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**"Russians" in the Newly Independent States:
A Bibliography
on Conflicts and Preventive Diplomacy**

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Preface

This bibliography comprises the titles of articles and books belonging to two different strings of literature:

1. The subject of the first string is a particular international approach to cope with conflicts appearing on the international agenda: preventive diplomacy.
2. The subject of the second string is a particular type of ethno-political conflict, characterized by the term Russians outside Russia. It emerged in the early 1990s in a number of countries which now are recognized as independent and sovereign states, but had belonged to the Soviet Union, before.

The leading idea for bringing the two strings together is the aim to encourage intensive

scientific investigations on how the international community can, by peaceful means, positively influence the development of so-called internal conflicts, which concern not only particular interests of certain states, but also human needs of the people submitted to the rule of these states.

Preventive diplomacy is carried out by international organizations with the help of other international governmental as well as non-governmental actors. The strategy includes the range of peaceful dispute resolution methods mentioned in Article 33 of the UN Charter when applied before a dispute crosses the threshold of armed conflict: negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice. They are scarcely imposed, but have to find a certain basis of acceptance among the disputing parties. Preventive diplomacy is mostly perceived as an instrument to increase international stability and security. The main goal is to prevent tensions from causing and spreading domestic and international enmity, and to assist the countries involved in solving problems in conformity with international law and other agreed standards, including human rights obligations. The then UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, defined in his June 1992 *"Agenda for Peace - Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping"* preventive diplomacy as "action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur." This definition reflects not only the global and regional intensification and internationalization of domestic conflicts, but also the understanding of where in the security dimension of world politics the problems lie: disputes, escalation and spread of escalation.

Since the *Agenda for Peace* was published, the term *"preventive diplomacy"* has gained increased recognition in international politics as well as in scientific research. Although the majority of the conflict prevention literature apparently deals with conflicts in Africa, another focus is on Europe. Here, not the UN but the OSCE became the leading international organization in developing and also applying the strategy in co-operation with other international governmental and non-governmental organizations. Preventive diplomacy is still an approach in the making. Consequently, different understandings of appropriate means and tools are on the table, and also the aims are not definitely fixed. It is disputed, for example, whether sanctions or even military means should be part of the tool box or better stay excluded. Further, experts are not of one mind, how much attention should be given to insist on a country's obligation to conform fully with the international human rights system and its standard setting process during a domestic conflict and the threat of escalation of tensions.

Despite such differences, the concept is applied in practice, and a lot of experiences have already been generated. Part I of this bibliography, therefore, consists of entries reflecting both methods and approaches in theory and practice. The focus is on the concept itself, on the institutions and organisations involved, and on their tools (section 1) as well as on the experiences which are already reflected in a number of case studies (section 2). The entries in this section of the first part are completed by a classification indicating which particular countries are subjects of it (see legend below). One of the basic means of international organizations when carrying out the strategy of preventive diplomacy is to send missions on-site. Their duty is to observe the development of a conflict on-site as well as to report related information to the sending international organization, often completing their findings by recommendations for action. These reports, however, do not only give information on the conflict itself. One can also learn from them which interests are mainly focused on by an international organization, for

example, how intensively human rights standards are emphasized or how much attention to this issue is dominated by other strategic considerations of economic or other nature (section 3).

In its Part II, the bibliography focuses on a type of conflict which appeared on the international agenda as a surprise: "Russians" outside Russia, often referred to as the "Russian-speakers" in the Newly Independent States. Although their situation and the development of the disputes differ from country to country, there is a set of similarities in the constellation of conflicts, providing for a base for comparative research on preventive diplomacy. Among these similarities one finds for instance the following: Disputes on "Russians" outside Russia appeared on territories, which once were submitted to the Soviet Union, and now belong to states which are in the process of nation-building. "Russians" on these territories were over night replaced from their majority position into a minority position (section 4). The Russian Federation, as an outside actor, can choose to a large extent whether she wants to act as an outside patron of a Russian Diaspora, or better ignore the welfare of "Russians" outside Russia. She can also use their mistreatment for a policy of pinpricking, or rather contribute to the development of good neighbourhood (section 5). Further, all of these ethno-political conflicts in the Newly Independent States have attracted some international attention regarding human rights and minority rights in face of nationalist and discriminatory developments, and have been subject to at least some efforts of preventive diplomacy. This is particularly true with respect to Russians in Estonia, in Latvia, in Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Moldova (section 6). This constellation gives reason to check how, and by whom preventive diplomacy is applied to these conflicts and how far this can be regarded appropriate and successful.

All entries in Part II of the bibliography are roughly characterized by a classification indicating the issue which is in focus (see legend below).

Despite of its already considerable extension this bibliography cannot be deemed complete. The majority of entries consists of articles and books written in English. Particular efforts, however, were made to insert also contributions in Russian language. The authors decided also to include titles in German language on a systematic base, and as well, however more accidentally, titles, they got to know, written in other languages. The authors finished collecting titles in June 1998. They would appreciate to receive by the users further hints at references to be included as a supplement to a further edition of this collection.

This bibliography owes much to the advice of our colleague Christian Wellmann at the Schleswig-Holstein Institute for Peace Research (SHIP). He assisted us during intensive discussions when preparing a concept for the structure as well as a search strategy for our efforts. He also fed us with some further entries we had overlooked. We also appreciate his patience as well as his way of softly and strongly reminding us, not to further expand the date for publication.

*Hanne-M. Birckenbach (Kiel) and Boris Tsilevich (Riga)
July 1998*

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Legend for Section 2

EE = Estonia; **KZ** = Kazakhstan; **LV** = Latvia; **LT** = Lithuania; **MD** = Moldova;
UA = Ukraine; **Oth** = Other

Legend for Part II (Sections 4-6)

A = Shifting and conflicting Identities; **B** = Democratization and nation-building;
C = Social aspects of the ethnic divisions and the citizenship problem; **D** = Legal aspects;
E = Status and rights of minorities; **F** = Language policies; **G** = Demography;
H = Migration; **I** = Public opinion polls and surveys; **J** = International relations, geopolitics;
K = Preventive diplomacy; **L** = Third party activities; **M** = General overviews covering several areas mentioned above

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Part I

Methods and approaches: Preventive diplomacy by and related activities of inter-governmental organizations and international NGOs

1. Concept, institutions, organizations, and tools of preventive diplomacy

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