

From this point of view, Russia is an independent country, Ukraine is not. Hence Putin sees the Crimea as belonging to Russia, Ukraine as a *"fake"* country, and Ukrainians as *"our people"* with Russians.

At the same time, economist Branko Milanovic *draws a direct contrast* between the sovereignty and wealth of countries. He uses the example of the DPRK and Belgium: "Sovereignty means the freedom to make political and economic decisions with as few restrictions as possible from other countries. Wealth means having a high level of income (high GDP per capita). The problem is that they cannot co-exist. Countries can only get rich by becoming less sovereign, i.e. more globally integrated. Russian nationalism is a choice for full sovereignty, free from outside and rules, and free from the Western ideology of Marxism and liberalism".

Finally, Senator Andrei Klimov, one of the co-authors of the Russian constitutional amendments, explicitly *states* that the ideology of modern Russia is sovereignty.

Putin's understanding of sovereignty in general, and Ukraine's independence in particular, is perfectly aligned with the concept of *"Russia having"* inherited by Russian society from imperial times. In this way, Russian "sovereignty" is indistinguishable from Russian imperialism.

On 11 December 2004, in a *message* to the Federal Assembly, Putin declared himself a conservative like Nikolai Berdyaev and said that Russia would be a world leader in upholding conservative morality. And on 11 October 2005, at a meeting of the Valdai Club, Putin *said* that Russia would be guided by the ideology of conservatism, which had gained its importance in recent years. Putin *used* four interchangeable definitions: *"sound conservatism"*, *"sensible conservatism"*, *"moderate conservatism"* and *"pragmatic conservatism"*.

Traditionalism, or more precisely *"traditional values"*, is an important, if not the main, part of Putin's conservatism. The list of traditional values *includes* human life, dignity, rights and freedoms, patriotism, service to the motherland, high moral ideals, a strong family, creative work and the priority of the spiritual over the material, according to the *"Fundamentals of State Policy for the Preservation and Strengthening of Traditional Russian Spiritual and Moral Values"* (2004).

The Ukrainian Institute for the Future has already *reviewed* the "Concept of the Humanitarian Policy of the Russian Federation Abroad", according to which *"Russia's historical experience, rich cultural heritage and spiritual potential have allowed it to occupy a special place in the world cultural space and have created opportunities for the successful promotion of traditional Russian spiritual and moral values abroad"*. Another component of *"traditional values"* in Russia is state homophobia. This has also been *analysed* by the IIF. Since then, the persecution of people with alternative sexual orientations or gender identities has only intensified; in particular, medical gender reassignment is effectively *banned*.

Finally, Putin has put much emphasis on patriotism. In the summer of 2004 he underlined that patriotism was a sacred duty for Russians, and in October he called it a *"moral guide"* for young people. In February 2006, Putin *stressed*: *"We do not and cannot have any other guiding idea than patriotism... This is the national idea"*.

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