
STUDIA Z DZIEJÓW ROSJI I EUROPY ŚRODKOWO-WSCHODNIEJ



Special Issue

Vol. 60

Andrzej Nowak, The Road to Rapallo: Germany in the Soviet Russia's Policy in the Light of Viktor L. Kopp's Reports for Georgy V. Chicherin from 1920–1921

Łukasz Dryblak, How to Defeat the USSR? Richard Wraga's Analysis of Soviet Russia and Communism, the Relevance of His Studies, and His Impact on the US Intelligence Community

Przemysław Żurawski vel Grajewski, The Price of Wishful Thinking. The Policy of the West towards Russia

POLSKA AKADEMIA NAUK ■ INSTYTUT HISTORII



INSTYTUT HISTORII IM. TADEUSZA MANTEUFFLA
POLSKIEJ AKADEMII NAUK

FUNDACJA INSTYTUTU HISTORII IM. TADEUSZA MANTEUFFLA
POLSKIEJ AKADEMII NAUK

STUDIA Z DZIEJÓW
ROSJI I EUROPY
ŚRODKOWO-WSCHODNIEJ

Special Issue

Vol. 60



Warsaw 2025

Publication subsidised from public funds by the Minister of Education
and Science as part of the special purpose grant from the Ministry of Education
and Science 'Faces and Metamorphoses of Russian Empires (333 years: 1689–2022).
Research conducted by the Team for Comparative Research on Russian Imperialism'



Minister Nauki
i Szkolnictwa Wyższego



Ministerstwo Nauki
i Szkolnictwa Wyższego

Editorial Board

Daniel Boćkowski (editor-in-chief), Mariusz Wołos (deputy editor),
Łukasz Dryblak (secretary and guest editor), Jan Jacek Bruski,
Andrzej Furier, Bartłomiej Gajos (assistant editor)

Advisory Committee

Iskra Bayewa (Sofia University 'St. Kliment Ohridski', Bulgaria), Tadeusz Epsztajn (Institute of History PAS, Poland), Jiří Friedl (Univerzita Obrany, Brno, Czech Republic), Jarosław Hrycak (National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine), Ēriks Jēkabsons (Latvijas Universitāte, Latvia), Renata Król-Mazur (Jagiellonian University, Poland), Piotr Łossowski (Prof. em., Institute of History PAS, Poland), Wojciech Materski (Institute of Political Studies PAS, Poland), Irina Matiash (Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in Kyiv, Ukraine; Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland), Kimitaka Matsuzato (University of Tokyo, Japan), Andrzej Nowak (Jagiellonian University, Institute of History PAS, Poland), Aleksandr Rupasov (Saint Petersburg Institute of History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia), Timothy Snyder (Yale University, USA), Dariusz Staliūnas (Lithuanian Institute of History, Lithuania), Alicja Stępień-Kuczyńska (University of Lodz, Poland), Jacek Tebinka (University of Gdansk, Poland)

INSTYTUT HISTORII POLSKIEJ AKADEMII NAUK

Rynek Starego Miasta 31
00–272 Warszawa
e-mail: sdr@ihpan.edu.pl
<http://www.sdr-ihpan.edu.pl>

Copy editing

Katarzyna Chmielewska, Grażyna Waluga

Journal layout and cover design

Dariusz Górski

e-ISSN 2353-6403

p-ISSN 1230-5057

The online version is the reference version for this journal
Peer-reviewed journal



Contents

FACES AND METAMORPHOSES OF RUSSIAN EMPIRES (333 YEARS: 1689–2022)

Andrzej Nowak , Foreword	5
Tomasz Szwaciński , From the History of Russian Expansion in the Black Sea Area: The British Position towards the Russo-Turkish Dispute over the Construction of the Fortress of St Elisabeth (1754–1756)	9
Adam Danilczyk , Forced Settlement of Novorossiya and Crimea in the Second Half of the 1770s and 1780s, and Attempts to Stop It (as Exemplified by Poland) ..	43
Henryk Głębocki , Count Adam Gurowski: An Intellectual between the Ambition to Globally Transform the World and Service to Russian Propaganda, 1849–1866. A Selection of Documents	65
Andrzej Nowak , The Road to Rapallo: Germany in the Soviet Russia’s Policy in the Light of Viktor L. Kopp’s Reports for Georgy V. Chicherin from 1920–1921 ..	99
Paweł Libera , Anti-Communism and Anti-Imperialism. Entente Internationale Anticommuniste and the Promethean League: Two Ways of Understanding, Analysing, and Fighting Soviet Russia in the Interwar Period (1924–1939)	133
Łukasz Dryblak , How to Defeat the USSR? Richard Wraga’s Analysis of Soviet Russia and Communism, the Relevance of His Studies, and His Impact on the US Intelligence Community	163
Michał Wojnowski , Eastern Europe and the Means of Neutralising it by Russia in the Neo-Eurasian Geopolitical Doctrine from the 1990s to 2025	215
Przemysław Żurawski vel Grajewski , The Price of Wishful Thinking. The Policy of the West towards Russia	259

CHALLENGES AND GOALS OF POST-IMPERIAL RUSSIA

Adam R. Bartnicki, Maciej Korowaj , Russia as a Power	285
Walenty Baluk , Propaganda and Disinformation of Russia's War against Ukraine in 2014–2024	301
Justyna Olędzka, Taras Polovyi , A Distant Ally: The Role of China in Belarusian Policy in the Context of the Deepening Integration of the Union State	319
Krzysztof Iwanek , Perception of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine in the Indian Strategic Discourse, 2022–2025. The Case of MP IDSA	333
Daniel Boćkowski , Russian Intoxication Operations and Ways of Building Societal Resilience	351

RECOMMENDED BY
INSTITUTE OF HISTORY PAS

HENRYK GŁĘBOCKI

„CO ZROBIĆ Z POLSKĄ?”



SPRAWA POLSKA
W IDEOLOGIACH I STRATEGIACH
IMPERIUM ROSYJSKIEGO
I SOWIECKIEGO
WOBEĆ PERYFERII
(OD MIKOŁAJA I DO STALINA)



www.ihpan.edu.pl



<http://rcin.org.pl>