

RUSSIAN PEACEKEEPING STRATEGIES IN THE CIS

Also by Dov Lynch

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Russian Peacekeeping Strategies in the CIS

**The Cases of Moldova, Georgia
and Tajikistan**

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With love to my parents

Joan and Michael Lynch

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Preface

Since the early 1990s, international peacekeeping has become a central issue in international relations. The number and functions of these operations have increased greatly. The circumstances in which such operations have been conducted differ significantly from those for which they were originally designed. As a result, international peacekeeping has entered a period of crisis as the political will of the international community has wavered in the face of intractable conflicts in 'failed states'. In this context, the perceptions on peacekeeping of individual states and great powers and their experience in such operations have gained significance. While Russia's operations in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) region have given rise to significant controversy, they have attracted little systematic analysis.

Sufficient time has elapsed for a study of Russian 'peacekeeping' operations in the CIS region to be valuable not only for our understanding of the wider shifts in international peacekeeping since the end of the Cold War, but also in order to take stock of the new Russia's foreign and security policy. This book analyses Russian operations in the context of their role in Russia's policy towards particular states in the post-Soviet 'space' and the wider CIS region. 'Peacekeeping' emerged in 1992 as a symbol and means of Russian re-engagement in this region after the Soviet collapse. Since 1996, Russia's operations have increasingly highlighted the difficulties and costs of such re-engagement. The evolution of Russian 'peacekeeping' operations since 1992 reflects the increasing recognition by the Russian Federation of the constraints it faces in its foreign policy, and the need to avoid over-extension and a reliance on the unpredictable use of force. The war in Chechnya has been a devastating experience for the Russian armed forces. This book will not discuss the war directly. In no way may Russian operations in this war be considered peacekeeping. However, this work will examine the indirect impact of the war on Russian 'peacekeeping' policy.

This book is a revised version of a doctoral thesis written at St Antony's College and submitted to the University of Oxford in 1997. The thesis benefited from the excellent dual supervision of Alex Pravda and James Sherr. I am deeply grateful to them for their

support and assistance over the years. The thesis was revised within the framework of a project entitled 'Keeping the Peace in the CIS' at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, under the direction of Roy Allison, Head of the Russia and Eurasia Programme. The financial support for this project, which was funded by the Ford Foundation for a period of two years (1996–8), enabled the revision of the thesis, as well as further research trips to Russia, Georgia and Moldova. I am very grateful for the strong support of Roy Allison, whose assistance with this work has been important. I would also like to thank Lena Jonson for her advice and support, Margaret May and the Publications Department at Chatham House and Keith Povey and Aruna Vasudevan at Macmillan for their help. My gratitude also goes to W. E. Odom, who first sparked my interest in the Soviet military as an undergraduate at Yale University. Special mention must also be made of the research staff and resources at the Conflict Studies Research Centre, Sandhurst, who have provided me with access and assistance since the time of my M. Phil.

My deepest gratitude goes to my parents, my brothers Sean and Matt, and my sister Gillian, who give me sustenance and courage. This book is also dedicated to little Emile. *Et surtout* Francesca, for everything that is.

The transliteration method adopted in the text follows the system used by the Chatham House Library at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

DOV LYNCH

List of Abbreviations

CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CFSP	Council on Foreign and Defence Policy
CMP	Congress of Mountain Peoples
CPKF	Collective Peacekeeping Forces (Tajikistan)
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
DPT	Democratic Party of Tajikistan
FIS	Foreign Intelligence Service
GFTC	Group of Forces in the Transcaucasus
HC	High Command of CIS
IDPs	internally displaced persons
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRP	Islamic Renaissance Party
JCC	Joint Control Commission
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoD	Ministry of Defence
MRD	Motor Rifle Division
NCMD	North Caucasus Military District
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
Op.Gp.	Russian Operational Group (Moldova)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PMR	<i>Pridnestrovskaya Moldovskaya Respublika</i>
RF	Russian Federation
RFBS	Russian Federation Border Service
TFC	Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNMOT	UN Observer Mission in Tajikistan
UNOMIG	UN Observer Mission in Georgia
UNPROFOR	UN Protection Force
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UTO	United Tajik Opposition
WEU	Western European Union
WTO	Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact)