

Tomsk State University  
Department of International Studies

EUROPEAN SECURITY AND FROZEN CONFLICTS IN  
THE POST-SOVIET SPACE

Dr. Evgeny Troitskiy

**Course Overview**

The course would focus on the European Union's growing involvement in the ethnopolitical conflicts in the post-Soviet space, namely those in Moldova and Georgia. The Transnistrian, Abkhazian and South Ossetian conflicts have remained frozen for more than a decade, with the progress towards resolution being at best minimal. The status quo in each of the conflict zones has been maintained without any significant engagement of the EU or other European and Atlantic institutions. The peacekeeping operations and negotiation frameworks have largely embodied the political realities of the early 1990s.

After the EU's latest rounds of expansion the Union has moved much closer to the conflict zones. The entry of Romania has made it Moldova's immediate neighbor. With the development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, all the setbacks of this process notwithstanding, the EU's capacity to act in the international arena has increased. Unsurprisingly, recent years have seen the growing involvement of the EU into the effort to bring the conflicts in Moldova and Georgia closer to resolution. Both countries have been included in the European Neighbourhood Policy.

The conflicts are being "Europeanized" while the present frameworks allowing for the maintenance of the fragile balance between the former belligerents do not envisage European participation. One of the consequences of this trend is the emergence of rivalry between the EU and Russia for the influence on the situation in the conflict zones and the process of political settlement.

The overall goal of the course is to define the role of the frozen conflicts in the structure of the European security and the European security dynamics. At the same time teaching about the frozen conflicts aims at teaching students to operationalize their theoretical knowledge and to apply it to the analysis of case studies. In the controversies surrounding the frozen conflicts, a number of much broader problems of international

security and European politics are reflected. Thus, the course aims at bridging the gap between the “macro-level” of students’ awareness and erudition and the “micro-level” of the understanding of day-to-day politics. The specific objectives of the course are:

- to teach students to apply the approaches and concepts of IR theory and security studies to the selected cases;
- to analyze the development of the EU’s international actorness as exemplified by the EU’s dealings with the frozen conflicts;
- to identify the driving forces, dynamics and distinguishing characteristics of the EU policies towards the three ethnopolitical conflicts;
- to discuss the impact of the EU on the evolution of the conflicts and the prospects of their resolution;
- to discuss the impact of the frozen conflicts on the EU – Russia relations and the future of the OSCE.

### **Course Prerequisites**

The course has been developed for Master students. The students taking this class are expected to have taken the courses on IR Theory, CIS Countries, and the EU History and Institutions. The course is not intended to be the students’ introduction to IR concepts and approaches, the origins of the frozen conflicts, or the EU studies. It relies on substantial knowledge and is seen as a means to synthesize the various fields of theoretical and factual knowledge and to reflect on it.

### **Course Requirements**

To get a credit for the course, a student will have to be involved in the seminars (at least five of the seven) and to submit an analytical paper. The paper should be of 7-10 single-spaced, typed pages and should provide an in-depth and theoretically and conceptually coherent analysis of an international problem closely related to the central topic of the course. The papers should not be bare descriptions of facts and events or summaries of readings. Their structure should comprise both a theoretical and an empirical layer. The tentative list of analytical paper topics is included; however, students are welcome to

formulate topics according to their own interests. The self-molded topics need to be approved by the lecturer.

## **Course Outline**

**Topic I: Theoretical Approaches to the Study of International Relations (Realism and structural realism: the traditional notion of security; the multi-sectoral approach to security; the concept of a regional security complex. Liberalism: the concepts of interdependence; international regimes; soft power. Constructivism: securitization; norms and normative power). Lectures: 2 hours, seminars: 4 hours.**

Readings:

### ***Realism and structural realism:***

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1993. The emerging structure of international politics. *International Security* 18(2): 44-79.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 2000. Structural realism after the Cold War. *International Security* 25 (1): 5-41.

Buzan, Barry. 2003. Regional Security Complex Theory in the Post-Cold War World. In: *Theories of New Regionalism: A Palgrave Reader*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan. P. 140-159.

Buzan, Barry, Waever, Ole, and Wilde, Jaap H. de. 1998. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. P. 21-47.

### ***Liberalism:***

Keohane, Robert O., and Nye, Joseph S. Power and Interdependence. 1989. In: *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace* / ed. by R. Betts. N.Y.: Pearson & Longman, 2005. P. 139-145.

Little, Richard. 1996. The Growing Relevance of Pluralism? In: *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. P. 66-86.

### ***Constructivism:***

Finnemore, Martha, and Sikkink, Kathryn. 1998. International norm dynamics and political change, *International Organization* 52(4): 887-917.

Ward, Thomas. 2000. Norms and Security, *International Security* 25(1): 105-133.

Wendt, Alexander. 1992. Anarchy is What States Make of It. In: *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace* / ed. by R. Betts. N.Y.: Pearson & Longman, 2005. P. 181-201.

## **Part II: The European Union as an International Actor**

**(The three-pillar structure of the EU: supranationalism and intergovernmentalism. The CFSP. The institutional setting of the EU's external activities: the European Council and the Presidency, the General Affairs and External Relations Council; the High Representative. The role of the European Commission and the European Parliament. The instruments of the CFSP. The divisions within the EU. The 2004 and 2007 rounds of enlargement. The European Neighborhood Policy). Lectures: 2 hours, seminars: 2 hours.**

### Readings:

- Луканаин Д.В. 2004. Механизм внешней политики Европейских Сообществ и Европейского Союза // *Конституционно-правовой механизм внешней политики. Учебное пособие*. М.: МГИМО; РОССПЭН. С. 63-83.
- Deighton, Anne. 2002. The European security and defense policy, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4): 719-41.
- European Commission. 2003. *Wider Europe – Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours. Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament*. [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com03\\_104\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com03_104_en.pdf)
- European Commission. 2006. *Strengthening the European Neighbourhood Policy. Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament*. [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com06\\_726\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com06_726_en.pdf)
- Wessels, Wolfgang. 2004. "Saut constitutionel" out of an Intergovernmental Trap? *The Provisions of the Constitutional Treaty for the Common Foreign, Security and Defense Policy*. <http://www.jeanmonnetprogram.org/papers/04/040501-17.rtf>

## **Topic III: Frozen Conflicts**

**(The problems of sovereignty and autonomy. International intervention into conflicts. Partition: a solution to conflicts? The origins of the conflicts in Moldova and Georgia. The cease-fire agreements and peacekeeping operations. Attempts at political settlement. International presence: OSCE and the UN. Separatist statelets: actors in their own right or Russian puppets?) Lectures: 2 hours, seminars: 4 hours.**

### Readings:

- НИКИТИН А.И. 2000. *Миротворческие операции: концепции и практика*. М.: МОНФ. С. 96-148.
- Betts, Richard. 2001. The Delusion of Impartial Intervention. In: *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace* / ed. by R. Betts. N.Y.: Pearson & Longman, 2005. P. 597-607.
- Cornell, Svante. 2002. Autonomy as a Source of Conflict. Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective, *World Politics* 54(January): 245-276.

Finnemore, Martha. 1996. Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention. In: *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace* / ed. by R. Betts. N.Y.: Pearson & Longman, 2005. P. 202-217.

Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars. In: *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace* / ed. by R. Betts. N.Y.: Pearson & Longman, 2005. P. 331-348.

Krasner, Stephen. 2004. Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States, *International Security* 29(2): 85-120.

Lynch, Dov. 2002. Separatist States and Post-Soviet Conflicts, *International Affairs* 78(4): 831-848.

#### **Topic IV: The EU and Frozen Conflicts**

**(Securitization of the post-Soviet conflicts. The “Kozak plan” (2003) and its failure. EU’s involvement in Moldova. The impact of the “color revolutions”. The EU and Georgia. The problem of Kosovo’s independence and its implications. The impact of the EU policies on the frozen conflicts). Lectures: 2 hours, seminars: 2 hours.**

Readings:

*EU – Georgia Action Plan.* 2006. [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/action\\_plans/georgia\\_enp\\_ap\\_final\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/action_plans/georgia_enp_ap_final_en.pdf)

*EU – Moldova Action Plan.* 2005. [http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/world/enp/pdf/action\\_plans.moldova\\_enp\\_ap\\_final\\_en.pdf](http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/world/enp/pdf/action_plans.moldova_enp_ap_final_en.pdf)

International Crisis Group. 2006. *Conflict Resolution in the South Caucasus: The EU’s Role.* <http://www.crisisgroup.org>

International Crisis Group. 2007. *Kosovo Countdown: A Blueprint for Transition.* <http://www.crisisgroup.org>

MacFarlane, Neil. 2004. The Caucasus and Central Asia: towards a non-strategy. In: *European Union Foreign and Security Policy: Towards a Neighbourhood Strategy* / ed. by R. Dannreuther. N.Y.: Routledge. P. 118-134.

Noutcheva, Gergana, et al. 2004. Europeanization and secessionist conflicts: concepts and theories, *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* 3 (1). <http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/download/1-2004Chapter1.pdf>

Popescu, Nicu. 2005. *The EU in Moldova - Settling Conflicts in the Neighbourhood* (Occasional Paper No. 60.) Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies.

#### **Topic V. The EU and Russia: “Neighborhood” vs. “The Near Abroad”**

**(The Common External Security Space: declarations and reality. Interdependence and “values gap”. Multiple crises in the EU-Russia relations. The OSCE as an arena of rivalry. The CFE Treaty Problem. Prospects of EU’s further enlargement and of Russia-sponsored integration. Future of the EU-Russia relations.) Lectures: 2 hours, seminars: 2 hours.**

## Readings:

Дорожные карты четырех общих пространств, утвержденные на саммите Россия – ЕС. 2005. <http://www.mid.ru>

Скоров В. 2005. Россия – Евросоюз: вопросы стратегического партнерства // *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. № 3. С. 79-84.

The CIS, the EU and Russia: Challenges of Integration. 2007. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lynch, Dov. 2005. Misperceptions and Divergencies. In: *What Russia Sees*. (Chaillot Paper # 74). Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies.

Smith, Karen. 2005. The outsiders: the European Neighbourhood Policy, *International Affairs* 81(4): 757-773.

Zagorski, Andrei. 2004. Policies towards Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus. In: *European Union Foreign and Security Policy: Towards a Neighbourhood Strategy* / ed. by R. Dannreuther. N.Y.: Routledge. P. 79-97.

## Recommended Topics of Analytical Papers

1. The EU's securitization of the Transnistrian problem
2. The South Caucasus: the development of a regional security complex?
3. The "Kozak Plan" on Transnistrian settlement and its failure
4. The "blockade" of Transnistria and the EU's Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine
5. The peacekeeping operation in Transnistria: accomplishments and weakness
6. The peacekeeping operation in Abkhazia: accomplishments and weakness
7. The peacekeeping operation in South Ossetia: accomplishments and weakness
8. Russia's "Istanbul commitments": a failure to comply?
9. The OSCE and the Transnistrian conflict
10. The OSCE and the conflicts in Georgia
11. The European Neighbourhood Policy and Moldova
12. The European Neighbourhood Policy and Georgia
13. The EU's Special Representative for the South Caucasus: mandate and activities
14. The EU's Economic Rehabilitation and Confidence-Building Projects in Abkhazia and South Ossetia
15. The "Rose Revolution" in Georgia: implications for the EU – Georgia relations
16. The Transnistrian statehood: fiction or reality?
17. The Abkhazian statehood: fiction or reality?
18. The South Ossetian statehood: fiction or reality?
19. The Common External Security Space between Russia and the EU: concept and implementation
20. Kosovo: a precedent for post-Soviet conflicts?