

Great Britain's Attitude Towards the Ukrainian Crisis

Artykuł zatytułowany *Stosunek Wielkiej Brytanii do obecnego kryzysu na Ukrainie* ma na celu przedstawienie podejścia Zjednoczonego Królestwa do walk, których załączkiem stały się Majdańskie protesty w listopadzie ubiegłego roku. Tekst ten stanowi swoistą analizę o charakterze krytyczno – dyskursywnym, której poddane zostały fakty zaczerpnięte z najnowszych publikacji o charakterze polityczno – społecznym. Mowa tutaj o międzynarodowych materiałach, nie tylko w postaci zwartych woluminów, jak *Londongrad* autorstwa M. Hollingsworth'a i S. Lansley'a, ale również artykułach publikowanych tak w prasie naukowej, jak i codziennej. Opracowanie to rozpoczyna się wstępem, który ma na celu przybliżenie wydarzeń, które stały się źródłem najpierw protestów o charakterze lokalnym, z czasem zaś przemieniły się w otwartą walkę, która zwraca na siebie uwagę opinii publicznej niemal z każdego państwa w Europie. A i te, leżące poza starym kontynentem nie pozostają obojętne na obecne wydarzenia. Główna część pracy to pokazywanie argumentów, popartych konkretnymi przykładami mającymi na celu wykazanie powodów, dla których państwo brytyjskie prowadzi albo prowadziło tzw. politykę izolacjonizmu. Pokazane jest także, jak stopniowo ten stosunek ulegał zmianie wraz z rozwojem wydarzeń na wschodzie (sankcje, zestrzelenie malezyjskiego Boeing'a 17 oraz podkreślanie jedności państw tworzących struktury NATO). Zakończenie to swoiste podsumowanie zebranych faktów i próba dyskusji nad zagadnieniem, czy Wielka Brytania jest w stanie zmienić swój stosunek do tego, co się dzieje za naszą wschodnią granicą, czy nie.

Słowa kluczowe: *stosunek, dyplomacja, polityka izolacjonizmu, kryzys, sankcje, NATO, City, oligarchowie, inwestorzy, zestrzelenie MH17*

The main aim of this article was to present the United Kingdom's attitude towards the Ukrainian crisis. In order to do that a critical discourse analysis of the particular materials was done. It was based on the new books, such as *Londongrad*, for instance as well as articles published in the daily and weekly magazines and newspapers. It starts with the short description of the conflict historical background. Then, it presents in details the reasons why Great Britain carried out a splendid isolation policy and would not like to engage in such a conflict as well as why its attitude might be described as the diplomatic one. It ends with conclusion, in which it was being tried to answer the question whether Great Britain would change its attitude or not.

Keywords: *attitude, diplomacy, splendid isolation, crisis, sanctions, NATO, City, oligarchs, investors, MH17 crash*

The main aim of this article is to present the United Kingdom's attitude to the Ukrainian crisis. In order to do that, it needs to be started with a short description of crucial facts shaping the whole conflict. It is necessary to show many of them in the light of British politicians' decisions to attempt to achieve a balanced opinion.

It was begun on November last year, when the massive protests against the Government were being organized in the centre of the national capital – Kiev. In this way, the Ukrainian society desired to express its strong disagreement on the decisions made by the local rulers. They had refused to sign an accession treaty as well as to create a free trade area. According to them, such an agreement would not be able to guarantee a recompense for the country when it did not trade properly with Russia. Apart from Kiev, the places of society's strikes were Luck, Ivano-Frankovsk, Donnie and Kharkov¹. The people's disagreement met with the opposition's favour. J. Timoshenko, for instance, wanting to show her support for all those striking, decided to starve in prison where she was spending several months.² It was the time, when the whole conflict become to have an anti-governmental character. As it was being shown in the international media, there was even an attempt to destroy V. Yanukovich's residence after which the March of Millions was organised during which Lenin's monument was in ruins.³ The facts forced the president to organise the round table's debate whose the effects were desirable.⁴ Several days later, Ukraine made the decision to sign quite new agreements with Russia guaranteeing low prices for gas being imported from the east border as well as participating the Russian capital investments in the national ones. Time was passing and the situation in Ukraine was becoming more dangerous. Next people among whom not only politicians but also journalists and activists were remanded in custody. The example may be T. Chornovol, both the Euro maiden's correspondent and activist as well as A. Iliencko, the representative of Svoboda, the oppositional party.⁵ Then, the rulers started to use punishments for all those taking part in the public meetings whose character might be described as illegal.⁶ Besides, it was the time when the new terms such as 'social organisations' begun to be introduced in the policy, trying to play the role of foreign secret agents. Moreover, the Ukrainian governors desired to make easier the process of repealing immunity, which in effect led to provoking next

¹ *Ukraine crisis*, BBC News Europe., <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26248275>, [access on 8.07.2014].

² L. Dearden., *Ukraine crisis: A timeline of the conflict from the Euromaidan protests to MH17 and civil war in the east*, The Independent., <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/ukraine-crisis-a-timeline-of-the-conflict-from-the-euromaidan-protests-to-mh17-and-civil-war-in-the-east-9706999.html>, [access on 8.07.2014].

³ S.Webb., *Cars Worth millions, chandeliers everywhere and a gold-plated bidet: Protesters discover treasure trove at home of ousted Ukrainian president*, The Daily Mail., <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2568468/The-spoils-corruption-The-opulent-valuable-downright-gaudy-artefacts-former-home-ousted-Ukrainian-president-Viktor-Yanukovich.html>, [access on 8.07.2014].

⁴ *Germany's Steinmeier seeks round- table debate in Ukraine*, DW., <http://www.dw.de/germanys-steinmeier-seeks-round-table-debate-in-ukraine/a-17630916>, published by Reuters., [access on 8.07.2014].

⁵ *Two arrests reported in Chornovol beating*, Kyiv Post., <http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/journalist-and-protest-activist-chornovol-beaten-near-kyiv-334224.html>, [access on 9.07.2014].

⁶ *Ibidem.*, [access on 9.07.2014].

riots, in which almost two hundred people were hurt and three human beings killed as a result of being shot with the use of gum bullets.⁷

When the prime minister, M. Azarov resigned from his public function and the demonstrations were increasing in strength, the representatives of foreign countries of the West Europe, especially Poland, France and Germany decided to meet with the Ukrainian president as well as the particular representatives of the national opposition. Amid the Foreign Affairs Ministers, there were both R. Sikorsky and L. Fabius as well as F. W. Steinmeier.⁸ In a consequence, the Ukrainian president and opposition signed an agreement, which allowed the governor to bring the constitution from 2004 back in the time of forty – eight hours. This particular decision was respected by the local rulers. Apart from this, it was mentioned creating the new Government by coalition and forming new constitution up to September 2014 as well as national election's organising to December this year.⁹ As a result, V. Yanukovic decided to leave the country. This particular event started to make the Russian governors worry about the international political situation. The prime minister, D. Miedvediev started to criticise the western countries for accepting new rulers in Ukraine, who started to govern after the 27th of February. From this time, the Ukrainian prime minister is A. Jaceniuk whereas A. Deszczyca is responsible for Diplomatic Resort, A. Avakov for international affairs, J. Prodom for energetic affairs and P. Szeremeta for the economic.¹⁰ In D. Miedvediev's opinion, countries from the West have begun to present an aberration, a temporary change from typical or usual way of behaving. The prime minister claimed that their reaction was rather artificial, quite unnatural. Almost the same stance was maintained by the Ukrainian president, who also was sure that the whole responsibility for the Ukrainian crisis should be completely shared by the countries placing on the west part of the old continent.¹¹

In this place, it is worth mentioning that Great Britain was not engaged in the international meeting of the West Europe with the East one. The main voices of Europe and, at the same time, of the European Union were Poland, France and Germany.¹² Those representatives were brave enough to express their views and support or negate the whole situation. They played the role of so called mediators whose main aim was to stabilize the situation without the use of military power and to save as many people as it was only possible. They tried

⁷ L. Dearden. Op. cit., [access on 9.07.2014].

⁸ *Gewalt in der Ukraine: EU beschliesst Sanktionen*, Spiegel Online Politik., <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/ukraine-steinmeier-fabius-und-sikorski-bleiben-in-kiew-fuer-gesprache-a-954712.html>, published by Reuters, [access on 10.07.2014]. It was translated from the German language into English by the author of this article.

⁹ *Joint Statement on Ukraine of the Weimar Triangle Foreign Ministers Frank Walter Steinmeier (Germany), Laurent Fabius (France), Radoslaw Sikorsky (Poland) in Weimer*, Federal Foreign Office., http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Infoservice/Presse/Meldungen/2014/140331_Gemeinsame_Erkl%C3%A4rung_zur_Ukraine.html, [access on 11.07.2014].

¹⁰ Ibidem., [access on 14.07.2014].

¹¹ L. Dearden. Op. cit., [access on 12.07.2014].

¹² *Weimar Triangle: Joint Statement on Ukraine by Foreign Ministers of Germany, France and Poland*, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany London., http://www.london.diplo.de/Vertretung/london/en/___pr/Latest_News/04/Weimar-Triangle.html, [access on 14.04.2014].

to persuade both sides of the conflict, the Government and the opposition, to sign an agreement. Furthermore, they discussed on the theme of dangers which may be faced by the particular countries if the conflict would escalate. As media showed, the debate was also dedicated to methods of safe saving by countries, which could be engaged in the conflict's sides.¹³ Up to this time, the United Kingdom was almost anonymous. It did not want to engage in conflict and express its views. It did not want to be in favour or negate neither the Ukrainian crisis nor the EU's decisions. Probably, it was because Great Britain is the famous one for having the economic contacts with the Ukrainian's east neighbour. Its engagement at the first level of the international conflict might be started to be perceived as an aggressive one and in this way, the UK could lose too many contacts as well as potential investors. It is a fact that Great Britain belongs to the group of countries which are characterized as caution not only in the political sphere but also the economic and social ones. It is known for having the tradition of splendid isolation, as far as its foreign policy is concerned. The United Kingdom has a tendency to be far from the most important and, at the same time, influential affairs taking place amid the European Union's countries. In most cases, it does not desire to participate actively, it would rather stay away alternatively to support the conflict's sides but only diplomatically. It may be assumed that it was because Great Britain is completely aware of the fact that its international meaning is definitively lower than it was several years earlier, when it played the role of superpower together with the Soviet Union as well as the United States. Therefore, it has started to be in favour of the future both global and regional superpowers.

The whole situation has started to be changed gradually, when on the 2nd of March both Great Britain and France as well as the USA and Canada have decided to stop participating in preparations devoted to summit meeting's organisation, called G8 that would take place in Sochi in June this year.¹⁴ The next step taken by the UK was threaten of sanctions for Russia in the case of its Cry's attachment was accepted by the whole east country. Great Britain was decided to restrict Moscow in many spheres among which the most important was this economic one.¹⁵ In this way, Queen Elizabeth II's country desired to show the solitary with the whole European Community. However, as it was extremely easy to predict, it wanted to support the West countries' idea but only to some extent. As it was claimed by BBC, the British Government has written a document whose main goal was to define, which of the British particular areas could be excluded from the limits.¹⁶ The financial one belongs to such an area and, at the same time, the British City, which is for major group of Russians living in England, the place of investing the largest money.

¹³ Ibidem., [access on 14.07.2014].

¹⁴ M. Chastain., *UK, France stop prep meetings for G8 due to Russia aggression towards Ukraine.*, Breitbart., <http://www.breitbart.com/Big-Peace/2014/03/02/UK-France-Stop-Prep-Meetings-for-G8-Due-to-Russia-Aggression-Towards-Ukraine>, [access on 15.07.2014].

¹⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁶ M. Rybarczyk., *Londonrad.*, Newsweek 32/2014., p. 49., Into English translated by its author.

The city refers to the most enormous cities in England, which are habited by the largest groups of people, whose main goal is not only to live there but first of all to invest their capitals creating new businesses, organizations as well as institutions. To such a group of cities belong London, Birmingham, Chelmsford, St Asaph and Perth.¹⁷ The representatives of the east society such as B. Berezovsky,¹⁸ R. Abramovic¹⁹ or A. Temerko²⁰ have emigrated there because it is known as a place where people are more free from tax system than it is in Ukraine and Russia. From the 4th of January 2011 in Great Britain, the Value Added Tax (abbr. VAT) is 20%.²¹ It is claimed by the economist, that this is one of the highest in the comparison with the rest of countries belonging to the European Union Community. However, for Russians this particular system is definitively more clear and unambiguous than it is in their mother country. In England, there is an obligation to pay eight different kinds of tax: Income Tax, Corporation Tax, Pre-owned Tax, National Insurance Contribution, Capital Gains Tax, Inheritance Tax, Council Tax and Stamp Duty Land Tax.²² It is necessary to be emphasized that emigrants or all those who are from another countries and, who have the British citizenship granted, are not expected to pay them. They have to spend on the chosen ones. By this, Income Tax and Corporation Tax are meant.²³ The whole tax policy is completely different in the east countries, in which its sum is definitively lower. Besides, there are only three types of this paying (18%, 10%, 0%) but regulations are so complicated that those, engaged in transacting their own businesses, do not want to do that in the east.²⁴ More profitable for them is to pay the higher tax than to the lower one in Russia or Ukraine. Needless to say, millionaires choose those places as their destinations since it has quite flexible bank system. They do not have any problems with getting the loans because individuals, interested in this particular form of gaining capital in order to be invested, are not obliged to possess such a high financial security as it is in the case of countries from the east Europe. People from Russia, living and investing in the UK, have an opportunity to cooperate with banks of different kinds and even placed in distant parts of the world. In this way, they have a chance to borrow money from the next bank with a view to pay off this one, requested in the previous. Moreover, banks in Great Britain allow businessmen

¹⁷ S. Sheerin, J. Seath, G. White., *The City.*, in *Spotlight in Britain.*, p. 18-20.

¹⁸ B. Berezovsky was a Russian Business oligarch, government official and mathematician.

¹⁹ R. Abramovic is a Russian businessman, investor as well as politician. He is the main owner of the private investment company Millhouse LLC and Chelsea Football Club.

²⁰ A. Temerko is a prominent businessman in the energy sector, currently a director and Deputy Chairman of the UK-based company OGN Group.

²¹ *VAT for consumer.*, GOVUK., <https://www.gov.uk/vat/overview>., [access on 18.07.2014].

²² *Ibidem.*, [access on 18.07.2014].

²³ *Ibidem.*, [access on 18.07.2014].

²⁴ *VAT in Russia.*, Russian European Chamber of Commerce., <http://www.ruscham.com/en/rossinfo/db/23.html>., [access on 22.07.2014].

to transfer money to another account to avoid paying the handling charges, which are extremely high.²⁵

Taking very characteristic lives of people from the East Europe into consideration, Great Britain was and still is a country of freedom as well as independence. Society staying there feel free from regime before which they would have to escape in case of they would decided to stay in their own countries. The UK offers them democratic life style, thanks to which they can not only work but also educate their relatives in schools, which are characterized as pretty exclusive as well as egalitarian. City is the place combining people of different nationalities but the same or almost the same social status. It is meant, all those individuals who have a chance to be in a higher position in organizations and, at the same time, the British policy. Frequently, there are organised not only charity balls but also the auctions of art works. It creates a chance to meet and make new relationships with the influential people. It is not difficult to predict that the main themes of discussions during such occasions mainly are the economical and financial or strategic and social. During the events in the time called “the open season” the east investors have an opportunity to be amid the Royal Family representatives and British people strictly connected with the national budget as well as all those responsible for making decisions process.²⁶ It may be said, that in this way, people wanting to invest in creating a new business can attempt to influence the Government representatives’ decisions. Apart from this, as it is claimed by A. Muczinska, the Russian individuals love being among the most important people in Great Britain. It allows them to feel more prestigious. It is true that Russians love lavish life, pomp and etiquette as such.

In the time when the major part of the EU’s countries desired to put sanctions on Moscow, Great Britain wanted to do that too. However, as it was mentioned above, leaving City completely free. After an analysis that was presented in the earlier part of this article, it must be said that the UK decided to exclude this group of cities in order to avoid the potential problems with the national economy and, at the same time, to save the peace. It wanted to keep the bank system balanced and it allowed the budget not to raise the value of money.²⁷ Moreover, it led not to introduce changes in the international exchanges, thanks to which goods remained at the same level, as far as their prices were concerned.²⁸ The UK can still both sell and purchase the products in the east market whereas the vast majority of countries from the centre of Europe have embargo imposed. It is worth mentioning that at the very beginning of the conflict, the UK acted with due caution simultaneously taking both adequate and reasonable precautions. Mainly, the country had its self – interest not to pay too much attention to what was decided by another members of the European Union Community. It does not mean that

²⁵ M. Rybarczyk., op. cit., p. 48.

²⁶ M. Hollingsworth, S. Lansley., *Londongrad.*, published by OLE, Krakow 2014., p. 186.

²⁷ *Ibidem.*

²⁸ M. Hollingsworth, s. Lansley., op. Cit., p. 187.

it did not support the idea of them but they did it with reserve attempting to stay in a good relationship with the east side. By this, it is meant that Great Britain's actions, at that time, could be characterised as pretty diplomatic. Keeping an active economic life with Russia, the UK cooperated with the countries with which creates the international community. In this particular way, any of the conflict's sides cannot be accused of being not loyal. It is a fact that such a stance is extremely comfortable for Great Britain and its policy.

Apart from excluding City from the sanctions sphere, the UK decided also to work out technical assistance package for Ukraine as well as gas supplying. This particular action could be treated as a kind of solidarity demonstration. Furthermore, Great Britain, according to the article published by The Guardian, did not agree with the idea of NATO's armed intervention.²⁹ Instead of that, the UK was decided to send OSCE's observers, eventually the UN's ones.³⁰ Being one of the many United Nations' members, Great Britain was of the opinion that army's involving could be treated like the west countries' attempt of provocation. Probably, it was afraid of triggering a military conflict on the wider scale. In this case, countries being affiliated could be exposed to danger of participating in such a battle. Agreeing with the fact that NATO could take part in the Ukrainian crisis would mean the beginning of violent clashes not only between these two particular countries but also two separated parts of Europe, the west and the east one. Therefore, the idea of leaving the observers from two, completely independent international organisations seemed to be the perfect solution. It was definitely less invasive than gathering militaries from the west countries. It would be treated like a strategic form of cooperation between the conflict's sides. Russia could not accuse west Europe of being encroached because the main idea of that was only to observe them discretely. It created a fantastic chance not only for Great Britain but also all west countries to have their fingers on the pulse and react in the moment of real danger. Otherwise, it would be the time of ending the road of Brussels' cooperation with Moscow.

Great Britain followed the conscious policy not wanting to disturb its good relations with countries of the east. The UK restricted only to a threat of sanctions for illegal Cry's incorporation into the Russian Federacy.³¹ Apart from the embargo's imposition, the next warning from Great Britain was a threat of Russian's excluding from the group of G8 countries. It was said officially during the meeting taking place in Hagan, organised by the American President, B. Obama. When the representatives of all countries belonging to G7 as well as the EU were gathered, the British prime minister, D. Cameron expressed the country's desire to punish Russia through its elimination from the countries' group, which are still known as the most industrial. In the minister's opinion, not enforcing sanctions would result in deterioration of

²⁹ L. German., *When NATO learns the lessons of previous wars, we will stop protesting*, The Guardian., <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/sep/04/nato-wars-protesting-ukraine-iraq>, [access on 23.07.2014].

³⁰ Ibidem., [access on 23.07.2014].

³¹ M. Rybarczyk., op. cit., p. 47.

political and, at the same time, financial situation in countries such as Great Britain as well as the USA, France and Germany. According to them, they would be obliged to pay definitively too high price for leaving it in the community.³²

The most decisive moment, when Great Britain have begun to change its attitude to the Ukrainian crisis was on the 17th of June, when the Malaysian aircraft with 9 British passengers on board was shot down. It was the time when the British Government's representatives have started to present more radical stance and appreciate the role of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.³³ According to M. Fallon, the British Minister of Defence, this particular organisation is the basic one for the British board's protection. During the meeting with R. Sikorsky and T. Siemoniak, even the role of British and Polish relations was emphasized.³⁴ The British politicians have started to notice how both world and its policy is unpredictable. The role of particular organisations about the communal character started to be emphasized. It was clearly said that Great Britain expect decisive and effect actions from NATO in order to feel more safe.³⁵ At the same time, it must be said that in this particular moment, the UK has begun to notice the other countries' being present. The British legislators have wanted to be in touch with the representatives of countries being in the EU to work on a plan of action in the case of facing the potential danger. In this place, it may be said that Great Britain has stopped to work on its own and conduct a fantastic splendid isolation and has started to cooperate with all those whose decisions should also be taken into consideration as the members of the larger organisation. However, it must be highlighted that the British actions were not strict or aggressive but reasonable and balanced. It has been started to be said about an intensive military training course "Black Eagle" that would be organised in Poland by Great Britain.³⁶ It was even mentioned by M. Fallon that both British and Polish pilots are watching over the territories of Baltic countries.³⁷ It is expected that in the course it would participate 1300 British soldiers as well as 350 armoured vans. The main aim of the training will be preparation the military representatives of both countries how to react if the territories would be in hazard.³⁸ The next sign that Great Britain is against the antagonistic policy is mentioning again about the sanctions that would be put on Moscow when Russia would not stop sending the military support to Ukraine for the Russian separatists. It was claimed several times by P. Hammond, that

³² Ibidem., p. 48.

³³ *MH 17 Malaysia plane crash in Ukraine*, BBC News., <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-28357880>, [access on 24.07.2014].

³⁴ *Polscy i Brytyjscy politycy: Stoimy ramię w ramię wobec kryzysu na Ukrainie*, Polska Agencja Prasowa., [www.pap.pl/palio/html.run? Instance=cms_www.pap.pl&_PageID=1&s=infopakiet&dz=kraj&idNewsComp=169624&filename=&idnews=172935&data=&status=biezace&_Checksum=1467351555](http://www.pap.pl/palio/html.run?Instance=cms_www.pap.pl&_PageID=1&s=infopakiet&dz=kraj&idNewsComp=169624&filename=&idnews=172935&data=&status=biezace&_Checksum=1467351555), [Access on 24.07.2014]., translated by its author.

³⁵ Ibidem., [access on 25.07.2014].

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ Ibidem.

³⁸ Ibidem.

destabilization of completely free and independence country, by the Russian military, would face with strict restrictions, as far as the Russian economy is concerned.

It is true that the UK expressed its deep hope that the NATO summit, which would take place in Wales would end with an explicit statement considering this particular organisation's future. Great Britain's politician, P. Hammond, emphasized the role of organisation in keeping and supporting the international peace and, in his opinion, it should be done everything which is only possible to strengthen the character of this particular association. It was also stressed the aim of NATO, whose is to assure the national stability. The UK has started to emphasize its membership in this organisation and offer the another ones to cooperate in order to be prepared for dangers from the outside.³⁹ P. Hammond being the voice of Great Britain, highlighted the role of unity as well as solidarity of being in the community, which should have the same reason of beings. By this, protection from social evil and moral wrong were meant. Taking the fact, that at the very beginning of the conflict into consideration, the UK did not identify with NATO, some months later, when the situation has partly started to touch its citizens, it has begun to discern the organisation's crucial role. Probably, in this way, Great Britain saw its chance of success in explaining the reasons why the civilian aircraft was violently shot down and catching as well as punishing people responsible for death of so many people.⁴⁰ In fact, Great Britain counted on starting a large international investigation in which the representatives of the EU's countries would be engaged. It may be assumed that with the use of foreign help, the UK would be able to get to the place of the catastrophe. Thanks to that, they would have an opportunity to assess it on their owns and bring the guilty to court.

Shooting down the Malaysian aircraft has contributed to British public opinion's deterioration. It's indignation has resulted in toughen the regulations for all those Russians, whose capitals has been invested in London City. As it is claimed by M. Rybarczyk, in his article *Londongrad*, G. Osborne, the Chancellor of State Treasury is thinking about introducing the Property Tax for Russian immigrants, who are still known as the holders of housing estates, left uninhabited several years ago.⁴¹ Among many of them, the most popular are those, located in the centre of London, mainly near the Harrods Street. The current possessor of football club, Chelsea F. C., R. Abramowicz belongs to the group of people from the East, living in this particular place in Great Britain.⁴² Apart from this, it was announced by her, that the official inquiry establishing the circumstances of A. Litwinienko's⁴³ death is going to be conducted. It was also unsuccessful attempt to create a kind of conservative association of Russia's followers.

³⁹ *NATO must show fight over Russia*, The Daily Mail, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-2740957/Nato-fight-Russia.html>, [access on 29.07.2014].

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, [access on 30.07.2014].

⁴¹ M. Rybarczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁴² M. Hollingsworth, S. Lansley, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

⁴³ A. Litwinienko is considered to be one of the most known agent, who worked for KGB and was murdered in cold blood in London, in 2003.

As it is emphasized by the American professor, F. Cohen, the idea of forming such an organization may be perceived as an FSB's intrigue but the Russian lobby has suffered a defeat.⁴⁴

It is not clear, whether Great Britain will finally decide to impose sanctions for Moscow and, at the same time, for the richest people who, in fact, are in favour of W. Putin, the Russian President, and his decisions. Such people like B. Berezovsky or R. Abramowicz, the millionaires living as well as investing in the British businesses and organizations, are the oligarchs, partly thanks to whom W. Putin had an opportunity to substitute the previous president, B. Jelcyn.⁴⁵ Acting against them would be perceived as acting against the whole nation. Objecting to them would mean trade relations' deterioration, which could influence negatively both sides. By this, the British and Russian ones are meant. It is true that both nations have own shares in their countries. Russian people invest not only in organizations, such as banks in Great Britain but also in the cultural and educational places. They are perceived as the main sponsors for the events like exhibitions, for instance. Besides, they spend money on schools, in which their children have a chance to educate, too. The example of such a school is the one focused on the political science, placed in Oxford.⁴⁶ Apart from this, they invest in media through purchasing daily newspapers as well as magazines. In order to illustrate this, the A. Lebediev's case may be presented.

One of the most prosperous individuals, has bought the newspaper *Evening Standard*, after which some time later decided to buy yet another one, the daily one, titled *The Independent*.⁴⁷ It is worth mentioning the fact that both of them were on the brink of ruin. The Russian millionaire occurred to be the last hope. He acquired it, saving a major group of employee from recession. At the same time, A. Lebediev offered them work places, thanks to which he has won recognition as well as honour. Yet another example may be A. Mamut buying the bookshops Waterstones, being the most famous ones in London.⁴⁸ Similar to the oligarch, previously presented, this one also desired to protect them from bankruptcy. In both cases, the influences of different policy and culture are visible, although it is tried to become neutral. The newspapers attempt to balance their opinions however, it is rather impossible, especially in the time of the Ukrainian crisis escalation. In the British bookshops being under the control of Russian oligarch, it is pretty easy to find a book devoted to the East problems presented from its perspective.

⁴⁴ M. Rybarczyk., op. cit., p. 49.

⁴⁵ The main aim of the oligarchs, who paid millions in two last decade of 80's and at the very beginning of the 90's, was to choose such a person in the place of B. Jelcyn, who would be as submissive and tractable as his predecessor. It was because the richest in Russia desired to protect their capitals and estates from being verified. (According to M. Hollingsworth & S. Lansley., *Londongrad*, OLE., Krakow 2014., p. 80.)

⁴⁶ M. Hollingsworth, S. Lansley., op. cit., p. 199.

⁴⁷ M. Rybarczyk., op. cit.

⁴⁸ M. Hollingsworth, S. Lansley., op. cit., p. 210.

Considering the Russian's influence on the British economy, it is impossible to omit the fact that Great Britain is also engaged in developing the East trade. The oil concern BP belonging to the British country has obtained 20% of share in the Russian mining industry, Rosneft.⁴⁹ These particular examples illustrate to how much degree the British economy and trade is dependent on the Russian one, and all those, responsible for making decisions there. Those two countries are mutually influenced by themselves. The British actions against what is being happened between Russia and Ukraine would mean contacts' problems with their main business partners. In fact, it would mean suspending in the international good exchange and, at the same time, financial as well as economic problems. Those cases perfectly show, how crucial is to maintain the relations with Russia, by Great Britain. It is even a goal of the British politicians to be in favour of what is being decided by the Russian ones. With the use of their financial potential, the Elizabeth II's country has an opportunity to be both strong and save. The British people are dependent on the Russian capital.

This analysis of facts enables us to understand better, why Great Britain officially claim that any of the EU's countries do not need to export weapon, whereas this particular one is the first to send it to Russia. As it has been checked by AFP agency, there is 251 licences, that were signed by the British Government allowing it to sell the military goods, whose the whole value may be assessed at 167 mln euro.⁵⁰ Among many of them, the most important are snipping guns, ammunitions, bulletproof vests as well as night vision devices.⁵¹ In this way, Great Britain attempts to maintain good relations with Russia. It is done in order to prevent the whole country, and at the same time, the nation from being deprived of new investors coming from the East. If they stopped arriving and spending money there, it would mean Britain's financial collapse. Without the supporters from the East, Great Britain would not be able to prosper as good as it is today. It constitutes also the reason why the British Government's representatives do not change their minds, as far as their attitude toward the Ukrainian crisis is concerned. In fact, Great Britain will stay totally passive. It was even clearly said by P. Hammond, the Minister of British Defence, that Great Britain is not going to use its military power.⁵² The only help that might be offered the Ukrainian army is to provide the East soldiers with places in the British Military Academy. Apart from this, the British politicians has decided to support the future reforms that would be initiated in the Ukrainian or Russian army.⁵³

⁴⁹ M. Rybarczyk., op. cit., p. 47.

⁵⁰ *Wielka Brytania nadal eksportuje broń.*, Polska Agencja Prasowa., <http://www.rmf24.pl/raport-ukraina/fakty/news-wielka-brytania-nadal-eksportuje-bron-do-rosji.nld,1473176.>, [access on 2.08.2014].

⁵¹ Ibidem.

⁵² T. Shipman., *Britain has not lost its resolve to use military force.*, The Daily Mail., <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2590342/Britain-not-lost-resolve-use-military-force-Putin-warned-Hammond-calls-Nato-European-allies-raise-game-boost-defence-spending.html>, [access on 9.08.2014].

⁵³ T. Sipman, op. cit.

