Russia's role in 2020 war and Armenia's search for new security architecture

Proposals for:

- 1. Authoritative academic research
- 2. Investigation into Armenia's diplomatic failures (2010-2020)
- 3. Media and influence campaign

1. Academic research

Main objective:

- Produce an authoritative, peer-reviewed academic work, based on significant field research, published in at least two top academic publications, and presented at two top academic conferences.
- Produce fact-based academically sound research, different from an opinion piece, which will serve as reputable source material for current advocacy and media campaigns.

Academic research: Purpose and scope

- Tentative title: "Exploring the role of Russia in the 2020 Armenia-Azerbaijan war through Adaptive Constellation theory"
- Research questions: What was Russia's role in Azerbaijan's decision in 2020 to launch a war against Armenia for Karabakh? Why was Armenia's strategic defeat in the second Karabakh war, as Russia's only politico-military ally, permissible or advantageous from the perspective of Russia's regional interests?
- **Abstract:** This research will start with outlining the qualitative capabilities of Armenia and Azerbaijan to exercise power in both military and politico-diplomatic terms prior to September 2020. Second, the characteristics of Armenia's and Azerbaijan's changing relationships with Russia will be examined in order to identify the depth and breadth of their transformation.
- Research hypothesis: The initial theoretical hypothesis of this study is that a set of asymmetrical relationships (constellations) between the smaller state and a superpower can change over time (Mouritzen & Wivel 2005, p.18). Armenia's relations with Russia saw such change in the years leading to the second Karabakh war.
- The empirical hypothesis of this research therefore is that the full-fledged war between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh was with Moscow's blessing. The war became possible due to Russia's changing regional policy, shaped by Russia's geopolitical confrontation with the West and wider Russia-Azerbaijan-Turkey rapprochement.

Academic research: Methodology, design and deliverables

Research methodology and design:

The ethics clearance for conducting individual interviews was received by the University of Leicester (UK), where the main author of the research Dr. Eduard Abrahamyan is a teaching assistant.

Deliverables:

- The approximate length of the peer-reviewed article is planned around 12.000 words, including the references.
- The completed research will be submitted to a peer-reviewed academic journal that is recognized by scholars for it high impact. Upon publication, the sponsor organisation's financial support that made this research possible is to be clearly emphasized in conformity with the terms and conditions of the peer-reviewed publications.
- The potential peer-reviewed journals are: The Caucasus Survey, Eurasian Geography and Economics, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Journal of Strategic Studies, Post-Soviet Affairs journal, Southeast European and Black Sea Studies Journal.
- The research will be presented at the <u>16th Pan-European Conference on International Relations</u> organized by European International Studies Association in Potsdam (Germany) in September 2023, in front of over 600 distinguished scholars throughout Europe.

Academic research: Budget

Task	Length	Owner	Cost
Primary research, including travel and individual interviews, initial draft	100 days	Dr Eduard Abrahamyan	\$10,000
Analytical write-up, peer- reviewing and publication/ conference presentation	90 days	Dr Eduard Abrahamyan Lilit Gevorgyan	\$8,000

Bio attached for Dr. Abrahamyan

2. Investigative research

Main objective:

Fact-finding, witness statements gathering and in-depth research of Armenia's diplomatic failures during 2010-2020

Investigation into Armenia's diplomatic failures (2010-2023)

- Incorporate the findings of the academic research into the investigation and analysis of Armenian governments' diplomatic failures. Special focus on establishing the chain of events just before and during the 2020 war.
- Conduct interviews with Armenian officials.
- Conduct interviews with UK, French, US officials and Diaspora activists.
- Create and maintain a database of video and audio witness statements.
- Prepare an shorter version of the key findings for the research to publish in Armenian media, both in Armenia and abroad.

Investigative research: Budget

Task	Length	Owner	Cost
Armenia's diplomatic failures (2010-2020)	One year	Dr Eduard Abrahamyan	\$10,000

Bio attached for Dr Abrahamyan

3. Media and influence campaign

Main objective:

Achieve a wider awareness, both internationally and across Armenian communities, of the Russian role in the latest crisis, promote alternative security and foreign policy solutions

Media campaign

Phase 1

- Aim at publishing at least four articles based on the academic research findings in leading non- Armenian foreign policy magazines or media
 - Prepare the list of potential media outlets and publications.
- Develop a media narrative of the Nagorno Karabakh 2020 war being Russia's test run for the Ukrainian war, focus on the similarities in tactics and the Turkish, Azeri role in the Ukrainian conflict.
- Publish segments of the dossier in the Diaspora Armenian newspapers, aim for three articles.
- Organise events for the Armenian community in the US, Canada, UK presenting the findings of the academic research.

Phase 2 (concurrent with Phase 1)

• Work with top newspaper and multimedia journalists to focus on the risks from Russia-Azeri anti-Western partnership, using the findings of the academic research and the Dossier.

Media and influence campaign: Budget

Task	Length	Cost
Publication of articles and media narratives	One year	\$13,000
Work with journalists	One year	To be determined

Budget Overview

Budget

Segment and overheads	Period	Budget
Academic research	Six months	\$18,000
Armenian's diplomatic failures (2010-2020)	One year	\$10,000
Media and influence campaign	One year	\$13,000
Total		\$41,000

Bio:



Eduard Abrahamyan

- Published scholar in international relations and geopolitical strategist with the particular focus on Russian and Eurasian foreign and security politics.
- PhD from the University of Leicester, 2022;
- Teaching Assistant and Lecturer, 2021-2022;
- Assistant to the President of the Republic of Armenia on foreign affairs, 2019-2021;
- Rumsfeld Fellow and visiting scholar at the Central Asia-Caucasus institute of the American Foreign Policy Council, 2017-2019.
- Caucasus Analyst at the Jamestown Foundation (DC) 2017-2019