

History and Politics of the Caucasus
IAFF 6338 Section 12
Wednesdays, 5:10-7:00 PM, 1957 E Room 303A

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This course addresses the history and politics of the Caucasus (i.e., the South Caucasus), as well as select economic and security issues. It examines the political and national histories of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan prior to the Russian conquest and during the imperial and Soviet periods; political continuity and change in the post-Soviet period; origin and progression of ethnoterritorial conflicts; and contemporary politics and economics.

Learning Outcomes:

By the end of the course, students will be able to analyze and interpret diverse historical, political, and economic trends in the South Caucasus; analyze interrelationships among politics, conflicts, and economics in the region; apply lessons learned to broader fields of nation and state building, conflict resolution, economic/resource-based development, and democracy promotion; present briefings on contemporary issues; and compose informed analytical/comparative and research papers on regional topics.

Requirements:

Written assignments should be completed in Times New Roman 12pt, double-spaced, 1-inch margins

Response Paper (4-5 pages): **20%** (Due: Wednesday, Oct. 14)
Oral Briefing (30 minutes, including Q-and-A): **20%** (Nov. 4 – Dec. 2)
Final Paper (15-20 pages): **45%** (Due: Wednesday, Dec. 16)
Participation: **15%**

There are two written assignments in this course. The first assignment is a response paper that will draw on the assigned readings and class discussion and respond to questions I will distribute at least two weeks before the deadline. It will relate to the experience of the Caucasus in Russian and Soviet times and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The second written assignment is a research paper on a subject of your choice, but one which is specific enough to allow for original research. As the course focuses on the history and politics of the Caucasus, I especially encourage papers on historical, political, economic, and social themes. Papers related to security and conflict issues are also welcome. As part of your grade, you will be required to submit a paper topic and brief outline in advance.

A third assignment will consist of an oral briefing (PowerPoint expected) on contemporary political, economic, and conflict issues that will be assigned in class and developed with instructor guidance. The briefing will consist of individual 15-20 minute presentations, followed by 10-15 minutes of group discussion.

Classroom discussion presumes knowledge of the assigned material. Class attendance and participation forms a part of your grade.

Readings:

Readings other than the books listed below will be available via electronic reserve; university-accessible databases; or directly online.

Three books are required:

Charles King, *The Ghost of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus* (Oxford University Press, 2008)

Thomas de Waal, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan Through Peace and War*, 10th-year edition (New York University Press, 2013)

Thomas de Waal, *The Caucasus: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2010)

In addition to the required books, good (detailed) historical surveys include:

Audrey Alstadt, *The Azerbaijani Turks: Power and Identity Under Russian Rule* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1992)

George A. Bournoutian, *A Concise History of the Armenian People*, 5th edition (Mazda Publishers, 2006)

Richard Hovannisian, *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times, Volume II: Foreign Dominion to Statehood: The 15th Century to the 20th Century* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1997)

Stephen Jones, *Georgia: A Political History Since Independence* (I.B. Tauris, 2013)

Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Making of the Georgian Nation*, 2nd edition (Indiana University Press, 1994)

Thomas de Waal, *Great Catastrophe: Armenians and Turks in the Shadow of Genocide* (Oxford University Press, 2015)

Finally, I encourage you to keep abreast of current developments in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia via web media, for example *EurasiaNet* (www.eurasianet.org), *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* (www.rferl.org), *Civil.ge* (www.civil.ge), and *Eurasia Daily Monitor* (<http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm>).

Schedule:

1. Sept. 2: Overview

2. Sept. 9: At the Edge of Empires

- Charles King, *The Ghost of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus* (Oxford University Press, 2008), xiii-xiv, 3-15
- Thomas de Waal, *The Caucasus: An Introduction* (OUP, 2010), 1-36
- R. W. Thomson, “The Origins of Caucasian Civilization: The Christian Component,” in Ronald Grigor Suny, ed., *Transcaucasia, Nationalism, and Social Change: Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia* (University of Michigan Press, 1996), 25-41
- “A Martyred Princess: The Passion of St. Shushanik,” and “The Passion of Queen Ketevan,” in D. M. Lang, *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints*, 44-56, 169-172
- Thomas de Waal, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan Through Peace and War* (NYU Press, 2013), 158-171 (chapter 10)
- SKIM: Nina G. Garsoian, “Iran and Caucasia,” and Peter B. Golden, “The Turkic Peoples and Caucasia,” in Suny, ed., *Transcaucasia, Nationalism, and Social Change*, 7-23, 45-67

3. Sept. 16: In the Russian Empire

- Charles King, *The Ghost of Freedom*, 20-53, 84-86, 92-98 (read the last pages after de Waal)
- Thomas de Waal, *The Caucasus*, 37-60
- Ronald Grigor Suny, “Eastern Armenians Under Tsarist Rule,” in Richard Hovannisian, *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times Vol. II* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 109-137
- Tadeusz Swietochowski, *Russia and Azerbaijan: A Borderland in Transition* (Columbia University Press, 1995), 1-24, 37-42

4. Sept. 23 (TO BE RESCHEDULED): War and Independence, Take One

- Thomas de Waal, *The Caucasus*, 60-70
- Thomas de Waal, *Great Catastrophe: Armenians and Turks in the Shadow of Genocide* (Oxford University Press, 2015), 72-90
- Tadeusz Swietochowski, *Russia and Azerbaijan*, 65-87, 91-94, 100-103
- Arsene Saparov, "Why Autonomy? The Making of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region 1918-1925," *Europe-Asia Studies* 64, 2 (2012): 287-291
- Ronald Grigor Suny, *Making of the Georgian Nation*, 2nd ed. (Indiana University Press, 1994) 185-208
- Cory Welt, "A Fateful Moment?: Ethnic Autonomy and Revolutionary Violence in the Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921)," in *The Making of Modern Georgia, 1918-2012: The First Georgian Republic and Its Successors*, ed. Stephen Jones (Routledge, 2014), 205-225

5. Sept. 30: Soviet Nations

- Thomas de Waal, *The Caucasus*, 71-106
- Ronald Grigor Suny, "Soviet Armenia," in *The Armenian People From Ancient To Modern Times*, 347-378
- Tadeusz Swietochowski, *Russia and Azerbaijan*, 179-184
- Stephen Jones, *Georgia: A Political History Since Independence* (I.B. Tauris, 2013), 8-23
- Cory Welt, "Autonomy: The Origins and Legacies of Soviet Compromise," unpublished, selections, 1-12
- Svetlana Chervonnaya, *Conflict in the Caucasus* (Gothic Image Publications, 1994), 28-35

6. Oct. 7: Nationalist Mobilization and Soviet Collapse

- Thomas De Waal, *Black Garden*, Introduction, chaps. 1-4, 8
- Tadeusz Swietochowski, *Russia and Azerbaijan*, 193-220
- Stephen Jones, *Georgia: A Political History Since Independence* (I.B. Tauris, 2013), 25-73

7. Oct. 14: War and Independence, Take Two [RESPONSE PAPER DUE]

- Thomas De Waal, *Black Garden*, chaps. 11-18
- Thomas Goltz, *Azerbaijan Diary: A Rogue Reporter's Adventures in an Oil-Rich, War-Torn, Post-Soviet Republic* (M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 356-392
- Stephen Jones, *Georgia: A Political History*, 75-104

8. Oct. 21: State Collapse or Reconstruction?

- Svante E. Cornell, *Azerbaijan Since Independence* (M.E. Sharpe, 2011), 81-103, 162-171, 175-177, 199-207, 217-220, 225-232
- Ian Bremmer and Cory Welt, "Armenia's New Autocrats," *Journal of Democracy* 8, 3 (1997): 77-91
- Stephan H. Astourian, "Killings in the Armenian Parliament: Coup d'Etat, Political Conspiracy, or Destructive Rage?" Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Contemporary Caucasus Newsletter 9 (2000)
- Lincoln A. Mitchell, *Uncertain Democracy: U.S. Foreign Policy and Georgia's Rose Revolution* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 21-42
- Christoph H. Stefes, *Understanding Post-Soviet Transitions: Corruption, Collusion and Clientelism* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 85-117

9. Oct. 28: Georgia's Rose Revolution

- Cory Welt, "Georgia's Rose Revolution: From Regime Weakness to Regime Collapse," in Valerie Bunce, Michael A. McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, eds., *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Post-Communist World* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 155-188
- Lincoln A. Mitchell, *Uncertain Democracy*, 79-111
- Alexander Kupatadze, "Explaining Georgia's Anti-Corruption Drive," *European Security* 21, 1 (2012): 16-30
- Gavin Slade, "Georgia's War on Crime: Creating Security in a Post-Revolutionary Context," *European Security* 21, 1 (2012): 37-52
- Thomas de Waal, "Georgia's Choices: Charting a Future in Uncertain Times," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2011), 1-44

10. Nov. 4: Politics of Contemporary Georgia [WITH ORAL BRIEFINGS]

- Selections TBA

11. Nov. 11: Politics of Contemporary Armenia [WITH ORAL BRIEFINGS]

- Human Rights Watch, "An Imitation of Law: The Use of Administrative Detention in the 2003 Armenian Presidential Election" (2003), 2, 6-15
- Human Rights Watch, "Cycle of Repression: Human Rights Violations in Armenia" (2004), 2-9, 11, 13, 16
- Richard Giragosian, "Redefining Armenian National Security," *Demokratizatsiya* 14, no. 2 (2006): 223-234
- Adam Hug (ed.), *Spotlight on Armenia* (London: The Foreign Policy Centre, 2011), 9-10, 26-35
- "Armenia: An Opportunity for Statesmanship," International Crisis Group, June 2012, 1-17.

12. Nov. 18: Politics of Contemporary Azerbaijan [WITH ORAL BRIEFINGS]

- Svante Cornell, *Azerbaijan Since Independence*, 104-125, 178-181, 208-217, 232-249, 268-286
- Cory Welt, “In the Shadow of Revolution: A Decade of Authoritarian Hardening in Azerbaijan” (forthcoming book chapter), 1-37

Nov. 25: NO CLASS

13. Dec. 2: Frozen Conflicts? [WITH ORAL BRIEFINGS]

- Thomas De Waal, *Black Garden*, Preface, chap. 19 and Conclusion
- Cory Welt, “To Link Or Not To Link? Turkey-Armenia Normalization and the Karabakh Conflict,” [Caucasus International](#) 2, 1 (2012): 53-62.
- Samuel Charap and Cory Welt, “A More Proactive U.S. Approach to the Georgia Conflicts,” Center for American Progress (2011), 1-65.
- Elizabeth Cullen Dunn, “The Chaos of Humanitarian Aid: Adhocracy in the Republic of Georgia,” *Humanity: A Journal of Human Rights* 3, 1 (2012): 1-20.

14. Dec. 9: Concluding Session

Final Papers Due: Wednesday, December 16, by email