

## RUSSIA'S LOBBY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

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*Representing their interests under current conditions is one of the countries' pressing issues. Large, potential and resource-intensive countries use all the methods to establish themselves on larger territories, and the neighborhood policy turns into an intensification of interference. The level of Russia's influence over the last period is not only discussed in the media but also well felt as a result not only at the European but also at the world level. Its potential for influence becomes more and more impressive and openly declared. The purpose of this paper is to identify the particularities of the lobbying activity undertaken by Russia in the face of the European Union as a result of the last political manifestations. The study is based on grounded comments by international policy analysts. Analysis of the political relationship based on Russian lobbying in EU countries and economic relations lost or gained as a result of these large-scale activities has been carried out. In the study we present the most important events that show us the paths and ways Russia tried to lobby in Europe.*

*As a result of the study, the authors came to the conclusion that lobbying in Russia has a dynamic evolution in comparison with European countries. The external political relations with the most influential forces of the world act as a catalyst for lobbying. The peculiarities of Russian lobbying do not differ from the object of international lobbying, and the initiatives of the areas of influence are characteristic of both their national and self-defence interests.*

**Keywords:** lobby, cooperation, sanctions, trading partners, companies.

*Reprezentarea intereselor în condițiile actuale este una dintre problemele stringente ale fiecărei țări. Statele mari, cu potențial și resurse folosesc toate metodele pentru a se impune pe teritorii tot mai mari, iar politica de vecinătate se transformă într-o intensificare a interferenței. Influența Rusiei în ultima perioadă este nu numai discutată în media, dar și bine simțită ca rezultat nu numai la nivel European dar și mondial. Potențialul de influență a ei devine tot mai impunător și deschis declarat. Scopul prezentei lucrări constă în identificarea particularităților activității de lobby întreprins de Rusia în confrunt cu Uniunea Europeană ca rezultat al ultimilor manifestări politice. Studiul este bazat pe comentariile fundamentate ale analiștilor politici internaționali. A fost realizată analiza relațiilor politice bazate pe lobby-ul rusesc în țările UE și relațiile economice pierdute sau câștigate în rezultatul acestor activități de amploare. În studiu sunt prezentate cele mai importante evenimente consemnate care ne prezintă modalitățile și căile prin care Rusia a încercat să facă lobby în Europa.*

*În rezultatul studiului autorii au ajuns la concluzia că activitatea de lobby în Rusia are o evoluție destul de dinamică în confrunt cu țările europene. În rol de catalizator al activității de lobby sunt relațiile politice externe cu cele mai influente forțe ale lumii. Particularitățile lobby-ului în Rusia nu se deosebesc ca obiect de lobby-ul internațional, iar inițiativele domeniilor de influență sunt caracteristice atât intereselor lor naționale, cât și reacțiilor de autoapărare.*

**Cuvinte-cheie:** lobby, cooperare, sancțiuni, parteneri comerciali, companii.

*В настоящее время одной из самых актуальных проблем во всех странах является представление интересов. Государства с большим потенциалом и ресурсами используют все возможные методы давления на всё большие территории, а политика добрососедства трансформируется в политику интенсивного вмешательства. Влияние России не только обсуждается в медиа пространстве, но и высоко ощущается как на европейском уровне, так и на общемировом. Потенциал её влияния становится всё значительнее и открыто заявляется. Целью данного исследования является определить особенности лобби России в соперничестве с Европейским Союзом. Исследование основано на обзоре комментариев международных политических аналитиков. Проведен анализ политического отчёта о российском лобби на страны*

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ЕС, экономических потерь и дивидендов, к которым привела данная деятельность. В исследовании представлены самые важные события и пути, с помощью которых Россия попыталась лоббировать свои интересы в Европе.

В результате исследования авторы пришли к выводу, что лоббирование в России динамично развивается по направлению к европейским государствам. Роль катализатора в процессе лоббирования – это внешнеполитические отношения с самыми влиятельными силами мира. Особенности лоббирования в России не различаются, в принципе, как объект международного лоббирования, а инициативы для областей влияния, характерны как внутренним национальным интересам, так и в виде реакций самозащиты.

**Ключевые слова:** лобби, кооперация, санкции, торговые партнёры, компании.

**JEL Classification:** N44, O19, O38, P16, Z18.

**UDC:** 328.18

**Introduction.** Thus, for more than 20 years, relations of interdependence and cooperation between Russia and the EU have worked on the basis of certain principles; everything has grown and exploded with the Crimean crisis in 2014. Another blow by the pro-Russian activists inspired by the success of the annexation of the Crimea, is the conflict in Donbas which resulted in the end of the self-proclaiming of the People's Republic of Donetsk and the Luhansk People's Republic. Another critical moment for the European Community to reach a consensus and think of it was the collapse of Malaysia Airlines Boeing 777. This event shocked public opinion turning Russia into an enemy of peace and the world.

Because of these attacks that violated European and world understandings, Russia has received a series of sanctions, which in turn have brought a lot of material damage and losses. In order to avoid a possible extension of these sanctions, officials of the Russian Federation have resorted to the help of the fifth state power, and more specifically to lobbying. Thus, Russia has lobbied in several European countries, such as Italy, Cyprus or Hungary, to suspend sanctions. They have undergone a whole process of influencing the position of states and public opinion through interest groups in order to facilitate the effect of the sentences received. This phenomenon that followed the sanctions actually received is also the case study of the paper: "Russia's Lobby in the European Union". Argued by the actuality of the object of study, the determination of the presence or absence of Russia's lobby interests in the European Union under the contemporary geopolitical conditions has been set by the authors as hypotheses in this article. In case of presence, the areas of interest and the factors causing the strategic actions will be determined.

#### **Data sources and methods used**

The phenomenon of lobbying has been analyzed by the authors using classic and modern research methods as presented in the article in the form of some cases. The use of scientific abstraction has succeeded in identifying topics of economic and political lobbying applied by various geopolitical forces. The methodology itself is to present the evolution of Russia's forms of lobbying in the EU. Researching the subject at various stages of the changes in the context has created favourable conditions for authors to present a feature of the topics identified.

**The main objectives** of this case study are:

1. Identify the legal framework, traits, characteristics of Russian lobbying and the main institutions in which these interest groups are present.
2. Identifying lobbying actions taken by Russia in the European Union to eradicate the sanctions received.
3. Determining the strategic reasons for influencing the lobby activity of Russia in the European Union.
4. Establishing ways of influence of Russia's lobby towards the countries of the European Union.

**Results and discussions.** In correlation with the subject and objectives set forth below, we will try to structure a sequence of thoughts on the lobbying activity of Russia towards the member countries of the European Union.

#### **EU relations with the Russian Federation after the collapse of the USSR**

By destroying the communist forces, the stability gained from the agreements with the European Union was jeopardized, so a new policy had to be launched. The first document governing these relations, primarily between the USSR and then Russia, its successor, and the EU, was signed on December 18, 1989: the Agreement on Trade, Economic and Commercial Cooperation between the USSR and the European Community. Thus, the Community has decided to develop this agreement by entering into partnership and cooperation agreements with ten republics of the former Soviet Union.

In 1997, the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) was signed for an initial period of 10 years, being automatically prolonged after 2007. This agreement sets out the main common objectives, the institutional framework for bilateral contracts and calls for activities and dialogue in a series of areas. The Partnership and Cooperation Agreement is based on the following principles and objectives: promoting international peace and security, supporting democratic norms, political and economic freedoms. It is based on the idea of a mutual partnership aimed at strengthening political, commercial, economic and cultural ties. "The CPA provisions cover a wide range of policy areas, including political dialogue, trade in goods and services, business and investment, legislative, science and technology, education and training, energy, cooperation in the field of nuclear and space technology, the environment, transport and culture [1]. The next distinctive moment in the relationship between the two is the summit in St. Petersburg held in May 2003. The purpose of this Summit was the concept of forming the four common spaces between Russia and the EU, the Common Economic Space, the Common Space of Freedom, security and justice, the Common Foreign and Security Area and the Common Research Area, including cultural issues.

At the London Summit in October 2005, both Russia and the European Union expressed the need for an update of the legal framework that ceased meeting the objectives of the Common Spaces and no longer reflects the current level cooperation. At the next CSD Summit in May 2006, the two powers reached a political consensus to begin work on a new basic agreement designed to complement the strategic partnership and create effective enforcement mechanisms.

However, with the passage of time, relations between Russia and the EU have begun to rely on a strong institutional architecture that allows actors at different levels to discuss virtually any world policy issue. Increased intensity and regularity of cooperation in the sectoral dialogues: energy, transport, industrial policy, the information society, and others; and specialized consultancy on specific foreign policy issues over twenty rounds per year.

The Russian Federation and the EU are extremely important partners in a number of key areas, including the economy, energy, internal and external aspects of security. Trade between Russia and the EU now exceeds 200 billion EUR a year. In recent years, Russia has become the EU's third trading partner, after the US and China. The EU share accounts for more than half of Russia's foreign trade and more than two-thirds of foreign investment in the Russian economy. The EU is a major importer of Russian energy resources. Russia holds firmly the position of the most important gas supplier in the EU.

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, S.V. Lavrov, in 2010, in the "Diplomatic Yearbook" magazine, said: "By being the largest geopolitical entities on the European continent, Russia and the European Union are interdependent in many areas, being related to the same roots of civilization, culture, history and future. Our cooperation has many facets and develops in many directions. We are ready to strengthen these relationships on the basis of equality and mutual benefit".

In turn, the president, Vladimir Putin, stated about Russia's relationship with the European Union, in a 2012 public statement: "Russia is an integrated part, organic in the broad European civilization. Our citizens feel like Europeans. We are not indifferent to how the relationship develops in a united Europe. The financial crisis in Europe, a former oasis of stability and order, is very poorly perceived by China, India and other emerging economies. The Eurozone crisis can not affect Russia's interests, especially as the European Union is the largest external economic and trade partner. The current level of cooperation between Russia and the EU, however, does not meet the global challenges, especially in terms of improving competitiveness on our common continent. The abolition of visas would be a powerful impetus for real integration of Russia and the European Union, would help to expand cultural and business links, especially for small and medium-sized enterprises. Threats against Europeans from so-called Russian economic emigrants are invented and imagined. Our citizens have the necessary conditions to affirm and show their skills in their own country, and such opportunities are becoming more and more [2]. We synthesize, according to the above, that even before the collapse of the USSR it was clear that the European Union and Russia are meant to interact, whether they wish or not, there are too many links between them: history, geography, culture, economy. For objective reasons, especially the economic plan, no country, either the US or China, can replace the EU as the main partner of Russia [F. Luchianov, p.3].

From the topics dealt with in the above chapters, we distinguish that even after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia had the aspirations to preserve and, if necessary, regain the role and place of a great force in the world. These appeals to national dignity and to the world's communities are perceptible in every formal statement, in each presentation and enforcement of requirements. This expansionary DNA of the Federation culminated in the 21st century with the biggest crisis since the Cold War – the conflict in South-Eastern Ukraine.

### **Russia lobbying in the Union European**

As a result of the growing material losses and devaluation of the ruble, as a result of the expansionist policies and sanctions received, large interest groups, political officials, powerful state-owned companies, figures and personalities with great influence power have undertaken a series of lobbying actions aimed at saving the Russian Federation from the bans received. Below are some of the most important events that set out the ways and means by which Russia tried to lobby in Europe.

#### ***The case of "KGBela"***

Kovacs Bela, a former graduate of the Institute of International Relations in Moscow during the Soviet Union in the 1980s, is accused of lobbying Russia for the European Parliament. Kovacs is accused of having regularly conspired with Russian diplomats and for going to Moscow on a monthly basis. The publication that has made public all the news has written that his wife has dual citizenship, both Russian and Austrian, and would have worked for the KGB in the past. Hungarian Attorney General urged the President of the European Parliament to lift the immunity of Jobbik MEP, who is suspected of spying on European institutions. Suspicions are backed by E-PM Co-President Benedek Javor, who said MEP Bela Kovacs "represented Russia rather than Hungary's interests in Brussels". Along with these, he added that Kovacs is seen in the EU circles "as a lobbyist for Russia and Gazprom, a man whose career clearly demonstrates a commitment to Russia". Another revelation mentioning the presence of the lobby for Russia in Europe is also the statement of Roland Gur, from the Socialist Party. He claims it was clear that Jobbik and Fidesz compete for who can better serve Russia's interests: "It is clear that none of these parties can serve national interests." The Hungarian press baptized the case of "KGBela" [3].

#### ***Steinmeier is lobbying for Russia's replay in the G8***

As the Reuters news agency, German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier said that the group of the world's most industrialized countries, or the current G7, should come back in a G8 time, accepting Russia that was removed from this club after the annexation of Crimea. The statement reads as follows: "I think we have no interest in sticking to the G7 format in the long run. A look at the world shows us that we need Russia as a constructive partner in a series of conflicts, such as those in the Middle East [4].

#### ***Large companies in Europe and the US are lobbying for sanctions against Russia not to be extended***

Given that the sanctions imposed on Russia also have a reversible effect affecting the economy of Europe, several giant companies in Europe are struggling to persuade their governments not to extend economic sanctions against Russia. Financial Times says: "Europe's decision to impose tough sanctions on Moscow is hitting the lobby of big companies, fearing that Moscow's retaliation would cost them a lot" [5]. Among these companies are the British petroleum giant British Petroleum, the Italian energy company Eni and the German company with predominant activity in the chemical industry – BASF. What could become a problem in the unity and consensus of the 28 EU Member States is that the major European companies are not united on sanctions for Russia, some of them enormous losses. The Financial Times investigation also states that "US business groups have also lobbied the US administration against the imposition of sanctions that could also bring retaliation against US interests".

#### ***Gorbachev will lobby for Putin at a meeting with Merkel in Berlin***

At the ceremony to commemorate the fall of the Berlin Wall during the meeting with Angela Merkel, the last Soviet leader announced he would support Vladimir Putin's position in the Ukrainian crisis and denounce the American "interference". At the political forum scheduled to celebrate this event, he mentioned: "I will firmly defend Russia and President Vladimir Putin. I am convinced that Putin defends today better than anybody's interests Russia. In his policy there are of course criticisms. "This meeting and exposure is somewhat forced by the fact that Russia and the West are facing the worst crisis since the end of the Cold War after the start of the conflict in Ukraine. Laureate and the Nobel Peace Prize, Gorbachev, said: "Russia created new relationships and new structures of cooperation after the disappearance of the USSR. Everything was good, but it did not please everyone in the United States. The United States has other plans; they need another context that allows them to mix everywhere. If it is good or bad, it does not concern them. What interests them is to get involved [6].

#### ***Gazprombank hired two US senators***

Russia's third largest bank, Gazprombank, has concluded an agreement with two former US senators, Trent Lott and John Breaux, to lobby against US sanctions imposed on Russia. The field in which the decisions are to be influenced is the banking one. The bank in question is part of the list of entities that received sanctions amid the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula by Moscow and the conflict in eastern Ukraine. Gazprombank is controlled by the state power company Gazprom. Gazprom is the largest gas producer in the country, providing

about one-third of Europe's natural gas. The Mississippi Republican, Lott, and the Louisiana Democrat, Breaux, left the public service almost a decade ago, counting among the 300 members of the Congress who became lobbyists and began petitioning former colleagues on behalf of their clients. In 2008, they set up a lobbying firm with their sons, the Breaux Lott Leadership Group. A firm that was subsequently acquired by the DC Power Center lobbying Patton Boggs in 2010. They are considered ideal for the mission due to political connections and profound knowledge of the lawmaking process. Gazprombank has invested around 150,000 dollars to ease the effect of sanctions received due to lobbying activities in its favour. Information has been made public by the Center for Public Integrity [7].

#### ***Over \$ 280,000 to fight the sanctions received***

A Russian energy company, partially owned by a friend of the president, Vladimir Putin, has spent at least \$ 280,000 on lobby fees in the US. The investment is largely aimed at supporting the opposition to a bill by the United States Senate, which seeks to extend economic sanctions against Russia. Payments were made by OAO Novatek to the Washington lobbying and the Qorvis MSLGroup public relations firm. They provide a window, a new breath behind the Washington curtain where the Western economic pressure on the Kremlin is growing, the US taking into account a number of additional business restrictions. Novatek, which has emerging gas deposits in western Siberia and plans to export liquefied natural gas to Asia and Europe, has been cancelled funding for US long-term markets. The purpose of engaging the Qorvis MSL public relations company is to lobby for issues that include the Senate bill to tighten sanctions according to the forms of presentation of lobbying information admitted. The punitive measures have brought a wealth of new work to Washington, especially in the areas of legislation and lobbying. Companies are trying to help Russian customers avoid one of the most complex series of sanctions designed by the US. As mentioned above, apart from Novatek, 23% of whose shares are owned by Russian oligarch Ghenadi Timchenko, other Russian companies lobbying for sanctions include Gazprombank and the Russian Direct Investment Fund. The fund, which is owned by another powerful Russian bank that has been subject to the same restrictions, has also invested about \$ 160,000 for lobbying in its favour [8].

#### ***The German business lobby reluctant to sanctions received by Russia***

Ulrich Grillo, the head of the German Federation of Industry, said the sanctions could have a "painful" effect on European affairs and German exporters, but it is certain that the game with Russia has changed. German trade with Russia accounts for about one-third of total trade with the EU, about 36 billion EUR in 2013. Business leaders have warned that sanctions against Russia have already reduced their exports by 15% in 2014. In addition, put at risk the jobs of 25 thousand German citizens. Still, even if economic losses rise to billions, Ulrich Grillo made it clear that "BDI (German Federation of Industry) and I personally convinced that the secessionist behaviour of the Russian government in the Ukrainian conflict must have visible effects for Moscow" [9].

#### ***Russia's energy lobby in Europe***

Gazprom is the largest oil extractor in the world and the largest Russian company, the Russian state holding the majority stake. Gazprom distributes gas to almost all EU member states. In addition, in many of these countries, Russian gas supply is an important energy resource. Therefore, the national interests of the country and Gazprom's interests in Europe are virtually the same. The image of Gazprom's lobby in the European Union is shaped hierarchically. Given that the Russian state holds more than 50% of the company, bilateral win - win relationships are a priority. This situation is reinforced by the fact that Gazprom is not based in Brussels, or in other European capitals, but that it only allows its own officials to represent the company. In the energy field, the Russian state has a good relationship with the big states, such as Italy or Germany. Cooperation with France is dual As for Central and Eastern Europe; it faces difficulties in its relations with the Baltic States and Poland and easier cooperation with Slovakia and Bulgaria. Greece is also one of the "friendly" states with which Russia has a good relationship. Ties to big states are preferred because these countries have money to support Russian projects and have a strong position in European institutional architecture. Gazprom being a non-EU company must comply with both Union and Russian law. Using political channels, they cooperate with some European capitals that are interested in promoting their vision in Brussels. In general, Gazprom respects European law, but if it affects its own interests, they are trying to find a national ally. The preference for high-level lobbying is based on the Russian political culture, according to which "top people" are interested in interacting only with those who should have the power. The energy relationship with the European states is seen by the Russians as mutually beneficial. Russia has to sell its gas to the members of the European Union, and they must receive it. The fact that the largest source of income for the Russian company is the income from Europe indicates the importance of this link for Gazprom. As far as the European institutions are concerned, they are not strong centres for Russian lobbying, as responsibility for energy policy lies primarily with the Member States. The most important

institutions for lobbying at the energy level are the Commission and the European Council. Parliament is therefore quite neglected. The Russian energy strategy in Brussels is linked to the visits made by the top Energy Commissioner. The objective of the energy dialogue between Russia and the EU is to provide reliability, security and predictability to energy markets in the free market, and in the long term, the goal is to increase trust and transparency between the two sides. Although it is neglected, the European Parliament also has a role to play through its various committees. Has co-legislative power over gas directives, gas agreements. The European Parliament has these powers since the adoption of the Treaty of Lisbon. According to a MEP in this institution, the issue of energy is discussed weekly. Despite the preferences for state relations, in some areas Russian officials must first come to the European institutions. And as far as infrastructure is concerned, Brussels is the first to lobby. In conclusion, we can mention that Russia has the privilege of multilevel lobbying in the European Union. European construction is considered difficult because of the influence of some states that do not share Russia's visions in this area. This is one of the reasons why the relationship with large states such as Germany or Italy is considered to be a way of obtaining financial and political support. As far as the European institutions are concerned, the European Commission, which supports cooperation through an institutionalized framework – the Energy Dialogue, has the most important role for Russian lobbying [10].

### ***Russia is lobbying in several European capitals to block the prolongation of sanctions***

Several European sources note that Moscow has begun a series of lobbying actions to try to persuade the EU states with which they are close, namely Hungary, Italy, Germany and Cyprus, to oppose when vetoing the extension of sanctions against them. An eventual decision to extend the sanctions resulting from the crisis in Southeast Ukraine must be taken by consensus of all the 28 Member States of the European Union. So if only one Member State will use its right of veto, sanctions against Russia will be cancelled. An unexplained source in the article from EUobserver, involved in preliminary consultations on the prolongation of sentences, said that "Russians are acting intensively in several capitals, the main targets being the allies of Moscow, Budapest, Nicosia and Rome. The same source indicates that "the renewal of sanctions should normally be a formality. But it seems that it will not be that easy, as several countries want a wider debate on sanctions. "Many European officials are worried about the effect of the intensive and assiduous lobbying supported by Russia, saying Cyprus and Hungary are the spearhead of the group of states calling for a review of the sanctions system against Moscow. Also Slovakia, Italy and Greece would also agree at least with their partial elimination. Officially, however, those who support Russia's position are not recognized as friends. For example, the view of the Cypriot Government clearly shows that its position is to condemn any violation of a country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. However, I see in the sanctions issued „a punitive measure and not an end in itself". Nicosia officials said that „together with our EU partners, we will continually analyze the situation on the basis of what is happening on the ground and make decisions by consensus". Unlike Cyprus, Hungary is not hiding by saying in public that sanctions do not work and should be eliminated [11]. In a visit to Ukraine, the renowned investigative journalist and political analyst reinforced suspicions about Russian lobbying in European capitals saying: „I would like to mention that the availability to confront Russia is something very new to Europe since they have been trying to change this region for twenty years by working with Russia and hoping that by modernizing Russia, the whole space will become somewhat more liberal, more involved in a more democratic, market economy. This has failed, so now the EU has gone from cooperation to confrontation with Russia in a relatively short time. Initially, there was a small group of countries that worked against the big majority. When Germany and France support a particular cause, it is likely that the other Member States will also agree. Scandinavia and the UK are largely in favour of a stronger and more controversial policy, but Spain, Italy, many Southeast European countries, including Hungary and the Czech Republic, are rather sceptical about sanctions. There is a massive lobby from Russia that seeks to cancel the sanctions. It targets both the right-hand sides, SYRIZA in Greece, and the left-hand sides of Podemos in Spain. But I would like to point out that if the situation remains as tense as it is today, the Member States of the European Union will remain united" [12].

In the light of increased interference, Transparency International Russia analyzed Russian lobbying in the EU and published a first report on this issue. The report examines Russian lobbying practices in 13 EU countries and the EU as a whole on the basis of lobbying revelations. This is happening at a relatively low level of EU-Russia relations, reflected in a 44% decrease in trade since 2014. Decrease in demand for goods and several rounds of sanctions and counter-sanctions imposed by the annexation of Crimea contributed to this decline. But the alignment of Russian interests with that of populist European parties and the aggressive policy of disinformation of the Russian government have further complicated Russia's corporate interests. Until now they are often perceived as „agents of the Russian government". These factors push Russian companies away from

publicly promoting their interests, using camouflage or even hiding their lobbying activities. As the EU remains Russia's largest trading partner, the report seeks to highlight how Russian corporations manage to achieve their goals, while avoiding as much advertising as possible [13]. Lack of lobbying methods identify interest partnerships through well-established businesses in the EU. Another way is to provide consulting services to reduce the visibility of lobbying. The EU Transparency Register lists only 16 organizations in Russia and a combined lobby expense of just 3.3 million, Table 1.

Table 1

List of organizations in Russia from the Transparency Register

Organization Name	Lobbying Expenditure	lobbyists	Registration
LUKOIL	400,000	2	28/07/2011
JSC "Inter RAO UES" Representative office on the territory of the Kingdom of Belgium	200,000	1	25/01/2012
Gazprom	900,000	4	03/13/2014
ACIG Group of companies	25,000	2.5	30/12/2014
Association of European Businesses	9999	2	12/18/2014
The Joint Institute for Nuclear Research	900,000	47.5	23/07/2015
Kaspersky Lab	100,000	1.25	01/21/2015
Novolipetsk Steel	200,000	1.25	11/21/2016
Consulting Agency "Rumyantsev & Partners" LLC	100,000	3.5	04/18/2016
Atomenergopromsbyt	9999	3.75	09/19/2016
JSC Atomenergoprom	9999	0.25	20/09/2016
Private Institution of Atomic Energy Power Corporation Rusatom International Network	9999	0.25	23/12/2016
Non-Profit Partnership ESVERO	300,000	0.5	01/26/2017
Association of "Russian vodka" producers	70,000	0.25	20/04/2017
Moscow State Pedagogical University	27,000	12	02/03/2017
Coleman Services UK	9999	0.25	03/13/2017

Source: Developed by author based on information from <https://transparency.eu/russialobbying/>

These figures are far below expectations, given that Russia is the EU's fourth trading partner. In comparison, Norway, which has just over half the volume of trade with the EU with Russia, has 81 registered lobbying organizations with a total annual budget of 14.5 million EUR.

### Conclusions

In these circumstances, we draw the following **conclusions**:

1. Lobbying in Russia represents a necessity in the context of a market economy and a neighbourhood policy with the European Union. On the grounds that most of the member states of the European Community are Russia's older partners, the ability to influence is still quite high and effective.
2. Russia is respected and counts only when it is strong and stands firm on its feet, so Russia has practically always used the privilege of conducting an independent foreign policy. Whatever the methods and techniques of lobbying are used, the ability to succeed is at its best.
3. Potential support is the performance of transnational corporations with Russian capital, which are well established in most parts of the world and their relationship is a support and a favourable climate for lobbying in the economic environment.
4. The current conditions created by the imposed sanctions have been a catalyst for Russia's lobbying activity in the EU to resolve the economic crisis. The rather large number of European countries, including those at the foundation of EU training, sums up a convincing aspect of lobbying at country level and at the level of private influence groups.
5. The authors, as a result of the analysis of public situations, have observed the presence of Russia's lobbying actions towards the states of the European Union which clearly summarize a large part of the challenges, but from other considerations – the promotion of the neighborhood policy and, in particular, enlargement of the marketplace.

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