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RELAÇÕES EXTERNAS DA  
UNIÃO EUROPEIA A LESTE

*EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE  
EUROPEAN UNION TOWARDS THE EAST*

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## *One Europe or None*

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### **Abstract:**

The European post-Cold War order assumed monist forms. Instead of the geopolitical and ideological diversity sought by Mikhail Gorbachev as he brought the Cold War to an end in the late 1980s, a type of monist cold peace was imposed in which Atlantic security institutions and ideas were consolidated. The monism was both institutional and ideational, and the two reinforced each other in a hermetic order that sought to insulate itself from critique and transformation. Russia was excluded as anything but subaltern. The post-Cold War European peace order was thus built on weak foundations, provoking a cycle of mimetic rivalry. In Russia the fateful dialectic of external challenge and domestic stultification once again operated, heightening the Kremlin's threat perceptions. Russia's relations with the European Union (EU) and Washington veered between the cooperative and the confrontational, until settling into a conflictual mode in 2014, as it is argued in the article.

**Keywords:** monism, neo-revisionism, Russia, European Union, United States

It would not be unreasonable to suggest that it was incumbent on those who claimed to have won the Cold War to create the conditions for a viable and enduring peace. Just as there were no real victors after the Great War, yet a punitive peace was imposed on Germany that created the conditions for the renewal of conflict, so too the peace order after 1989 reflected the asymmetrical end to the Cold War. On the one side the institutions that had maintained the Soviet bloc were dismantled, whereas on the other side the Atlantic security system was maintained and in the end enlarged to encompass much of the territory of its former adversary. The European post-Cold War order assumed monist forms. Instead of the geopolitical and ideological diversity sought by Mikhail Gorbachev as he brought the Cold War to an end in the late 1980s, a type of monist cold peace was imposed in which Atlantic security institutions and ideas were consolidated. The monism was both institutional and ideational, and the two reinforced each other in a hermetic order that sought to insulate itself from critique and transformation. Russia was excluded as anything but