

«Central Eurasian Studies World Wide»
Course Syllabi for the Study of Central Eurasia
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Gerard J. Libaridian
Ethnicity and Conflict in the Caucasus
Syllabus for the course offered in Winter 2002
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Gerard J. Libaridian
j1378@worldnet.att.net

HISTORY 481.

TOPICS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY.

ETHNICITY AND CONFLICT IN THE CAUCASUS

*MLB, B103**Mon-Wed. 2:30-4:00**Winter Term 2002**Prof. Gerard J. Libaridian**Office hours: Mon., 4:30 - 6:00 or by appointment**Office: University Towers, 264. Telephone: 763-4555*

The course will focus on the role of ethnicity in the rise of conflicts in the Caucasus during the last century. It will examine militarized conflicts (such as in Nagorno Karabagh, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Chechnya) as well as latent ones (such as in Javakheti, Ajaria, and Daghestan). The evolution of ethnicity and nationalism will be studied in conjunction with the role of religion, class, Russian and Soviet nationalities policies, and more recently, of state-building in independent Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia.

REQUIREMENTS

Students are expected to attend all lectures, read the assigned texts and participate in class discussions (25% of the grade), write a 12-15 page paper (25% of the grade), and take a mid-term and final examination (25% each of the grade).

The schedule and topic of lectures, along with the weekly readings, are listed below. Occasionally the student will be asked to read unlisted, new material distributed in class.

The student should think of a possible paper topic during the first five weeks of the course, i.e., by February 6. The choice of the topic must be discussed with and approved by the lecturer by February 13. The paper will be due on March 27.

The mid-term exam will consist of answering essay questions in class; the final will consist of a series of take home essays due on the date assigned for the exam.

LECTURES

UNIT I: The Caucasus before 1991

1. January 7 - Problems and perceptions of the Caucasus
2. January 9 - Ethnicity and religion; statehood and nationalism

Readings:

Robert Kaplan, "Where Europe Vanishes," *Atlantic Monthly*, November 2000.

Ronald. G. Suny, *Revenge . . .*, 1-19.

Alexander Agadjanian, "Revising Pandora's Gifts: Religious and National Identity in the Post-Soviet Societal Fabric," 473-488, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.53, 3(2001).

3. January 14 – The Russian Empire in the Caucasus: Conquest and Nationalities Policy
4. January 16 – Sovietization and USSR Nationalities Policy

Readings:

Suny, *Transcaucasia*, 109-239.

Ronald. G. Suny, *Revenge . . .*, 84-162.

Ian Bremmer, "Reassessing Soviet Nationalities Theory," 3-28; in Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States*.

Victor Zaslavsky, "Success and Collapse: Traditional Soviet Nationality Policy," 29-42; in Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States*.

5. January 23 – The Caucasus and the Collapse of the USSR

Readings:

Ronald G. Suny, *Transcaucasia*, 377-426.

John Dunlop, "Russia: Confronting Loss of Empire, 43-74; in Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras. *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States*.

UNIT II: The Caucasus Since 1991

6. January 28 – Conflicts: Causes and Characteristics

7. January 30 – The North Caucasus Conflicts: Chechnya, Daghestan, etc.

Readings:

Jane Ormrod, "North Caucasus: Fragmentation or Integration," 448-476, in Bremmer and Taras, eds., *Nations and Politics in the Soviet ...*

Harsha Ram, "Prisoners of the Caucasus: Literary Myths and Media Representations of the Chechen Conflict," <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/>

Edward W. Walker, "Russia's Soft Underbelly: The Stability of Instability in Dagestan," UC Berkeley, <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/>

8. February 4 – The South Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia

9. February 6 – Georgia Since 1991: Domestic Developments

Readings:

Suny, *Transcaucasia*, 241-374.

Edmund Herzig, 1-43.

Edward W. Walker, "No Peace, No War in the Caucasus," Working Paper, JFK School of Government, Harvard University, 1998.

Stephen Jones, "Georgia: A Failed Democratic Transition," 288-312, in Bremmer and Taras. *Nations and Politics in the Soviet*

10. February 11 – Georgia and its Conflicts

11. February 13 – Georgia: Foreign and Security Policies

LAST DATE TO DETERMINE TOPIC OF PAPER.

Readings:

Revaz Gachechiladze, 169-186.

Edward Ozhiganov, "The Republic of Georgia: Conflict in Abkhazia and South Ossetia," and Arthur G. Martirosyan, "Commentary on Georgia," 341-408, in Alexei Arbatov et al, editors. *Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union. Russian and American Perspectives.*

Accord, Number 7, 1999, 14-57.

12. February 18 – MID-TERM

13. February 20 - FILM

14. March 4 – Azerbaijan Since 1991: Domestic Developments

15. March 6 – Azerbaijan and its Conflicts

Readings:

Shireen Hunter, "Azerbaijan: Search for Identity and New Partners," 225-260, in Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras. *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States*.

Edmund Herzig, 43-83.

Tadeusz Swietochowski, 191-235.

Jayhun Mollazade, "The Legal Aspects of the Karabagh Conflict," 22-29, in Mehmet Tutuncu, editor. *Caucasus: War and Peace*.

Mark Saroyan, "The 'Karabagh Syndrome' and Azerbaijani Politics" in *Problems of Communism*, 39, 5 (September-October 1990): 14-29.

Leyla Aliyeva, "Women and War," in Adid Dawisha and Karen Dawisha, editors. *The Making of Foreign Policy in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*.

16. March 11 – Azerbaijan: Foreign and Security Policies

17. March 13 – Armenia Since 1991

Readings:

Edmund Herzig, 84-118.

Gerard J. Libaridian, *Challenge...*, 19-45.

Nora Dudwick, "Armenia. The Nation Awakens," 261-288, in Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras. *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States*.

Peter Rutland, "Democracy and Nationalism in Armenia. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 5 (1994): 839-861.

18. March 18 – Armenia and Its Conflicts

19. March 20 – Armenia: Foreign and Security Policies

Readings:

Gerard J. Libaridian, *Challenge . . .*, 47-162.

Speech by President Heydar Aliyev, February 2001.

Article by President Levon Ter-Petrossian, November 1998.

Ronald G. Suny, *Transcaucasia . . .*, 441-460.

UNIT III. The Caucasus and Its neighbors

20. March 25 – Conflicts and Mediations

21. March 27 – Russia and the Caucasian Conflicts

DEADLINE FOR TURNING IN PAPER*Readings:*

Gerard J. Libaridian, "Why the Nagorno Karabagh Conflict Has Not Been Resolved." Paper (unpublished), presented at SAIS, Johns Hopkins University Conference on the South Caucasus, December 11, 2000.

David D. Laitin and Ronald G. Suny, "Armenia and Azerbaijan: Thinking a Way out of Karabakh," 145-176, *Middle East Policy*, Vol. VII, 1(1999).

Rajan Menon, "After Empire: Russia and the Southern 'Near Abroad,'" 100-166, in Michael Mandelbaum, editor. *The New Russian Foreign Policy*.

Alexei Arbatov, "Russian Security Interests and Dilemmas: An Agenda for the Future," 411-458, in Alexei Arbatov et al, editors. *Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union. Russian and American Perspectives*.

Emil A. Pain, "Contagious Ethnic Conflicts and Border Disputes Along Russia's Southern Flank," 177-204, in Rajan Menon, Yuri E. Fedorov, and Ghia Nodia, editors, *Russia, The Caucasus and Central Asia. The 21st Century Security Environment*.

22. April 1 - Iran and the Caucasian Conflicts

23. April 3 - Turkey and the Caucasian Conflicts

Readings:

"Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran Toward Central Asia and the Caucasus; Roundtable." *Discourse*, Vol. 2, 4(2001), Tehran.

Alireza Bisgeldi, "Overview of Relations Between The Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan;" Igor Muradian, " The Geo-economy of the Great Economic Region: Iran-Armenian Relations;" and Mohammed-Reza Maleki, " Turkish-Israeli Relations: Impacts on Central Asia and the Caucasus," *Amu Darya*, Summer 1999, 162-196.

Seyyed Hossein Seif-Zadeh, "Caucasus: Democratic Development and Identity Crisis," 325-338, in *Amu Darya*, Fall 1999.

Ganeth Winrow, "Turkey and Caspian Energy: The Importance of Geopolitics," 63-76, *Insight Turkey*, April-June, 2000.

Richard Pearle, "Main Strategic Concerns for the USA, Israel and Turkey," 1-4; Alan Makovsky, "Turkey's New Foreign Policy Activism" 19-22; and Svante E. Cornell, "Regional Policies in the Caucasus and Central Asia: The Position of the US, Turkey and Israel," 65-76, in ARI Movement and Neumann Foundation, *Report on the International Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean*, (1999, Istanbul).

UNIT IV. The Caucasus and the World

24. April 8 – The US, Europe and the Caucasian Conflicts

25. April 10 – Conflicts and Caspian resources

Readings:

Abram Chayes, Lara Olson, and George Raach, "The Development of US Policy Toward the Former Soviet Union," 493-536, in Alexei Arbatov et al, editors. *Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union. Russian and American Perspectives*.

Stephen J. Blank, "The United States: Washington's New Frontier in the Transcaspian," 249-270, in Michael P. Croissant and Bulent Aras, editors. *Oil and Geopolitics of the Caspian Sea Region*.

Jayhun Molla-Zade, "US Strategic Interests in the Caspian Sea Region."
<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/caucnews/spr98.html#mollazade>.

Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall, "US Policy and the Caucasus."
<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/caucnews/spr98.html#esr>.

Oumerserik Kasenov, "Russia, Transcaucasia, and Central Asia: Oil, Pipelines, and Geopolitics," 67-87, in Sagdeev and Eisenhower, eds., *Central Asia*.

Nasib Nasibli, "The Politics of Oil in Post-Communist Azerbaijan."
<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/caucnews/spr98.html#nasib>.

Rusudan Gorgiladze, "The New Silk Road: Energy, Regional Security and Democratization in the Caucasus and Central Asia." Contemporary Caucasus Newsletter, 5 (Spring 1998). The Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, UCB.
<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/caucnews/spr98.html#gorg>.

Vartan Oskanian, "Oil and Instability in Contemporary Caucasus."
<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/caucnews/spr98.html#oskanian>.

Qassem Maleki, "Oil Policies in the Caucasus," 214-224, *Amu Darya*, Summer 1999.

26. April 15 – Conflicts and Regional Cooperation

27. April 17 – Geopolitics and the Caucasus

Readings:

Nurver Nures, "The Black Sea Economic Cooperation: A New Vision in Eurasia," 114-124, in *Insight Turkey*, January-March 2000.

Gerard Libaridian and Arif Yunusov. *New Approaches to Nagorno-Karabagh: A Window of Opportunity?* EastWest Institute Policy Brief Number 3, January 1999.
<http://www.iewe.org/Publications.nsf/>

Jonathan Aves, "National Security and Military Issues in the Transcaucasus: The Case of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia," pages 209-233, in Bruce Parrot, editor. *State Building and Military Power in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*.

"A New Deal for the Caucasus," CEPS Working Document No. 144, April 2000.

Elkhan E. Nuriyev, "The Ongoing Geopolitical Game in the Caucasus and the Caspian Basin" *Towards War or Peace*," May 9, 1999.
<http://cns.miis.edu/cres/nuriyev.htm>.

Rajan Menon, "The Security Environment in the South Caucasus and Central Asia: Concept, Setting, and Challenges," 3-26; Roy Allison, "The Military and Security Landscape in Russia and the South," 27-60; Andre Zagorsky, "Traditional Security Interests in the Caucasus and Central Asia: Perceptions and Realities," 61-86; and Hendryk Spruyt and Laurent Ruseckas, "Economics and Energy in the South: Liberal Expectations Versus Likely Realities," 87-118, in Rajan Menon, Yuri E. Fedorov, and Ghia Nodia, editors, *Russia, The Caucasus and Central Asia. The 21st Century Security Environment*.

April 19-26

FINAL EXAM**READINGS**

Required

I. Books

A. (At bookstores)

Edmund Herzig. *The New Caucasus. Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia*. London: Chatham House, 1999.

Gerard J. Libaridian. *The Challenge of Statehood. Armenian Political Thinking Since Independence*. Watertown: Blue Crane Books, 1999.

Ronald G. Suny. *Transcaucasia, Nationalism, and Social Change*. University of Michigan Press, revised edition, 1996.

II. On reserve

Alexei Arbatov et al, editors. *Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union. Russian and American Perspectives*. Cambridge: JFK SG, 1997.

Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras. *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

W. Raymond Duncan and G. Paul Holman, editors. *Ethnic Nationalism and Regional Conflict*. San Francisco: Westview Press, 1994.

Adid Dawisha and Karen Dawisha, editors. *The Making of Foreign Policy in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*. M.E.Sharpe, 1995.

Revaz Gachechiladze. *The New Georgia: Space, Society, Politics*. Texas A&M University Press, 1995.

Charles Kupchan, editor. *Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Michael Mandelbaum, editor. *The New Russian Foreign Policy*. NY: Council on Foreign Relations, 1998.

Rajan Menon, Yuri E. Fedorov, and Ghia Nodia, editors, *Russia, The Caucasus and Central Asia. The 21st Century Security Environment*, M. E. Sharpe, New York, 1999.

Bruce Parrot, editor. *State Building and Military Power in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1995.

Roald Z. Sagdeev and Susan Eisenhower, editors, *Central Asia. Conflict, Resolution, and Change*. CPSS Press, Chevy Chase, Maryland, 1995.

Ronald Grigor Suny. *The Revenge of the Past*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Tadeusz Swietochowski, *Russia and Azerbaijan. A Borderland in Transition*. Columbia University Press, 1995.

Mehmet Tutuncu, editor. *Caucasus: War and Peace*. Harlem: SOTA, 1998.

III. Recommended

Audrey L. Altsadt. *The Azerbaijani Turks: Power and Identity under Russian Rule*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1992.

Michael P. Croissant and Bulent Aras, editors. *Oil and Geopolitics of the Caspian Sea Region*. Praeger, 1999.

Glenn Curtis, editor. *Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. Country Studies*. Library of Congress, 1995.

Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott. *Conflict, Cleavage and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Robert D. Kaplan, *Eastward to Tartary. Travels in the Balkans, The Middle East, and the Caucasus*. Random House, 2000.

William Ferry and Roger Kanet, editors. *Post-Communist States in the World Community*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Thomas Goltz, *Azerbaijan Diary*. New York, M. E. Sharpe, 1998.

Shireen Hunter. *The Transcaucasus in Transition*. Washington: CSIS, 1994.

B. Kaminski, editor. *Economic Transition in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*. Armonk: NY, 1996.

David Marshall Lang. *A Modern History of Georgia*. Westport, Greenwood Press, 1962.

David Marshall Lang. *The Armenians. A People in Exile*. London: Unwin, 1988.

Gail W. Lapidus and Renee de Nevers, *Nationalism, Ethnic Identity and Conflict Management in Russia Today*. SISAC, Stanford, Ca., 1995.

Gerard J. Libaridian, editor. *Armenia at the Crossroads. Democracy and Nationhood in the Post-Soviet Era*. Watertown: Blue Crane Books, 1991.

Anatoly Lieven, *Chechnya. Tombstone of Russian Power*. Yale university Press, 1998.

S. Frederick Starr, editor. *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.

Ronald Grigor Suny. *Looking Toward Ararat. Armenia in Modern History*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Ronald Grigor Suny. *The Making of the Georgian Nation*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998.

Tadeusz Swietochowski. *Russian Azerbaijan, 1905-1920. The Shaping of National Identity in a Muslim Community*. Cambridge and NY: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Christopher Walker. *Armenia: The Survival of a Nation*. Palgrave, 1990 (Revised Edition).

Andre Zagorsky, editor. *Crisis Management in the CIS: Wither Russia?* Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1995.