

Russian Federation (RF) Sanctions

MAIN AIM(S)

Behaviour change? Peace with Ukraine (UKR)? Return Crimea? Regime change? Other?

POTENTIAL LEVERS

Civil society e.g.

- Union of the Committees of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia
- Ukraine Crisis Media Center ; Project *Mirotvorets* ; Project *Likbez*
- Global Witness (e.g. V.F. Yanukovich & UKR corruption)

Commerce e.g.

- Suspend/expel RF from G8, WTO, ITO & similar organisations
- Expand existing sanctions regimes to anyone helping RF break them
- Ban RF delegates from attending commercial conferences abroad
- Suspend commercial delegation exchange visits

Culture e.g.

- Suspend operations of Pushkin House, *Russkiy Mir* & similar organisations
- Suspend British Council operations in RF
- Suspend visits by Bolshoi & Kirov Ballets, & similar groups
- Suspend cultural delegation exchange visits
- Repatriate dependents of "top 100" RF Government officials studying abroad

Diplomacy e.g.

- Visa bans for "top 100" RF Government officials & immediate families

Economics e.g.

- Expand existing sanctions regimes to anyone helping RF break them

Finance e.g.

- Freeze assets of "top 100" RF Government officials & immediate families
- Publicise location of illicit assets in their name where possible
- Ban RF delegates from attending financial conferences abroad
- Ban RF companies from launching IPOs in West
- Western divestment of RF-related investments (e.g. Heath, *Telegraph*, 23.07.2014)

Individuals e.g.

- Visa bans for individuals & relatives helping RF break sanctions regimes
- Freeze assets of such individuals & immediate families
- Publicise location of illicit assets in their name where possible

Industry e.g.

- Suspend RF companies from international industrial associations
- Ban RF delegates from attending industrial conferences abroad
- Suspend industrial delegation exchange visits

Information e.g.

- Make ordinary Russians *the direct* focus of & audience for Western media
- Increase spending on BBC World Service, BBC Monitoring coverage of RF
- Fund removal of *Kyiv Post*, *The Times*, *The New York Times*, etc., pay-walls
- Sanction RF media in West for not complying with regulators' standards
- Fund citizen journalism in UKR & RF to expose RF information operations

Intelligence e.g.

- Simultaneously expel every RF intelligence officer and air/defence/naval attaché from as many countries as possible (global *Operation FOOT*, 1971)
- Increase scrutiny of RF religious, academic, think-tank & business links in West

Military e.g.

- Suspend military/defence delegation visits/exchanges
- Suspend all defence-related sales to RF
- Suspend RF from international defence- & security-related *fora*
- Expand sanctions on/to RF companies (in)directly profiting from UKR invasion

Politics e.g.

- Make ordinary Russians *the direct* focus of & audience for Western politicians
- Suspend RF & any other State helping it evade sanctions from international *fora*

Sports e.g.

- Expose RF corruption of bidding processes for international sports events
- Advocate view that RF unworthy of hosting such events
- Publicise RF labour violations when building venues for such events
- Publicise RF programmes that encourage athletes to engage in doping

Security e.g.

- Simultaneously expel every RF intelligence officer and air/defence/naval attaché from as many countries as possible (global *Operation FOOT*, 1971)
- Arrest every known RF agent — not least “agents of influence”
- Publicise arrest of key RF “agents of influence”
- Increase funding & operational tempo of counter-intelligence operations against RF
- Revive Lists “N”, “U” & “X” fully

Technology e.g.

- Ban *all* sales of dual-use technology or that deemed strategic in nature to RF (e.g. CoCom during Cold War & now Wassenaar Arrangement)

- Revive Lists “N”, “U” & “X” fully
- Suspend RF companies from international technological associations
- Ban RF delegates from attending technology conferences abroad
- Suspend technology delegation exchange visits

Other?

POLICY OPTIONS

Do nothing

Trivial

Halfway

Serious

Severe

Conflict

Other?

BROADER CONSIDERATIONS

Culture e.g.

- State interests vs individual “rights”

History e.g.

- Siege mentality because of Western “predators”

Information e.g.

- RF is an *intelligence State*: intelligence officers running it like an intelligence service
- Heavy RF focus on intelligence gathering to *infiltrate & keep up* with West
- **Need to acquire, control & manipulate information is *the KEY RF weakness* ****
- Reputation of State/Government institutions & traditions also important to RF

Psychology e.g.

- V.V. Putin (& his close circle): survived abysmal post-WW2 conditions
- These men eventually chose security, intelligence &/or military careers
- These men see themselves as *survivors*: they believe that nothing West can do is worse than what they have already endured in life
- To Putin & Co., UKR is another “fight” RF *must* survive

Religion e.g.

- Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) long *co-opted* by State
- From top down, ROC riddled with Soviet/RF intelligence officers & agents
- RF aggressively expanding role & use of ROC to promote State interests **abroad**

- ROC in most ways State Orthodoxy, propagating State views to every congregation

Other?

MOST FOR THE LEAST?

- Simultaneously expel every RF intelligence officer and air/defence/naval attaché from as many countries as possible
- Arrest every known RF agent — not least “agents of influence”
- Ban visas for “top 100” RF Government officials & immediate families
- Freeze their assets where possible
- Publicise location of illicit assets in their names where possible
- Repatriate children of “top 100” RF Government officials studying abroad

FINAL THOUGHTS

- Russians are proud & intrinsically about “face”. They crave respect/admiration above almost all else. Absent that, being feared will do; they often confuse the two.
- RF is not a “normal” country in most senses of the word. Crucially, Russians see life & the world very differently from us. While economics is of course important to them, in the broadest sense Russians are not nearly as driven by economic & financial considerations.
- Despite contradictions with how they view both themselves & the world, Russians generally feel part of a Spiritual Mother Russia of infinite patience.
- A sense of destiny & uniqueness contributes to RF ability to absorb enormous hardship when necessary, both collectively & individually. History, climate, religion & tradition all contribute to Russians’ resilient *mindset*.
- For most Russians, daily life has long been a struggle (not least for survival). Not having Western goods & services will not necessarily be much of an issue in the medium to long term, though no doubt this will initially cause inconvenience.
- The 1998 financial crash & RF’s *initial* reactions to the 2008-09 banking crisis are helpful in assessing RF responses/strategies to cope with post-Crimea sanctions.
- However, it is important to remember that the RF Government is *not* the RF people. Generally, they are savvy & ever aware of their history (including the brutality of current & former rulers). **Driving a wedge between Russians & Government is *key*.**

- Putin has remained popular so far for two main reasons. One: after the chaos of ~1990-94 & 1998-2000, he has restored relative stability, prosperity & pride as far as many Russians are concerned (though primarily because of high energy prices). Second: this public perception has been largely shaped by Government's increasing monopoly of the domestic information space since 2000.
- But too well, Russians know the "baggage" that Putin & his close circle — almost entirely Soviet-era security/intelligence officers — carry: bureaucratic mindsets of oppressing/repressing ordinary people, seen as *expendable* by the State.
- Fear of renewed uncertainty, chaos & ultimately the State is what still keeps most Russians in check — for now.
- In speeches & media pieces, Putin & Co. tend to tell us *what* they aim to do & *why*.
- Essentially, they aspire to all the benefits of Western prosperity but on *Russian* terms, & restore RF as a core player in world affairs, *unconstrained* in its right to assert its national interests.
- So long as these (unrealistic) criteria are not met, Putin's RF will continue to act as a "spoiler state" for the West in international affairs.