

University of Lodz
Faculty of International and Political Studies

Łukasz Muszyński

Rozprawa doktorska/Doctoral dissertation

**Państwa nieuznawane w Europie Wschodniej
- casus Naddniestrzańskiej Republiki Mołdawskiej i Republiki Abchazji**

**Unrecognized states in Eastern Europe
- the case of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic and the Republic of Abkhazia**

The functioning of unrecognized states is a challenge that affects the structure of their home states and the condition of international relations. It also influences the practice of applying acts of international law. The existence of the title units remains at the same time an issue resulting from the phenomenon of separatism present in the theory of political science. The research problem in this dissertation is the functioning of unrecognized states despite the lack of their universal international recognition. The study concerns case studies of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic and the Republic of Abkhazia. The main difference between the mentioned units, which was also one of the reasons for choosing both examples, is the fact that there is no international recognition for the first of them and the recognition by five countries expressed for the second of them. The indicated research problem seems to be interesting and attractive from the scientific point of view, due to the special situation regarding *de facto* functioning, in the absence of universal *de jure* recognition, mainly from the home states. Over the years, both units have managed to develop permanent state structures, organize the armed forces and develop a specific economic potential. They also act in the form of soft power, which is characteristic of countries with universal international recognition, e.g. through the development of tourism, the maintenance of sports representation and the activities of universities.

The research problem of this dissertation also concerns the theory of politics, with particular emphasis on the issues of state science. The analysis of the factors determining the

proclamation, and then enabling the functioning of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic and the Republic of Abkhazia, leads to a broadening of the spectrum of reflection on the development of the phenomenon of separatism. Considering the definition and classification of the phenomenon of separatism, as well as the specification of related concepts, such as: „regionalism”, „cession”, „irredentism” or „dereliction”, remain important in the cited aspect. The theoretical approach included in the dissertation also includes proprietary diagrams defining the goals and methods of implementation in the activity of separatist movements. Their juxtaposition with the aspirations expressed in political practice allows to verify the hypothesis about the possibility of functioning of the title units despite the lack of universal international recognition.

The aim of this doctoral dissertation is to identify the historical foundations of the proclamation of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic and the Republic of Abkhazia, as well as the factors enabling their functioning. The reflection on the above-mentioned issues is broadened by a defined theoretical base and a network of concepts such as: „separatism”, „separatist movement”, „subjectivity of the separatist movement”, „goals and methods of separatist movements”, „low-intensity conflict”. Defining the theoretical base serves to systematize the base of knowledge in the field of the phenomenon of separatism, and moreover, it seems necessary for the correct analysis of the research problem and maintaining a neutral scientific character.

The purpose of this dissertation was achieved by verifying the following research hypotheses:

1) Unrecognized states are able to function despite the lack of universal international recognition.

2) Unrecognized states are capable of creating institutional and legal structures.

3) Unrecognized states are able to enter into relations with states with universal international recognition and with other unrecognized states.

4) The Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic and the Republic of Abkhazia are unrecognized states.

5) The Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic and the Republic of Abkhazia are able to function despite the lack of universal international recognition.

6) The functioning of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic and the Republic of Abkhazia can be used as an instrument of foreign policy of other participants in the system of international relations.

Łukasz Muszyński