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## RESEARCH REPORTS

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### THE CONCEPTS OF ENCLAVE AND EXCLAVE AND THEIR USE IN THE POLITICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTIC OF THE KALININGRAD REGION

*Yu. Rozhkov-Yuryevsky*\*



*This article focuses on the genesis of and correlation between the related concepts of enclave and exclave and the scope of their use in different sciences, fields of knowledge, and everyday speech. The author examines the circumstances of their emergence in the reference and professional literature in the Russian language. Special attention is paid to the typology of the world's enclave territories as objects of political geography; at the same time, their new categories and divisions (international enclave, overseas exclaves, internal enclaves of different levels) are extended and introduced. The author offers a new classification of contemporary and historical enclaves and exclaves. The article identifies the specific features of the Kaliningrad region in comparison to other enclave territories. The difference between the exclavity of the Kaliningrad region in the Soviet and post-Soviet periods is emphasised. The author shows the evolution of the use of concepts of enclave and exclave for describing the features of the Kaliningrad region's positions from the perspective of the mother and surrounding states. The article introduces the concept of dividing states and stresses the need to take their interests into account to ensure the functioning of the Russian exclave. The author substantiates the thesis that the Russian region is an enclave of the European Union (but not NATO) and an exclave of the Russian Federation and a number of political and economic intergovernmental alliances with Russian participation. The article offers a generalised characteristic of the Kaliningrad region from the perspective of its enclavity / exclavity.*

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The concepts *enclave* and *exclave* are widely used both in geography and geopolitics to characterize a special situation of some separate parts of some particular states like the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation. There is both close similarity and a significant difference between these two concepts.

These two terms receive a most general interpretation by E. Alaev in his classical work *Social'no-ekonomicheskaja geografija. Ponjatijno-terminologicheskij slovar'* (*Social and economic geography: An essay in conceptual terminological systematization*) [1, p. 69]. An exclave is defined as a small area outside some taxone that does not exercise independence in relation to this taxone. Such a territory in relation to the surrounding territories is called an enclave.

As for the genesis and origin of both terms, there is some certain clarity only about the *enclave*. This word used to be a tern in European diplomatic relations where, since the 13th century, Latin gave way to French. One of the early mentions of *enclave* was in the Treaty of Madrid (January 14, 1526), discriminatory for France. The idea of *enclave* came from the Latin *inclavatus* (shut in, locked up) in which the prefix *in* (*en*) means “inside”, and the root *clavis* means “key”. From the language of diplomacy the word *enclave* was borrowed into English and German in the 19th century. In the Russian language this term seems to have appeared only in the early 20th century.

In its turn, *exclave* has an uncertain origin, though morphologically it is similar to *enclave* (the same root *clavis* — “key”, while the prefix *ex*-means “out, beyond”). E. Vinokurov states that *exclave* is a “logical extension” of its close predecessor, as it relates to the Latin word *exclavo*. According to him, this concept formed 30 years after the word *enclave* appeared in the English language in 1868 [2, p. 16]. However, there is no definite link to the fact that exclaves originated exactly in Great Britain. It is worth mentioning that French political scientist V. Du Castel referred to the German origin of the concept *exclave* [6, p. 5]. In other words, while the word *enclave* came to German from French, then the word *exclave* came to the Seine from the Spree. An involuntary association with the countries that gave birth to the art terms *impressionism* and *expressionism* comes to mind. The former was coined in France in the 19th century, the latter — in Germany, where it was first used in 1911 by G. Walden, the Berlin *Sturm* magazine publisher.

Both the concepts came into use in Russian professional publications only recently; *enclave* remains to be the preferred one. A number of researchers are wrongly suppose that first the term *enclave* was mentioned in *Slovar inostranykh slov* (*The Dictionary of Foreign Words*) (ed. Lekhin and others), published in 1964, while *exclave* was registered only in 1998 in *Kratkyi slovar' russkogo yazyka* (*The Concise Russian Language Dictionary*) (ed. S. Kuznetsov). In fact, both words were first given in *Bol'shaya sovetskaya entziclopedia* (*The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*) (1934), where the French word *enclave* got a Russian equivalent «ЭНКЛАВ» (!). The dictionary article there gives some references to the notion *exclave*. But the irony is that the article “exclave” is not included into the encyclopedia. Moreover, this very article was not included into subsequent editions of the encyclopedia either, and there were no references to *exclave*.

The contemporary spelling of the word *enclave* in Russian appeared only in 1950s. Thus *Nemetsko-Russkiy slovar'* (*The German-Russian dictionary*) (Riga, 1922) where the Russian equivalent might have emerged for the first time, gives it in the feminine gender: “ЭНКЛАВА” (*jenklav*). The second edition of *Bol'shaya sovetskaya entsiclopedia* (*The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*) contains the definitions to *enclave* in two alternative spellings, and *semi-enclave* (M., 1950). *Malaya sovetskaya entsiclopedia* (*The Minor Soviet Encyclopedia*) (M., 1958) provides two spelling versions in the Russian language: the preferred one “анклав” (*anklav*) alongside another: “jenklav”. Since 1960s up to the present day, Russian dictionaries and reference books have translated the French *enclave* exclusively as “анклав”. Even more surprising is the fact that *Kratkaya entsiclopedia* (*The Concise Encyclopedia*) published in 2006 (M., 2006) again states that this term of international law in Russian has two spelling versions: “анклав” and “jenklav”. Finally, the no less popular *Pervyi bol'shoy entsyclopedicheskiy slovar'* (*The First Large Encyclopedic Dictionary*) (Spb.; M., 2006) also says that “анклав” has a similar spelling version “jenklav”. As for the history of the term *enclave* in the Russian professional papers, it might have first surfaced in 1965 in *Geobotanycheskiy russko-anglyisko-nemetsko-frantsuzskiy slovar'* (*Geobotanical (Russian-English-German-French) dictionary*) by O. Grebenshikov (M., 1965). Later in the USSR a two-volume *Dictionary of General Geographical Terms* edited by L. Dadly Stamp (M., 1975) was published providing the definition to *exclave* the way it came in western papers.

It is worth mentioning that the terms *enclave* and *exclave* are used not only in geography and political sciences, but also in biology and medical sciences, where they are defined as follows:

- *enclave* — territory surrounded by an alien landscape (geo-botanical); inclusion; cell (lipid) inclusion; tissue inclusion;
- *exclave* — extra-zonal vegetation (e. g. a patch of step in a forest); (geo-botanical) fore-post, partial areal; something that is secluded in an organ or a tissue but not its solid tissue, additional organ (gland).

Unlike *exclave*, the notion of *enclave* is richer semantically and is more often used in other fields of knowledge and research. Thus, in the field of agriculture and land use it means 1) strip farming; 2) a small land plot within the boundaries of somebody else's ownership; 3) included land plot. In geology: 1) a nest; 2) a wedge. In construction: 1) a passage through a part of a living space; 2) niche, fitted wardrobe. In demography and sociology: 1) a closed group, inner circle; 2) minority which preserves its own culture while living within a more numerous population group; 3) a place or territory, surrounded by other territories totally different in some significant way like ethnicity, religion or culture. In international marine law “enclave in an open sea” means an isolated sea area surrounded by economic zones of one or several coastal countries.

In the 20th century the word *enclave* got a wider indirect usage when it defined a unique, different area, space or territory. A well-known example of that is this cliché: “Switzerland was an enclave of peace in a war-torn Europe”. In the 21st century the concept *enclave* became popular with Rus-

sian and foreign policy-makers and statespersons. In his pre-election article *Russia: the Ethnicity Issue* (Nezavisimaya gazeta, January 23, 2012) V. Putin, while running for the RF presidency, stated: “We cannot afford to let separate, closed-up ethnic enclaves appear and run according to “customs” rather than laws”.

Let us study enclaves and exclaves in terms of political geography. The number of countries with exclaves is rather low today. By January 2013, there were 26 such countries out of 193 UN members. There are only four relatively sizeable exclaves taking up more than 1 % of metropolitan territory. Alaska, the largest exclave in the world (11.1 % of the US territory), follows Temburong of Brunei (22.5 % of the country’s territory). The Kaliningrad region accounts for 0.1 % of Russian land.

We can define and analyze two very close concepts — *enclave* and *exclave* as subjects of political geography.

*Enclave* is a territory, or a part of the territory, totally surrounded by the land of some other country. If an enclave opens into a water body (sea, lake, etc.), it is called *semi-enclave (coastal enclave)*.

*Exclave* is a part of the country’s land, surrounded by alien territories.

It is obvious that a significant difference between these two concepts remains with the fact that enclaves (semi-enclaves) can exist as independent states, while exclaves always constitute just a part of a sovereign state. Apart from this, unlike an enclave, an exclave can be surrounded by several states. While the surrounding state accepts the inclusion alien territory as enclave, it becomes an exclave for the mainland country. So, Spanish Llvia located in France is an enclave for France, but it has the status of exclave with Spain.

As soon as the notions of *enclave* and *exclave* are very close in geography and geopolitics, we find it possible to simplify and name then all the separate territories (including the Kaliningrad region) as *enclave territories*.

Firstly, let us consider the features, or typology, of enclave territories. Population-wise, enclaves and exclaves can be divided into major (over 100 thousand people), medium (10—99 thousand), minor (1—9 thousand), and micro-enclaves or micro-exclaves, with fewer than one thousand people [2, c. 50].

Non-sovereign enclaves (exclaves), totally surrounded by the territory of some other state, are called complete enclaves. Examples of such enclaves are Uzbek Sokh and Shohimardon, and Tajik Vorukh, located within the territory of Kyrgyzstan.

Exclaves surrounded by more than one state are called pure exclaves (because, strictly speaking, the surrounding states can not call them enclaves on their territory). The examples of this type can be found in the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation (which is surrounded by the territories of Lithuania and Poland and has an exit to the Baltic sea), Croatian Dubrovnik (surrounded by Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and has an exit to the Adriatic Sea) and Azerbaijan Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic (which is located between three states — Armenia, Iran and Turkey, but it has no exit to a water body).

According to the international law, all enclave territories can be divided into de-jure (legally) recognized by the world community and de-facto

(those existing *de facto*, but self-proclaimed, and recognized only by one or several states). Among *de-facto* territories we can mention Macao (Portuguese semi-enclave in 1557—1999 in a Chinese coastal area, which was not *de-jure* recognized by the latter), Nagorno-Karabakh republic, the Turkish republic of the Northern Cyprus.

Quite a rare type of enclave territories is called a pene-enclave: it is not totally separated from the mainland, but has a single common spot with the domain. Such pene enclaves are located in mountainous or poorly accessible areas, and they can be reached from the mainland only through the territory of the neighbouring country: it is impossible to reach Italian Livigno without crossing the Swiss territory.

As for the timeline of enclave territories, they can be divided into *contemporary (current)* and *former (historical)* ones. The latter can be represented by the predecessor to the Russian Kaliningrad enclave — the German province of Eastern Prussia in the period between 1919 and 1939.

Enclaves and exclaves can be both *external* and *internal (sub-national)*. If they are surrounded by foreign states, they are external, while if they are surrounded by administrative units of their home country, then they are called internal enclaves. San-Marino, for example, is an external enclave for Italy (though it is located inside the country) but Campione is its external exclave in Switzerland. Moscow, a subject of Russia and the city of federal status, is an internal enclave in the Moscow region, but Zelenograd, which is an administrative district within the same Moscow region, is an internal capital enclave/exclave. Another such example is the Republic of Adygea in the Krasnodarsky krai.

The author introduces a gradation of internal exclaves and enclaves from the first level downwards. Thus, Adygea and Moscow are classified as internal enclaves of the first level. Zelenograd in the Moscow region and the town Khvoiny (a military settlement in the Krasnoselsky district in Saint Petersburg) located in the Gatchina district of the Leningradskaya region will be called internal exclaves of the second level. In the Kaliningrad region there are Mamonovo and Yantarny districts located within some other municipalities. These are internal enclaves of the third level. Meanwhile, the town Pribrezhny, which is a part of Moscow district of the Kaliningrad region and is located inside a different municipality (Gurievsk district), is an internal enclave/exclave of the *forth level*.

Some researchers consider that the idea of *external* is synonymous to *international* [2, c. 45—47, 66—67], but in our opinion it is incorrect. In this case we mean territorial units which do not have any special international jurisdiction. Though it will make much sense to define West Berlin as an *international* enclave. We also think that such a category will include the site of the UN official buildings (headquarters) in New York (USA), which is an international zone, belonging to all the member-states. Not a single civil servant, military or police officer is allowed to enter the territory without an admission given by the UN Secretary General.

A particular enclave type is the overseas (non-island) enclave territories of a number of European states, their former colonies. These are Spanish

Melilla and Ceuta located on the African shore (Morocco), which are a part of Spanish provinces; French Guiana — an overseas department of France located in South America, between Brazil and Surinam; British Gibraltar located in the South of Spain. A particular character of these “alien” territories is explained by the fact that they are situated on some other continents (with great reserve for Great Britain; however, in this context we can remind about the “continental blockade” of the British Isles by the European States headed by Napoleonic France in 1805—1814). Such overseas territories have no problem with accessibility, which remains to be the major reason for conflicts the obstacle for sustainable development.

Some geographers also distinguish *temporary* (ones created according to a territorial treaty, which was not concluded), as well as jurisdictionary enclaves. The latter include by the territories of embassies and military bases enjoying no sovereign status. In the history of Russia and the USSR there were such military bases, like Prot-Arthur (1897—1905 and 1945—1954) in China, Khanko (1940—1941) and Porkkala — Udd (1944—1956) in Finland. Given the fact that these temporary and jurisdictionary enclaves are not part of the territory of the state in legal sense, they should not be included into the typology and classification of full enclave territories.

In recent publications on characteristics of enclave territories alongside the term *semi-enclave semi-exclave* is being introduced to define a coastal exclave. In our opinion, it is excessive to introduce the latter one. It both overloads the terminological corpus and poorly meets the standard of “nice sounding terms”, mentioned by E. Alaev [1, c. 276]. It should be noted that the term *semi-exclave* does not feature in relevant foreign papers.

The following classification of existing enclaves and exclaves across the world has been made up according to Y. Zverev’s paper [3, c. 144—145]. A novelty is to define international enclaves as a particular class II, to set Dubrovnik (as a part of province) into sub-class IIIB and enclave islands Likuma and Chisumulu into sub-class IVE, to exclude a separate class “Exclave fragment” for large separate territories like Alyaska, to introduce two classes V and VI for internal enclaves.

### World enclave and exclave classification

Class	Legal status	Sub-classes	Examples
I. Enclave state	Sovereign state	IA. Enclave (non-coastal state) IB. Semi-enclave (coastal) state	Vatican, Lesotho, San-Marino, Brunei, Gambia, Monaco
II. International enclave territory ( <i>international enclave</i> )	Non-sovereign administrative territory with a special status	—	West Berlin (1945—1990), UN headquarters in New-York (since 1952 r.)
III. Exclave subject (province) of a state ( <i>external exclave</i> )	An administrative unit of the first level	IIIA. Coastal territorial subject	State of Alaska (USA), province of Cabinda (Angola), Kaliningrad region (Russia)

Class	Legal status	Sub-classes	Examples
III. Exclave subject (province) of a state ( <i>external exclave</i> )	A part of an administrative-territorial unit of the first level	IIIB. Coastal exclave part of a subject	Dubrovnik, a part of županija Dubrovnik-Neretva (Croatia)
	An administrative-territorial unit of the first level	IIIC. Non-coastal exclave part of a subject	Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic (Azerbaijan)
		IIID. Coastal overseas exclave subject	French Guiana (France)
IV. Exclave part (non-subject) of a state ( <i>external exclave</i> )	An administrative-territorial unit or a part of a unit of the second level or lower	IVA. Pene -enclave (enclave/exclave)	Jungholz (Austria) in Switzerland
		IVB. Coastal overseas enclave/exclave	Melilla and Ceuta (Spain), Gibraltar (Great Britain)
		IVC. Non-coastal enclave/exclave	Shokh and Shohimardon (Uzbekistan) in Kyrgyzstan
		IVD. Coastal enclave/exclave	Dubki (Russia) in Estonia
		IVE. Enclave/exclave islands	Likoma and Chizumulu (Malawi) offshore Mozambique
V. Enclave subject (province) inside another subject of the same state ( <i>internal exclave</i> )	An administrative-territorial unit of the first level	VA. Non-coastal internal enclave of the first level	The Republic of Adygea inside the Krasnodar krai (Russia), land of Berlin inside Brandenburg (Germany)
		VB. Coastal internal enclave of the first level	Sankt-Petersburg inside the Leningrad region (Russia)
VI. Enclave/exclave part of a subject (province) of a state inside another subject (province) of the same state ( <i>internal enclave</i> )	An administrative-territorial unit or a part of a unit of the second level or lower	VIA. Non-coastal internal enclave of the second level	District Zelenograd (Moscow) inside the Moscow region (Russia)
		VIB. Coastal internal enclave of the second level	Bremerhaven (Land Bremen) inside Lower Silesia (Germany)
		VIC. Coastal internal enclave of the third level	Yantarny inside Zelenogradsk district of the Kaliningrad Region (Russia)



There are three external exclaves in Russia now, but it is only the Kaliningrad region that is the subject of the Russian Federation (region). The other two are small settlements (micro-exclaves). The first is the territory of deserted villages of Sankovo-Medvezhie belonging to the Briansk region but located on the territory of the Gomel region of Belarus. The second is the settlement Dubki (four people of population), registered with the Pskov region and located in Estonia on the shores of Lake Pskov.

It is well known that the Kaliningrad region turned into an exclave of the Russian Federation after the collapse of the USSR. A particular isolated situation of the western-most region of Russia in the very center of Europe necessitated its political and geographical definition. Since early 1990s, the term *enclave* (later *semi-enclave*) was widely used. As for the term *exclave*, it did not come into use before 1994. It stirred a heated discussion in the local political circles. An editorial of one of Kaliningrad newspapers, “Delovaya zhizn” (1995, no 10) concluded: “The term *exclave* was first used by one of senior Moscow politicians over two years ago, when several Russian regional officials simultaneously initiated talks about the status of their territories. The Moscow authorities see current events as a threat to their control and are trying to do everything in order to preserve it intact. They create new words and terms which baffle both ordinary people and experts in state legislation”.

The name of the politician was not mentioned, but obviously it was the Vice-Premier of the Russian Government S. Shakhrai. In his article *Kaliningrad — Koenigsberg — Krolewec* published in “Nezavisimaya Gazeta” (July 26, 1994), S. Shakhrai wrote that the Kaliningrad region “to put it scientifically, is an enclave of the Russian Federation in the Baltic Sea region”. But in the article *Kaliningrad vision of the Russian policy* (October 25, 1994) the same newspaper called the region “a Russian exclave in the Baltic region”.

Papers of the early 1990s are an easy target today. Accusations of inventing the term *exclave* and its incorrect usage can be explained by the fact that the critics were unaware of those scarce sources that dealt with the term. Setting aside dictionaries of geography, the term *exclave*, unlike *enclave*, was not mentioned by a single fundamental reference source of that time. It is not mentioned either in the *Kratkyi slovar’ russkogo yazyka (Concise dictionary of the Russian language)* edited by R. Rogozhnikova (M., 1991), or *Sovremennyi slovar’ zaimstvovannykh slov (Contemporary dictionary of borrowed words)* (M., 1993).

As a well-known political scientist P. Jonniemi notes [7, p. 261], until 1993 the annual SIPRI reference book (of Stockholm International Institute of World Problems) used the term *enclave* to describe the geopolitical situation of the Kaliningrad region which later was replaced by a more suitable *exclave*.

By now the term *exclave* can be found in Russian publications for general reference, although they are still not very numerous. However, quite often the sources do not give a precise enough definition of this RF subject. In particular, in *Bol’shaya russkaya entsiclopedia (The Great Russian Encyclo-*

*pedia* (M., 2004) and *Bol'shaya russkaya illustrirovannaya entsiclopedia* (*The Great Russian Illustrated Encyclopedia* (M., 2010) the region is referred to as an example of *semi-enclave*. At the same time, *Novaya russkaya entsiclopedia* (*The New Russian Encyclopedia*) (M., 2010) says that “the region became an enclave” and “is totally separated from the rest of the national territory by the territories of other countries and international sea waters”. The latter definition is unacceptable, because the international marine law doesn't include the term *international seawaters*. Moreover, the Baltic Sea unites the Kaliningrad region to the rest of the Russian territory rather than separates it from them, because all the commercial and military ships are free to use the waters beyond the 12-mile foreign marine zone.

It is worth mentioning that on the federal level the term *exclave* was first used with reference to the Kaliningrad region in the “*Agreement on separating responsibilities between the public authorities of the Russian Federation and the Kaliningrad region of 12.01.1996*” (acted till 31.05.2002). It mentioned the Kaliningrad region as an exclave subject of the Russian Federation and its situation was called an exclave one.

Studying enclaves and exclaves as concepts of political geography makes little sense without two corresponding notions — a) *mother country* whose inseparable part is a particular enclave territory; b) *surrounding state*, totally or partially surrounding the enclave territory of another state.

Given numerous contemporary enclaves and exclaves, the Kaliningrad region is a very special phenomenon. As it is separated from the rest of the Russian territory by several states, there is a need to introduce a definition for the countries that separate it from Russia, though geographically do not surround it. That is why Belarus, Ukraine, Latvia and Estonia are defined as *separating states*.

Relations with the separating states must be considered while settling the issues of people and cargo transit from Russia to Russia. Belarus is a significant transit territory and multi-lateral partner within the frameworks of the Union State of Russia and Belarus. Latvia and Lithuania are the corridors from the exclave to Saint Petersburg and Russian European North beyond Belarus. In spite of the remoteness of Ukraine, it provides the land and air transit routes from the Kaliningrad region to the Russian South (including the direction to Poland and Ukraine avoiding Lithuania and Belarus). As for Estonia, there are some special terms of transit for Russian civil and military ships from Kaliningrad ports to the ones of the Leningrad region and Saint Petersburg as well as for laying transit underwater pipelines through Estonian exclusive economic zone (EEZ) in the Baltic Sea.

Introducing the term *separating state*, the author sees the need to clarify E. Vinocurov's idea of the balance of parties' interests which refer to non-sovereign enclave consisting of relations between the enclave itself (E), mother country (M) and surrounding state (S) in a so-called EMS-triangle [2, c. 79]. However, Kaliningrad problems can hardly be settled only within the triangle of Russia (M), Poland (S) and Lithuania (S). As it was mentioned earlier, lots of enclave issues are linked to separating states. Besides, it is

necessary to consider that the latter, as well as surrounding states, are members of different political, military and economic organizations. That is why a certain number of issues can be settled only in a wider legal framework.

Almost all papers on the geography of the Kaliningrad region mention that it borders on neighbouring Poland and Lithuania and has an exit to the Baltic Sea. Meanwhile, they ignore an important fact that the Russian exclave borders (or is a neighbour to) on Swedish EEZ. After a tri-lateral Agreement between the governments of the Russian Federation, the Kingdom of Sweden and the Republic of Lithuania on the border point between EEZ and continental shelf in the Baltic Sea was signed in Vilnius on November 30, 2005, the length of the Russian-Swedish marine border extended to 10.7 km.

After Poland and the Baltic States joined the North Atlantic alliance, the Kaliningrad region got the name of an *enclave into NATO*. This assumption seems to be wrong, because, as a part of Russia, the region has the above-mentioned borderline with Sweden (not a NATO-member) in the Baltic Sea in the first place, and, secondly, the Russian marine area (territorial waters and EEZ) breaks here the line of the NATO water bodies of Germany, Denmark, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

At the same time, the neighbouring countries (Lithuania, Poland and Sweden) are all members of the European Union, so it makes it possible to call the Kaliningrad region a *Russian enclave in the EU*. In view of the above said and considering the integration processes of recent decades the term *enclave* is worth clarifying. An enclave or semi-enclave is a territory of a state or its part, which is totally or partially surrounded by the territory of another state or a union of states (which the mother state is not part of). Thus, the EU enclaves are: Andorra, Vatican, San Marino, Lichtenstein and Switzerland; while semi-enclaves (apart from the Kaliningrad region) are: Monaco, Turkish Ereky/Kokkino in Cyprus and above-mentioned Russian Dubki in Estonia.

Therefore, both terms in different relevant contexts can be applicable to the Kaliningrad region. The conducted analysis allows us to offer a set of comprehensive characteristics of the Kaliningrad region as an enclave territory. From the point of view of the Russian Federation as a mother state, its western-most subject can be characterized as a modern (since 1991), external (located beyond the RF mainland), legal (acknowledged by international community), pure (surrounded by more than one foreign state), major (over 100 thousand people), coastal (has an exit to the Baltic Sea) exclave. In the viewpoint of the EU as a union of surrounding states, the Kaliningrad region is a Russian semi-enclave or coastal enclave.

The Kaliningrad region has been an exclave of: CIS — since December 8, 1991; OTCS (Organization of the Treaty of Collective Security) — since May 15, 1992; Union State of Russia and Belarus — since January 26, 2000; North-Western Federal District of the RF — since May 13, 2000; the Shanghai Organization of Cooperation — since June 15, 2001; and Common Economic Space of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan — since January 1, 2012.

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