

# THE ETHNOPOLITICS ENTITIES – ORGANIZATIONS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES OF EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Magdalena Karolak-Michalska\*  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3282-654X>

## Abstract

**Background.** The increase in the complexity of the socio-political situation of Eastern European countries forces questions about the activity of ethnopolitics entities – national minority organizations. Difficult access to data makes it impossible to obtain precise answers to questions about the role of national minority organizations and the impact of their activities on the security of the region. Research interest in these organizations is timely, especially after the Crimean annexation in 2014.

**Research aims.** The aim is to define the role of national minority organizations in Eastern European countries in shaping the security of the subregion. The research area is: Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine. The author puts forward the following research questions: 1) What are the main factors determining the political and social activity of national minority organizations in the region? 2) Is it possible to distinguish the strategies of the studied organizations? 3) What is the essence of political activity of national minority organizations?

**Methodology.** An interdisciplinary research approach was applied, integrating methods from political science, international relations and management. The conclusions from author's own research carried out during foreign study trips in 2014–2017 were used. The literature has an interdisciplinary dimension.

**Key findings.** The role of national minority organizations in shaping the security of Eastern European states is diverse. Their activity will depend on the policy of the country of residence. Uncontrolled, they may lead to deepening of the security crisis in the region.

**Keywords:** ethnopolitics, national minority organizations, Russian minority, post-Soviet area, Eastern Europe.

**JEL Codes:** F52, F53, J71

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\* Department of Management and Security Sciences, University of Social Sciences, Łucka 11, 05-077 Warsaw. E-mail: mkarolak@spoleczna.pl

## INTRODUCTION

Analyzing the contemporary ethnopolitical situation of the countries of Eastern Europe (Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine), it is impossible not to refer to the organizations of national minorities, which constitute a space for building structures integrating the national community. Social activity in minority organizations unites “national or ethnic generations, conveys the characteristics of identity or consciousness, retains a common origin, unifies the minority community” (Knopek, 2002, p. 80). In addition, as participants in the relationship between the state and other political entities and third sector organizations, they constitute a form of representation of their interests of an ethnocultural and ethno-political nature. It should be added that the extent to which members of the minorities feel the requirement of political activity corresponds with the sense of ethnic identity and is also determined by the existing legal order in a given country. Political activity is conditioned on the one hand by the opportunities determined by state institutions, and on the other one by bottom-up involvement of organizations gathering minorities (Kowalewska, 2015, p. 30).

When looking at minority organizations in the post-Soviet area (including, among others, those created by representatives of the Russian minority), it is impossible not to agree with prof. Andrzej Wierzbicki, that they can be seen as an example of a wider category of ethnopolitical organisms:

(...) encompassing all forms of organization of social life and their political institutions, including legal and political norms, as well as those shaped by the tradition and customs of social and social institutions (Wierzbicki, 2015, p. 54).

In the countries surveyed, the most intense activity of minority organizations is visible in Ukraine, while in Moldova and Belarus, although the intensity of the activity is smaller, it also takes on real shape. The interest in national minority organizations in the post-Soviet states is of current character, while it has definitely gained importance as a result of the Crimean annexation in 2014 and the ongoing war in Donbass. Discussions started in which questions were asked about the organizations' activity and their role in the transformation process

of the Eastern European countries, as well as their impact on the security of the subregion.

## **PRACTICE OF THE FUNCTIONING OF NATIONAL MINORITY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SUBREGION – DETERMINANTS, STRATEGIES AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY**

In order to determine the specificity of the functioning of national minority organizations in Eastern European countries, it is first necessary to refer to the factors determining their activity. By building a catalog of determinants one can see that on the one hand it is multi-faceted (contains historical, cultural and social, demographic, economic and political dimensions), and on the other, it is possible to distinguish a kind of “skeleton” of groups of factors that specifically condition functioning and activity of the organizations\*:

- institutional and legal conditions (regulations of national and international law, including the protection of minority rights),
- a sense of the national identity of a given minority (expressed, among others, in the use of the mother tongue) and the desire to mark its identity in the society of the country of residence,
- human resources of the organization (leaders, organizational and mobilization skills of members, setting goals and cooperation of the organization, degree of dispersion / territorial concentration of the organization’s members),
- material resources (financial resources and their sources as well as access to them, equipment and premises),
- internal environment (relation to the titular nation, stereotypes about minority groups, relations with authority institutions, churches, religious associations, political parties and non-governmental organizations),

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\* Due to the lack of access to statistics on the number of minority organizations, it can be estimated on the basis of the literature and own research that out of the studied countries the most organizations appear in Ukraine, then in Moldova and Belarus. The report data *The State and Dynamics of Development of Non-governmental Organizations of Ukraine 2002–2010* shows that 1% of non-governmental organizations in Ukraine were registered until 1990, 24% in 1995–1999, 35% in 2000–2004, and 34% after 2005. The number of organizations has been systematically growing in recent years (as of 2010, p. 23).

- external environment (international relations, the whole relationship between the state of residence and the historical homeland) (Kowalewska, 2015, p. 43).

The role of the above factors is significant. They greatly translate into the selection of strategies for minority organizations in Eastern European countries. These, in turn, are diverse and each of them reflects the transformations of changes in the activity of the minorities themselves and the ethnologies of the countries of Eastern Europe.

Analyzing the activity of minority organizations in Eastern Europe countries, it can be seen that most of them are a part of one of 4 strategies: (1) ethnic (national) organic work; (2) civic treatment of minorities; (3) a strategy for cooperation and going outside; (4) being a “minority in the majority” (table 1). It should be added that:

(...) the organization’s political needs are the motive for collective action resulting from the situational conditioning of the socio-cultural circle that creates these organizations (Kacperczyk, 2007, p. 50).

Author’s research from 2014–2017 as well as the analysis of programs of the organizations indicate that these strategies often change, are not durable, have a combined nature and their assumptions overlap. Comparing the program objectives of organizations representing the interests of individual minorities leads to the conclusion that they show significant similarities, but at the same time they retain their specificity of operation. The common denominator for these organizations is the development of culture and mother tongue, the protection of cultural rights of minorities and the development of cooperation with the “historical fatherland” in various spheres (cultural, economic or political, depending on the country in which the minority lives). It should be made clear that among the minority organizations of the subregion there is a visible division into ethno-political and ethno-cultural organizations – for example, Russian organizations in Belarus and Moldova – unlike those that operate in Ukraine – mostly do not refer to economic issues, focusing on ethnocultural purposes in their programs (e.g. Powszechne Stowarzyszenie Rosyjski Ośrodek Kultury “Ruś”; Kiszyniowskie Stowarzyszenie Rosjan). In turn, organizations operating in Ukraine are in favor of the development of Ukrainian-Russian political and economic cooperation (e.g. Rosyjski Ruch Ukrainy). Importantly, the activities of these organizations are mainly focused on the particular needs of minorities, while issues of

**Table 1.** Main strategies of political activity of (organizations of) national minorities in the countries of Eastern Europe

Name of the strategy	Characteristics of the strategy	Country	Examples of organizations
Ethnic (national) organic work	Striving to maintain and develop culture through the work and commitment of its own members; popularization of national traditions and culture; own social activity, without waiting for help from the state	Belarus	Mińskie Towarzystwo Kultury Rosyjskiej “Ruś”; Białoruskie Stowarzyszenie Powszechne “Ruś”
		Moldova	Towarzystwo Malarzy Rosyjskich “M-ART”
		Ukraine	Centrum Kultury Rosyjskiej “Cyryllica”; Związek Prawosławnych Obywateli Ukrainy
Civic treatment of minorities	The state-oriented strategy, the leaders of minority organizations stress the necessity / demand that the state exercise its rights, and expect the demands they submit with seriousness	Belarus	Republikańskie Publiczne Stowarzyszenie “Wspólnota Rosyjska”
		Moldova	Ogólnokrajowa Zjednoczona Rada Szkół Rosyjskich; Kongres Organizacji Rosyjskich Republiki Mołdawii; Rosyjskie Zjednoczenie Duchowe
		Ukraine	Kulturowo-Rosyjska Wspólnota w Kijowie; Charkowska Obwodowa Organizacja “Za Równość Kulturowo-Językową”; Rosyjska Ruch Ukrainy
Strategy for cooperation and going outside	Active inclusion of minorities in the social and political life of the region and the country it inhabits, as part of the activities carried out by the minority	Belarus	Białoruskie Stowarzyszenie Powszechne “Ruś”
		Moldova	Stowarzyszenie Rosjan w Bielcach; Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Republiki Mołdawii
		Ukraine	Kongres Rosyjskich Organizacji Krymu; Rosyjska Wspólnota Dniepropietrowska
Being a “minority” in the majority	Maintaining the distinctiveness without arousing negative associations among the titular nation; exercising all the rights of the majority	Belarus	Zjednoczenie Nauczycieli Języka i Literatury Rosyjskiej; Białoruskie Powszechne Stowarzyszenie Nauczycieli Języka Rosyjskiego
		Moldova	Stowarzyszenie Pisarzy Rosyjskich Republiki Mołdawii; Dom Muzyki Rosyjskiej w Mołdawii
		Ukraine	Organizacja Społeczna Szkoła Rosyjska

Source: author's own elaboration based on: Łodziński, 2005, p. 264 ff.

democratization and building a civil society in Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine are on the sidelines. However, this does not exclude the lack of influence of the organization's goals on the security of the region – for example, the Rosyjska Wspólnota Krymu has been proclaiming the return of the Crimean peninsula to Russia since the early 1990s, and in 2014 supported the actions of the Russian authorities related to annexation.

Organizations accepting different strategies and acting in the ethnopolitical or ethno-cultural nature of the activity have specific functions. One can risk the statement that they most often take the following forms:

- cultural (caring for national identity, culture and mother tongue),
- social (including actions for the integration of minorities),
- political (articulating interests and representation of minorities in the authorities).

Importantly, these functions interpenetrate, often taking on a complementary character.

It is important that not all minorities living in Eastern European countries are equally involved in political activity, moreover, in the minority organizations themselves there is a diverse need for political representation. This is, among others, the result of such factors as: (1) the availability of financial assistance from home countries; (2) the minority's relation to the country of origin; (3) the relation of minorities to national culture; (4) opportunities to join and cooperate with international minority organizations. On the other hand, the willingness to participate in minority organization policy may depend on internal conditions in the country of residence: a) the size of the minority, its location and distribution and its proportion to the general public in the host country; b) relations between the majority and minority, resulting from: their historical and present relationships, institutional and legal possibilities of influencing political solutions at the central and local level, including the creation of separate group rights for categories of citizens with a different ethnic or national identity by the state (Kowalewska, 2015, pp. 38–39; Bojar, 1991, pp. 403–418). It should be remembered that the stronger the minority's aspirations to strengthen its position in relations with titular and other ethnic groups, to obtain social privileges, and finally to strengthen its influence in

other spheres, the stronger the motivation of minorities to ensure their participation in socio-political, economic and cultural life of the subregion countries. At the same time, it is important that the organizations of national minorities in Eastern European countries arise in conditions of weakly rooted traditions of civil society and self-organization of the public sphere.

Pondering on the issue of political activity of national minorities in the subregion, it can also be seen that it can be considered in three dimensions:

a) symbolic (ritual) vs. real impact – in this sense some of the activities of a civil act of courage or a certain moral attitude can be described as “apolitical”; b) conventional vs. unconventional action – defined by the constitutional and institutional framework within the limits of the legal order and direct actions, having the character of legal or illegal forms of influencing the government; c) activities of varying intensity (differentiated in relation to such features as repeatability, involvement of participants). Importantly, these dimensions can interpenetrate each other, which means that a certain form of political activity can be described, for example, as an incidental symbolic action having a conventional character (Skarżyńska, 2002, p. 27).

Research observations of the political activity of minority organizations in Eastern European countries indicate that it has a diverse and multi-layered nature. The most frequent practices include: active and passive participation in elections (e.g. since Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine gained independence, the Russian minority has had their representatives in the parliaments of these countries), organizing political support (e.g. during political demonstrations and also promoting leaders, including minorities, and their political programs), or participation in a public debate on an ethnic issues, e.g. Russians belonging to the parliamentary Committee on Human Rights, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations – became co-authors 32 legal projects in the years 2007–2009 (Wierzbicki & Karolak-Michalska, 2016, pp. 245–256). The above forms of activity have various functions, both for the represented minority and for the political system of Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine. It should be added that the activity undertaken by the organizations can be described as an enclave-type (in the scale of the whole society, e.g. Rosyjski Ruch Ukrainy), while forms of political and civic activity such as belonging to an organization

or voting on ethnic parties should be referred to as empirical activity (e.g. *Rosyjska Wspólnota Krymu*)\*.

The political and social activity of minority organizations in Eastern European countries also points to their strengths and weaknesses. The former include, among others: (1) protection of minority rights and their enforcement; (2) strengthening the integration of minorities; (3) caring for national identity, linguistic and cultural separateness. In turn, the catalog of weaknesses – limiting the effectiveness of the organizations – is formed by: a) shaping a negative image of a minority in the country of residence; through its dysfunctional activities; b) lack of human and material resources; c) competition; d) conflicts within the organization that affect the lack of subsequent initiatives. In addition, analyzing the specificity of the activities of national minority organizations in Eastern European countries, one can see the reality of their formation, break-up or merging, in which they often compete with each other for the exclusive right to represent a given minority (e.g. Polish minority in Belarus). It is worth noting here that in order to increase the efficiency of operations, each of the minority organizations in the sub-regional countries should provide itself with answers to a number of questions, including whether they have the possibility to influence changes. What is, and what could be, the participation of organizations in the processes of modernization of the local environment? Does it want to participate actively and in an organized way in local development processes? Can the political ideology of the organization count on the support of other local communities or political groups? What do we expect from the authorities? (Kowalewska, 2015, p. 42; Mizgalski, 2012, pp. 68–69).

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\* Piotr Gliński and Hanna Palska distinguish following forms of social civic activity: verbal (form of deliberation and citizen readiness), potential (form of declarative support for institutions representing civic interests), enclave-type (takes place in partially isolated areas of social life, e.g. within the third sector), empirical (examined by means of surveying measurement tools in which, among others, declarations of participation in organizations or political parties are measured) (Gliński & Palska, 1997, pp. 366–368).



## **ACTIVITIES OF NATIONAL MINORITY ORGANIZATIONS AND THE SECURITY OF THE SUBREGION**

Looking at the activities of national minority organizations in Eastern European countries, it is clear that not all of them have a real impact on the security level in the subregion or are an important factor to consider when formulating the national security strategies. What is important, from the own research carried out in the subregion in 2010–2017, it is clear that the Russian minority is particularly active in comparison with other minorities in Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine and forms the most numerous ethno-political and ethno-cultural organizations. In Ukraine, the activity of Russians is greater in relation to Belarusians, Romanians and Jews. For example, the leader among local organizations – Rosyjski Ruch Ukrainy – initiates regional conferences, national conventions and round tables. In-depth studies in the subregion indicate that from the early 1990s the Russian minority in the former USSR countries, driven by the desire to develop their own culture and traditions, participate in power, be aware of the expectations and interests of the Russian population and the sense of their threat, as well as ethnocultural and ethno-social stratification coinciding with the regional socio-economic diversity, it assumed political parties and non-governmental organizations.

The events of the Crimea annexation of 2014 particularly highlighted the attention of researchers on the Russian minority (the largest in the Ukrainian territory – 17.3% of the total) and its organizations, as well as the role they play in formulating national security. It was the Russians living on the peninsula that became the direct cause of the changes. The war in Donbass, ongoing since 2014, brought shock, which translated into to increase awareness of the distinctiveness of Ukrainian identity and culture from the Russian one, but also to the ethnopolitical goals of the Russian minority, which have been voiced since the early 1990s and still exist in the programs of its organizations (including state status for the Russian language, change in the legal status of the Russian minority, development of Ukrainian-Russian cooperation, counteraction of Ukraine's accession to NATO, federalisation of Ukraine are the slogans of the Kharkiv organization *Za Równość Kulturowo-Językową*, Odessa Regional Organization “*Jedna*

Ojczyzna”, Spadkobiercy Bogdana Chmielnickiego) (Wierzbicki & Karolak-Michalska, 2016, pp. 307–324). In turn, the Russian minority in Belarus (8.3% of the total in 2009), as compared to national groups, also occupies an “exceptional” position – in 1989–2017 none of the other minorities matched its number (*Nacional’nyj...*, 2009). The Russians form clusters all over Belarus, with a clear advantage in the eastern part of the country. The specificity of the activity of the organization of the Russian minority in Belarus focuses on the events of the Crimean annexation. Some of the organizations – although they are mostly of an ethno-cultural nature and emphasize activities in the field of culture (e.g. Republikańskie Publiczne Stowarzyszenie “Rosyjska Wspólnota”), expressed their satisfaction with the referendum in the Crimea and the protection of the Russians there by their “historical homeland” in the form of the so-called support marches (e.g. Koordynacyjna Rada Organizacji Rosyjskich Sooteczestwennikow). In addition, pro-Russian organizations that perceive Belarus as part of the Russian World have been active in most of the regions\*.

Also in Moldova, Russians living in the conditions of multilingualism and multiculturalism have a significant demographic position (4.1% of the general population). They occupy a special place in Transnistria, where they constitute 30.4% of the region’s population (Moldovans – 31.9%, Ukrainians – 28.8%) (Pridniestrovie, 2013). In the context of the Ukrainian-Russian crisis, Moldova fears that it may have problems with the Russian minority that Ukraine currently has. The reason for this is the lack of a solution to the political conflict about Transnistria – the region of Moldova, which has virtually detached itself from the state and is controlled by Russia. In Transnistria, the news about the annexation of Crimea caused the satisfaction of the majority of Russian political circles, among the leaders of the Russian minority organization and also strengthened the activity of some organizations representing the interests of the Russian population, which was evident, among others, as part of organized rallies or marches (e.g. Kongres Organizacji Rosyjskich Mołdawii, “Nasze Pokolenie”) (Mołdawia..., 2014).

According to current research, the annexation of Crimea has become a stimulus for the Russian minority in Transnistria to return the region

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\* This concept goes beyond the borders of Russia and Russian ethnos. The core of the Russian World are the Russians and other nations are in their orbit.

to the “historical homeland”, as well as to expand the list of their rights and work to achieve their goals (development of Russian language and culture, activity publishing, development of Russian education, protection of the rights of the Russian-speaking population and the Russian language, Moldavian-Russian cooperation, popularization of Russian patriotism among Russian youth) and numerous demonstrations, rallies and marches in which they proclaim postulates and pro-Russian slogans (Organizacii 2018).

The clusters of the Russians in the countries of Eastern Europe naturally became the space in which the separatist tendencies began to emerge. It should be added that the Russians in the former USSR republics participate in the socio-political and economic life of individual states. The organizational activity of the Russians favors political mobility, it is also a manifestation of the lack of consent for assimilation. It stimulates the development of the ethnicity of the Russian population, and also builds a bond between the Russians in specific territories. In addition, by giving the Russian minority a sense of separation from the titular nations, it deepens cultural differences in society, which become one of the grounds of national conflicts, and thus they become a threat to the security of the subregion.

It can be assumed that the ethnopolitical movements of the Russian minority in the post-Soviet area will be even more strongly opposed to discrimination against the Russian population and to fight for its rights more actively. The annexation of the peninsula, the sense of danger caused by internal conflicts in the republics, as well as the widespread failure of systemic changes and the depreciation of the Russians have become additional pretexts for the mobilization of Russians in the territory of the former USSR. At the same time, it points out that in the majority the organizations of the Russian minority (except for radical communities), monitoring its situation in a given country, focus primarily on the particular needs of the Russian and Russian-speaking population, leaving issues related to the return to Russia the lands they live on aside or treating them as secondary. In turn, in radical milieus representing the interests of the Russian minority, the annexation strengthened the separatist tendencies, as exemplified by Transnistria, which at the same time combines with the threat to Moldovan security.

## CONCLUSION

The role of national minority organizations in shaping the security of Eastern European states is diverse, from insignificant (in the case of small organizations focusing only on ethnocultural goals whose demographic potential in a given country is marginal, e.g. the Ukrainian minority in Belarus – about 1.7% of the total), to significant, in the case of the Russian minority, whose potential and political activity in Ukraine became the direct cause of the Crimean annexation.

The current activity of the Russians in the post-Soviet area suggests that they will continue to work to achieve their goals, this activity (including the separatist one) will depend on the internal policy (especially the ethnopolitics) of the authorities of the state they live in, as well as the Kremlin's policy towards its compatriots abroad. It is evident that:

although Russia recognized the independence of the former Soviet republics, it did not lose its sense of the imperial power and did not remove imperial ambitions from the “near abroad” region – the best example of which is the annexation of Crimea (Pipes, 2002, pp. 17–18).

It should also be remembered that representatives of the Russian minority, especially those active in political parties and non-governmental organizations, take high positions in the social, economic, political and cultural structure of post-Soviet states. They are also active in business sectors, which gives Russia the stock of human capital to use to pursue the interests of its internal and foreign policy. The neo-imperial slogans, which are gaining strength in the organizations of the Russian minority, require constant monitoring by the authorities of the countries of Eastern Europe. Their implementation – in the face of the ongoing war in Donbass – not only threatens the security of the subregion, but may lead to a significant deepening of the security crisis in the subregion.

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## APPENDIX

**Table 2.** The objectives of the major non-governmental organizations representing the interests of the Russian minority in Eastern European countries in the years 1991–2018

Organization	Types	Goals
<b>BELARUS</b>		
Zjednoczenie Nauczycieli Języka i Literatury Rosyjskiej	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian language and culture; protection of Russian minority's rights; development of Russian language in Belarus education system; Ukrainian-Russian cooperation for the benefit of Russian language and culture
Białoruskie Powszechne Stowarzyszenie Nauczycieli Języka Rosyjskiego	Ethnocultural	Education activity for the benefit of Russian language; establishment of scientific and research cooperation between Belarus and Russia
Białoruskie Powszechne Stowarzyszenie "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian minority's rights; promoting Russian language and culture; enhancing Russian-Belarusian friendship
Witebskie Powszechne Stowarzyszenie "Rosyjski Dom"	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian culture; promotion of Russian language; protection of social and cultural interests of Russian speaking population in the Witebsk region
Koordynacyjna Rada Przewodniczących Organizacji Rosyjskich Rodaków	Ethnocultural	Protection of cultural, social and economic interests of Russian minority
Mińskie Towarzystwo Kultury Rosyjskiej "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian minority's rights in Belarus; development of Russian language and culture
Powszechne Stowarzyszenie Rosyjski Ośrodek Kultury "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian minority's rights, enhancing Russian-Belarusian cooperation in the area of culture
Republikańskie Powszechne Stowarzyszenie "Białoruski Związek Literatów" "Połacka Gałąź"	Ethnocultural	Development and popularization of Russian literature
Republikańskie Publiczne Stowarzyszenie "Wspólnota Rosyjska"	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian tradition and culture; strengthening social and cultural bonds between Russia and Belarus

Table 2. cont.

Organization	Types	Goals
Białoruskie Powszechnie Stowarzyszenie "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Protection and development of Russian language; uniting Russian population in Belarus; enhancing Russian-Belarusian friendship
Publiczne Stowarzyszenie "Białoruski Związek Blokady Leningradu"	Ethnocultural	Protection of social, economic and cultural rights of Russian minority
<b>MOLDOVA</b>		
Stowarzyszenie Pisarzy Rosyjskich Republiki Mołdowy	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian language and culture; protection of the works of Russian painters; publishing activity
Związek Przedsiębiorców Rosyjskich Mołdowy	Ethnopolitical	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights; establishment of economic cooperation between Russia and Moldova
Dom Muzyki Rosyjskiej w Mołdawii	Ethnocultural	Promoting Russian language and culture; friendship between Russian and Moldovan nations
"Nasze Pokolenie"	Ethnocultural	Publishing activity in Russian language; cooperation with publishing centers in CIS countries
Kiszyniowskie Stowarzyszenie Rosjan	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian language and culture; protection of Russian speaking population's rights
Kongres Organizacji Rosyjskich Republiki Mołdowy	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian minority's rights; development of Russian language; publishing activity; support for Russian writers
Rada Koordynacyjna Rosyjskich Rodaków	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian minority's rights, development and popularization of Russian language and culture
Liga Młodzieży Rosyjskiej Republiki Mołdowy	Ethnocultural	Improvement of learning conditions for Russian and Russian speaking youth; popularization of Russian literature; cooperation with Russian minority organizations in CIS countries
Mołdawskie Stowarzyszenie Nauczycieli Języka i Kultury Rosyjskiej	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian science, language, tradition and culture
Zjednoczona Organizacja "Rus"	Ethnocultural	Protection and development of Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Wulkaneszckiego	Ethnocultural	Protection and development of Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan m. Komrat	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian language and culture; protection of Russian speaking population's rights
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan m. Lipkany	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights; protection of Russian language and culture

Table 2. cont.

Organization	Types	Goals
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Gagauzii	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian language and culture; protection of Russian speaking population's rights
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Drokijewskiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights; protection of Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Edineckiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian language and culture; support for "sootečestvennikov" and Russian speaking population
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Kalaraszskiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian language and culture; protection of Russian speaking population's rights
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Kauszanskiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Bely	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Oknickiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Sztetan-Wode	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Rezińskiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Ryszkanskiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Straszenskigo	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Ungenskigo	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Faleszckiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Chynczeszkiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture
Ogólnokrajowa Zjednoczona Rada Szkół Rosyjskich	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian schools in Moldova; protection of Russian speaking population's rights; protection of Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan m. Kamenki	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan m. Dniestrowska	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture



Table 2. cont.

Organization	Types	Goals
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Republiki Mołdowy	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights, Russian language and culture
Rosyjskie Centrum Intelktualne	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian education; protection of Russian speaking population's rights; protection of Russian language
Rosyjski Klub Historyczno-Patriotyczny	Ethnocultural	Popularization of Russian patriotism among Russian youth; development of Russian culture
Rosyjskie Centrum Kultury	Ethnocultural	Protection, development and popularization of Russian culture
Stowarzyszenie Rosyjsko-Słowiańskie m. Kagul	Ethnocultural	Protection, development and popularization of Russian culture; support for "sootečestvennikov"
Rosyjskie Zjednoczenie Duchowe	Ethnopolitical	Protection of Russian and Russian speaking population's rights; unification of Russian minority organizations; cultural and economic cooperation between Russia and Moldova
Towarzystwo Malarzy Rosyjskich Mołdawii "M-ART"	Ethnocultural	Uniting Russian painters in Moldova; protection of Russian art and Russian artists' copyrights
Centrum Kultury Rosyjskiej w Mołdowie	Ethnocultural	Protection, development and popularization of Russian culture; work with Russian and Russian speaking youth
<b>UKRAINE</b>		
Rosyjska Wspólnota Krymu "Ojczyzna"	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian culture; Ukrainian-Russian cooperation
Ogólnoukraińskie Towarzystwo Kultury Rosyjskiej "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Educational and scientific activity for the benefit of Russian language and culture; protection of Russian minority's rights; scientific cooperation between educational centers in Ukraine and Russia
Rosyjskie Towarzystwo im. A. Puszkina	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian culture; protection of Russian population's interests; development of Ukrainian-Russian cultural cooperation
Chersońskie Towarzystwo Inteligencji Rosyjskiej "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Promoting Russian culture

Table 2. cont.

Organization	Types	Goals
Chmielnickie Towarzystwo Kultury Rosyjskiej "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Uniting Russian and Russian speaking population in the central region; protection of Russian population's interests; contacts with Russia
Krymska Wspólnota Rosyjskiej Kultury	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian culture in Crimea; development of Ukrainian-Russian cultural cooperation
Towarzystwo Inteligencji Rosyjskiej "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian culture; official state status for Russian language; development of Ukrainian-Russian cultural cooperation
Zakarpackie Towarzystwo Kultury Rosyjskiej "Rosyjski Dom"	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian culture; scientific research of Russian ethnic component
Krymski Związek Kozaków	Ethnocultural	Cooperation with Ukrainian orthodox church of Russian Patriarchate
Towarzystwo Kulturalno-Oświatowe "Rosyjskie Zebranie"	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian language; uniting Russian speaking artists; development of cultural and economic contacts with Russia
Odesskie Miejskie Ukraińskie Towarzystwo Kultury Rosyjskiej "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian culture; official state status for Russian language
Ogólnoukraińskie Narodowe Kulturowo-Oświatowe Towarzystwo "Zebranie Rosyjskie"	Ethnocultural	Official state status for Russian language; enhancing Russian-Ukrainian cooperation in the area of culture and science
Zaporoskie Miejskie Towarzystwo Rosyjskiej Kultury "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Satisfying cultural and national needs of Russian minority
Charkowskie Miejskie Społeczno-Patriotyczne Centrum "Rosjanie"	Ethnocultural	Development and promoting Russian culture, literature and language; development of cultural and economic contacts with Russia
Izmańskie Towarzystwo im. A. Puszkina	Ethnocultural	Promoting and development of Russian language
Rosyjska Wspólnota Bukowiny	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian language and culture
Rosyjska Wspólnota Krymu	Ethnopolitical	Uniting population of Russian origin in Crimea, alliance between Crimea and Russia; preventing integration of Ukraine and NATO
Wspólnota Rosyjska Obwodu Lwowskiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian population's interests in western region
Wspólnota Rosyjska Sewastopola	Ethnopolitical	Official state status for Russian language; localization of the Black Sea Fleet in Crimea; separation of Crimea from Ukraine

Table 2. cont.

Organization	Types	Goals
Związek Prawosławnych Bractw UCP Patriarchatu Moskiewskiego	Ethnocultural	Development of canonix orthodox faith in Ukrainian territory; development of cultural contacts between Ukraine and Russia
Wspólnota Rosyjska Obwodu Donieckiego	Ethnocultural	Popularization of Russian culture; economic and cultural contacts with Russia
Wspólnota Rosyjska Obwodu Iwano-Frankowskiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian language and culture
Wspólnota Rosyjska Obwodu Rowieńskiego	Ethnocultural	Popularization of Russian culture
Stowarzyszenie Kultury i Oświaty "Dom Rosyjski"	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian culture
Towarzystwo Kozaków Dońskich Obwodu Ługańskiego	Ethnocultural	Popularization of Russian culture
Chersońskie Obwodowe Ukraińskie Towarzystwo Kultury Rosyjskiej "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian language and culture
Kongres Rosyjskich Organizacji Krymu	Ethnopolitical	Protection of Russian interests in Crimea; double citizenship; uniting of Crimea and Russia; Ukrainian-Russian cooperation
Rosyjskie Narodowo-Kulturalne Towarzystwo Obwodu Charkowskiego	Ethnocultural	Popularization of Russian language and culture
Wspólnota Rosyjska Dniepropietrowska	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian national identity; official state status for Russian language
Słowiański Sobór "Rosyjska Wspólnota Zakarpackie Odrodzenie"	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russians' interests and satisfying their cultural aspirations
Stowarzyszenie Rosyjskich Wspólnot i Organizacji Obwodu Lwowskiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of cultural and educational interests of Russian population
Centrum Kultury Rosyjskiej "Cyrilica"	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian national identity
Konfederacja Rosyjskich Wspólnot i Organizacji Zachodnich Obwodów Ukrainy	Ethnocultural	Consolidation of Russian organizations in western Ukraine; official state status for Russian language; promoting Ukrainian-Russian cooperation in the area of economy and culture
Wspólnota Rosyjska m. Kijów	Ethnocultural	Promoting Russian tradition and culture

Table 2. cont.

Organization	Types	Goals
Dniepropietrowska Organizacja Obwodowa "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Protection of cultural and educational interests of Russian population
Dniepropietrowska Obwodowa Organizacja Społeczna "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian and Russian speaking population's interests; development of Ukrainian-Russian cooperation in the area of culture
Rada Rosyjskich i Ruskich Wspólnot Krymu	Ethnocultural	Consolidation of Russian speaking population of Crimea; protection of Russian's rights; development of political and economic Russian-Ukrainian contacts
Rosyjskie Centrum Młodzieżowe Krymu	Ethnocultural	Promotion of Russian culture among the youth in the peninsula; cultural contacts with Russian youth
Połtawska Obwodowa Organizacja Wspólnota Rosyjska Obwodu Połtawskiego	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian and Russian speaking population's cultural and educational interests
Wspólnota Rosyjska m. Czernihów "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	Protection of cultural and language rights of the inhabitants of the city
Organizacja "Zjednoczenie Poetów Rosyjskich i Rosyjskojęzycz. Obwodu Winnickiego"	Ethnocultural	Popularization of Russian and culture and literature
Rosyjska Rada Ukrainy	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian's interests; Ukrainian-Russian cooperation in the area of science and culture
Wspólnota Rosyjska Ukrainy	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian's cultural rights; official state status for Russian language; alliance of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia
Rosyjski Ruch Ukrainy	Ethnopolitical	Building of multi ethnic civic society; official state status for Russian language; integration of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia; protest against NATO
Narodowe Kulturalne Centrum "Odrodzenie Rosyjskie"	Ethnocultural	Popularization of Russian and culture and literature; Ukrainian-Russian cooperation in the area of culture
Wspólnota Rosyjska m. Połtawa	Ethnocultural	Observing Russian rights in Poltava
Wspólnota Rosyjskojęzyczna "Słowianie"	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian language
Ukraińskie Stowarzyszenie Nauczycieli Języka i Literatury Rosyjskiej	Ethnocultural	Popularization, protection and development of Russian language and culture, establishment of world scientific center of Russian language

Table 2. cont.

Organization	Types	Goals
Charkowska Organizacja Obwodowa "Za Równość Kulturowo-Językową"	Ethnocultural	Official state status for Russian language; intensification of multidimensional cooperation with Russia and CIS countries
Mikołajewska Obwodowa Organizacja "Rosyjska Wspólnota Narodowa Rusicz"	Ethnocultural	Popularization of Russian literature and culture; Ukrainian-Russian cooperation in the area of culture
Odessa Regionalna Organizacja Społeczna "Jedna Ojczyzna"	Ethnocultural	Unification of orthodox church in the spirit of Moscow Patriarchate; federalization of Ukraine; development of Ukrainian-Russian relations
Wspólnota Rosyjska Połtawszczyzny	Ethnocultural	Free use of Russian language; protection of Russian population's cultural rights
Związek Prawosławnych Obywateli Ukrainy	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian church in Ukraine
Kirowogradzki Fundusz im. N. N. Rajewskiego	Ethnocultural	Official state status for Russian language; development of Russian culture
Spadkobiercy Bohdana Chmielnickiego	Ethnopolitical	Official state status for Russian language; expanding of Crimean autonomy; protest against Ukrainian membership in NATO; economic and cultural integration of former Soviet republics
Prawosławne Bractwo Św. Księcia A. Newskiego Rosyjskiego Ruchu Ukrainy	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian culture and traditions
Rosyjsko-Ukraińskie Centrum Kulturowo-Oświatowe "Rodacy" m. Winnica	Ethnocultural	Communicating in Russian language in Ukrainian schools; official state status for Russian language
SRUB Sojusz Rosji, Ukrainy i Białorusi	Ethnopolitical	Protection of Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian population's rights; development of Ukrainian-Russian-Belarusian relations
Międzynarodowa Organizacja "Wierni Kozacy"	Ethnocultural	Official state status for Russian language; protection of Russian culture
Narodowo-Kulturowy Twórczy Związek Rosyjskich Dziennikarzy i Literatów	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian language; observing Russian minority's rights; Ukrainian-Russian cooperation in the area of culture
Ukraińska Akademia Rusycystyki	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian language studies; preventing the reduction of Russian speaking educational centers

Table 2. cont.

Organization	Types	Goals
Rosyjskie Centrum Kulturalne Obwodu Rowieńskiego	Ethnocultural	Official state status for Russian language; protection of Russian minority's rights
Związek Narodu Rosyjskiego	Ethnocultural	Acknowledgment of Russian minority as state-creating nation; Ukrainian-Russian cooperation
Obwodowa Odessa Organizacja "Rosyjski Związek Nadczarnomorza"	Ethnocultural	Communicating in Russian language in Ukrainian schools; preventing the discrimination of Russian population
Ogólnoukraińska Organizacja Społeczna Szkoła Rosyjska	Ethnocultural	Development of Russian literature and culture; official state status for Russian language; multidimensional contacts between Russia and Ukraine
Fundusz Wsparcia Kultury Rosyjskiej na Ukrainie	Ethnocultural	Communicating in Russian language in Ukrainian schools; multidimensional contacts between Russia and Ukraine
Ogólnoukraińska Zjednoczona Organizacja "Wspólnota Rosyjska"	Ethnocultural	Preventing the discrimination of Russian population
Ogólnoukraińska Organizacja Ochrony Praw "Rosyjskojęzyczna Ukraina"	Ethnocultural	Protection of Russian speaking population's rights; official state status for Russian language; Ukrainian-Russian cooperation in the area of economy and culture
Charkowskie Towarzystwo Regionalne "Ruś"	Ethnocultural	promoting Russian literature and poetry
Organizacja "Rosyjski Zjazd Narodowy"	Ethnocultural	Communicating in Russian language in Ukrainian schools; preventing the discrimination of Russian population
Wspólnota Rosyjska m. Charków	Ethnocultural	Preventing the discrimination of Russian population
Rosyjska Wspólnota Narodowa "Rusicz"	Ethnocultural	Promoting Russian culture, literature and poetry
Rosyjskie Ziemiaństwo m. Teodozji	Ethnocultural	Promoting Russian culture
Rosyjski Ruch Młodzieżowy Ukrainy	Ethnocultural	Promoting Russian culture; Ukrainian-Russian cooperation in the area of science and culture
Rosyjski Związek Narodowy	Ethnocultural	Preventing the discrimination of Russian population

Source: author's own elaboration based on: *Obšestvennyje...*, 2017; *Organizacii Sootečestvennikov za rubežom. Belarus'*, 2017; *Organizacii Sootečestvennikov za rubežom. Moldoviâ*, 2017; *Russkie...*, 2017.

**Table 3.** Selected non-governmental organizations representing the interests of the Russian minority in the countries of Eastern Europe in the years 1991–2018

Organization / Year of establishment	No. of ind. / legal members	Branches	Publishing activity (periodicals)	Territorial Reach
<b>BELARUS</b>				
Zjednoczenie Nauczycieli Języka i Literatury Rosyjskiej (2003)	120/–	5	Didactic aids for teachers	Nation-wide
Białoruskie Powszechne Stowarzyszenie “Ruś” (2000)	200/–	8	–	Nation-wide
Witebskie Stowarzyszenie Powszechne “Rosyjski Dom” (2002)	–	–	“Istoki”	Regional
Koordynacyjna Rada Przewodniczących Organizacji Rosyjskich Rodaków (2007)	11/–	–	–	Nation-wide
Mińskie Towarzystwo Kultury Rosyjskiej “Ruś” (1992)	1100/–	–	Informational brochures	Regional
Powszechne Stowarzyszenie Rosyjski Ośrodek Kultury “Ruś” (1994)	28/–	–	–	Nation-wide
Republikańskie Stowarzyszenie Powszechne “Białoruski Związek Literatów” “Połacka Gałąź” (1994)	–	14	–	Nation-wide
Republikańskie Publiczne Stowarzyszenie “Rosyjska Wspólnota” (1994)	500/–	6	School course-books	Nation-wide
Białoruskie Stowarzyszenie Powszechne “Ruś” (2000)	200/–	6	–	Nation-wide
<b>MOLDOVA</b>				
Związek Przedsiębiorców Rosyjskich Republiki Mołdowy (1998)	–	–	–	Nation-wide
“Nasze Pokolenie” (2009)	98	–	“Naše Pokolenie”	Nation-wide
Kiszyniowskie Stowarzyszenie Rosjan (1996)	–	–	“Naša Obsčina”	Regional
Kongres Organizacji Rosyjskich Mołdowy (1997)	–/28	yes	–	Nation-wide
Rada Koordynacyjna Rosyjskich Rodaków (2000)	–	–	–	Nation-wide
Liga Młodzieży Rosyjskiej Republiki Mołdowy (2001)	–	–	–	Nation-wide

**Table 3. cont.**

Organization / Year of establishment	No. of ind. / legal members	Branches	Publishing activity (periodicals)	Territorial Reach
Zjednoczona Organizacja "Ruś" (2003)	321/–	–	"Rusin"	Nation-wide
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan m. Lipka- ny (2002)	–	–	–	Regional
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Gagauzii (2000)	–	–	–	Regional
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Drokijskiego (2005)	–	–	–	Regional
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Edineckiego (1999)	–	–	–	Regional
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Rezinskiego (2000)	–	–	–	Regional
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Ryszkanskiego (2007)	–	–	–	Regional
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Straszenskigo (2006)	–	–	–	Regional
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Ungenskiego (2003)	–	–	–	Regional
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Falesztskiego	–	–	–	Regional
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Regionu Chynczesztskiego (2001)	–	–	–	Regional
Stowarzyszenie Rosjan Republiki Mołdowy (1993)	–	43	–	Nation-wide
Rosyjskie Centrum Intelktualne (2003)	–	–	"Russkaâ Škola"	Nation-wide
Rosyjski Klub Historyczno- -Patriotyczny (2009)	–	–	–	Nation-wide
Stowarzyszenie Rosyjsko- -Słowiańskie m. Kagul (1995)	–	–	–	Regional
Towarzystwo Malarzy Rosyjskich Mołdawii "M-ART" (2004)	–	–	–	Nation-wide
Centrum Kultury Rosyjskiej w Mołdowie (1989)	72/7	–	–	Nation-wide
<b>UKRAINE</b>				
Rosyjska Wspólnota Krymu "Ojczyzna" (1987)	700/–	–	–	Regional



**Table 3. cont.**

Organization / Year of establishment	No. of ind. / legal members	Branches	Publishing activity (periodicals)	Territorial Reach
Narodowo-Kulturalno-Oświeceniowe Zjednoczenie "Rosyjskie Zgromadzenie" (1990)	–	–	–	Nation-wide
Ogólnoukraińskie Towarzystwo Rosyjskiej Kultury "Ruś" (1990)	18,000/–	23	–	Nation-wide
Rosyjskie Towarzystwo im. A. Puszkina (1990)	400/–	2	"Sumienie"	Regional
Chersońskie Towarzystwo Rosyjskiej Inteligencji "Ruś" (1991)	–	–	–	Regional
Chmielnickie Towarzystwo Rosyjskiej Kultury "Ruś" (1991)	65/–	1	–	Regional
Krymska Wspólnota Kultury Rosyjskie (1991)	–	–	–	Regional
Towarzystwo Inteligencji Rosyjskiej "Ruś" (1991)	63/–	0	–	Regional
Zakarpacie Towarzystwo Rosyjskiej Kultury "Rosyjski Dom" (1991)	–	–	–	Regional
Krymski Związek Kozaków (1992)	800/–	20	–	Regional
Kulturalno-Oświatowe Towarzystwo "Rosyjskie Zebranie" (1992)	300/–	–	–	Regional
Odesskie Miejskie Ukraińskie Towarzystwo Kultury Rosyjskiej "Ruś" (1992)	100/–	–	–	Regional
Ogólnoukraińskie Narodowe Kulturowo-Oświatowe Towarzystwo "Rosyjskie Zebranie" (1992)	–	–	"Rosyjskie Zebranie"	Nation-wide
Zaporożskie Miejskie Towarzystwo Rosyjskiej Kultury "Ruś" (1992)	150/–	–	–	Regional
Charkowskie Miejskie Społeczno-Patriotyczne Centrum "Rosjanie" (1993)	–	–	–	Regional
Izmailskie Towarzystwo im. A. Puszkina (1993)	–	–	–	Regional
Rosyjska Wspólnota Bukowiny (1993)	–	–	–	Regional
Rosyjska Wspólnota Krymu (1993)	15,000/–	30	"Rosyjski Świat"	Regional

**Table 3. cont.**

Organization / Year of establishment	No. of ind. / legal members	Branches	Publishing activity (periodicals)	Territorial Reach
Rosyjska Wspólnota Obwodu Lwowskiego (1993)	1000/–	–	“Dziennik Rosyjski”	Regional
Rosyjska Wspólnota Sewastopola (1993)	1200/–	–	–	Regional
Związek Prawosławnych Bractw Ukraińskiej Cerkwi Prawosławnej Patriarchatu Moskiewskiego (1993)	5,000/–	–	–	Nation-wide
Rosyjska Wspólnota Obwodu Donieckiego (1994)	500/–	3	–	Regional
Rosyjska Wspólnota Obwodu Iwan-Frankowskiego (1994)	–	3	–	Regional
Rosyjska Wspólnota Obwodu Rowieńskiego (1994)	350/–	–	–	Regional
Stow. Kultury i Oświaty “Rosyjski Dom” (1994)	300/–	–	–	Regional
Towarzystwo Kozaków Dońskich Obwodu Ługańskiego (1994)	–	–	–	Regional
Chersońskie Obwodowe Ukraiń- skie Towarzystwo Kultury Rosyj- skiej “Ruś” (1995)	500/–	–	–	Regional
Kongres Rosyjskich Organizacji Krymu (1995)	500/15	–	„Rosyjski Krym”	Regional
Rosyjskie Narodowo-Kulturalne Towarzystwo Obwodu Charkow- skiego (1995)	–	–	–	Regional
Rosyjska Wspólnota Dniepropie- trowska (1995)	65/–	–	„Rosyjskie Słowo”	Regional
Słowiański Sobór “Rosyjska Wspólnota Zakarpacie Odrodze- nie” (1995)	25/–	3	–	Regional
Stowarzyszenie Rosyjskich Wspólnot i Organizacji Obwodu Lwowskiego (1995)	–	–	–	Regional
Centrum Kultury Rosyjskiej “Cyrilica” (1996)	80/5	–	–	Regional
Konfederacja Rosyjskich Wspólnot i Organizacji Zachodnich Obwodów Ukrainy (1996)	–	–	“Dzień za Dniem”	Regional

**Table 3. cont.**

Organization / Year of establishment	No. of ind. / legal members	Branches	Publishing activity (periodicals)	Territorial Reach
Rosyjska Wspólnota m. Kijów (1996)	900/–	13	–	Regional
Dniepropietrowska Obwodowa Organizacja “Ruś” (1997)	830/7	5	–	Regional
Dniepropietrowska Obwodowa Społeczna Organizacja “Ruś” (1997)	480/–	–	–	Regional
Rada Rosyjskich i Ruskich Wspól- not Krymu (1997)	7165/6	16	–	Regional
Rosyjskie Młodzieżowe Centrum Krymu (1997)	1000/–	30	“Moskiewska Ulica”	Regional
Połtawska Obwodowa Organizacja “Rosyjska Wspólnota Obwodu Połtawskiego” (1998)	–	3	–	Regional
Rosyjska Wspólnota m. Czernigow “Ruś” (1998)	300/–	–	–	Regional
Organizacja “Zjednoczenie Rosyj- skich i Rosyjskojęzycznych Poetów Obwodu Winnickiego” (1999)	120/4	6	“Pole Litera- tury”	Regional
Rosyjska Rada Ukrainy (1999)	–	–	–	Nation-wide
Rosyjska Wspólnota Ukrainy (1999)	8,000/5	–	–	Nation-wide
Rosyjski Ruch Ukrainy (1999)	46,000/–	26	“Rosyjski Ruch Ukrainy”	Nation-wide
Narodowe Kulturalne Centrum “Rosyjskie Odrodzenie” (2000)	2436/3	7	–	Regional
Rosyjska Wspólnota m. Połtawa (2000)	–	–	–	Regional
Rosyjskojęzyczna Wspólnota Słowianie (2000)	–	–	–	Regional
Ukraińskie Stowarzyszenie Na- uczycieli Języka Rosyjskiego i Literatury (2000)	50/48	–	“Rusycystyka”	Nation-wide
Charkowska Obwodowa Orga- nizacja “Za Równość Kulturowo- -Językową” (2000)	300/–	–	–	Regional
Mikołajewska Obwodowa Organizacja “Rosyjska Narodowa Wspólnota Rusicz” (2001)	309/3	–	–	Regional

**Table 3. cont.**

Organization / Year of establishment	No. of ind. / legal members	Branches	Publishing activity (periodicals)	Territorial Reach
Odessa Regionalna Organizacja Społeczna "Jedna Ojczyzna" (2001)	1300/-	5	"Prawosławny Telegraf"	Regional
Rosyjska Wspólnota Połtawszczyzny (2001)	-	-	-	Regional
Związek Prawosławnych Obywateli Ukrainy (2001)	-	-	-	Regional
Kirowogradzki Fundusz im. N.N. Rajewskiego (2002)	200/-	5	-	Regional
Spadkobiercy Bohdana Chmielnickiego (2002)	-	-	-	Nation-wide
Prawosławne Bractwo Świętego Księcia A. Newskiego Rosyjskiego Ruchu Ukrainy (2003)	-	-	-	Regional
Rosyjsko-Ukraińskie Centrum Kulturowo-Oświatowe "Rodacy" m. Winnica (2003)	-	-	-	Regional
SRUB Sojusz Rosji, Ukrainy i Białorusi (2003)	-	-	-	Regional
Międzynarodowa Organizacja "Wierni Kozacy" (2004)	600/5	-	"Wierny Kozak"	Nation-wide
Narodowo-Kulturalny Twórczy Związek Rosyjskich Dziennikarzy i Literatów (2004)	350/-	16	-	Nation-wide
Ukraińska Akademia Rusycystyki (2004)	-	20	-	Nation-wide
Rosyjskie Centrum Kulturalne Obwodu Rowieńskiego (2005)	2300/11	5	"Glagol"	Regional
Związek Narodu Rosyjskiego (2005)	-	-	-	Nation-wide
Obwodowa Odessa Organizacja "Rosyjski Związek Nadczarnomorza" (2006)	205/-	10	"Naddunajski Rejon"	Regional
Ogólnoukraińska Społeczna Organizacja Rosyjska Szkoła (2006)	-	-	-	Nation-wide
Fundusz Wsparcia Kultury Rosyjskiej na Ukrainie (2007)	-	-	-	Regional
Ogólnoukraińska Zjednoczona Organizacja "Wspólnota Rosyjska" (2007)	-	-	"Rosyjska Prawda"	Nation-wide

**Table 3. cont.**

Organization / Year of establishment	No. of ind. / legal members	Branches	Publishing activity (periodicals)	Territorial Reach
Ogólnoukraińska Organizacja Ochrony Praw “Ruskojęzyczna Ukraina” (2009)	55/–	18	–	Nation-wide
Charkowskie Regionalne Towa- rzystwo “Ruś”	514/–	11	–	Regional
Organizacja “Rosyjski Zjazd Narodowy”	–	–	–	Regional
Rosyjska Wspólnota m. Charków	–	–	–	Regional
Rosyjska Wspólnota Narodowa “Rusicz”	–	–	–	Regional
Rosyjskie Ziemiaństwo m. Teodozji	–	–	–	Regional
Rosyjski Ruch Młodzieżowy Ukrainy	–	–	–	Regional
Rosyjski Związek Narodowy	–	–	–	Nation-wide

Source: author's own elaboration based on: *Obšestvennyje...*, 2017; *Organizacii Sootočestvennikov za rubežom. Belarus'*, 2017; *Organizacii Sootočestvennikov za rubežom. Moldoviá*, 2017; *Ruskie...*, 2017.