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**APPROACHING SECURITY OF EASTERN EUROPEAN POST-  
SOVIET STATES:  
A THIRD WORLD SECURITY PERSPECTIVE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this thesis is to explain the insecurity of the Eastern European post-Soviet states from the perspective of the Third World Security concept by extending its scope of appliance. The main question that is being addressed in this work is how the notion of 'weak state' can explain the causes of insecurity in the Eastern European post-Soviet states. The case study is made on three states of the region concerned: Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine. The main findings of the research show that the causes of insecurity in the examined states can be classified in two groups: the primary ones that were obtained by these states as the legacy of the Soviet Union and secondary ones that are either independent causes or have already been obtained during the time of independence. The first group comprises such factors as the artificial state boundaries, which entailed the existence of different ethnic communities within one state and the absence of the economic self-dependence. The second group contains such factors as the short time period available for creating statehood, unequal distribution of the economic benefits and political participation, and policies and practices adopted by governing elites.

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## CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1 – LITERATURE REVIEW: THE CONCEPT OF THIRD WORLD SECURITY .....	9
1.1. The Third World and traditional IR theories.....	9
1.2. The concept of the Third World Security .....	14
1.3. Defining the Third World .....	21
CHAPTER 2 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE NOTION OF ‘WEAK STATE’ .....	26
2.1. Recognizing a weak state .....	26
2.2. Explaining weakness of a state .....	32
2.3. Understanding security problematic of weak states.....	37
CHAPTER 3 – CASE STUDY: APPROACHING THE SECURITY OF EASTERN EUROPEAN POST-SOVIET STATES.....	41
3.1. Recognizing a weak state .....	41
3.2. Explaining weakness of a state .....	47
3.2.1. Primary causes of a state’s weakness.....	47
3.2.2. Secondary causes of a state’s weakness .....	49
3.3. Understanding security problematic of weak states.....	51
CONCLUSION .....	56
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	59

## INTRODUCTION

Contemporary international system is not characterized by the global confrontation of great powers any more. However, this does not mean that security and stability predominate in the international environment. Regional conflicts and violence taking place within a state determine the contemporary security dynamics. Unfortunately, traditional approaches to the security cannot help in understanding contemporary problematic. These developments were noticed by the scholars who in contrast to the traditional theories introduced a concept of the Third World Security. The specificity of this concept is not only in its focus on the Third World, where the majority of conflicts take place, but also in its thorough attention to the internal environment of a state, where violence and instability are the main issues on the agenda.

Third World Security authors argue that traditional theories of security have one main disadvantage – their Eurocentrism. Since the Third World states are completely different from the developed Western ones, traditional theories have little utility in analyzing the Third World. Thus, Mohammed Ayoob argues that the concept of national security in Western states is not applicable to the Third World because the major characteristics of security notion in Western sense such as external orientation of threats are practically absent in the Third World. The threats that are experienced by the Third World states bear internal character, and even in case of interstate conflicts, the underlying causes have internal dimension<sup>1</sup>.

Another argument is provided by K.J. Holsti. He claims that while the main task of the traditional theories is to provide explanation of the war between the states, most conflicts of the

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<sup>1</sup> Mohammed Ayoob, "Security in the Third World: the worm about to turn?" *International Affairs* (1984): 43.

Third World take place within a state. That is why traditional thinking can provide little utility for the Third World<sup>1</sup>.

Similar idea is introduced by Steven R. David, who argues that the main realist assumption that presupposes anarchic international environment and order within a state has little to do with the Third World states, since these states experience anarchy within their boundaries<sup>2</sup>.

Barry Buzan also points at this flaw of realism and claim that it treats states as the 'like units' which compose the international system, while in the case of the Third World this is not a case. The Third World states do not fit into Westphalian model like Western states do, therefore, Western approaches to the security fail to explain security problems in the Third World<sup>3</sup>.

Considering all these, the scholars have proposed the concept of Third World Security as a new approach to the Third World. Mohammed Ayoob has developed a theoretical perspective of subaltern realism which according to him is directed towards the subalterns of the international system. This perspective pays special attention to the domestic variables since Ayoob's logic is that they are the primary determinants of the most of the conflicts and that domestic and international order are interconnected<sup>4</sup>.

Another important contribution to the field is made by Brian L. Job who introduces the idea of insecurity dilemma. According to the author, the insecurity dilemma implies a kind of paradox in which the Third World states find themselves. First constituent part of this paradox is that a state,

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<sup>1</sup> K.J. Holsti, "International Relations Theory and Domestic War in the Third World: The Limits of Relevance", in *International Relations Theory and the Third World*, ed. S. Neuman (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 104.

<sup>2</sup> Steven R. David, "The Primacy of Internal War", in *International Relations Theory and the Third World*, ed. S. Neuman (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 79.

<sup>3</sup> Barry Buzan, "Conclusions: System versus Units in Theorizing about the Third World", in *International Relations Theory and the Third World*, ed. S. Neuman (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 215.

<sup>4</sup> Mohammed Ayoob, "Subaltern Realism: International relations Theory Meets the Third World", in *International Relations Theory and the Third World*, ed. S. Neuman (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 45.

while being weak and experiencing high level of insecurity on the domestic level, does not become more vulnerable to external threats and its security in the external environment is not affected by the state's weakness. The second constituent is that within a state itself there is a number of competing groups which seek security. However, any of these groups while trying to increase its own security simultaneously decreases the security of all the other groups<sup>1</sup>.

One more vision of Third World's security is represented by K.J. Holsti. His main point is that the problem lies in the tensions between the regime and different communities existent within a state. According to him, internal wars are the consequence of systematic exclusion of individuals and groups from access to government positions, influence and recourse allocation<sup>2</sup>.

Another issue that is important while analyzing Third World Security is the Third World itself. The question is in the logic according to which one can define the Third World and its scope. Generally, the Third World Security scholars are flexible on this issue. For instance, Caroline Thomas argues that the main criterion that should be used in recognizing a Third World state is its ex-colonial experience. Additionally to her, the Third World states are self-defining groupings of states<sup>3</sup>.

Similarly, such authors as Acharya, Ayoob and Job put it in rather flexible way. They consider that the main characteristic of a Third World states is its weakness. Poor, weak and undeveloped states are the primary objects for the Third World Security.

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<sup>1</sup> Brian L. Job, "The Insecurity Dilemma: National, Regime, and State Securities in the Third World," in *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States*, ed. Brian L. Job (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1992), 18.

<sup>2</sup> Holsti, "International Relations Theory and Domestic War in the Third World", 114.

<sup>3</sup> Charoline Thomas, *In Search of Security. The Third World in International Relations* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987), 2-4.

Therefore, the category of the Third World can include not only states of Africa, Asia and Latin America as it traditionally does. The region of Eastern Europe, for instance, is also comprised by weak states. Consequently, they could also fit in the framework of the Third World Security.

To some extent this issue is being addressed by the scholars. Thus, Ayoob, while defining Third World, mentions that its margins are not strictly determined and it can include states that emerged after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and states of the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Balkans<sup>1</sup>.

Similarly, Job argues that newly independent East European states possess features of 'weak state' such as violence, instability and confused loyalties of the population<sup>2</sup>.

Amitav Acharya while examining relevance of the Third World experience in understanding of the emerging conflicts in the post-Cold War era, also argues that Third World Security framework helps to explain escalation of conflicts in the new states of Europe and Central Asia<sup>3</sup>.

Stemming from this, there is a new emerging dimension of the Third World Security concept in terms of its wider applicability and utility outside the Third World in its traditional understanding. It is mentioned by most of the authors, but at the same time, is not elaborated by them. I use this hint about wider applicability of the Third World Security concept that generally is given by the authors of this field as a starting point of my research. In this work I try to look at the security problematic of the Eastern European post-Soviet states with the help of the Third World Security perspective.

To implement this idea I make a conceptual analysis of the Third World Security concept. It stems from this analysis that in the core of this concept there is a notion of 'weak state'. Barry Buzan

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<sup>1</sup> Mohammed Ayoob, *The Third world Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International system* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995), 13.

<sup>2</sup> Job, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Amitav Acharya, "The Periphery as the Core: The Third World and Security Studies", in Krause and Williams: *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (London: UCL Press, 1997), 307.

extensively elaborates on this issue and according to him weak state does not mean that a state is weak in terms of military capabilities. It is a state where the level of socio-political cohesion is low because there is no single nation within a state territory and different ethnic groups coexist within one state, the process of state-building is not accomplished and governing elites are more concerned with domestic threats rather than with external ones<sup>1</sup>.

Robert Jackson makes a thorough research concerning the phenomenon of 'weak state'. What he argues is that ex-colonies were granted juridical statehood but not the empirical one. The nature of the contemporary international norm and system generally does not allow such states disappear. However, their empirical sovereignty is absent and they need to construct it by themselves<sup>2</sup>.

One more analysis of the essence of weak state is provided by Mohammed Ayoob. From his vision of weak state it can be concluded that he considers three main attributes of a weak state, namely lack of legitimacy, lack of consensus within society and lack of regime support<sup>3</sup>.

Considering all the arguments about weak state's nature and reasons that could lead to this weakness I create an image of a weak state as an empirical entity as well an analytical category. This allows me generate a theoretical framework which can be used in relation to the region of my concern.

I focus my empirical study on the region of the Eastern European post-Soviet states. Having acquired their independence in 1991, they entered a phase of instability, violence and internal conflicts. Almost 20 years have passed since that time, however, the same security problems are still on the agenda of these states.

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<sup>1</sup> Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era* (Boulder: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 97-98.

<sup>2</sup> Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 21.

<sup>3</sup> Mohammed Ayoob, "Security in the Third World: the worm about to turn?", 45.

For instance, Ukraine has experienced a tremendous split of population in two communities during the presidential campaign of 2004. At some point the country was close to civil war and secession of several Southern and Eastern regions.

Moldova has even more severe problems since its very independence because of the outbreak of the Transnistrian conflict. The region of Transnistria, which comprises the territory of Moldova and is inhabited mainly by Russians and Ukrainians, declared itself to be independent from Moldovan state and stays unrecognized self-proclaimed republic until nowadays. This conflict is labeled as 'frozen', it cannot be resolved for a long period of time and, what is more important, it undermines Moldova from the inside making it weak and insecure.

Belarus is facing a problem of the authoritarian regime. It is a specific case because all the instability on the domestic level is toughly restrained by the nature of the regime. However, at the same time it generates a gap between the regime and the population. In the case of Belarus, as well as in the case of many other weak states, it is a state that poses the main threat to its citizens.

Therefore, my concern is to explain such security dynamics in the Eastern European post-Soviet countries and my main focus is on Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine. I argue that the concept of the Third World Security can be used as a perspective with the help of which it is possible to address the security problematic of these states. In other words, the Third World Security concept provides utility for the concerned region and its scope of appliance can be extended.

In order to make my research in this direction, I raise a question of why the Eastern European post-Soviet states are weak and insecure. Thus, the main question that is being addressed in this work is how the notion of 'weak state' can explain the causes of insecurity in the Eastern European post-Soviet states.

For the purpose of my research I am going to make an in-depth examination of the relevant literature in order to analyze the conceptual grounds of the Third World Security approach. Special

focus will be on the notion of 'weak state' as the main theoretical category. Then, I will establish a theoretical framework in which the notion of the 'weak state' will be used as an analytical tool for the analysis of the specified states. With the help of a case-study as a qualitative method of research I will lay the established theoretical framework over three Eastern European post-Soviet states – Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus and see how they correspond to the notion of 'weak state'. Basing on this research I will conclude what kind of causes entail insecurity in the examined states.

In this thesis I conclude that the post-Soviet states of the Eastern European region fit the established theoretical framework. This means that the notion of 'weak state' is able to explain the reasons of state weakness in this region and it does so by revealing the following causes: artificial state boundaries and absence of the economic self-dependence as the result of the obtained legacy from the Soviet Union; and either independent from these states or acquired by them causes as the short time period available for creating a statehood, unequal distribution of the economic benefits and political participation, and policies and practices adopted by the governing elites.

This thesis is has the following structure. In the first chapter a review of the relevant literature will be made. It will involve analysis of the main developments in the field of the Third World Security, its importance and advantages in front of the traditional security theories, existent debates within the area of Third World Security and potential spheres of its appliance.

In the second chapter a theoretical framework will be established and the notion of 'weak state' will be thoroughly investigated. This will be done in a threefold approach: by determining which state can be considered a weak state, investigating factors determine weakness of a state, and scrutinizing implications of such weakness for a state's security.

In the third chapter a case-study on three post-Soviet states of the Eastern European region will be made. I will analyze the empirical evidence present in Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine and look at how it corresponds with the established theoretical framework. This will be done in order to

generate the explanation for the insecurity of these states that is to be provided by the notion of 'weak state'.

The main findings and results of the research will be presented in the conclusion.

## CHAPTER 1 – LITERATURE REVIEW: THE CONCEPT OF THIRD WORLD SECURITY

The end of the Cold War marked the development of new dynamics not only on the international arena but also in the field of security studies and IR theory. Not all of these new developments fitted in the framework of traditional theories that used to explain states' behavior and their relations. Scholars of IR started raising questions about the need of redefining security, broadening or deepening of its meaning, changing its referent object etc. One stream of new thinking was directed towards the so-called states of the "Third World". While developed Western states continued to stay stable, the periphery of the developed world entered a phase of instability and long-lasting conflicts. Since the traditional approaches to security could not reveal the underlying reasons of such dynamics, the scholars turned to the search of new concepts that can help in understanding of the peripheral states' problems.

In this chapter I will make a review of the existing literature that examines the Third World states and their security. In order to do that I will address three issues. First, I will identify what are the advantages of the Third World Security concept in front of the traditional theories and why there is a need for a specific approach in order to address Third World States' security problematic.

Second, I will define the framework of the Third World Security concept, its main notions and assumptions.

Third, I will examine the category of the Third World. Mainly I will look at how the scholars determine the Third World, what kind of states they include there, and also what is the scope of appliance of the Third World Security concept.

### ***1.1. The Third World and traditional IR theories***

One of the first authors who addressed this issue was Caroline Thomas in her book "In search of Security". She points out that states of the Third Word experience security problems different

from those of the developed states and provides her reasoning why it happens so. However, more interesting is that Thomas provides justification not only for her theory but also for the object she examines. Namely, she advocates that Third World does exist in spite of the attacks towards such idea. A question of the Third World existence came into being due to the great diversity of the states within the category itself based on numerous issues from culture and religion to economic development. However, Thomas argues that one of the main criteria for those states is their colonial past, and from this it stems that they have one common concern of nation-state-building<sup>1</sup>.

Peculiar is that since the time when Thomas first introduced her arguments, although Third World Security authors constantly address the question of what is the scope and content of the Third World and how to define it, the question of Third World existence as such is not under doubt any longer.

So, why was there a need for the new approaches and what the traditional security concepts failed to grasp? Most of the authors while manifesting disadvantages of traditional theories (namely realism and liberalism) in front of the Third World States, agree on a common ground that these theories are not relevant for the explaining Third World problems because of their Eurocentric character.

For instance, Barkawi and Laffey, claim that eurocentrism of realism generates a variety of difficulties for the analysis of security studies. This can be proved by the fact that conventional security studies perceive weak and powerless states as “at best the site of liberal good intentions or at worst a potential source of threats”. Therefore, multiple relations between the weak and the strong are missed. Moreover, instead of placing the weak and the strong in a one theoretical framework, realist theory pays attention only to powerful states<sup>2</sup>. Thus, they claim that realist focus on great

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<sup>1</sup> Caroline Thomas, *In Search of Security*, 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, “The postcolonial moment in security studies”, *Review of International Studies* 32, no.2 (2006): 332.

powers represents one-sided analysis, which fails to study the weak and the strong together, as jointly responsible for making history. In their point of view, this distorts security studies' ability from making "sense of world politics generally and North-South relations in particular"<sup>1</sup>.

Mohammed Ayoob, who made one of the most considerable contributions to the development of the Third World Security concept, points out that the concept of national security in Western states is not applicable to the Third World because the major characteristics of security notion in Western sense are practically absent in the Third World. Namely he argues that Western understanding of security is based on its external orientation and strong linkage with systemic security. On the contrary, in the Third World most of the threats that are experienced by a state come not from the outside but from the inside of a state. Even exiting external threats are often the consequences of the underlying internal problems<sup>2</sup>. Additionally, Ayoob argues that even in the case of the largest countries of the Third World, the link between their security and systemic security generally is weak if not absent<sup>3</sup>.

K.J. Holsti argues that Eurocentric character of IR theory is conditioned by the fact that it was developed in the U.S. and Western Europe and its main task was to explain war between the states. However, most conflicts in the Third World take place within a state. That is why traditional IR theory can help little in understanding of the conflicts taking place on the periphery<sup>4</sup>.

Besides eurocentrism, that most of the scholars admit to be one of the main flaws of IR theory, there are number of other grounds on which they build their criticism of traditional approaches to the security.

Mohammed Ayoob claims that neorealism and neoliberalism tend to "capture only a partial reality within the international system". According to him, irrelevance of these theories to the Third

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<sup>1</sup> Barkawi and Laffey, 333.

<sup>2</sup> Mohammed Ayoob, "Security in the Third World: the worm about to turn?" 43.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>4</sup> K.J. Holsti, "International Relations Theory and Domestic War in the Third World", 104.

World is that they make a distinction between anarchy outside and order inside the state while most of the Third World States experience anarchy inside the state, which co-exists with order or even dominate it<sup>1</sup>. Similarly, neorealism and neoliberalism do not take into account domestic variables that affect conflict and order. This, according to Ayoob, explains their inability to account for the causes and evolution of most Third World conflicts<sup>2</sup>.

Similar view is expressed by Steven R. David. He points out that realism is not able to explain internal wars because its main assumption is that anarchy exists in relations between the states while inside a state there is an order. For instance, in order to understand why subnational groups go to war, one should examine such factors as religion, ideology etc. Thus, as well as Ayoob, David stresses the need to look inside the state and take into account domestic factors since only in such a way it is possible to understand Third World security problems<sup>3</sup>.

Limitations of the realist concept of security are also mentioned by Acharya. He argues that realist security studies concentrate only on a certain segment of international system and even if they consider Third World relevance, it is viewed mainly from the perspective how this regional instability in Third World can affect powerful states and their relationships. Such partial incorporation of Third World in the security agenda proves to be insufficient because majority of conflicts take place at periphery<sup>4</sup>.

Further, Acharya names three main notions of traditional understanding of security that were challenged by the emergence of Third World security problematic. They are the following: (1) focus on the origin of threat to security (traditionally they are considered to be external, while in Third World case they are of internal character); (2) exclusion of nonmilitary issues from the security

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<sup>1</sup> Mohammed Ayoob, "Subaltern Realism", 37.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>3</sup> Steven R. David, "The Primacy of Internal War", 79.

<sup>4</sup> Amitav Acharya, 300.

studies agenda (while in case of Third World states nonmilitary issues are of main concern); (3) belief in global balance of power as the effective instrument of international order (which in case of Third World states conflicts is not sufficient)<sup>1</sup>.

In one of his works, Acharya claims that main focus of the IR theory is made on relations between polarity and stability (bipolar systems are more stable than multipolar) and that this debate fails to address question of security predicament in the Third World. Since the polarity-stability debate took place before the Third World Security problematic became acute, it grasps neither the decolonization process nor the role of the Third World in the international system. Thus, bipolarity and multipolarity are not useful in relation to the Third World because of their generalizations and ignorance of domestic and regional factors in conflict formation<sup>2</sup>.

Carlos Escude reveals another kind of weakness in realism/neorealism. He argues that while relations between the Great Powers indeed are characterized by anarchy, the nature of the whole international system is hierarchical. According to Escude, less powerful states, and Third World States especially have to obey the powerful ones and this is ignored by realists<sup>3</sup>.

Close to the foresaid critique of neorealism is provided by Barry Buzan. He presents two main arguments. Firstly, according to Buzan, neorealism is wrong by assuming that international system is comprised by "like units". The support for this is that most Third World States do not fit into Westphalian model of a state as the Western States do. Secondly, neorealists assumption about the nature of environment within a state (hierarchy) and between the states (anarchy) is also wrong. Similarly as Ayoob and David, Buzan claims that inside the Third World States there is a state of

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<sup>1</sup> Amitav Acharya, 301.

<sup>2</sup> Amitav Acharya, "Beyond Anarchy: Third World Instability and International Order after the Cold War", in *International Relations Theory and the Third World*, ed. S. Neuman (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 163.

<sup>3</sup> Carlos Escude, "An Introduction to Peripheral Realism and its Implications for the Interstate System", in *International Relations Theory and the Third World*, ed. S. Neuman (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 61.

anarchy, and likewise Escude, he argues that between the less developed Third World States and other more developed states there are relations of hierarchical character<sup>1</sup>.

Another view of diminishing significance of realism/neorealism can be found at Georg Sorensen. He notices that security dilemma becomes irrelevant in the modern international system. It is not as inescapable as realism presents it because it can be mitigated through the international norms. Moreover, contemporary level of integration of liberal states in economic, political and social spheres makes territorial integrity and autonomy of political decisions, and more generally the question of state survival, not a primary goal any more<sup>2</sup>.

Sorensen mentions some other factors that lead to the decline of security dilemma, namely processes of democratization and economic globalization. Even if some states are not in the democratization process, their deep economic interconnection and interdependence excludes probability of territorial conquest or militarization. Therefore, Sorensen argues that security dilemma is either irrelevant or in sharp decline, and thus, there is a need to rethink traditional realist approach to security<sup>3</sup>.

## **1.2. The concept of the Third World Security**

Basing on the criticism made towards the traditional approaches to security from the Third World perspective, the scholars propose new theoretical lenses which can help understand better Third World security problematic. Proposed new approaches either extend the old ones or upgrade them in order to make them relevant to the examining objects and give more explanatory power. Besides, the authors who make their research in the Third World Security, although agree on basic

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<sup>1</sup> Barry Buzan, "Conclusions: System versus Units in Theorizing about the Third World", 215.

<sup>2</sup> Georg Sorensen, "After the Security Dilemma: The Challenges of Insecurity in Weak States and the Dilemma of Liberal Values", *Security Dialogue* 38, no. 3 (2007): 359.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 361.

assumptions, concentrate and make their emphasis sometimes on different variables. Stemming from this, some divergence within the Third World School can be observed.

First of all, in this respect, it is worthy to mention Mohammed Ayoob and his proposed theoretical perspective of subaltern realism. This perspective is based on three main elements of realism, i.e. statism, survival and self-help, however, it is directed towards the “subalterns” in the international system, weak and inferior states, which were ignored by both neorealists and neoliberals<sup>1</sup>. The referent object for Ayoob is still a state, since as he claims, state continues to be the principal actor in the international system and it is the only provider of order within its territory. In case of the Third World it is only state which can solve acute problems of economic underdevelopment and security problems<sup>2</sup>.

Ayoob builds his subaltern realism on threefold basis: (1) he borrows from such classical realist thinkers as Hobbes; (2) he uses as a tool historical sociology and (3) he refers to the English School in the analyzing of international society and its impact on the international norms<sup>3</sup>.

Usefulness of Hobbes ideas to the Third World States is first of all in his reference to the issue of competing authorities in multiethnic societies and attempts to overcome this problem of by creating a single strong institution (a sovereign in his case). Second is the notion of social contract, which is extremely important in today's Third World because of states' lack of legitimacy. So, there is an essential need for a social contract between citizens and citizens and between citizens and a state. Ayoob explains such relevance of Hobbes ideas to our time by the observation that domestic situation of many Third World States resemble that of the late medieval and early modern in Europe<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Mohammed Ayoob, “Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations: The Case for Subaltern Realism”, *International Studies Review* 4, no.3 (Autumn 2002): 40.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 42.

However, as Ayooob mentions, this perspective unless accompanied by historical sociology remains incomplete. The issue of state formation that is grasped by the historical sociology is important for understanding the Third World since these states are in their state-building process. Moreover, violence that accompanies this process is also in the scope of historical sociology's explanatory power<sup>1</sup>.

Additionally, Ayooob points out that most of the Third World States possess judicial sovereignty, which is supported by the international community, although this does not exclude them from the challenges to their authority or regimes<sup>2</sup>. Thus, the difference between Europe and Third World is that in the first case the state-building was a kind of autonomous process, while in the second case the political frontiers of a state were drawn by the external forces, so that state elites were left to confront the task of mobilizing resources within those frontiers. Contemporary international norms demand Third World elites to acquire legitimacy in much shorter period of time that early European states had. Moreover, Ayooob consider that international norms pose an ambiguous and contradictory task in front of the elites in the Third World: on the one hand they demand to create an effective control over the state, but on the other hand, they require state elites to treat domestic opposition humanely<sup>3</sup>.

Stemming from this, Ayooob formulates the main assumptions of subaltern realism as the following. First is that domestic and international order are extremely interconnected, especially in the area of conflicts. Second is that issues of domestic order must be given an analytical priority, because they are the primary determinants of most of the conflicts. Third is that issues of domestic order are also subject to the external influences, therefore relevant external variables must be also

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<sup>1</sup> Ayooob, "Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations", 43.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 45.

considered. And fourth, according to Ayoob, linkage between domestic and external variables is able to explain the connection between intrastate and interstate conflicts<sup>1</sup>.

Generally, Ayoob claims that perspective of subaltern realism perceives the realities of the international system, provides more comprehensive explanation of the majority of conflicts, and does not supersede neorealism or neoliberalism, but rather fills important gaps that exist in the literature<sup>2</sup>.

Although many scholars admit the significance of the contribution that Ayoob have made to the study of Third World security, there is also a number of criticism towards his theoretical concept. Since the issues to be examined in this work lie outside of the scope of the further mentioned debates, my purpose here is only to identify main areas of the criticism and provide general background of the on-going dynamics within the field.

Thus, Michael Barnett presents several arguments in contrast to those of Ayoob. Their main logic is that he claims subaltern realism to be not an amendment to realism (as Ayoob considers) but rather an alternative perspective. He derives this claim from two main arguments. First, he argues that Ayoob's attention to the domestic politics and primacy that is given to the domestic variables contradicts the essence of realism. Second, Barnett consider Ayoob's claim that governments are concerned with the regime security and not with the state security unable to stem from traditional realist assumptions<sup>3</sup>.

Another criticism to Ayoob's approach was made by Keith Krause. The most interesting part of this criticism is related to the Third World as the object of study. Krause concludes that reliance

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<sup>1</sup> Ayoob, "Subaltern Realism", 45.

<sup>2</sup> Ayoob, "Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations", 48.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Barnett, "Radical Chic? Subaltern Realism: a Rejoinder", *International Studies Review* 4, no. 3 (December 2002): 55.

on such analytical category as the “Third World” can lead to several negative tendencies<sup>1</sup>. First is that categorizing of the Third World could reinforce Western vision of this region as a zone of conflicts in contrast to the Northern zone of peace.

Second is that according to Krause, Ayoob should have claimed that the whole problematic of the security studies must be reconsidered from the perspective he developed and not only its part related to the Third World. As a justification, Krause brings an example of prospects of terrorist attack from Islamic groups in France or tensions around ethnic minorities in Germany (and many other European states as well), which all represent a security problem from Ayoob’s perspective, that is a part of an ongoing process of modern state transformation.

Third tendency, mentioned by Krause, is the obscuring of different possible trajectories of state formation which stems from continued use of Third World as a conceptual category. What is meant here is the variety of possible alternatives not in the sense of strong-states or failed-states but in the sense of forms of governance arrangements, for instance, war-making, wealth creation, communal protection etc. As Krause mentions, the emphasis on the strong state and making the empirical sovereignty correspond with the judicial sovereignty can exclude possible decentralized alternatives (like Switzerland or Canada) that can emerge in future<sup>2</sup>.

It is necessary to mention that the authors that scrutinize Third World Security develop their own vision of the approach to understanding security in relation to the Third World, which is not necessarily contradicts to Ayoob’s view, but where stress is put on different constituents.

Thus, Brian L. Job in his scrutinizing the Third World focuses on the insecurity dilemma. According to him, the insecurity dilemma is conditioned by distinction between national security, state security, and regime security, which is determined by competition of each component of society

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<sup>1</sup> Keith Krause, “Theorizing Security, state formation and the ‘Third World’ in the post-Cold War world”, *Review of International Studies*, 24 (1998): 134.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 134.

for preserving and protecting its own well-being. Therefore, an insecurity dilemma being a consequence of the competition of the various forces within society is manifested in less effective security for all or certain sectors of population; less effective capacity of centralized state institutions to provide services and order; and increased vulnerability of the state and its people to influence by outside actors<sup>1</sup>.

Further, Job names two conditions that compose this insecurity dilemma: an internal predicament in which individuals/groups try to increase their own security and simultaneously increase threats and reduce security for others within the society and paradox regarding the external security environment. According to Job, this paradox is that internal security does not make the state more vulnerable to external threats such as aggression. This is a result of norms of modern international community, which protect states from such kind of threats. Thus, Third World states are preoccupied with internal rather than external security<sup>2</sup>.

Likewise Job, Georg Sorensen while stressing the decline of security dilemma argues that instead of it new concerns arise about the insecurity dilemma. In his vision, the insecurity dilemma emerges from a situation when weak state is relatively free from external threats, but it experience anarchy on the domestic level and by itself represents a threat to its population<sup>3</sup>.

However, additionally to the insecurity dilemma Sorensen introduces a notion of value dilemma. In order to explain the value dilemma the author refers to two analytical units as Liberalism of Restraint and Liberalism of Imposition. According to him, Liberalism of Restraint is present when respect for sovereignty and independence prevails the need to address problems of weak and fragile state, so the principle of non-intervention is respected and weak states are left alone to confront their

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<sup>1</sup> Job, "The Insecurity Dilemma", 18.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>3</sup> Sorensen, "After the Security Dilemma", 365.

problems. Liberalism of Imposition, on the other hand, implies comprehensive actions (or in other words intervention) in order to remove any obstacles to freedom<sup>1</sup>.

Stemming from this, Sorensen formulates his value dilemma: on the one hand, Liberalism of Restraint does very little to help weak states to resolve their insecurity dilemma, on the other hand Liberalism of Imposition risks undermining what it seeks to achieve, i.e. it can lead to even more insecurity by provoking counter-reactions<sup>2</sup>.

However, it should be mentioned that while the insecurity dilemma is a condition experienced by the weak states, the introduced by Sorensen liberal value dilemma is a condition in which powerful states find themselves when confronted security problematic of weak states.

One more interesting vision of Third World's security is represented by K.J. Holsti. He argues that the real problem is not in multiethnic character of the Third World States and in stemming from this tension between communities within the state, but between the regime and those communities. Holsti puts stress on exclusion: according to him, internal wars are the consequence of systematic exclusion of individuals and groups from access to government positions, influence and recourse allocation<sup>3</sup>.

Another perspective on conflicts in the Third World is made by Amitav Acharya. He argues that risks of conflicts under multipolarity are exaggerated. According to the author, post-Cold War situation makes a stabilizing effect on the Third World States because attention that was paid by superpowers on the Third World is diminished, therefore, the probability of conflict escalation is less possible<sup>4</sup>. And on the contrary, bipolarity which is considered "an era of structural stability" was a period of high instability for the Third World<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Sorensen, "After the Security Dilemma", 367.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 369.

<sup>3</sup> Holsti, "International Relations Theory and Domestic War in the Third World", 114.

<sup>4</sup> Acharya, "Beyond Anarchy: Third World Instability and International Order after the Cold War", 180.

### 1.3. Defining the Third World

As it can be observed, Third World Security School comprises variety of ways to address security issues in the Third World States. However, besides this, there is also a number of possible alternatives in terms of defining the Third World as a concept itself. Basically, the question here is that of how the scholars determine the Third World, what criteria they use, what states they include or exclude from this region. It should be mentioned that while most of the authors attribute to the examined region the same states, they sometimes reach such conclusions by using different approaches.

Caroline Thomas, for example, claims that main criterion for the Third World States is their ex-colonial experience. Additionally, while advocating for the existence of the Third World in more general sense, she proposes a subjective criteria, namely that Third World States are self-defining groupings of states. According to her view, such states suffer from domestic insecurity and lack of control over their international environment. This affects their ability to exercise authority on the domestic level, so these states are weak in political and economic sense<sup>2</sup>.

Other authors (Ayood, Acharya, Job etc.) likewise Thomas have common ground in defining the Third World. All they agree that weakness is the major characteristic of such states. From geographic perspective, for instance, Ayoob claims that the term 'Third World' refers to "the undeveloped, poor, weak sates of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that together make up a substantial numerical majority among the members of international system"<sup>3</sup>.

Raju G.C. Thomas, for example, makes more thoughtful investigation of the Third World's content and his approach is threefold. He mentions "three Third Worlds", thus claiming that the

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 189.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, *In Search of Security*, 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> Mohammed Ayoob, *The Third world Security Predicament*, 12.

Third World itself can be of three kinds<sup>1</sup>. According to him, they are the Postcolonial World (i.e. former colonies), the Nonaligned World (states of Non-Aligned movement that constituted neither First World of capitalist states led by the U.S. nor the Second World of communist states led by the USSR<sup>2</sup>), and the Less Developed World (defined by economic characteristics, the so-called South conceived along a North-South axis<sup>3</sup>). J.A. Braveboy-Wagner also refers to the Third World as “Global South”, focusing thus on the economic criterion for the Third World determination<sup>4</sup>.

It is worth mentioning that even if adopt such fragmented vision of the Third World, in the outcome the states falling into this region will be more or less similar since all these “Third Worlds” intersect with each other.

The question that arises from these attempts to categorize the Third World and make it clear what kind of states it exactly comprises is the following. If the state is weak but does not possess all the necessary characteristics for belonging to the Third World or if it experiences similar security problems, can the Third World experience be relevant to such a state? My concern here is mainly about post-Soviet space in the Eastern Europe. In other words, whether the Third World Security can be used as a tool to understand and probably explain security dynamics in the concerned region or not.

In this respect many of the Third World Security scholars admit such possibility and mention this in their studies. Thus, Ayoob, while defining Third World, mentions that definition of Third World term does not provide fixed criteria by which it is possible to define precisely all potential states. According to him, this concept can be applied to cases which fall “at the margins of this

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<sup>1</sup> Raju G.C. Thomas, “What Is Third World Security?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 6 (2003): 207.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 210.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 211.

<sup>4</sup> J.A. Braveboy-Wagner, “The Foreign Policies of the Global South: An Introduction” in *The Foreign Policies of the Global South*, ed. by J.A. Braveboy-Wagner (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003), 5.

category” such as East Asian newly industrialized countries, states that emerged after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and states of the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Balkans. Ayoob argues that “this flexibility helps the analyst to use the term to encompass marginal and recent cases without losing sight of the contested nature of the concept’s application to such cases”<sup>1</sup>.

Similarly, Job refers to the problem of newly independent East European states and entities that were part of the Soviet Union. He claims that these states possess features of a ‘weak state’ such as “factional communal violence, decayed or nonexistent infrastructural capacities, security forces with confused loyalties, and direct and indirect external penetration”<sup>2</sup>.

One more link between Third World Security and Eastern European countries was made by Acharya. While examining relevance of the Third World experience in understanding of the emerging conflicts in the post-Cold War era, he argues that Third World Security framework helps to explain escalation of conflicts in the new states of Europe and Central Asia. Though he mentions that it can be debatable whether these states belong to the category of Third World or not, there are “striking similarities” between their security problems and those of the Third World states. Among these similarities there are low levels of sociopolitical cohesion, ethnic fissures and regime insecurity<sup>3</sup>.

Steven R. David, while not denying the “profound differences” between the Third World States and those of Central Europe, argues that the Third World bears a strong resemblance of conflicts that took place in the Balkans and former states of the Soviet Union. He observes that “instead of the Third World developing to where Eurocentric theories become applicable, many developed states are reaching the point in which the Third World experience has become applicable

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<sup>1</sup> Ayoob, *The Third world Security Predicament*, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Job, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Amitav Acharya, “The Periphery as the Core”, 307.

to them”<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, it can be concluded that the utility of the Third World Security concept can go far beyond its primary object of study – the Third World, and be used in relation of post-Soviet space.

Holsti while describing the diminishing relevance of the interstate war, refers equally to the Third World as well as to the post-Socialist states<sup>2</sup>. Similar reference is made by Buzan when he calls the states of Central and Eastern Europe “a nineteenth-century style modernist nation-state building projects”<sup>3</sup>.

Several issues should be mentioned here. First is that in spite of such unequivocal parallels made by the scholars between the Third World Security problematic and that of post-Soviet space, there are no comprehensive reflections on this issue or research that can actually show the relevance of the Third World Security concept to the concerned region and thus, the possibilities of the concept’s wider application. Second is that notion of weakness is the main variable that determine the similarities between the two foresaid regions. Therefore, the notion of a ‘weak state’ is able not only to explain the underlying cause of the Third World security predicament, but also to extend the utility of the Third World Security concept beyond the region of the Third World.

Stemming from this, I argue that Third World Security concept’s scope of the application can be broadened because it has utility for the Eastern European post-Soviet states. Since the notion of ‘weak state’ is central to the Third World Security logic and represents the link between the Third World and the region I examine in this work, the main question that is being addressed in this work is how the notion of ‘weak state’ can explain the causes of insecurity in the Eastern European post-Soviet states.

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<sup>1</sup> Steven R. David, “The Primacy of Internal War”, 86.

<sup>2</sup> Holsti, “International Relations Theory and Domestic War in the Third World”, 106.

<sup>3</sup> Buzan, “Conclusions: System versus Units in Theorizing about the Third World”, 223.

To investigate this issue I will now turn to the analysis of the notion of 'weak state' in order to establish the theoretical framework with the help of which I will conduct a case study further in this thesis.

## CHAPTER 2 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE NOTION OF ‘WEAK STATE’

In order to address the question of whether the notion of ‘weak state’ is able to explain security dynamics in the Eastern European post-Soviet states I will first scrutinize the notion itself and look at what it implies.

As it mentioned by Job, there is no single understanding of such concept as ‘weak state’ among scholars. They adopt different meaning which underlies the term of weak state and theoretically there can be inconsistencies among them<sup>1</sup>.

In this chapter I will try to develop the notion of weak state by outlining the existing views of different scholars and drawing from those views the most important elements. This would help me to perceive more comprehensively the idea of weak state and, based on that, conclude my own understanding of this notion.

I will do this in a threefold approach. First, I will determine which state can be considered a weak state. Second, I will investigate why these states are weak, and more specifically, what factors determine weakness of a state. Finally, I will look at what are the implications of such weakness for a state’s security and what security predicament weak states have.

### ***2.1. Recognizing a weak state***

Value of the ‘weak state’ as an analytical category was revealed and considerably explicated by Barry Buzan. He introduces the idea of weak/strong states in contrast to weak/strong powers. According to him weak/strong states imply the degree of socio-political cohesion, whereas weak/strong powers refer to a state’s military and economic capabilities. What this means is that

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<sup>1</sup> Job, “The Insecurity Dilemma”, 19.

strength or weakness of a state is not correlated to its strength or weakness as a power. Thus, a state can be strong but at the same time weak as a power (e.g. Austria) or vice versa (e.g. Soviet Union)<sup>1</sup>.

Therefore weak state does not mean that a state is weak in terms of military capabilities. As characterized by Buzan, weak state is a state where the level of socio-political cohesion is low because there is no single nation within a state territory and different ethnic groups coexist within one state, the process of state-building is not accomplished and governing elites are more concerned with domestic threats rather than with external ones. There is no political and societal consensus within a state, coherent idea of a state among population and at the same time governing elites are not able to impose unity in such absence of political consensus. Since the process of state-building is not accomplished in such states and there is no formed nation within state boundaries, i.e. population is composed of different ethnic and cultural groups, the domestic situation is characterized by violence and fissures<sup>2</sup>.

I will elaborate more specifically why there are such kind of developments in weak states and what are the causes for such weakness further in this chapter. At this stage my purpose is to identify which state can be considered weak namely by exploring features and characteristics attributable to a weak state.

In his analysis Buzan comes to a number of conditions which can be found in a weak state. As he mentions, the presence of any of these features challenges the state to be considered as a strong. They are the following: high level of political violence; presence of political police; political conflict concerning the ideology for the organization of a state; lack of coherent national identity or presence of several competing national identities within one state; lack of clear hierarchy of political authority; a high level of state's control over the media<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear*, 97-98.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 98-101.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 100.

Similar characteristics to the weak state are provided by other prominent scholars, who make their research in the field of Third World Security. One of the first authors to dwell upon this issue was Caroline Thomas. According to her, Third World states are weak states that possess weak social, economic and political structures and gaining the population's loyalty to the state is difficult<sup>1</sup>.

Thomas also points out that territorial boundaries of the Third World states are 'artificial creations of European colonial powers' and thus they do not take into account such factors as ethnicity, culture or religion. For Thomas, the main attribute of the weak Third World state is a failure of that state and a nation to coincide. Since these states do not possess a homogeneous nation within their boundaries, they have to undertake the process of nation-building. She sees the nation building as an attempt to consolidate authority of a new state without which a state cannot be a 'viable political unit on the international scene'<sup>2</sup>.

Considerable contribution to the developing the idea of weak state was made by Robert Jackson. He describes conditions and processes taking place in weak states, which he labels as 'quasi-states'. Jackson's underlying idea is that such states, which are former colonies, after gaining the independence were empowered by all rights and responsibilities as all the others sovereign states, i.e. they acquired juridical statehood. However, at the same time, most of such states are not authorized domestically and lack the institutional features of sovereign states, i.e. their empirical statehood is of limited character<sup>3</sup>.

As Jackson observes, in such states "the populations do not enjoy many of the advantages traditionally associated with independent statehood". Authorities in weak states usually are not able to provide citizens with decent human rights' protection, socio-economic welfare etc. Jackson notices that sovereign statehood of such states extends only on the governing elites and does not

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *In Search of Security*, 2-4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 10-13.

<sup>3</sup> Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-States*, 21.

reach the citizens. The international community cannot empower such states and their elites with empirical statehood and recognition in the domestic realm as it did on the international level, so state-building remains a primarily domestic process that requires combination of will and efforts of both governments and populations. As Jackson metaphorically puts it, in weak states “the juridical cart is now before the empirical horse”<sup>1</sup>.

Looking inside the weak state, Jackson argues that one of their distinctive features is absence of social contract between government and population since they threaten to each other’s existence. For Jackson quasi-states lack rule of law based on social contract. He argues that in the absence of social contract there can be neither ruler nor subjects and, therefore, no empirical state<sup>2</sup>.

One more analysis of the essence of weak state is provided by Mohammed Ayoob. From his vision of weak state it can be concluded that he considers three main attributes of a weak state, namely lack of legitimacy, lack of consensus within society and lack of regime support<sup>3</sup>.

Lack of legitimacy, according to Ayoob, is conditioned by state boundaries which were drawn by colonial administrations for convenience without taking into account populations. The result of this is that population does not identify itself with the state or governing regime. Therefore, the state’s boundaries, regime and the state itself considerably lack legitimacy from the side of the population<sup>4</sup>.

In terms of absence of consensus within society, Ayoob argues that fundamental issues of social and political organization of the state are viewed differently by various sections of heterogeneous population and this can lead to internal instability and violence<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-States*, 21-24.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 168.

<sup>3</sup> Mohammed Ayoob, “Security in the Third World: the worm about to turn?”, 45.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

Third feature of weak states is lack of regime support. Since there is no consensus within the society, majority regimes come to power by coup and have very limited support base. This contributes to the absence of regime legitimacy and impossibility to build a consensus within society<sup>1</sup>.

Among these main features, Ayoob has number of other characteristics that identify a weak state. They are: lack of internal cohesion, which includes economic and social disparities as well as ethnic fissures; susceptibility to intrastate conflicts; economic underdevelopment; marginalization of security and economic concerns<sup>2</sup>.

The major characteristics of a weak state are also mentioned by Georg Sorensen. He provides three main attributes in this sense. First is defective economy, which is also highly heterogeneous with elements of modern sector as well as semi-feudal structures in agriculture. In such conditions, there is lack of a coherent national economy which could be able to provide basic level of welfare for the population and the resources for running an effective state<sup>3</sup>.

The second characteristic is that population of a state does not constitute a coherent national community. As many other scholars, Sorensen also mentions absence of common idea of the state among citizens. In order to address this issue, governments of weak states launch different kinds of nation-building projects. However, they are not successful since the core elements of the citizenship such as legal, political and social rights are not provided. Further, Sorensen explicates this idea and argues that since the state is not able to provide these rights, people usually turn elsewhere for satisfaction of their needs (e.g. to their ethnic communities)<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Mohammed Ayoob, "Security in the Third World: the worm about to turn," 45.

<sup>2</sup> Ayoob, *The Third world Security Predicament*, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Sorensen, *After the Security Dilemma*, 363.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 364.

Third feature of a weak state is absence of effective and responsive institutions. As Sorensen points out, in most cases governing elites are not interested in creating a strong state since it can threaten their power. As a consequence of this the state institutions turn out to be irresponsible and ineffective<sup>1</sup>.

Additionally, Sorensen adds to these characteristics some other elements that help in recognizing a weak state. Among them is such an observation that state elites in weak states are rather strong in the sense that they do not face serious external threats<sup>2</sup>. As it has already been mentioned above when introducing Jackson's ideas, the weak state's sovereignty is guaranteed by the international community, and present international norms imply that irrespectively of the level of political organization and economic development, the independence of such states is not likely to be threatened.

Generally, for Sorensen, weak state is a state where governing elite lacks legitimacy from the very beginning and where population is divided along ethnic, cultural, religious and social lines. The majority of population is excluded from the state's system and governing elites do not have political will to mediate rival groups within a state. Such challenges are rather met by oppression, which elites view as the most effective mean since the state structures are weak and are not capable to provide order<sup>3</sup>.

Considering the foresaid opinions (which are to some extent complementary to or sometimes duplicating each other) on how a weak state can be recognized, the list of the most important features that characterize a state as a weak can be concluded. In other words, the immanent characteristics of a weak state are the following:

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<sup>1</sup> Sorensen, *After the Security Dilemma*, 364.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 365.

1. Failure of nation and a state to coincide: no single nation within a state's boundaries; the population is composed of different competing ethnic and religious communities.
2. The process of state-building and nation-building is not accomplished: lack of coherent idea of national identity, absence of common idea of the state among citizens.
3. Low level of socio-political cohesion: the population is divided along ethnic, cultural, religious and social lines; no consensus within society on political and social organization of a state.
4. Absence of social contract between government and population: low level of socio-economic welfare as well as legal, political and social rights; high level of crime and lack of population's loyalty to state.
5. Governing elites' main concern is about internal threats not the external ones: presence (or high probability) of intrastate conflicts and violence on the domestic level.
6. Lack of legitimacy of state boundaries and state regimes, limited support of the regime in power.
7. Defective economy: modern elements combined with semi-feudal structures in agriculture.

## ***2.2. Explaining weakness of a state***

Next issue that is necessary to address when examining the phenomenon of weak state is the causes and factors that determine this weakness. In other words, why are the Third World States weak?

In the beginning it is necessary to mention that Third World States achieved their independence not because their empirical conditions changed and they achieved the level at which they can no more stay colonies but need to become an independent states. As it is explicated by Jackson, modern weak states gained their independence as a result of change in international rules. Weakness of a state ceased to be a justification for conquest as it has been before. Sovereignty of weak states is now guaranteed by international norms, they are exempted from the power contest and are not allowed to disappear juridically, even if in fact they have already failed<sup>1</sup>.

One of the main reasons underlying weak state is its boundaries. As mentioned by Thomas, most Third World states are “artificial creations of the European colonial powers”. Boundaries were determined stemming from the logic of convenience and are the result of colonial division. No attention was paid to ethnicity, religion or indigenous historical division<sup>2</sup>.

As Holsti puts it, the result of this is that different communities try to coexist within the territory of one state, created artificially from the outside. Sometimes such states even do not have a single majority group. The predominant community in such states usually exercise control over key sectors of the economy, which often lead to tensions with other groups or communities<sup>3</sup>.

Basically, colonialism and artificial boundaries as its legacy which brought together divergent groups and communities are viewed as a primary cause of state’s weakness by all the scholars that research this issue (e.g. Buzan, Ayoob, Job, Puchala and others).

Further elaboration on other causes that determined weakness of Third World states can be found in Ayoob’s works. He developed factors that influence and complicate state-making in the Third World. He considers such factors as restricted period of time in which a stateness has to be

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<sup>1</sup> Jackson, *Quasi-States*, 23-26.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, *In Search of Security*, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Holsti, “International Relations Theory and Domestic War in the Third World”, 54.

built; interference of colonialism; ongoing process of modernization; and demands of population for political participation and equal distribution of economic benefits<sup>1</sup>.

Since weak state is a state which has not accomplished its state-building process, it is logical to suppose that factors that complicate this state-building are also factors that make state to remain weak, and consequently, determine state's weakness.

Therefore, for my analysis I will use factors developed by Ayoob, so I will elaborate more on them. First of all, what makes the task of state-makers in Third World difficult is short period of time during which they attempt to translate their juridical statehood into effective statehood. Ayoob mentions that these attempts to fit evolutionary historic process in a short period of time are dangerous because they distort process of natural evolution. Conflicts and tensions that could be resolved peacefully during the natural course of time become even more acute and violent in the concise time framework. This stems from the fact that conflict of interests emerge as state elites adopt state-making strategies in order to accelerate the creation of a strong state, which in their turn clash with the interests of counterelites, who perceive extension of state authority as a direct threat to their interests<sup>2</sup>. This accounts for the facts that governing elites' main concern is about internal threats and not the external ones and explains presence of violence on the domestic level.

Another factor, which is the consequence of colonial rule, has been partially explicated above when the issue of colonial boundaries was addressed. Ayoob adds to this some other elements such as delaying the economic development of the colonies that would lead to their transformation to modern economies and reversion of political development<sup>3</sup>. From economic perspective, the slowdown of the development was caused by the exploitation character of colonial rule manifested in the extracting maximum benefit from the resources of a territory and usage of this territory as a

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<sup>1</sup> Ayoob, *The Third world Security Predicament*, 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

market for metropolitan products. From the political perspective, delay in the development was caused by the colonial practice to employ traditional wielders of authority in a given territory in order to exercise colonial power and conduct its policies<sup>1</sup>. This accounts for the difficulties that are experienced by weak states in terms of legitimacy of the authority structures.

Process of modernization (that is urbanization, literacy, industrialization, internal migration and the like) which coincided with state-building in Third World put additional pressure to the creation of a stable state. Ayoob argues that increasing level of education, awareness of political and social rights has destabilizing effect and aggravates domestic situation within weak states. According to the author, it is due to modernization that Third World states witness ethnic fissures that sometimes evolve into separatist insurgencies, demanding secession from a state<sup>2</sup>.

Moreover, Ayoob mentions that most separatist movements arise from the fact that whereas societies of Third World states are multiethnic, state elites deny this reality and attempt to create monoethnic states with domination of one ethnic group<sup>3</sup>. This is a kind of secondary cause that worsens weakness of a state. According to Ayoob, political elites strive to accumulate power in the hands of a state rather than create a popular consensus about the content and parameters of nationalism in fragmented societies and conduct state-making by imposing national consciousness from above. Such policies of the governing elites account for the whole range of characteristics that are immanent to weak states, starting from the absence of the national identity and the idea of a state among citizens and finishing with the lack of socio-political cohesion within society<sup>4</sup>.

The last factor of popular demands stems from the foresaid process of modernization. As far as population of Third World states become aware of its political rights and freedoms, people start demanding political participation and equal distribution of economic benefits which does not

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<sup>1</sup> Ayoob, *The Third world Security Predicament*, 36.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 26.

coincide with authoritarian character of the regimes that usually represent only one ethnic community of a multiethnic society. All these can explain low legitimacy rate of Third World regimes<sup>1</sup>.

Considering all the ideas represented above concerning the causes that can be accountable for the weakness of a state, it can be concluded, first of all, that there are two types of such cases: primary and secondary ones. The primary causes are the legacy that was obtained by the Third World states when they entered their phase of independence. These causes, which determined states' weakness, the Third World states had as given from the very beginning.

The secondary causes bear rather acquired character and represent the practices and policies, adopted by the weak states' governing elites. These factors not only account for state's weakness but also contribute to its prolongation, aggravating often the state of things.

I would define the primary causes that determine weakness of the state as causes that stem from the colonial legacy:

1. Artificial state boundaries.
2. Absence of economic and political self-dependence.

Secondary causes accountable for state weakness can be identified as the following:

1. Short period of time available for creating statehood.
2. Representation of only one ethnic community from the multiethnic society by governing elites, which leads to unequal distribution of economic benefits and level of political participation.

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<sup>1</sup> Ayoob, *The Third world Security Predicament*, 40.

3. Policies of governing elites, directed at creating monoethnic society from the multiethnic one: they rather impose national consciousness from above than seek consensus within society.

### **2.3. Understanding security problematic of weak states**

Having identified how a weak state looks like and what determined its weakness it is possible now to address the question of what implications this weakness has to a state's security. In other words, what security predicament do these states have?

In relation to this issue, the most important element of weak state's security, which is agreed by many scholars (Thomas, Buzan, Ayoob, Job and others) is that main threats to security emanate not from the external environment but from the inside of a state.

As Ayoob mentions, this does not mean that external threats are absent or insignificant. They do exist and are often a result of the intrastate dynamics<sup>1</sup>. As Thomas notice on the example of African states, internal conflicts can spill over state boundaries, which can result on the regional level in territorial disputes and interstate conflicts<sup>2</sup>.

Internal instability, caused by fissures and tensions between different ethnic communities, violence, secessionist demands, insurgencies undermining the regime in power and likewise, determine the security predicament of weak states. As Holsti puts it, since there is no single legitimate centre of power within a weak state and there are different groups competing for the authority, different actors try to create their own state trough secession or to through the obtaining control over state structures<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Mohammed Ayoob, "Security in the Third World: the worm about to turn," 43.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, *In Search of Security*, 10-13.

<sup>3</sup> Holsti, "International Relations Theory and Domestic War in the Third World", 51.

Stemming from this, Ayoob argues that main concern of governing elites, therefore, is with security of a state as well as that of governing regime and the elites' main task is to manage the internal insecurity problems<sup>1</sup>.

Therefore, as Job argues, the security dilemma of weak states is not externally oriented. Since the threats are mostly internal and the state is at issue in the majority of conflicts, Job introduces the idea of 'insecurity dilemma' in order to characterize such developments. Considering the insecurity dilemma to be a consequence of the competition between different groups within the society, Job observes two main constituents of this dilemma<sup>2</sup>.

First is an internal predicament which means that divergent actors that compose the society try to secure themselves by confronting the perceived threats, and in such a way create an insecure environment for all the other actors within that society. Second constituent element of the insecurity dilemma bears external character. This implies that internal instability weakens state and undermines its capacities, but at the same time this does not make state more vulnerable to external threats (for instance to conquest or aggression)<sup>3</sup>. This can be explained by the discussed earlier issue of changed international environment and international norms that now guarantee juridical sovereignty for each state.

The idea of insecurity dilemma is also explicated by Sorensen. To him, the paradox of the insecurity dilemma is grounded in the combination of two factors: (1) that a state possesses relative freedom from external threats and (2) a state itself poses a threat to its own population. Sorensen argues that anarchy is domesticated and the population does not know what to expect from the state,

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<sup>1</sup> Ayoob, *The Third world Security Predicament*, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Job, "The Insecurity Dilemma", 18

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 18.

so on the domestic level there is a high degree of insecurity, while on the international level states are more secured since their boundaries and territory are protected by the international system<sup>1</sup>.

Thereby, it can be concluded that major trends in the security problematic of the weak states are the following:

1. A state is relatively free from external threat.
2. The major security problem (to both state and regime) is internal instability, which can be manifested in different forms (fissures and tensions between communities, violence, secessionist demands, insurgencies).
3. Internal insecurity: a state represents a threat to its own population.

To give an illustration of how the notion of 'weak state' operates in practice I will use an example of African states. As Jackson notices, since African states are weak in political-military terms, they are not that much insecure as they should be. This is explained by the fact that these states are situated on the periphery to which the world remains indifferent. Therefore, the governments of African states do not pay much attention to the issues of national security. As Jackson mentions, "they enjoy an unusual form of external protection" due to their marginal geographical situation and relative indifference of powerful states towards them. However, this does not mean that African states are secure. In the domestic domain they have completely different situation. Jackson points out that African region has the biggest number of refugees, bloody civil conflicts and ethnic violence. The cases of Liberia, Somalia and Rwanda are probably the most vivid ones at this point<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Sorensen, *After the Security Dilemma*, 365.

<sup>2</sup> Robert H. Jackson, "The Security Dilemma in Africa", in *The Insecurity Dilemma. National Security of Third World States*, ed. Brian L. Job (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1992), 87-91.

Therefore, security in the external environment does not entail security on the internal level. The security predicament that these states face reflects the logic of the insecurity dilemma in which weak states usually find themselves.

These are the major implications that weakness of a state overlay on its security. Taken together with the determined earlier features attributable to a weak state and factors that are accountable for its weakness, it is possible to create an image of a weak state as an empirical entity as well an analytical category. In the next chapter I will lay this image over the empirics that can be observed in the Eastern European post-Soviet states and look at how this empirical evidence corresponds with the theoretical framework set in this chapter.

## **CHAPTER 3 – CASE STUDY: APPROACHING THE SECURITY OF EASTERN EUROPEAN POST-SOVIET STATES**

A case study presented in this chapter concerns three Eastern European post-Soviet states: Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine. The ongoing processes of instability and general security dynamics of these states are examined here through the theoretical lenses which were determined in previous chapters. The chapter is organized around the sets of criteria which were developed previously. The purpose here is to see whether the examined countries fit the established theoretical framework and to find out how the notion of 'weak state' can explain the security problematic of these states.

The starting point of the case study is scrutinizing the features that characterize a state as weak, namely their presence in the states concerned. The next step is explaining this weakness of the examined states, namely finding out the relevance of the causes that entail state weakness for the Eastern European post-Soviet states. The final stage of the case study deals with the major trends in the security problematic of the weak states, namely whether there is presence of security dynamics in the Eastern European post-Soviet states which is typical for the weak states generally.

### ***3.1. Recognizing a weak state***

1. Failure of nation and a state to coincide: no single nation within a state's boundaries; the population is composed of different competing ethnic and religious communities.

This characteristic is present in all three states. The population of Ukraine is also heterogeneous and composed of the following communities: Ukrainian 77.8%, Russian 17.3%, Belarusian 0.6%, Moldovan 0.5%, Crimean Tatar 0.5%. Moldovan population comprises:

Moldovan/Romanian 78.2%, Ukrainian 8.4%, Russian 5.8%, Gagauz 4.4%. Belarus' main ethnic groups are: Belarusian 81.2%, Russian 11.4%, Polish 3.9%, Ukrainian 2.4%<sup>1</sup>.

2. The process of state-building and nation-building is not accomplished: lack of coherent idea of national identity, absence of common idea of the state among citizens.

Ukraine experiences difficulties in terms of national identity. The Ukrainian society is divided in two main communities: Ukrainian-speaking (67,5%) and Russian-speaking (29,6%)<sup>2</sup>. Stemming from this, people who consider their native language to be Russian perceive themselves as Ukrainians only in terms of citizenship. In terms of national identity they consider themselves to be Russians or they are simply uncertain, because ethnically they are Ukrainians, but they do not have a sense of Ukrainian national identity.

Moldova has similar situation. According to statistics, 75% of the population speak Moldovan, 8,3% speak Ukrainian, 5,9% - Russian and 4,3% - Gagauz<sup>3</sup>. National identity is very divergent and even within the group of population speaking Moldovan language national identity is split: one part of it has Moldovan identity while another part has Romanian identity.

Belarus also experiences another kind of problem. Belarusian language is the language of communication to only 13.7% of people, while Russian is the language of communication for 76.3% of people<sup>4</sup>. As for national identity, Belarusians turn out to be indifferent to this issue. The researchers speak about the so-called "Belarusian paradox". Its main logic is that instead of addressing questions of national identity, Belarus people are concerned with socio-economic stability

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<sup>1</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook 2008",  
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>

<sup>2</sup> GosKomStat of Ukraine, "Ukrainian population census 2001. Language Composition of population", <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/language>

<sup>3</sup> National Bureau of Statistics of Moldova, "Moldovan population census",  
<http://www.statistica.md/pageview.php?l=en&idc=295&id=2234>

<sup>4</sup> Larisa Titarenko, "Post-Soviet National Identity: Belarusian approaches and paradoxes", *Filosofija. Sociologija*. 18, no. 4 (2007): 88, [http://images.katalogas.lt/maleidykla/Fil74/fil\\_20074\\_79-90.pdf](http://images.katalogas.lt/maleidykla/Fil74/fil_20074_79-90.pdf)

in the country and issues nationalism are not on the agenda. Most of people speak Russian but identify themselves as Belarusian. However this identification is based rather on citizenship than on ethnical or national one<sup>1</sup> (80).

3. Low level of socio-political cohesion: the population is divided along ethnic, cultural, religious and social lines; no consensus within society on political and social organization of a state.

This is a case of Ukraine. It is determined historically and is expressed in the fact that Ukrainian state consists of two diverse parts: Eastern and Western, and Ukrainian society accordingly is divided in two communities: Russian-speaking and Ukrainian-speaking ones. The best evidence of diversity of these communities and tensions between them was manifested during the presidential elections of 2004, when the country found itself virtually split in two parts. Western regions of a state were supporting pro-Western candidate and Eastern regions were expressing their support to pro-Russian candidate. Whatever option is chosen, another part of the population remains unsatisfied with the result, and each of the options makes consensus impossible. Additional pressure to societal disunity is added by Tatar population of Autonomous Republic of Crimea, which is influenced much by Turkey.

Moldova represents another similar example. Moldovan population is divided in two communities, namely one has pro-Romanian orientation, another one – pro-Russian. Events of April, 7, 2009 show explicitly this kind of division. After the parliamentary elections took place and governing Communist party was announced to gain the majority of votes, mass demonstrations and protests occurred, organized by the opposition and people dissenting with the results of the elections. However, at stake were not only the protests against the governing party, but also against pro-Russian orientation generally. Majority of demonstrators was pro-Romanian oriented – the fact,

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<sup>1</sup> Larisa Titarenko, "Post-Soviet National Identity," 80.

that among others entailed accusations of Romania by Moldovan government in organizing demonstrations. Generally, this shows absence of consensus within the Moldovan society on number of issues as well as division along ethnic and social lines.

Belarus does not experience such manifestations of absence of consensus within society. However, this is not because the society is so much united and coherent but rather because of the authoritarian nature of the regime that does not let such manifestations to occur. Division along ethnic, cultural or other lines is not topical in case of Belarus because, as it has been mentioned above, of general indifference of population to such issues.

4. Absence of social contract between government and population: low level of socio-economic welfare as well as legal, political and social rights; high level of crime and lack of population's loyalty to state.

Low level of socio-economic welfare is the case for all three examined countries. A quick outlook at the economic situation of their populations supports this: in Belarus 27.1% of people live below the poverty line, in Moldova – 29.5% and in Ukraine – 37.7%<sup>1</sup>. Human rights abuses are present in all three countries and are especially high in Belarus. Level of crime is extremely high in Ukraine and Moldova, and is less high in Belarus, although this is due to the authoritarian regime in the country. Loyalty of population to state is not present in all three cases.

5. Governing elites' main concern is about internal threats not the external ones: presence (or high probability) of intrastate conflicts and violence on the domestic level.

Both in Ukraine and Moldova the examples of the split within their societies after the election in 2004 and 2009 respectively, involved high risk and in some cases evident manifestations of intrastate conflict. Tensions within Ukrainian and Moldovan societies were so high that at some point it was considered that the countries are at the edge of the civil war. The manifestations of

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<sup>1</sup> The World Factbook 2008.

protests posed a threat to both regime and a state. Moreover, since the causes of such problems are rooted deeply in the nature of the societies, they can be easily triggered and the internal stability is always at risk. In such situation governing elites are more concerned with the internal threats rather than with the external ones.

Belarus does not have such a high degree of probability of internal conflict or violence within a state since the regime in power intently controls all the dynamics in the society. Such tough control evidences that regime feels threats coming from the inside of a state and tries in such a way to secure itself.

6. Lack of legitimacy of state boundaries and state regimes, limited support of the regime in power.

This is a case for all three examined countries. In Ukraine, for example, regime in power as well as state institutions is hardly legitimate and this is reflected in the results of public opinion polls: 51,8% of population do not support activities of the current president; 49,6 of population do not support activities of the government; and 55,8% do not support work of the Parliament<sup>1</sup>.

In Moldova recent events of April 2009 showed that Communist party which is in power does not enjoy vast support of the population. Moreover, Moldovan boundaries are not legitimate from the perspective of Russian and Ukrainian population living in Transnistria region since they demand complete independence from the state and the region itself is a self-proclaimed unrecognized state.

Belarusian regime of Lukashenka can be hardly characterized as legitimate. The evidence for this can be found in the events of 2006, when after the re-election of Lukashenka as a Presidents, thousands of people came out to the streets to show their protest and disagreement with the result of the presidential elections, which were considered to be fraudulent, and also to demand for the democratic changes.

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<sup>1</sup> Razumkov Centre, "Public Opinion Polls", <http://www.razumkov.org.ua/ukr/socpolls.php>

7. Defective economy: modern elements combined with semi-feudal structures in agriculture.

Weak defective economy is an immanent feature of all three examined states. In Ukraine, while heavy industry is relatively developed and constitutes 32,2% of GDP, agricultural sector is underdeveloped and backward. Considering Ukrainian potential in agricultural production capacity in terms of climate, possible sown areas and fertile soil, it constitutes only 9% of GDP<sup>1</sup>. The process of land privatization and related reforms were launched almost a decade ago but still cannot be implemented. Rural population is decreasing and agricultural sector is fading.

Moldova represents another example of economic decay. It is considered to be one of the poorest countries in Europe. Although its agricultural sector comprises 40.7% of GDP in contrast to heavy industry, which constitutes 12.1% of GDP<sup>2</sup>, Moldovan rural areas experience problems similar to those of Ukraine. Economic reforms in this area are slow and inefficient, especially in terms of land privatization, which slows down the development. Basically, the two countries experience similar kinds of problems due to the Soviet legacy and communal ownership of land.

In Belarus industry represents 40.7% of GDP while agricultural sector comprises only 8.7%<sup>3</sup>. Agriculture in Belarus also suffers from underdevelopment and the number of land privatized by farmers is extremely little. Mainly, agriculture depends on state support, and state in its turn launches different projects in order to improve this sector. All former collective farms were redistributed to the industrial enterprises which are supposed to take care of them. In order to attract people to live and work in rural areas, the government builds the so-called 'agrotowns'. Dwellings in such agrotowns are granted mainly to young people in order to draw labour force to rural areas.

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<sup>1</sup> The World Factbook 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

However, the efficiency of such policy is relatively low. In Belarus, as well as in Ukraine and Moldova, migration of population from rural areas to cities is extremely high.

### **3.2. Explaining weakness of a state**

#### **3.2.1. Primary causes of a state's weakness**

##### **1. Artificial state boundaries.**

The boundaries of Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine in their present state are not the result of natural historical process. They were artificially constructed by the Soviets before the World War II and finally set after it. One boundary which was created relatively later is Ukrainian south boundary, which was formed as it is in present in 1954, when Crimean Peninsula was incorporated in the Ukrainian SSR.

Three regions (Izmail, Akkerman and Chotin) which were initially part of Moldovan territory were added to Odesa region and thus, were joined to Ukrainian territory. In this way Moldova was deprived of its outlet to the Black Sea. Also, partially Moldova and partially Ukraine were complemented by region of Bessarabia (north part and south part respectively), which was annexed from Romania during the World War II<sup>1</sup>. These territories are now contested between Romania and Moldova and between Romania and Ukraine. Present Belarusian boundaries were also determined during the creation of the Belarusian SSR, however, it did not experience the same degree of artificiality in terms of its frontiers as Moldova and Ukraine.

##### **2. Absence of economic and political self-dependence.**

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<sup>1</sup> Adam Eberhardt, "National Identity versus Foreign Policy in the Republic of Moldova", *The Polish Foreign Affairs Digest* 3, no.4 (2002): 229-230., [www.ceeol.com/aspx/getdocument.aspx?logid=5&id=CBD7AFE4-B7FE-4EB7-A0A4-96CF05B743FF](http://www.ceeol.com/aspx/getdocument.aspx?logid=5&id=CBD7AFE4-B7FE-4EB7-A0A4-96CF05B743FF)

First outstanding feature of absence of economic and political self-dependence in all three countries is their dependence on Russian energy suppliers. All the crises occurring between one of the states and Russia (Moldova 2005, Belarus 2007, Ukraine 2006) and resulting in disruption of energy supply were disastrous for their economies.

All three countries are heavily dependent on export trade especially on that with Russia. For instance, following the crisis in political relations between Moldova and Russian Federation, the ban on Moldovan agricultural products were imposed by Russian government which entailed slow down in GDP growth. Belarus is probably the most dependent country among three on trade with Russia due to its close political relations with Russian Federation and cold relations with Western countries. Additionally, sanctions imposed on Belarus from time to time by Western states in response to the actions of Belarusian authoritarian regime, do not favour change in this trend.

Moldova and Ukraine are dependent on external aid but special feature of Moldovan case is migrant remittances. 25% of Moldovan labour force works abroad and their remittances are the major source of domestic financing in the Moldovan economy. They constitute from 25% to 30% of GDP<sup>1</sup>.

Another reason for being not self-dependent economically for the examined states is legacy of the Soviet Union, its infrastructure and organization of industries. All the production in Soviet Republics and their enterprises were dependent on each other and different stages of production of a certain good were situated in different republics in order to make them interdependent. Moreover, each republic had its own 'specialization', e.g. Moldova was considered to a garden of the Soviet Union, Ukraine – the granary etc. After the collapse of the USSR, this system collapsed as well, so the economies of the examined states suffered greatly.

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<sup>1</sup> Cerstin Sander, Doina Nistor, Andrei Bat, Viorica Petrov, Victoria Seymour, "Migrant Remittances and the Financial Market in Moldova", Basis Brief, no. 33 (October 2005): 1, [http://www.basis.wisc.edu/basis\\_crsp/live/basbrief33.pdf](http://www.basis.wisc.edu/basis_crsp/live/basbrief33.pdf)

In political realm the countries are also scantily free. Incapable to promote their own political line they choose one of the available orientations on stronger power. Thus, for Belarus this orientation is undoubtedly its 'big brother' Russia. For Ukraine and Moldova is either pro-Russian or pro-Western orientation. In any case, there is no sign of possibility to see the emergence of a state's own relatively independent political line.

### **3.2.2. Secondary causes of a state's weakness**

#### **1. Short period of time available for creating statehood.**

This is true for all three states. Having gained their sovereignty in 1991, later that basically the Third World states acquired their independence, the Eastern European post-Soviet states indeed have undergone very little period time to be able to create more or less strong statehood. However, the international system and international norms demand them to acquire statehood as soon as possible and do not let the process to undergo its natural period of time.

#### **2. Representation of only one ethnic community from the multiethnic society by governing elites, which leads to unequal distribution of economic benefits and level of political participation.**

The specificity of the Eastern European post-Soviet states lies in the unequal distribution of economic benefits not between the competing communities with the society but rather between population in general and the governing elites. The gap between the regime and the state's population leads to the situation in which the middle class that should represent the basis of a state is absent. Poverty of the majority of citizens in contrast to richness of some small groups of population is the best evidence to the unequal distribution of economic benefits.

Political participation is another issue. In case of Moldova and Ukraine, there is indeed representation of only one community of all the others, so other communities suffer in term of participation in decision-making process and possibility to influence the adoption of certain policies.

To bring an example here, in Ukraine, the government which represents Ukrainian community excludes Russian community from any kind of political participation. The issue of Russian language is the most acute in this case. Thus, for instance, the needs of Russian community living on the Crimean peninsula are practically ignored by such political decision of the government as to close all Russian schools in Crimea and leave only Ukrainian ones.

In Belarus, unequal distribution of political participation is similar to the distribution of economic benefits in all three countries: it differs not from the community to community but rather from the governing elites to the population as a whole.

3. Policies of governing elites, directed at creating monoethnic society from the multiethnic one: they rather impose national consciousness from above than seek consensus within society.

This is a case first of all for Ukraine. The regime in power, which represents the Ukrainian community, seems to ignore the existence of other communities, namely the Russian one. For instance, all the policies of the government are directed at imposing Ukrainian language as the only option for everybody. Examples of this are closing of Russian schools, Russian television channels, cinemas etc. Ukrainian culture is imposed from the above to all the sections of population. Moreover, government does not try to seek consensus between the needs of the different communities or mediate somehow in terms of cultural, linguistic and other issues. The policies which are directed at creating the national identity and consolidation the nation bear a kind of extreme character and in the end work reverse to its goals.

Moldova and Belarus are interesting cases because their governments do not consider this issue at all. For example, in Moldova, at schools there is no such subject as 'history of Moldova'. Instead, there is 'history of Romania'. In Belarus there is a high influence of Russia and its culture on the population. As to the question of Belarusian national consciousness, it is not addressed either.

### **3.3. Understanding security problematic of weak states**

1. A state is relatively free from external threat.

This is true for all three states. Although there are some territorial disputes between Moldova and Romania (for the territory of North Bessarabia), Ukraine and Romania (for South Bessarabia and North Bukovina), Ukraine and Russia (for Kerch Channel and status of Crimean Peninsula)<sup>1</sup> they are not likely to develop in interstate conflicts with subsequent conquest of the territory. According to the logic underlying this relative freedom from external threat, the nature of the international system and the international norms create such an environment in which the scenario of conquest has a very low probability if not completely impossible.

2. The major security problem (to both state and regime) is internal instability, which can be manifested in different forms (fissures and tensions between communities, violence, secessionist demands, insurgencies).

In case of Ukraine the examples of such instability can be the secessionist demands in 2004 when Southern and Eastern regions of the country expressed an intention to create a South-Eastern Autonomy as a reaction to the outcome of the presidential elections and victory of the pro-Western candidate. Another example can be threats of secession stemming from the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. Such statements from the Crimean politicians were heard in May, 2009 as a reaction to governmental decision to close all Russian schools and to dissolve the Crimean Parliament in case this is not implemented. Moreover, there is latent probability of intrastate conflict between the pro-Western and pro-Russian communities.

Moldova experience severe difficulties because of Transnistria region, which demands its independence from Moldova and is, in fact, self-proclaimed unrecognized state. Another potential

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<sup>1</sup> State Border Guard Service of Ukraine, "Legal Determination of Ukrainian Boundaries," [http://www.pvu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art\\_id=59442&cat\\_id=46785](http://www.pvu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=59442&cat_id=46785)

threat of secession from Moldovan state is Gagauz Autonomous Republic, which is inhabited by Gagauz population and which was granted autonomous status in order to avoid the repetition of Transnistria scenario. Additionally, there is possibility of tensions between pro-Romanian and pro-Russian communities.

Belarus does not experience this kind of security problems in the domestic domain since the governing regime thoroughly controls all the spheres of activities and is authoritarian by nature.

### 3. Internal insecurity: a state represents a threat to its own population

Human rights abuses, illegal actions of police, corruption in the organs of justice represent direct threat which a state poses to its own population.

According to the report made by the U.S. Department of state Belarus has the highest level of human rights abuses among three countries. Thus, there are cases of disappearance of opposition political figures and journalists. Degree of arrests and detention on political reasons, criticism of ruling regime and participation in demonstrations is very high. Prison conditions are poor and there is high level of prisoners' human rights abuses. The judiciary branch is controlled by the interests of the regime, the trials are conducted behind the closed doors and the outcomes are often predetermined. Restrictions of freedom of speech, press, expression of the opinion take place on the regular basis. Additionally, unreasonable force is used by security forces in case of peaceful demonstrations of protest against their participants<sup>1</sup>.

In Moldova although the situation with human rights is better than in Belarus, there are still serious problems in this realm. Generally, the government respects the human rights of Moldovan citizens. However, there are still problems in the area of prisoners' rights, conditions of detention. Occasionally there are cases of use of force against the political opposition. Judicial branch of power

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Department of State, "Country Report on Human Right Practices in Belarus", <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2007/100549.htm>

suffers from the corruption and lack of independence. There are also rare attempts of government to exercise influence over the media and intimidate journalists<sup>1</sup>.

Ukraine has the situation similar to that of Moldova. The main problems with human rights concern police, penal system, and detention conditions. There are cases of torture in prison. Judiciary system is not independent from the government control and there is a high level of corruption<sup>2</sup>.

Stemming from this it can be argued that the populations of the states concerned are not secure and it is a state, which first of all, embodies a threat to its population.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the causes of the state's weakness in the Eastern European post-Soviet states are the following:

I. The primary ones that were obtained by these states as the legacy of the Soviet Union:

1. Artificial state boundaries, and as a result, existence of different ethnic communities and cultural groups within one state.

In case of Belarus this is absence of the perception of national identity and existence of large Russian community within a state. In case of Moldova this is existence of Moldovan, Russian and Romanian communities which entails the split along the line of pro-Romanian and pro-Russian orientation. Moldovan historical territory is now partially belongs to Romania and partially to Ukraine. In case of Ukraine this is existence of Ukrainian and Russian communities and their division along the line of pro-Western and pro-Russian orientation. In terms of boundaries, Ukrainian territory does not correspond its historical boundaries either.

2. Absence of the economic self-dependence.

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Department of State, "Country Report on Human Right Practices in Moldova", <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2007/100573.htm>

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Department of State, "Country Report on Human Right Practices in Ukraine", <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2007/100590.htm>

In all three cases this is weak economy dependent on external aid, export trade and Russian energy supplies.

- II. The secondary ones that are either independent causes or have already been obtained during the time of independence:

1. Short time period available for creating a statehood.

In all three cases this is less than 20 years of independence together with the pressure from the international community to create a strong nation state with democratic governance.

2. Unequal distribution of the economic benefits and political participation because the governing elites represent only one community from the multiethnic society.

In case of Moldova and Ukraine this is obvious since the government which represents one of the existing communities (as currently pro-Russian in Moldova and pro-Western in Ukraine) deprives other communities from a considerable degree of political participation and influence on the decision-making process as well as from the equal distribution of economic benefits. In case of Belarus, it is more specific, since the governing regime deprives from the foresaid benefits not some communities but the whole population.

3. Policies and practices adopted by governing elites and directed at creating a monoethnic society from the multiethnic one, ignoring the needs of other communities and unwillingness to seek consensus within the society.

In case of Ukraine it is most evident since the Ukrainian national identity is imposed from the above disregarding the needs of other communities. In case of Moldova and Belarus it is less evident since the policies directed at construction of national identity is practically (if not at all) absent in these countries. However, there is evident unwillingness of the governments to seek consensus within the

society either related to the question of communities' fissures (as in case of Moldova) or to the question of citizens' needs and demands (as in case of Belarus).

## CONCLUSION

The end of the Cold War brought an end to the confrontation between the Western world and the countries of the Socialist block, but it did not bring stability to the international environment. Interstate as well as intrastate conflicts are still on the security agenda. Violence and instability can be found on both regional and domestic levels. The explanation of such dynamics cannot be found in the traditional security concept developed during the time of the Cold war and global confrontation of great powers. Weak states as actors of the international system are now being brought into the foreground.

The concept of the Third World Security, analyzed in this work, deals with all these issues and new trends in the security domain. This concept focuses on the Third World States and their security problematic and helps a lot in understanding the underlying causes of the insecurity experienced by these states. This understanding is based on the notion of 'weak state', which reveals the causes of intrastate conflicts and violence, but also provides explanation concerning the reasons of the state's weakness.

The importance of the Third World Security concept is exactly in its focus on the weak state. While the scope of the Third World can be debated, the fact that there are many weak states in the contemporary international system is undoubted. The notion of 'weak state' allows the researcher not only to determine which states can be considered as weak but also to explain their security problems and find out the causes of this weakness. The concept of the Third World Security has some potential spheres where its utility can be applied. One of such areas is that of the Eastern European post-Soviet states.

The states of this region experience a range of security problems that are similar to those of the Third World states. This leads to an idea that these states are weak. Considering the fact that they

have acquired their independence in 1991 and undergone almost 20 years of independent existence, this raises a question about why exactly they are weak, what are the causes of this and what factors disturb these states from successful evolution into strong actors on the international arena.

The research that has been made in this thesis was focused exactly on the underlying causes of the Eastern European post-Soviet states. After the conduction of the theoretical analysis of the notion of 'weak states', a set of criteria was developed which potentially explains a state's weakness. To test these theoretically developed criteria and see whether exactly these reasons account for the weakness in the Eastern European post-Soviet states a case study was made on three countries: Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine.

The case study showed that the examined states fit the established theoretical framework and correspond to the notion of 'weak state'. The presence of weak state's features was found in all three states and the security problems presupposed by the theoretical assumptions were found in all of them as well. The theoretical assumptions about the causes of their weakness were supported by the empirical presence of all presupposed factors in the states concerned. Therefore, the notion of 'weak state' is able to explain the causes of the state's weakness in the Eastern European post-Soviet states. According to the obtained results, these reasons are the following:

- I. The primary ones that were obtained by these states as the legacy of the Soviet Union:
  1. Artificial state boundaries, and as a result, existence of different ethnic communities and cultural groups within one state.
  2. Absence of the economic self-dependence.
- II. The secondary ones that are either independent causes or have already been obtained during the time of independence:
  1. Short time period available for creating statehood.

2. Unequal distribution of the economic benefits and political participation because the governing elites represent only one community from the multiethnic society.
3. Policies and practices adopted by governing elites and directed at creating a monoethnic society from the multiethnic one, ignoring the needs of other communities and unwillingness to seek consensus within the society.

This shows that the value of the Third World Security concept is in its focus on the weak state and potentially there are many areas that could arguably fall into the scope of the Third World or not to fall into it at all, but definitely correspond the definition of 'weak state' and, therefore, fit into the concept of the Third World Security. Therefore there is a room for the extension of the utility of this concept to other regions and for the broadening of the concept's sphere of appliance.

This study has showed that there are states that lie outside the traditional understanding of the Third World, but which face similar problems as the Third World states do and which are ignored by the traditional security approaches as the Third World states are. Such states are not limited only to those of the Eastern European region of post-Soviet space. Potentially, there are more cases than this one represented here. Therefore, this can suggest an idea of modifying the concept of Third World Security in order to make it to be an approach to the security problematic not only of the Third World states particularly, but of the weak states in more general sense.

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