the public and official discourse. That is why, it is necessary to take actions aimed at the alleviating the tensions around this issue.

¹⁰⁷ The Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus are ready to start integration. What is important to know about it? (August 31, 2021). Retrieved from <https://rbc-ru.turbopages.org/rbc.ru/s/politics/31/08/2021/612dfa589a79474fc0c1c9bd>

CHAPTER 3. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF INTEGRATION FACTORS

In the third chapter I will provide quantitative content analysis of integration factors in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. For this I will choose such important events as Russo-Georgian war, Gas conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine of 2008-2009, the coup d'état in Ukraine of 2014, Russian military operation in Syria of 2015, actions of protests in the Republic of Belarus of 2020-2021 and Russian special military operation in Ukraine of 2022. For each event I will choose an appropriate factor of integration for the analysis. After providing quantitative content analysis I will try to find patterns of temporal changes within determined factors of integration.

3.1. Preliminary comments on content analysis

In order to analyze factors of integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, it is necessary to choose the most important events that influence one or another factor. Ideally, they should coincide. However, I suppose that it is important to find links in different events that reflect certain factor of integration. Nevertheless, within one factor of integration, the same events will be used for the content analysis of documents, statements and opinions delivered by NATO, the European Union and the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation.

Thus, I can make some generalizations about the texts needed for analysis. Firstly, I chose not texts, but important events that influence the international security. Now I would like to enumerate them.

Russo-Georgian war of August 2008 is necessary for the analysis of such integration factors as “trust”, “close neighbourhood”, “changes on the international arena” and “struggle for sovereignty”. However, for different factors of integration, there will be different angles of analysis. For “trust” it is important to explore the relation of NATO to such crisis and position of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus. For “close neighbourhood” it is important to explore the relation to the changes of borders from NATO, the Russian Federation and the

Republic of Belarus. For “changes on the international arena” it is important to explore the relation to the winning parties from NATO and the explanation of events from the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus. For “struggle for sovereignty” it is important to explore the results of the recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia by the Russian Federation from the point of view of NATO, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus.

Gas conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine of 2008-2009 is necessary for the analysis of such integration factors as “trust” and “energy dependence”. For “trust” it is important to study the position of the Russian Federation to Ukraine, the position of the Republic of Belarus to the gas conflict, the position of NATO to the gas conflict. It is necessary to mention that the position of Ukraine that was a party to conflict is not necessary for our analysis as this country is not included into the analysis of the rivalry between NATO and the Russian Federation and its allies. For “energy dependence” it is important to study the position of the Russian Federation to the changed gas price, the position of the Republic of Belarus for the change in gas price for Ukraine, and the position of NATO countries in relation to the new gas price for Ukraine.

The coup d’etat in Ukraine of 2014 is necessary for the analysis of such integration factors as “close neighbourhood”, “changes on the international arena” and “struggle for sovereignty”. It is necessary to mention that for deeper analysis all factors of integration may be useful, but I try to make it narrower to study deeper more specific factors of integration. It is important to mention that this event is called “the coup d’etat”, but from the point of view of NATO and the EU it was a democratic will of Ukrainian people. That is why, it is necessary to divide the position of the Union State, on the one hand, and NATO and the EU, on the other hand. For “close neighbourhood” it is important to explore the reaction of the Russian Federation to the coup d’etat, the reaction of the Republic of Belarus to the coup d’etat, and the reaction of NATO to the coup d’etat. For “changes on the international arena” it is important to explore the position of the Russian Federation to the consequences of the coup d’etat in Ukraine, the position of the Republic of Belarus to the

consequences of the coup d'état in Ukraine, and the position of NATO to the consequences of coup d'état in Ukraine. For “struggle for sovereignty” it is important to explore the position of the Russian Federation to the change of Ukrainian development vector, the position of the Republic of Belarus to the change of the Ukrainian development vector, and the position of NATO to the change of the Ukrainian development vector.

Russian military operation in Syria of 2015-till present is necessary for the analysis of such integration factors as “changes on the international arena” and “struggle for sovereignty”. For “changes on the international arena” it is important to study the evaluation of the Russian Federation of changes in the international security, the evaluation of the Republic of Belarus of changes in the international security, and the evaluation of NATO of changes in the international security. For “struggle for sovereignty” it is important to study the position of the Russian Federation in relation to the legitimate government of Syria, the position of the Republic of Belarus in relation to the legitimate government of Syria, and the position of the European Union in relation to the legitimate government of Syria.

Actions of protests in the Republic of Belarus of 2020-2021 are necessary for the analysis of such factors of integration as “trust” and “struggle for sovereignty”. For “trust” it is important to explore the faith of the Russian Federation in the legitimacy of Alexander Lukashenko, the position of Alexander Lukashenko to the attempts to undermine his legitimacy, and the position of NATO in relation to the legitimacy of Alexander Lukashenko as the President of the Republic of Belarus. For “struggle for sovereignty” it is important to explore the position of the Russian Federation to the attempts to undermine Belarussian sovereignty, the position of the Republic of Belarus to the attempts to undermine the country's sovereignty, and the position of the European Union in relation to the sovereignty of the Republic of Belarus.

Russian special military operation in Ukraine of 2022 is necessary for the analysis of such factors of integration as “trust”, “close neighbourhood”, “energy dependence”, “changes on the international arena” and “struggle for sovereignty”. For “trust” it is important to study the trust of the Russian Federation in NATO

peaceful intentions, the trust of the Republic of Belarus in NATO's non-aggressive behaviour, and the trust of NATO in peaceful intentions of the Russian Federation. For "close neighbourhood" it is important to study the evaluation of the Russian Federation of the potential threats of a full-scale NATO invasion, the evaluation of the Republic of Belarus of a pre-war situation between NATO and the Russian Federation, and the evaluation of NATO of potential threats from the Russian Federation. For "energy dependence" it is important to study the reaction of the Russian Federation to the attempts to undermine energy supplies to Europe, the reaction of the Republic of Belarus on the energy crisis in Europe, and the evaluation of the European Union of the possibility of energy independence from the Russian Federation. For "changes on the international arena" it is very important to study the evaluation of the Russian Federation of future consequences of the special military operation, the evaluation of the Republic of Belarus of future consequences of the Russian special military operation, and the evaluation of NATO of future consequences of the Russian special military operation. For "struggle for sovereignty" it is very important to study the position of the Russian Federation in relation to the special military operation, the position of the Republic of Belarus in relation to the special military operation, and the European Union's position in relation to the Russian special military operation.

As a basis for the content analysis, I will use 14 speeches at meetings, 10 interviews, 9 statements, 6 press conferences and briefings, 5 addresses, 4 news reports, 3 scripts from talks, 1 script from session, 1 script from workshop, 1 joint action document, and 1 Commission Implementing decision. Documents used within content analysis it is possible to find in the list of sources and literature, in official documents and sources.

After choosing the most important events, it is necessary to start to outline the theoretical foundation for quantitative content analysis. One of the most cited and authoritative books about content analysis written by Klaus Krippendorff "Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology" suggests the following steps on the way of doing quantitative content analysis:

- 1) To create the text corpus (text units for the analysis);
- 2) To define categories for content analysis;
- 3) To count frequencies of the usage of words with determined categories within the text corpus¹⁰⁸.

In order to simplify the process of quantitative content analysis, I will use computer programme MAXQDA Analytics Pro, namely its plugin MAXDictio with its function of Dictionary Based Content Analysis. Hierarchical dictionaries created within the plugin MAXDictio are similar to the coding system of content analysis, as subordinated levels can be switched on or off as desired. There is no limits to the number of levels, but a dictionary normally does not have more than three levels¹⁰⁹.

Also, for defining categories I will use dictionaries on Russian and English languages. I will analyze such parts of speech as nouns, verbs and adjectives because nouns name something, verbs describe an action or indicate the state of being, and adjectives describe nouns. Thus, nouns will help us to define relationship to certain events, verbs will help us to understand what actions different parties are ready to make, and adjectives will help us to define the level of relationship to different events. For deeper and more precise content analysis I suppose that the division of categories into oppositional groups. That is why, I will use Dictionary of synonyms of the Russian language written by L. Babenko¹¹⁰, Dictionary of antonyms of the Russian language written by A. L. Vvedenskaya¹¹¹, The Oxford Dictionary of Synonyms and Antonyms written by M. Guha¹¹², the Dictionary of the Compatibility

¹⁰⁸ Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Sage publications.

¹⁰⁹ MAXDictio Manual. (2022). Retrieved from <https://www.maxqda.com/help-mx22-dictio/managing-dictionaries>

¹¹⁰ Babenko L. (Ed.). (2022). *Dictionary of synonyms of the Russian language*. Litres.

¹¹¹ Vvedenskaya A. L. (1995). *Dictionary of antonyms of the Russian language*. Phoenix Publishing House.

¹¹² Guha M. (2015). *The Oxford Dictionary of Synonyms and Antonyms*. Reference Reviews.

of Words of the Russian language edited by P. N. Denisov and V. V. Morkovkin¹¹³
and Oxford collocations dictionary for students of English written by M. Klotz¹¹⁴

After the computer analysis, the frequencies will be counted and interpreted.

¹¹³ Denisov P. N., Morkovkin V. V. (1983). The Dictionary of the Compatibility of Words of the Russian language. Publishing House "Russian language".

¹¹⁴ Klotz, M. (2003). Oxford collocations dictionary for students of English.

3.2. Content analysis of “trust”

3.2.1. “Trust” in the Union State

Let's start with Russo-Georgian war. According to conducted content analysis, there are 3 positive references to trust and 0 negative references to trust. It can be concluded that trust in the Russian Federation within Russo-Georgian war is perceived only with positive image. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 4 positive references to trust and 1 negative positive reference to trust. It can be concluded that trust in the Republic of Belarus within Russo-Georgian war is perceived more positively than negatively.

Continue with the gas conflict. According to conducted content analysis, there are 5 positive references to trust and 2 negative references to trust. It can be concluded that trust in the Russian Federation within gas conflict between Russia and Ukraine is perceived more positively, than negatively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 7 positive references to trust and 1 negative reference to trust. It can be concluded that trust in the Republic of Belarus within gas conflict between Russia and Ukraine is perceived much more positively than negatively.

Next event is actions of protests. According to conducted content analysis, there are 3 positive references to trust and 0 negative references to trust. It can be concluded that trust in the Russian Federation within actions of protests in the Republic of Belarus is perceived solely positively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 28 positive references to trust and 3 negative references to trust. It can be concluded that trust in the Republic of Belarus within actions of protests in the Republic of Belarus is perceived much more positively than negatively.

Finally, we will analyze special military operation. According to conducted content analysis, there are 38 positive references to trust and 3 negative references to trust. It can be concluded that trust in the Russian Federation within Russian special military operation in Ukraine is perceived much more positively than negatively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 5 positive references to trust and 1 negative reference to trust. It can be concluded that trust in the Republic of

Belarus within Russian special military operation in Ukraine is perceived much more positively than negatively.

To sum up, there are no substantial discrepancies between the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation in the understanding of trust. However, we can notice two cases that are different from each other. The texts about actions of protests in the Republic of Belarus and Russian special military operation in Ukraine show us that within these cases trust becomes of paramount importance for parties to conflict. It proves that despite the cohesion of interests between the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, internal events are still more important than common interests of the Union State.

In Table 1 it is possible to find coding of “Trust” for the Union State. In table 11 it is possible to find the table of content analysis of “Trust” in the Union State.

3.2.2. “Trust” in NATO and the European Union

Let’s start with Russo-Georgian war. According to conducted content analysis, there are 28 positive references to trust and 2 negative references to trust. It can be concluded that trust in NATO and the European Union within Russo-Georgian war is perceived much more positively than negatively.

Continue with the gas conflict. According to conducted content analysis, there are 9 positive references to trust and 1 negative reference to trust. It can be concluded that trust in NATO and the European Union within gas conflict between Russia and Ukraine is perceived much more positively than negatively.

Next event is actions of protests. According to conducted content analysis, there are 6 positive references to trust and 0 negative references to trust. It can be concluded that trust in NATO and the European Union within actions of protests in the Republic of Belarus is perceived solely positively.

Finally, we will analyze special military operation. According to conducted content analysis, there are 25 positive references to trust and 2 negative references to trust. It can be concluded that trust in NATO and the European Union within Russian special military operation in Ukraine is perceived much more positively than negatively.

To sum up, there is an absolute prevalence of positive references to trust over negative references to trust. Nevertheless, we can make some other conclusions. Such extreme cases as Russo-Georgian war and Russian special military operation in Ukraine show us that the Russian Federation represents a bigger threat than the Republic of Belarus. However, the text about actions of protests in the Republic of Belarus shows us that this event became a solidarity act within NATO and the European Union. That is why, the occurrence of this event in the Republic of Belarus demonstrates us that the Republic of Belarus is also becoming to be in the focus of NATO's and the European Union's close attention.

In Table 2 it is possible to find coding of "Trust" for NATO and the European Union. In Table 12 it is possible to find the table of content analysis of "Trust" in NATO and the European Union.

3.2.3. "Trust": summary

Summarizing all above mentioned, it is possible to conclude that within such factor as "trust" NATO and European Union have much closer position than the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation due to the fact of encompassing all dangerous countries such as the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus whereas in the Union State two countries are more focused on internal problems. Nevertheless, we should not underestimate the mature cohesion of interests between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus. The conducted content analysis demonstrated us the possibility of further integration development strengthening such integration factor as "trust" especially when nowadays the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus closely cooperate countering common rival.

3.3. Content analysis of “close neighbourhood”

3.3.1. “Close neighbourhood” in the Union State

Let's start with Russo-Georgian war. According to conducted content analysis, there are 1 positive reference to close neighbourhood and 0 negative reference to close neighbourhood. It can be concluded that close neighbourhood in the Russian federation within Russo-Georgian war is perceived solely positively, although the number of references is quite small. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 53 positive references to close neighbourhood and 3 negative references to close neighbourhood. It can be concluded that close neighbourhood in the Republic of Belarus within Russo-Georgian war is perceived much more positively than negatively.

Next event is coup d'état in Ukraine. According to conducted content analysis, there are 14 positive references to close neighbourhood and 0 negative references to close neighbourhood. It can be concluded that close neighbourhood in the Russian Federation within coup d'état is perceived solely positively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 28 positive references to close neighbourhood and 2 negative references to close neighbourhood. It can be concluded that close neighbourhood in the Republic of Belarus is perceived much more positively than negatively.

Finally, we will analyze special military operation. According to conducted content analysis, there are 7 positive references to close neighbourhood and 0 negative references to close neighbourhood. It can be concluded that close neighbourhood in the Russian Federation within Russian special military operation in Ukraine is perceived solely positively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 17 positive references to close neighbourhood and 1 negative reference to close neighbourhood. It can be concluded that close neighbourhood in the Republic of Belarus within Russian special military operation in Ukraine is perceived much more positively than negatively.

To sum up, there is an absolute prevalence of positive references to close neighbourhood over negative references to close neighbourhood. However, we can notice a significant difference of importance of this integration factor for the Russian

Federation and the Republic of Belarus. For the Republic of Belarus close neighbourhood is more important than for the Russian Federation. Probably, it can be explained by bigger number of neighbours of the Russian Federation and relatively smaller number of neighbours of the Republic of Belarus. And other difference lies in the absence of negative references to close neighbourhood in the text documents of the Russian Federation and existence of negative references to close neighbourhood in the text documents of the Republic of Belarus. It means that Russian perception of close neighbourhood is solely positive and is concentrated on building up mutually beneficial friendly relationships with its neighbours. In the Republic of Belarus, we can observe almost the same situation, however, there is an influence of defensive rhetoric aimed at ensuring security.

In Table 3 it is possible to find coding of “Close neighbourhood” for the Union State. In table 13 it is possible to find the table of content analysis of “Close neighbourhood” in the Union State.

3.3.2. “Close neighbourhood” in NATO and the European Union

Let’s start with Russo-Georgian war. According to conducted content analysis, there is 1 positive reference to close neighbourhood and 1 negative reference to close neighbourhood. It can be concluded that close neighbourhood in NATO and the European Union within Russo-Georgian war is perceived both positively and negatively.

Next event is coup d’etat in Ukraine. According to conducted content analysis, there is 1 positive reference to close neighbourhood and 1 negative reference to close neighbourhood. It can be concluded that close neighbourhood in NATO and the European Union within coup d’etat is perceived both positively and negatively.

Finally, we will analyze special military operation. According to conducted content analysis, there are 2 positive references to close neighbourhood and 8 negative references to close neighbourhood. It can be concluded that close neighbourhood in NATO and the European Union is perceived much more negatively than positively.

To sum up, there is a stable perception of such integration factor as close neighbourhood in NATO and the European Union within Russo-Georgian war and coup d'état in Ukraine of 2014. It demonstrates more or less balanced understanding of NATO and the European Union of such integration factor as close neighbourhood. Nevertheless, Russian special military operation in Ukraine represents a deviation from the norm where there more negative references to close neighbourhood than positive references to close neighbourhood. It tells us that NATO and the European Union after the beginning of Russian special military operation in Ukraine tend to perceive the Russia and the Republic of Belarus as an immediate threat to the security of their borders.

In Table 4 it is possible to find coding of “Close neighbourhood” for NATO and the European Union. In Table 14 it is possible to find the table of content analysis of “Close neighbourhood” in NATO and the European Union.

3.3.3. “Close neighbourhood”: summary

Summarizing all above mentioned, it is possible to conclude that integration factor “close neighbourhood” plays very important role for the Union State, NATO and the European Union. Whereas in the Union State the main trend on friendship and cooperation remains stable within analyzed period, in NATO and the European Union Russian special military operation in Ukraine became the turning point, thus transforming the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus from rivals with which it is possible to cooperate in many spheres to enemies that it is necessary to destroy or at least seriously destabilize.

3.4. Content analysis of “energy dependence”

3.4.1. “Energy dependence” in the Union State

The first event for analysis is gas conflict. According to conducted content analysis, there are 0 positive references to energy dependence and 1 negative reference to energy dependence. It can be concluded that energy dependence in the Russian Federation within gas conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine is perceived solely negatively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 4 positive references to energy dependence and 0 negative references to energy dependence. It can be concluded that energy dependence in the Republic of Belarus within gas conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine is perceived solely positively.

The second event for analysis is special military operation. According to conducted content analysis, there are not any references to energy dependence. It can be concluded that energy dependence in the Russian Federation within Russian special military operation in Ukraine is not a centre of close attention. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 2 positive references to energy dependence and 0 negative references to energy dependence. It can be concluded that energy dependence in the Republic of Belarus within Russian special military operation in Ukraine is perceived solely positively.

To sum up, it is possible to conclude that such integration factor as energy dependence almost does not influence the Russian Federation. Only within the case of gas conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine we can observe one negative reference to energy dependence that underlines the tiredness of the Russian Federation from the problems from Ukraine due to supply disruptions because of disagreement over gas price. It can be explained by the fact that the Russian Federation is an exporter of energy resources. On the contrary, in the Republic of Belarus we can see the reverse trend. Being an importer of Russian energy resources, the Republic of Belarus is interested in the stability of the energy sphere.

In Table 5 it is possible to find coding of “Energy dependence” for the Union State. In Table 15 it is possible to find the table of content analysis of “Energy dependence” in the Union State.

3.4.2. “Energy dependence” in NATO and the European Union

The first event for analysis is gas conflict. According to conducted content analysis, there are 5 positive references to energy dependence and 12 negative references to energy dependence. It can be concluded that energy dependence in NATO and the European Union within gas conflict is perceived much more negatively than positively.

The second event for analysis is special military operation. According to conducted content analysis, there are 64 positive references to energy dependence and 45 negative references to energy dependence. It can be concluded that energy dependence in NATO and the European Union within Russian special military operation in Ukraine is perceived more positively than negatively.

To sum up, there is a significant shift from negative perception of energy dependence to positive perception of energy dependence. Russian special military operation in Ukraine became the trigger of for this fundamental shift. Earlier NATO and the European Union only spoke about strengthening of European energy security, nowadays there are concrete measures to receive independence from Russian energy supplies. Conducted content analysis only confirms the importance of these steps for NATO and the European Union.

In Table 6 it is possible to find coding of “Energy dependence” for NATO and the European Union. In Table 16 it is possible to find the table of content analysis of “Energy dependence” in NATO and the European Union.

3.4.3. “Energy dependence”: summary

Conducted content analysis showed the importance of energy dependence issue for the Republic of Belarus, NATO and the European Union. The Republic of Belarus demonstrated the stable interest in the development of energy relationships with the Russian Federation whereas NATO and the European Union demonstrated the desire to be fully independent from Russian energy supplies. The existence of both positive and negative references to energy dependence within Russian special military operation shows us that nowadays it is a vital problem for the European countries.

3.5. Content analysis of “changes on the international arena”

3.5.1. “Changes on the international arena” in the Union State

Let's start with Russo-Georgian war. According to conducted content analysis, there is 1 positive reference to changes on the international arena and 3 negative references to changes on the international arena. It can be concluded that changes on the international arena in the Russian Federation within Russo-Georgian war are perceived more negatively than positively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 7 positive references to changes on the international arena and 2 negative references to changes on the international arena. It can be concluded that changes on the international arena in the Republic of Belarus within Russo-Georgian war are perceived more positively than negatively.

Continue with the coup d'état in Ukraine. According to conducted content analysis, there are 3 positive references to changes on the international arena and 5 negative references to changes on the international arena. It can be concluded that changes on the international arena in the Russian Federation within coup d'état are perceived more negatively than positively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 20 positive references to changes on the international arena and 11 negative references to changes on the international arena. It can be concluded that changes on the international arena in the Republic of Belarus within coup d'état are perceived more positively than negatively.

Next event is operation in Syria. According to conducted content analysis, there are 6 positive references to changes on the international arena and 2 negative references to changes on the international arena. It can be concluded that changes on the international arena in the Russian Federation within Russian military operation in Syria are perceived more positively than negatively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 14 positive references to changes on the international arena and 9 negative references to changes on the international arena. It can be concluded that changes on the international arena in the Republic of Belarus within Russian military operation in Syria are perceived more positively than negatively.

Finally, we will analyze special military operation. According to conducted content analysis, there is 1 positive reference to changes on the international arena and 0 negative references to changes on the international arena. It can be concluded that changes on the international arena in the Russian Federation within Russian special military operation are perceived solely positively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there is 1 positive reference to changes on the international arena and 3 negative references to changes on the international arena. It can be concluded that changes on the international arena in the Republic of Belarus within Russian special military operation are perceived more negatively than positively.

To sum up, we can conclude that for the Republic of Belarus changes on the international arena is more influential integration factor than for the Russian Federation. Probably, this happens due unchangeable position of the Russian Federation according to which the Russian Federation should be ready to adapt to constantly changing conditions on the international arena. The most deviated cases in the Republic of Belarus are coup d'état in Ukraine and Russian military operation in Syria. We can define such common trait as help to neighbors/ally. According to conducted content analysis, the Republic of Belarus is very sensible to the activities of the Russian Federation in the field of help to other countries. In the same way we can analyze text document related to the Russian special military operation in Ukraine. Despite the fact that official statements of the President of the Republic of Belarus did not condemn the actions of the Russian Federation. However, content analysis shows us that the Republic of Belarus is very attentive to the crisis, and it is not possible to predict the exact reaction, it looks like more neutral.

In Table 7 it is possible to find coding of “Changes on the international arena” for the Union State. In Table 17 it is possible to find table of content analysis of “Changes on the international arena” in the Union State.

3.5.2. “Changes on the international arena” in NATO and the European Union

Let's start with Russo-Georgian war. According to conducted content analysis, there are 3 positive references to changes on the international arena and 4 negative references to changes on the international arena. It can be concluded that changes on

the international arena in NATO and the European Union within Russo-Georgian war are perceived more negatively than positively.

Continue with the coup d'état in Ukraine. According to conducted content analysis, there are 10 positive references to changes on the international arena and 9 negative references to changes on the international arena. It can be concluded that changes on the international arena in NATO and the European Union within coup d'état in Ukraine are perceived more positively than negatively.

Next event is operation in Syria. According to conducted content analysis, there are 9 positive references to changes on the international arena and 15 negative references to changes on the international arena. It can be concluded that changes on the international arena in NATO and the European Union within Russian military operation in Syria are perceived more negatively than positively.

Finally, we will analyze special military operation. According to conducted content analysis, there are 3 positive references to changes on the international arena and 3 negative references to changes on the international arena. It can be concluded that changes on the international arena in NATO and the European Union within Russian special military operation in Ukraine are perceived both positively and negatively.

To sum up, all data received after conducting content analysis, may be divided into three baskets. The first basket: Russo-Georgian War, Russian military operation in Syria. Within this basket NATO and the European Union disapprove the actions of the Russian Federation. The second basket: Coup d'état in Ukraine. In this case NATO and the European Union approve events in Ukraine perceive them as a victory of democracy. And the third basket: Russian special military operation in Ukraine. On the one hand, NATO and the European Union strongly condemned actions of the Russian Federation. On the other hand, Western countries understand the risks of direct confrontation between the Russian Federation and NATO, that is why they tend to put pressure to stop military operation and conclude peace agreement.

In Table 8 it is possible to find coding of “Changes on the international arena” for NATO and the European Union. In Table 18 it is possible to find table of content analysis of “Changes on the international arena” in NATO and the European Union.

3.5.3. “Changes on the international arena”: summary

Summarizing all above mentioned, we can explore different approaches to changes on the international arena. Russian approach is that changes on the international arena are inevitable, and any country in order to achieve stability and development should adapt to them. Belarusian approach is that changes may be positive and negative, not all changes bring progress. That is why, I can perceive Belarusian approach via prism of security. NATO and the European Union’s approach is more instrumental. Western countries use changes on the international arena as an opportunity to express their attitude to events thus trying to influence the perception. That is why, this approach may be referred to the constructivism.

3.6. Content analysis of “struggle for sovereignty”

3.6.1. “Struggle for sovereignty” in the Union State

Let's start with Russo-Georgian war. According to conducted content analysis, there are not any references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in the Russian Federation within Russo-Georgian war is not a centre of close attention. As for the Republic of Belarus, there is 1 positive reference to the struggle for sovereignty and 0 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in the Republic of Belarus within Russo-Georgian war is perceived solely positively.

Then we will study the coup d'état in Ukraine. According conducted content analysis, there are 9 positive references to the struggle for sovereignty, and 0 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in the Russian Federation within the coup d'état in Ukraine is perceived solely positively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 23 positive references to the struggle for sovereignty and 9 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in the Republic of Belarus within the coup d'etat in Ukraine is perceived much more positively than negatively.

Next event is operation in Syria. According to conducted content analysis, there is 1 positive reference to the struggle for sovereignty, and 0 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in the Russian Federation within military operation in Syria is perceived solely positively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there is 1 positive reference to the struggle for sovereignty and 0 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in the Republic of Belarus within Russian military operation in Syria is perceived solely positively.

Then we will study actions of protests. According to conducted content analysis, there are 2 positive references to the struggle for sovereignty and 0 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in the Russian Federation within the actions of protests in the Republic

of Belarus is perceived solely positively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 3 positive references to the struggle for sovereignty and 0 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in the Republic of Belarus within the actions of protests is perceived solely positively.

Finally, we will analyze special military operation. According to conducted content analysis, there are 7 positive references to the struggle for sovereignty and 2 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in the Russian Federation is perceived much more positively than negatively. As for the Republic of Belarus, there are 7 positive references to the struggle for sovereignty and 2 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in the Republic of Belarus within Russian special military operation in Ukraine is perceived much more positively than negatively.

To sum up, we can conclude that this factor of integration is perceived in the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation more or less in the same way. Moreover, we can observe the unity of two states in relation to the Russian special military operation in Ukraine. However, there is one event where the Republic of Belarus deviates from the Russian Federation. It is the coup d'état in Ukraine of 2014. According to the number of positive and negative references, this event became one of the most important for the Republic of Belarus. That is why, it can be concluded that in relation to the coup d'état for the Republic of Belarus it is possible to provide the linkage with the other factor of integration – close neighbourhood. Thus, any change in border states can be considered by the Republic of Belarus as an attempt to undermine its sovereignty.

In Table 9 it is possible to find coding of “Struggle for sovereignty” for the Union State. In Table 19 it is possible to find table of content analysis of “Struggle for sovereignty” in the Union State.

3.6.2. “Struggle for sovereignty” in NATO

Let's start with Russo-Georgian war. According to conducted content analysis, there are 4 positive references to the struggle for sovereignty and 3 negative

references for the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in NATO and the European Union within Russo-Georgian war is perceived more positively than negatively.

Then we will study the coup d'état in Ukraine. According to conducted content analysis, there are 31 positive references to the struggle for sovereignty, and 24 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in NATO and the European Union within the coup d'état in Ukraine is perceived more positively than negatively.

Next event is operation in Syria. According to conducted content analysis, there are 34 positive references to the struggle for sovereignty and 31 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in NATO and the European Union within Russian military operation in Syria is perceived more positively than negatively.

Then we will study actions of protests. According to conducted content analysis, there are 9 positive references to the struggle for sovereignty and 20 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in NATO and the European Union within the actions of protests in the Republic of Belarus is perceived much more negatively than positively.

Finally, we will analyze special military operation. According to conducted content analysis, there are 22 positive references to the struggle for sovereignty and 13 negative references to the struggle for sovereignty. It can be concluded that struggle for sovereignty in NATO and the European Union within Russian special military operation in Ukraine is perceived much more positively than negatively.

To sum up, such factor of integration as “Struggle for sovereignty” plays a pivotal role for NATO and the European Union as it touches upon their core values and principles. Almost in all events we can observe more positive reaction in relation to the struggle for sovereignty. Nevertheless, it is possible to explore the deviation from the norm: actions of protests in the Republic of Belarus NATO and the European Union perceive much more negatively than positively. For them this event means the attempt of Belarusian people to increase democracy in the Republic of Belarus,

that is why any other opinion from external players they perceived as an interference into the sovereignty of the Republic of Belarus. However, it is worth to say that for NATO and the European Union the main task for these events was the change in the state power in the Republic of Belarus, because political leaders of these countries did not recognize the victory of Alexander Lukashenko following the presidential elections of 2020. That is why, it can be concluded that this factor of integration not only plays the role in forming a public discourse, but is also used by NATO and the European Union as a tool by which they justify their own attempt to support the regime change in a target country.

In Table 10 it is possible to find coding of “Struggle for sovereignty” for NATO and the European Union. In Table 20 it is possible to find the table of content analysis of “Struggle for sovereignty” in NATO and the European Union.

3.6.3. “Struggle for sovereignty”: summary

Summarizing all above mentioned, it is possible to conclude that the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, NATO and the European Union, in their turn, the struggle for sovereignty is perceived differently.

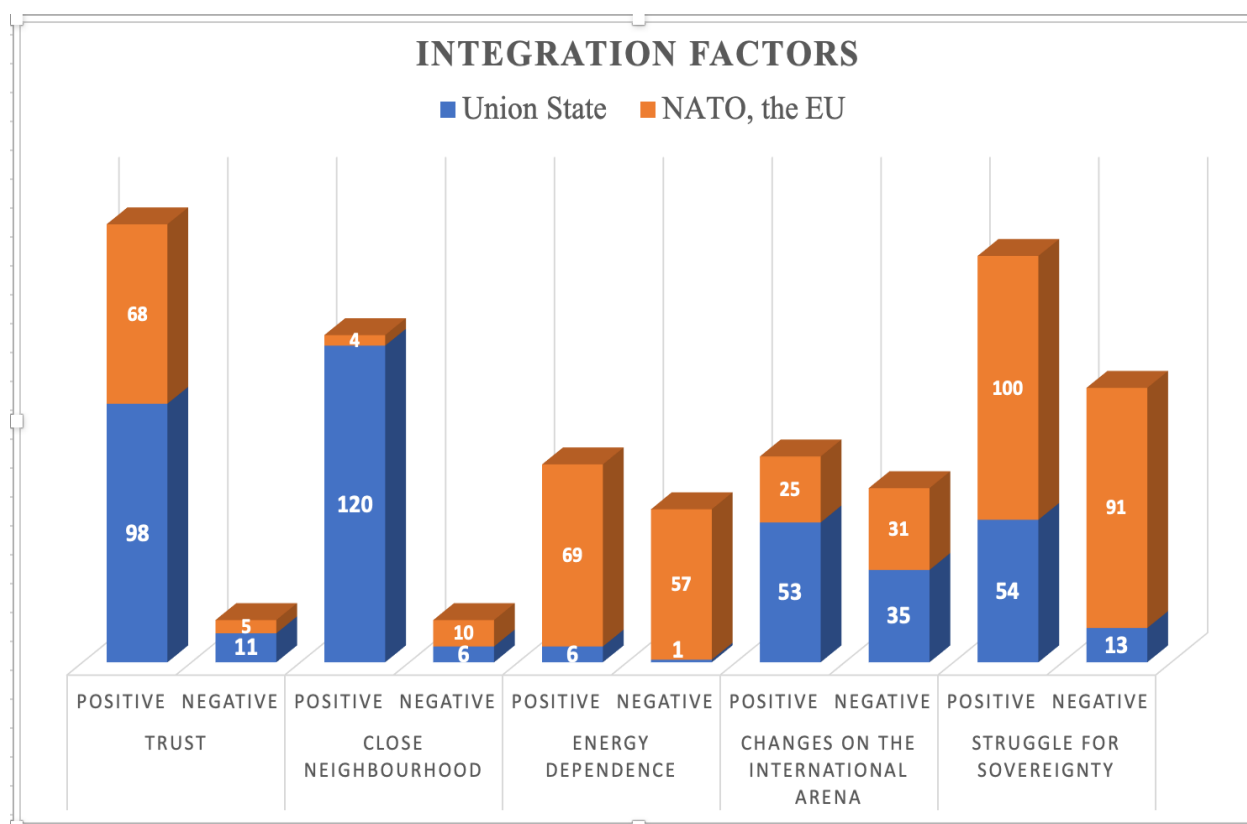
For the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation the struggle for sovereignty is closely linked to the protection of borders from the foreign invasion and the support for independent policies of both countries.

For NATO and the European Union, the struggle for sovereignty is considered as a people’s will to be free from tyranny and undemocratic political regimes, so NATO and the European Union see as their primary task to differ peoples from the ruling elites and support all opposition activities.

Thus, this factor of integration is one of the main stumbling blocks in the relationships between the Russian Federation and its allies, and the United States and its allies.

3.7. Quantitative content analysis of integration factors: summary

Here we can observe the column chart of conducted quantitative content analysis.



As for the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, conducted quantitative content analysis demonstrated us that all integration factors determined earlier proved their significance. It can be concluded that in the absolute majority of events these factors are more important for the Republic of Belarus than for the Russian Federation. However, there was an agreement of interests between the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation in all integration factors. Moreover, within such integration factor as “Struggle for sovereignty” two countries adopted the unified position.

As for NATO and the European Union, conducted quantitative content analysis demonstrated us that all integration factors determined earlier proved their significance. It can be concluded that NATO and the European Union are more sensible to any wind change, thus, the importance of different factors of integration is constantly changing. The most important factor of integration that is used as a foreign policy tool – struggle for sovereignty. Analyzing all integration factors for

NATO and the European Union, it is possible to conclude that the Russian special military operation in Ukraine became the tipping point for the beginning of forming the firm and certain position in the international relations.

Overall, the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation demonstrates more balanced position in relation to the international relations than NATO and the European Union.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, let's summarize all the received results.

After the case study analysis of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation within such integration theories as federalism, policy network analysis, there were defined the main integration factors: trust, close neighbourhood, energy dependence, changes on the international arena and struggle for sovereignty. Trust, close neighbourhood and energy dependence were attributed to the positive factors of integration as enhancing level of trust between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus strengthens mutual cooperation, understanding of closeness between two countries determines their joint actions, and energy supplies from the Russian Federation to the Republic of Belarus ensures the stable development of both economies. Whereas changes on the international arena and struggle for sovereignty were attributed to the negative factors of integration due to the fact that any change seems to be the increasing level of risks and uncertainty, and struggle for sovereignty means that some other countries desire to undermine it.

After the analysis with the help of policy cycle model of the identified integration factors in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation within such approaches to the international security as defensive structural realism, constructivism and securitization theory, the effectiveness of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus was evaluated. As for trust, it is necessary to maintain close relationships between the Russian Federation and organize meeting at all possible levels. As for close neighbourhood, it is important to establish of concrete dates for the implementation of further integration projects. As for energy dependence, all that is necessary is to preserve trust between countries at the highest level. As for changes on the international arena, deeper cooperation on all sensible issues is needed. As for struggle for sovereignty, the Russian Federation should make attempts to decrease tensions about the fear of the liquidation of the Republic of Belarus and its accession into the Russian Federation.

After conducting quantitative content analysis of integration factors on the basis of positive/negative division between specific words within integration factors for

the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, on the one hand, and NATO and the European Union, on the other hand, it is possible to conclude that all factors of integration determined earlier play very important role for the integration processes. However, the key factors that determine the state of things on the international arena in terms of security – trust and struggle for sovereignty.

Following the results of the analysis, it is possible to conclude that the integration in the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation has accompanied by the desire of NATO and the European Union to deprive of the right to pursue an independent policy that may contradict their interests. All events happening on the way of the integration prove the validity of this point of view. I see that the main problem between the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, on the one hand, and NATO and the European Union, on the other hand, that prevents them from closer cooperation is different perception of each other, the situations, challenges and their positioning as rivals or even enemies.

Thus, the influence that exerts the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation on the international security can be explained as an accelerator of the international processes. The closer cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus is, the more pressure from outside they experience.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Coding “Trust” for the Union State

Positive	Negative
ДОВЕРИЕ	НЕДОВЕРИЕ
ВЕРА	ПОДОЗРИТЕЛЬНОСТЬ
УВЕРЕННОСТЬ	ПРЕДУБЕЖДЕНИЕ
КРЕДИТ	НЕОДОБРЕНИЕ
ОПОРА	СКЕПТИЦИЗМ
УБЕЖДЕННОСТЬ	СОМНЕНИЯ
ВЗАИМОВЫРУЧКА	ОЗАБОЧЕННОСТЬ
ВЗАИМОПОМОЩЬ	ОБЕСПОКОЕННОСТЬ
ДРУЖБА	НЕУВЕРЕННОСТЬ
ПРЕДАННОСТЬ	МНИТЕЛЬНОСТЬ
ДРУГ	ВРАГ
ДРУЗЬЯ	ВРАГИ
ИМЕТЬ	ВРАЖДЕБНОСТЬ
ОКАЗЫВАТЬ	СКВОЗИТЬ
ВЫРАЖАТЬ	ОТНОСИТЬСЯ С
ВНУШАТЬ	ЗАКРАСТЬСЯ
ЗАСЛУЖИТЬ	ЧУВСТВОВАТЬСЯ
ОПРАВДАТЬ	УКРЕПИТЬСЯ
ЗАРУЧИТЬСЯ	ВЗАИМНОЕ
ПОЛЬЗОВАТЬСЯ	ЯВНОЕ
ДОВЕРЯТЬ	ГЛУБОКОЕ
АТМОСФЕРА	ПОЛНОЕ
СТЕПЕНЬ	КРАЙНЕЕ
ВЫРАЖЕНИЕ	СИЛЬНОЕ
БОЛЬШОЕ	ТОТАЛЬНОЕ
ВЫСОКОЕ	ОТКРЫТОЕ
ПОЛНОЕ	СКРЫТОЕ
БЕЗГРАНИЧНОЕ	СМУТНОЕ
ВСЕОБЩЕЕ	ТРАДИЦИОННОЕ
НАШЕ	МАЛЕЙШЕЕ

Table 2. Coding “Trust” for NATO and the European Union

Positive	Negative
TRUST	DISTRUST
CONFIDENCE	DISBELIEF
EXPECTATION	DOUBT
FAITH	MISTRUST
HOPE	SCEPTICISM
CREDIT	SUCPICION
RELIANCE	QUALM
ASSURANCE	WARINESS
PLACE	ABUSE
PUT	BETRAY
BUILD UP	LOSE
DEVELOP	SHAKE
EARN	UNDERMINE
GAIN	DESTROY
WIN	AFFIRM
RESTORE	EXPRESS
BASED ON	PROCLAIM
EXIST	ABANDON
HAVE	GIVE UP
HAS	DISAPPEAR
PIN	FUEL
SHOW	FADE
REGAIN	FALL ON
RETAIN	REMAIN
AFFIRM	LINGER
EXPRESS	FEEL
PROCLAIM	SUSPEND
SEE	MISPLACED
VOICE	FRAIL
SHARE	FRAGILE
LIVE IN	FAINT
AROUSE	SLIGHT
RISE	VAGUE
BRING	FORLORN
GIVE	DEEP
OVERCOME	PROFOUND
RESOLVE	WIDESPREAD
ENJOY	MUTUAL
GREAT	UTTER
ABSOLUTE	HORRIFIED
COMPLETE	SHOCKED
SACRED	STUNNED
FULL	OUTRIGHT
TOTAL	GRAVE
HIGH	SEVERE
REAL	REASONABLE
REASONABLE	UNHEALTHY
GROWING	EXTREME

INCREASING	DARK
FERVENT	AWFUL
CONSIDERABLE	NASTY
SINCERE	TERRIBLE
FRESH	PUBLIC
RENEWED	POPULAR
PERSONAL	FURIOUS
STRONG	ASTONISHED
MUTUAL	AMUSED

Table 3. Coding “Close Neighbourhood” for the Union State

Positive	Negative
СОСЕДСТВО	УДАЛЕННОСТЬ
БЛИЗОСТЬ	ДАЛЬНОСТЬ
СОПРЕДЕЛЬНОСТЬ	ОТДАЛЕННОСТЬ
СОСЕД	ЧУЖАКИ
СОСЕДИ	ЧУЖАК
ДРУЗЬЯ	ЧУЖИЕ
ДРУЖБА	ВРАГ
ДРУГ	ВРАЖДЕБНОСТЬ
БРАТЬЯ	ЗАХВАТЧИКИ
БРАТ	ЗАХВАТЧИК
СЕСТРЫ	ОППОНЕНТЫ
СЕСТРА	ОППОНЕНТ
ЖИТЬ	ПРОТИВНИКИ
РАСПОЛАГАТЬСЯ	ПРОТИВНИК
НАХОДИТЬСЯ	НЕПРИЯТЕЛИ
ПРОИСХОДИТЬ	НЕПРИЯТЕЛЬ
СЛОЖИТЬСЯ	АГРЕССОРЫ
ПРОЖИВАТЬ	АГРЕССОР
ПОЯВЛЯТЬСЯ	ЗАВОЕВАТЕЛИ
ВОЗНИКАТЬ	ЗАВОЕВАТЕЛЬ
РАЗМЕЩАТЬСЯ	ОКАЗАТЬСЯ
ДЕЙСТВОВАТЬ	НАПАСТЬ
СЛУЧАТЬСЯ	ОТСТУПИТЬ
БЛИЗКОЕ	ЗАХВАТИТЬ
ОПАСНОЕ	ПОЯВИТЬСЯ
НЕПОСРЕДСТВЕННОЕ	ЗАКЛЯТЫЙ
ХОРОШЕЕ	ЗЛЕЙШИЙ
ПЛОХОЕ	ОБЩИЙ
ГЕОГРАФИЧЕСКОЕ	ОПАСНЫЙ
ТЕРРИТОРИАЛЬНОЕ	СИЛЬНЫЙ

Table 4. Coding “Close Neighbourhood” for NATO and the European Union

Positive	Negative
NEIGHBOURHOOD	REMOTENESS
PROXIMITY	ENMITY
CLOSENESS	ANIMOSITY
ADJACENCY	ANTAGONISM
CONTIGUITY	BELLCIOSITY
JUXTAPOSITION	AGGRESSION
PROPINQUITY	RESENTMENT
VICINITY	BELLIGERENCE
SUBURB	GRUDGE
MOVE INTO	EARN
FEEL	INCUR
HAVE	FEEL
DISPLAY	HAVE
EXPRESS	DISPLAY
SHOW	EXPRESS
FRIENDLY	SHOW
NICE	CHANNEL
RESPECTABLE	DIRECT
CLOSE	CONTROL
GEOGRAPHICAL	RELEASE
	ENCOURAGE
	BEAR
	NURSE
	ANGRY
	BITTER
	DEEP
	GREAT
	INTENSE
	FIERCE
	LASTING
	LONG-STANDING
	OLD
	TRADITIONAL
	STRONG
	MUTUAL
	PERSONAL
	EXTREME
	MILD
	OPEN
	GROWING
	INCREASING
	CONSIDERABLE

Table 5. Coding “Energy Dependence” for the Union State

Positive	Negative
ЭНЕРГИЯ	ЭНЕРГИЯ
ТОПЛИВО	ТОПЛИВО
ЗАВИСИМОСТЬ	НЕЗАВИСИМОСТЬ
НУЖДА	АВТОНОМИЯ
НЕОБХОДИМОСТЬ	АВТОНОМНОСТЬ
ПОТРЕБНОСТЬ	САМОСТОЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ
СВЯЗАННОСТЬ	СУВЕРЕНИТЕТ
ВЗАИМОСВЯЗЬ	СУВЕРЕННОСТЬ
ВЗАИМОЗАВИСИМОСТЬ	СВОБОДА
ОБУСЛОВЛЕННОСТЬ	САМОУПРАВЛЕНИЕ
КОРРЕЛЯЦИЯ	ПРОВОЗГЛАСИТЬ
СБЛИЖЕНИЕ	СОХРАНИТЬСЯ
ПОСТАВЛЯТЬ	ОСУЩЕСТВЛЯТЬ
ИСКАТЬ	ОТВЕРГАТЬ
РАСХОДОВАТЬ	ОТКАЗЫВАТЬСЯ ОТ
НАКАПЛИВАТЬ	РАЗВИВАТЬСЯ
СУЩЕСТВОВАТЬ	ДОСТИЧЬ
ВОЗНИКАТЬ	ОСТАТЬСЯ
СОХРАНЯТЬ	КАЗАТЬСЯ
ВОЗРАСТАТЬ	ПРОЯВЛЯТЬСЯ
СНИЖАТЬСЯ	БЫЛАЯ
ПОЛНАЯ	НАЦИОНАЛЬНАЯ
ЧАСТИЧНАЯ	ГОСУДАРСТВЕННАЯ
СИЛЬНАЯ	ФАКТИЧЕСКАЯ
ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКАЯ	РЕАЛЬНАЯ
ОБРАТНАЯ	СОХРАНИВШАЯСЯ
ДАВНЯЯ	СОБСТВЕННАЯ
РАСТУЩАЯ	ХВАЛЕНАЯ
ГЛУБОКАЯ	НАРОДНАЯ
ВЫРАЖЕННАЯ	НАСТОЯЩАЯ

Table 6. Coding “Energy Dependence” for NATO and the European Union

Positive	Negative
ENERGY DEPENDENCE	INDEPENDENCE
ADDICTION	AUTONOMY
OBSESSION	SELF-DETERMINATION
FUEL	FREEDOM
POWER	SELF-RELIANCE
GAS	SELF-SUFFICIENCY
OIL	SELF-RULE
FOSSIL	OVERCOME
CHARGE	HAVE
SUPPLY	LACK
HAVE	ENJOY
LACK	VALUE
EXPEND	DISPLAY
PUT	SHOW
DIRECT	ASSERT
SAVE	ACHIEVE
WASTE	GAIN
CAUSE	STRUGGLE FOR
BECOME	INCREASE
TURN INTO	SECURE
LEAD TO	WIN
RUN ON	MAINTAIN
USE	REAL
GENERATE	TRUE
PRODUCE	ECONOMIC
PROVIDE	POLITICAL
OBTAIN	FINANCIAL
RECEIVE	ENERGY
GREAT	FULL
HEAVY	NATIONAL
TOTAL	LOCAL
COMPLETE	REGIONAL
ABSOLUTE	FUNDAMENTAL
EXCESSIVE	CONSIDERABLE
MUTUAL	
RENEWABLE	
NON-RENEWABLE	
CLEAN	
INFINITE	
FINITE	
ABUNDANT	
LIMITED	
SUFFICIENT	

Table 7. Coding “Changes on the International Arena” for the Union State

Positive	Negative
ИЗМЕНЕНИЯ	СТАБИЛЬНОСТЬ
ИЗМЕНЕНИЕ	БЕЗОПАСНОСТЬ
ДИВЕРСИФИКАЦИЯ	НАДЕЖНОСТЬ
КОРРЕКЦИЯ	НЕЗЫБЛЕМОСТЬ
МУТАЦИЯ	НЕИЗМЕННОСТЬ
ПЕРЕИНАЧИВАНИЕ	НЕПОКОЛЕБИМОСТЬ
ПЕРЕМЕНА	НЕСМЕНЯЕМОСТЬ
ПЕРЕРАБОТКА	ПОСТОЯНСТВО
ПЕРЕРОЖДЕНИЕ	РАВНОВЕСИЕ
ПЕРЕСТРОЙКА	УСТОЙЧИВОСТЬ
ПОДВИЖКИ	СТАГНАЦИЯ
ПОПРАВКИ	ДЕГРАДАЦИЯ
ПРЕВРАЩЕНИЕ	ДЕПРЕССИЯ
ПРЕОБРАЖЕНИЕ	ЗАСТОЙ
ПРЕОБРАЗОВАНИЕ	РЕЦЕССИЯ
РАЗВИТИЕ	СПАД
РЕОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ	НАРУШИТЬСЯ
РЕВОЛЮЦИЯ	ДОСТИГАТЬ
РЕФОРМА	ПОДДЕРЖИВАТЬ
РЕФОРМИРОВАНИЕ	ОТСУТСТВОВАТЬ
СДВИГ	ПОДКРЕПЛЯЕТСЯ
СКАЧОК	ОСЛАБЛЯЕТСЯ
ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ	ОСТАЕТСЯ
УЛУЧШЕНИЕ	ЗАВИСИТ ОТ
УХУДШЕНИЕ	РУХНУТЬ
УСОВЕРШЕНСТВОВАНИЕ	ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ
ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ	ФИНАНСОВАЯ
АРЕНА	СОЦИАЛЬНАЯ
ПЛОЩАДКА	ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКАЯ
ТЕАТР	ХРУПКАЯ
СФЕРА	ДОСТИГНУТАЯ
ПОЛЕ	АБСОЛЮТНАЯ
ПРОИСХОДИТЬ	МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ
ВЫЗВАТЬ	НАРУШЕННАЯ
ЗАТРОНУТЬ	СТРАТЕГИЧЕСКАЯ
ПОДВЕРГАТЬСЯ	ДОЛГОСРОЧНАЯ
ПРИВОДИТЬ К	МАКРОЭКОНОМИЧЕСКАЯ
ЗАКЛЮЧАТЬСЯ В	ВНУТРИПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ
ЗНАЧИТЕЛЬНЫЕ	БЫЛАЯ
СУЩЕСТВЕННЫЕ	ПРЕЖНЯЯ
МАЛЕЙШИЕ	УГРОЖАЮЩАЯ
НЕБОЛЬШИЕ	ДОЛГОВРЕМЕННАЯ
СЕРЬЕЗНЫЕ	УТРАЧЕННАЯ
НЕОБРАТИМЫЕ	ЕВРОПЕЙСКАЯ
РАДИКАЛЬНЫЕ	ЕВРАЗИЙСКАЯ
СТРУКТУРНЫЕ	МИРОВАЯ

Table 8. Coding “Changes on the International Arena” for NATO and the European Union

Positive	Negative
CHANGE	STAGNATION
SHIFT	STABILITY
MODIFICATION	BALANCE
AMENDMENT	SECURITY
ALTERATION	STRENGTH
METAMORPHOSE	PERMANENCE
REVOLUTION	ENDURANCE
REORGANIZATION	STEADINESS
REFORM	PERSEVERANCE
IMPROVEMENT	SUSTAINABILITY
ADAPTATION	SOLIDITY
MODULATION	LEAD TO
MUTATION	ACHIEVE
DEVELOPMENT	BRING
REFINEMENT	ENSURE
REARRANGEMENT	PROVIDE
VARIATION	MAINTAIN
SUBSTITUTION	PRESERVE
INNOVATION	REQUIRE
FIELD	SEEK
STAGE	FIND
PLATFORM	KEEP
MAKE	BUILD UP
CAUSE	GATHER
EFFECT	ECONOMIC
PRODUCE	POLITICAL
ADAPT TO	GREATER
INTRODUCE	LONG-TERM
UNDERGO	NECESSARY
CALL FOR	IDEAL
RESIST	COMFORTABLE
PREVENT	APPROPRIATE
OCCUR	FAIR
TAKE PLACE	REASONABLE
EXTERNAL	SENSIBLE
BIG	COLLECTIVE
CONSIDERABLE	STATE
DRAMATIC	IMMENSE
DRASTIC	EXTRA
ENORMOUS	INDUSTRIAL
FUNDAMENTAL	MILITARY
IMPORTANT	DOGGED
SUBSTANTIAL	UNTIRING
IRREVERSIBLE	OPTIMUM
GRADUAL	PERFECT
GLOBAL	PROPER

BENEFICIAL	FINE
FOREIGN	SUBTLE
UNIVERSAL	FRAGILE
COSMOPOLITAN	NATURAL
WORLD	SOCIAL
INTERCONTINENTAL	EQUITABLE
ANTICIPATED	INTERNAL
UNEXPECTED	DOMESTIC
POLITICAL	PRIVATE
STRUCTURAL	HOME
RADICAL	NATIONAL
DISTINCT	INTERIOR

Table 9. Coding “Struggle for Sovereignty” for the Union State

Positive	Negative
СУВЕРЕНИТЕТ	ЗАВИСИМОСТЬ
АВТОНОМИЯ	ВЗАИМОЗАВИСИМОСТЬ
ВЕРХОВЕНСТВО	НЕСАМОСТОЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ
НЕЗАВИСИМОСТЬ	ПОДЧИНЕНИЕ
САМОСТОЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ	ПОДЧИНЕННОСТЬ
СУВЕРЕННОСТЬ	ОБУСЛОВЛЕННОСТЬ
САМОУПРАВЛЕНИЕ	СБЛИЖЕНИЕ
СВОБОДА	ПОКОРНОСТЬ
БОРЬБА	БЕЗРОПОТНОСТЬ
БИТВА	ПОВИНОВЕНИЕ
ВОЙНА	ЛОЯЛЬНОСТЬ
ПРОТИВОБОРСТВО	ПОСЛУШНОСТЬ
МЕЖДОУСОБИЦА	ПРЕДАННОСТЬ
ОТСТАИВАНИЕ	СМИРЕНИЕ
ПОЕДИНОК	УСТУПЧИВОСТЬ
СКАНДАЛ	ЗАЩИТА
СОПРОТИВЛЕНИЕ	ОБОРОНА
СРАЖЕНИЕ	САМООБОРОНА
СХВАТКА	ЗАСТУПНИЧЕСТВО
ВОССТАНАВЛИВАЕТСЯ	УДЕРЖАНИЕ
ОСТАЕТСЯ	ЭГИДА
РАСПРОСТРАНЯЕТСЯ НА	ПОД ЭГИДОЙ
ОТНОСИТСЯ	СУЩЕСТВОВАТЬ
ЗАВИСИТ	ВОЗНИКАТЬ
ЯВЛЯЕТСЯ	ВЫРАЖАЕТСЯ В
ПРЕДПОЛАГАЕТ	СОХРАНЯТЬСЯ
ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ	СКАЗЫВАТЬСЯ НА
НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ	ОБУСЛОВЛЕНА
ПОЛНЫЙ	ПОЛНАЯ
НАРОДНЫЙ	ТОТАЛЬНАЯ
ОГРАНИЧЕННЫЙ	АБСОЛЮТНАЯ
ТЕРРИТОРИАЛЬНЫЙ	ЧАСТИЧНАЯ
ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЙ	ОБРАТНАЯ
ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЙ	ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ
НЕОТЪЕМЛИМЫЙ	ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКАЯ

Table 10. Coding “Struggle for Sovereignty” for NATO and the European Union

Positive	Negative
STRUGGLE FOR SOVEREIGNTY	DEPENDENCE
BATTLE	ADDICTION
CLASH	OBSESSION
COMBAT	RECONCILIATION
CONFLICT	ACCORD
CONTEST	AGREEMENT
ENDEAVOUR	SETTLEMENT
STRIFE	COMPROMISE
FIGHT	HARMONY
EXERTION	RAPPROCHEMENT
DIFFICULTY	TRUCE
CHALLENGE	SUBJECTION
EFFORT	INVASION
PROBLEM	INFRINGEMENT
INDEPENDENCE	VIOLATION
AUTONOMY	INCURSION
SELF-DETERMINATION	INTRUSION
FREEDOM	USURPATION
SELF-RELIANCE	OCCUPATION
SELF-SUFFICIENCY	BREACH
SELF-RULE	INFILTRATION
ENJOY	AGREE
EXERCISE	REACH
HAVE	NEGOTIATE
CLAIM	PRODUCE
DECLARE	SEEK
ESTABLISH	OFFER
DEFEND	LOOK FOR
DISPLAY	ACCEPT
SHOW	REJECT
ASSERT	COMMIT
GAIN	PROMOTE
WIN	LEAD TO
PRESERVE	OVERCOME
SUSTAIN	CALL FOR
ENSURE	PROPOSE
VALUE	CONCLUDE
ABSOLUTE	GREAT
FULL	HEAVY
UNLIMITED	EXCESSIVE
INALIENABLE	MUTUAL
NATIONAL	ECONOMIC
POPULAR	FINANCIAL
LEGAL	POLITICAL
POLITICAL	FULL-SCALE
TERRITORIAL	MILITARY

BIG	FORMAL
GREAT	WRITTEN
BITTER	VERBAL
VIOLENT	INTERNATIONAL
GROWING	CEASEFIRE
INCREASING	DEFINITIVE
ETHNIC	VOLUNTARY
SOCIAL	MEDIA
CONSIDERABLE	PRESS
LOCAL	UNWANTED
GLOBAL	UNDESIRE
DE FACTO	UNWELCOMED
RADICAL	CONTINUING
TOUGH	FUNDAMENTAL
SEVERE	GRAVE
SERIOUS	FLAGRANT
NEW	SUITABLE
	UNSATISFACTORY
	INEVITABLE
	NECESSARY

Table 11. “Trust” in the Union State












Количественный контент-анализ					
Все					
          					
	Группа доку...	Документ	Слова	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
◆		TRUST_R1_RG	460	3	0
◆		TRUST_R2_GC	2081	10	2
◆		TRUST_R3_AP	476	3	0
◆		TRUST_R4_SO	6187	38	3
◆		TRUST_B1_RG	727	4	1
◆		TRUST_B2_GC	810	7	1
◆		TRUST_B3_AP	6640	28	3
◆		TRUST_B4_SO	1398	5	1

Table 12. “Trust” in NATO and the European Union


Количественный контент-анализ					
Все					
					
	Группа доку...	Документ	Слова	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
◆		TRUST_N1_RG	967	28	2
◆		TRUST_N2_GC	335	9	1
◆		TRUST_N3_AP	269	6	0
◆		TRUST_N4_SO	633	25	2

Table 13. “Close neighbourhood in the Union State

Количественный контент-анализ					
Все					
	Группа доку...	Документ	Слова	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
◆		CN_R1_RG	363	1	0
◆		CN_R2_CE	2004	14	0
◆		CN_R3_SO	1051	7	0
◆		CN_B1_RG	8459	53	3
◆		CN_B2_CE	5216	28	2
◆		CN_B3_SO	4394	17	1

Table 14. “Close neighbourhood” in NATO and the European Union













Количественный контент-анализ					
Все					
          					
	Группа доку...	Документ	Слова	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
◆		CN_N1_RG	117	1	1
◆		CN_N2_CE	305	1	1
◆		CN_N3_SO	382	2	8

Table 15. “Energy dependence” in the Union State

Количественный контент-анализ

Все



	Группа доку...	Документ	Слова	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
◆		ED_R1_GC	455	0	1
◆		ED_R2_SO	782	0	0
◆		ED_B1_GC	2511	4	0
◆		ED_B2_SO	1875	2	0

Table 16. “Energy dependence” in NATO and the European Union


Количественный контент-анализ					
Все					
					
	Группа доку...	Документ	Слова	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
◆		ED_N1_GC	270	5	12
◆		ED_N2_SO	1157	64	45

Table 17. “Changes on the international arena” in the Union State












Количественный контент-анализ					
Все					
          					
	Группа доку...	Документ	Слова	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
◆		CIA_R1_RG	524	1	3
◆		CIA_R3_CE	3638	3	5
◆		CIA_R4_S	2092	6	2
◆		CIA_R5_SO	247	1	0
◆		CIA_B1_RG	3798	7	2
◆		CIA_B2_CE	37842	20	11
◆		CIA_B3_S	8107	14	9
◆		CIA_B4_SO	6226	1	3

Table 18. “Changes on the international arena” in NATO and the European Union

Количественный контент-анализ					
Все					
	Группа доку...	Документ	Слова	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
◆		CIA_N1_RG	130	3	4
◆		CIA_N2_CE	254	10	9
◆		CIA_N3_S	584	9	15
◆		CIA_N4_SO	272	3	3

Table 19. “Struggle for sovereignty” in the Union State













Количественный контент-анализ					
Все					
          					
	Группа доку...	Документ	Слова	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
◆		SS_R1_RG	187	0	0
◆		SS_R2_CE	4657	9	0
◆		SS_R3_S	548	1	0
◆		SS_R4_AP	1224	2	0
◆		SS_R5_SO	3063	7	2
◆		SS_B1_RG	983	1	0
◆		SS_B2_CE	13744	23	9
◆		SS_B3_S	1045	1	0
◆		SS_B4_AP	2404	3	0
◆		SS_B5_SO	4281	7	2

Table 20. “Struggle for sovereignty” in NATO and the European Union

Количественный контент-анализ					
Все					
					
	Группа доку...	Документ	Слова	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
◆		SS_N1_RG	194	4	3
◆		SS_N2_CE	1148	31	24
◆		SS_N3_S	1391	34	31
◆		SS_N4_AP	775	9	20
◆		SS_N5_SO	843	22	13