

## **Academic and Analytical Publications**

### **Selected Titles (1998 - )**

#### ***Books***

V.Kononenko, A.Moshes (eds.). *Russia as a Network State. What Works in Russia When State Institutions Do Not*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 190 p.

A.Moshes, B.Nygren (eds.). *A Slavic Triangle? Present and Future Relations Between Russia, Ukraine and Belarus*. Swedish National Defence College, Stockholm, 2002. Own chapter included.

D.Danilov, A.Moshes (eds.). *Structuring Security Space in the West and East of Europe (in Russian)*. Institute of Europe, Moscow. Exlibris-press, 2000. Two own chapters included.

A.Moshes. *Overcoming Unfriendly Stability. Russian-Latvian Relations at the End of 1990s*. Finnish Institute of International Affairs and the Institute fuer Europaische Politik, Bonn. Otava, Helsinki, 1999.

#### ***Chapters in edited volumes***

Belarus: deepening dependence on Russia leaves little room for the EU's geostrategic engagement (with A.Racz). In: K.Raik and S.Saari. *Key Actors in the EU's Neighbourhood. Competing perspectives on geostrategic tensions*. FIIA Report 47, 2016, pp. 133-148.

A marriage of unequals: Russian-Ukrainian relations under president Yanukovich. In: St. Meister (ed.). *Economization versus Power Ambitions. Rethinking Russia's policy towards post-Soviet states*. DGAP-Schriften zur Internationalen Politik. Nomos, 2013, pp. 59-72.

Russia and the New "Transitional" Europe. In: M.Lipman, N.Petrov (eds.) *Russia 2020: Scenarios for the Future*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC, 2011, pp. 89-108.

Russia in European Security Architecture: Contributor or Contender? In: R.Alcaro, E.Jones (Eds.). *European Security and the Future of Transatlantic Relations*. IAI Research Papers, Edizioni Nuova Cultura, Rome, 2011, pp. 97-115.

Russia 2004-09: a Regional Power Challenged. In: H.Haukkala, S.Saari (eds.). *Russia Lost or Found?* Edita Publishing, Helsinki, 2009, pp. 86-111.

In search of priorities: the EU, Russia and Their Neighbours. In: *The Europe Beyond Europe: Outer Borders, Inner Limits*. Osteuropa, Berliner Wissenschaft Verlag, Berlin, 2007. Eds. M.Sapper, V.Weichsel, A.Huterer, ss. 131-153.

Ukraine: Domestic Changes and Foreign Policy Reconfiguration. In: *Political Trends in the New Eastern Europe: Ukraine and Belarus*. Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, Carlisle, PA, 2007, pp. 17-46.

Post-imperial Russia: emergence and prospects of regaining influence in the post-Soviet space. In: W. Kononczuk (ed.). *Putin's Empire*. Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw 2007, pp. 113–124.

Russian Pressing and Europe's Appeal (in Russian). In: M. Pogrebinsky (ed.) *The Orange Revolution. Versions, Chronics, Documents*. Kiev, Optima, 2005.

Littoral States and Region-Building. In: O. Pavliuk, I. Klympush-Tsintsadze (eds.) *The Black Sea Region: Cooperation and Security-Building*. New York, ME Sharp, 2004.

Kaliningrad: Challenges Between Russia and Europe. In: I. Kempe (ed.) *Prospects and Risks Beyond EU Enlargement. Eastern Europe: Challenges of a Pan-European Policy*. Leske+Budrich, Opladen, 2003.

The Current Agenda of Russian-Ukrainian Relations: Challenges and Prospects. In: *Ukraine: Our New Neighbour*. DUPI Report 2002/13. Ed. By R. Kjaerullf-Jorgensen.

Lukashenka's Role in Russian Politics. In: M. Balmaceda, J. I. Clem, L. L. Tarlow (eds.). *Independent Belarus: Domestic Determinants, Regional Dynamics, and Implications for the West*. Harvard University Press, 2002.

The Evolution of Relations within the Slavic Triangle: a View from Russia. In: A. Moshes, B. Nygren (eds.). *A Slavic Triangle? Present and Future Relations Between Russia, Ukraine and Belarus*. Swedish National Defence College, 2002.

Russia, EU Enlargement, and the Baltic States. In: H. Hubel (ed.). *EU Enlargement and Beyond: the Baltic States and Russia*. Berlin Verlag. Berlin, 2002.

Russisch-ukrainische Beziehungen: Eine Spirale nach Unten? Bemerkungen aus russischer Sicht. In: E. Reiter (ed.). *Kriesengebiete in Europa*. Hamburg, Mittler, 2001.

Russia-Ukraine: Entering a New Phase. In: L. Hoffmann, F. Moellers (eds.). *Ukraine on the Road to Europe*. Physica-Verlag, Heidelberg, 2001.

Ukraine and Russia: A Chronic Crisis. In: K. Spillman, A. Wenger and D. Muller (eds.). *Between Russia and the West: Foreign and Security Policy of Independent Ukraine*. Bern, Peter Lang, 1999.

Russian Policy in the Baltic Region. In: O. Knudsen (ed.) *Stability and Security in the Baltic Sea Region*. London, Frank Cass, 1999.

Conflict and Cooperation in the Russo-Ukrainian Relations. In: A. Zverev, B. Coppieters, D. Trenin (eds.) *Commonwealth and Independence in Post-Soviet Eurasia*. London, Frank Cass, 1998.

### ***Journal articles***

Russian-Western relations: is de-confliction possible? – *Maanpuolustus*, no. 119, March 2017, pp. 24-29.

The Eurasian Economic Union: a case of reproductive integration? (with S.Roberts) – *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vo. 32, No. 6, November 2016, pp. 542-565.

Russia's European policy under Medvedev: how sustainable is a new compromise? *International Affairs*, Vol. 88, no.1, 2012, pp. 17-30.

Russia and the new Europe "in-between" (in Russian). *Pro et Contra* (Moscow), Vol. 14, No. 4-5, July-October 2010, pp. 128-144.

Avenue of Independence. Will Russian-Belorusian relations go the Ukrainian way? *Russia in Global Affairs*, V.8, No.2, April-June 2010.

Dismantling the paper curtain: is the visa-free regime between Russia and EU realistic? (in Russian) *Russia in Global Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 2, March-April 2009.

A special case? What Stands Behind Ukraine's Commitment to "Democratic Transition". *Russia in Global Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 2, April – June 2008.

Priorität gesucht. Die EU, Russland und ihre Nachbarn. *Osteuropa*, Vol. 57, No. 2-3, Februar - März 2007.

Beyond the fork in the road: has Ukraine made its political choice? (in Russian). *Otechestvennye zapiski*, no. 34 (1 – 2007).

Reaffirming the Benefits of Russia's European Choice. *Russia in Global Affairs* (Moscow), Vol. 3, N. 3, July – Sept. 2005.

Compromise and Its Limits. *National Security and Defence* (Kiev), N. 9, 2004.

Europe in Search of Russia. Pragmatic Minimalism or Systemic Transformation? (in Russian). *Evropa* (Warsaw), Vo. 4, N.4, 2004.

Is the Europeanization of Russia Over? (co-authored by T.Bordachev). *Russia in Global Affairs*, Vol. 2, N. 2, April-June, 2004.

Russian-Ukrainian Rapprochement of 2001: How Viable? *Security Dialogue* (SAGE Publications, PRIO, Oslo), Vol. 33, N. 2, 2002.

### ***Analytical reports and papers***

Does it make sense to expect a colour revolution in Belarus? PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 485, October 2017.

Belarus's Disequilibrium (with R.Nizhnikau). Mounting challenges and reluctance to change. FIIA Briefing Paper 223, June 2017.

Can Belarus perform a real balancing act between Russia and the West? *Analisis Geurasia*, No. 2, 2017.

EU-Russia relations: quo vadis? Muddling, normalization or deterioration. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 454, January 2017.

Three years after Euromaidan: is Ukraine still on the reform track? (with R.Nizhnikau), FIIA Briefing paper 207, December 2016.

Lukashenko's "Drift to the West": Why Moscow Should Not Be Worried. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 440, September 2016.

Will Europe Blink on Ukraine? PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 422, March 2016.

No change on the horizon. Belarus after the 2015 presidential election (with A.Racz). FIIA Briefing Paper 181, September 2015.

Can EU-Belarusian relations be reset? PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 387, August 2015.

The war and reforms in Ukraine: Can it cope with both? – FIIA Briefing Paper 173, March 2015.

Not Another Transnistria: How sustainable is separatism in Eastern Ukraine? (with Andras Racz). FIIA Analysis 4, December 2014.

Belarus Renewed Subordination to Russia: Unconditional Surrender or Hard Bargaining? PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 329, Sept. 2014.

The Eurasian Economic Union: Breaking the pattern of post-Soviet integration? (co-authored). FIIA Analysis 3, September 2014.

Russian-Belarusian Relations after Vilnius: Old Wine in New Bottles? - PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No.304, December 2013.

Will Ukraine Join (and Save) the Eurasian Customs Union? – PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 247, April 2013.

The EU-Russian strategic partnership: a patient in a deplorable condition. Paper presented at the conference "EU responses to external challenges as seen from Germany, Poland, Nordic and Baltic Countries and the EU Neighbourhood". FIIA and Institut fuer Europaische Politik, Helsinki and Berlin, October 2012.

Russia-China relations: current state, alternative futures, and implications for the West (co-editing with M. Nojonen and Conclusions), FIIA report 30. Helsinki, 2011, 128 p.

Mapping an alternative future for Belarus. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 160, July 2011.

Can Ukraine Still Perform Its Balancing Act? PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo 122, October 2010.

Les relations UE-Russie: une regrettable continuité. – Questions d'Europe, no. 129, 23 février 2009; EU-Russian Relations: unfortunate continuity – European issues, no. 129, 24 February 2009. Fondation Robert Schuman.

Practise what you preach: The prospects for visa freedom in Russia-EU relations (with M.-M. Salminen). FIIA Report 18. Helsinki, 2009, 59 p.

Slowly but Surely? The European Neighborhood Policy as a New Framework for Transatlantic Integration. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 13, September 2008.

Russia and Europe in the Aftermath of the Georgian Conflict: New Challenges, Old Paradigms. – Chatham House, REP BN 08/04, September 2008.

Not yet at the crossroads: Is there hope for positive change in Russia-EU relations? – Moving out of the doldrums? Perspectives on Change in Russia-EU relations. Ed. R. Kefferpuetz. Heirich Böll Foundation, June 2008.

Staying the course: the options of the West in the face of Belarus (together with H.Haukkala). FIIA Briefing Paper 12, 28 February 2007

Ukraine's Strategic Security: Crossroads Passed, Bumpy Road Ahead, or an Optimistic View? In: Quid Ukraine's Strategic Security? Working Paper No. 24 of the European Security Forum. CEPS, IISS and DCAF, Brussels, January 2007.

Prospects for EU-Russia Foreign and Security Cooperation. In: The EU-Russia Review. A Report Commissioned by the EU-Russia Center. Issue 2, Brussels, November 2006.

Eastern Neighbourhood of the European Union as an Opportunity for Nordic Actors. DIIS Working Paper no 2006/12, Copenhagen, 2006.

Beyond "Big Bang". The Challenges of EU's Neighbourhood Policy in the East. (co-authored by H.Haukkala). FIIA Report 9. Helsinki, 2004.

The Double Enlargement, Russia and the Baltic States. DUPI Working Paper 2002/4, Copenhagen, 2002.

### *Op-eds and comments*

Authored over 250 media articles.