

PSCI 4504/EURR 4209

**Politics of the Caucasus and Caspian Basin: Post-Soviet Violent Conflicts in the
Caucasus**

Monday 11:35AM – 2:25PM.

Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Professor: Jean-François Ratelle

Office: B 646 Loeb

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Course Description:

The Caucasus—the southern states of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia and the northern Russian-controlled provinces, including Chechnya—hold great mineral riches and immense geostrategic importance but remain one of the least stable regions of Eurasia, twenty years after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In order to better understand this region, this course seeks to analyse the violent conflicts which occurred in the Caucasus since the end of the Soviet Union. By looking at the cases of the Abkhazian conflict, the South Ossetian conflict, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the 2008 Russo-Georgian war, the two Chechen wars, and the recent upsurge of violence in the North Caucasus, this seminar will analyse the causes and consequences of political violence in the region. The role of historical and sociological trajectories, ethnic identities, religion, resources greed, and political grievances will be assessed in a comparative way between the different conflicts. This seminar will also analyse the impact of foreign and transnational forces (e.g. al-Qaeda), and international events (e.g. 9/11 and the War on Terror, the Arab Spring, and the Kosovo crisis) on the region.

Required Texts:

De Waal, Thomas. 2010. *The Caucasus: an introduction*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press. (Available at the library reserve)

The rest of the readings will be available on library reserve or through cuLearn.

Grading and Assignments:

- 15 %: Attendance and class participation

- 20 %: Two critical reading summaries (2000 words each)
- 20 %: Oral presentation
- 45%: 8000-word research paper about violent conflicts in the Caucasus (due December 16th 2013 by email)

Attendance is mandatory (except in the case of emergencies), as is informed contributions to class discussion. Participation grades will be determined based on: (a) attendance and attention level and (b) active participation that (i) displays awareness of the subject (ii) contributes to the flow of conversation (iii) shows knowledge of the readings (iv) offers critical analysis of the readings and topic.

Late papers will be penalized one letter grade (i.e. A- to B+) per day late. No work will be accepted after the end of classes.

Week 1 (September 9th 2013): Introduction

King, Charles. 2010. *The Ghost of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus*. 3-19

Zürcher, Christoph. 2007. *The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus*. New York: NYU Press: 11-41.

De Waal, Thomas. 2010. *The Caucasus: an introduction*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 2.

Week 2 (September 16th 2013): Historical and Social Context of the Caucasus

Derluguian, Georgi M. 2005. *Bourdieu's Secret Admirer in the Caucasus: A World-System Biography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 219-286.

Williams, Brian Glyn. 2000. "Commemorating 'The Deportation' in Post-Soviet Chechnya: The Role of Memorialization and Collective Memory in the 1994-1996 and 1999-2000 Russo-Chechen Wars." *History & Memory* 12 (1) (July): 101–134.

De Waal, Thomas. 2010. *The Caucasus: an introduction*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 3.

Week 3 (September 23rd 2013): The End of the Soviet Union and "Ethnic" Conflicts in the North Caucasus

Hughes, James. 2007. *Chechnya: From Nationalism to Jihad*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 56-93.

Moore, Cerwyn and Paul Tumelty. 2009. "Assessing Unholy Alliances in Chechnya: From Communism and Nationalism to Islamism and Salafism." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 25 (1): 73–94.

Tishkov, Valery. 2004. *Chechnya: Life in a War-Torn Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press: 90-126.

Campana, Aurélie. 2006. "The Effects of War on the Chechen National Identity Construction." *National Identities* 8 (2) (June): 129–148.

Week 4 (September 30th 2013): "Frozen Conflicts in the Southern Caucasus: the Nagorno-Karabakh"

De Waal, Thomas. 2010. *The Caucasus: an introduction*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 4.

Ozkan, Behlül. 2008. "Who Gains from the 'No War, No Peace' Situation: A Critical Analysis of the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict" *Geopolitics* 13 (3): 572-599

Shafiyev, Farid. 2007. "Ethnic Myths and Perceptions as a Hurdle to Conflict Settlement: The Armenian-Azerbaijani Case" *Caucasus and Globalization* 1 (2): 57-69

Ambrosio, Thomas. 2011. "Unfreezing the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict? Evaluating Peacemaking Efforts under the Obama Administration" *Ethnopolitics* 10 (1): 93-114.

Week 5 (October 7th 2013): "Frozen Conflicts in the Southern Caucasus: Georgia, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia"

De Waal, Thomas. 2010. *The Caucasus: an introduction*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 5.

Clogg, Rachel. 2008. "The Politics of Identity in Post-Soviet Abkhazia: Managing Diversity and Unresolved Conflicts" *Nationalities Papers* 36 (2): 305-329

Cooley, Alexander. 2010. "Abkhazia on Three Wheels" *World Policy Journal* 27 (2): 73-81

Closson, Stacy. 2010. "Networks of Profit in Georgia's Autonomous Regions: Challenges to Statebuilding." *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 4 (2) (June): 179–204.

Week 6 (October 14th 2013): Thanksgiving (No Seminar)

Week 7 (October 21th 2013): Comparative Study of Violent Conflicts in the Caucasus

Laitin, David D. 2001. "Secessionist Rebellion in the Former Soviet Union." *Comparative Political Studies* 34 (8) (October): 839–861.

King, Charles. 2001. "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States." *World Politics* 53 (4) (July): 524–552.

Coppieters, Bruno. 2012. "Conflict Resolution After the 2008 Georgia–Russia War: The Taiwan and Kosovo Models as Tools for Mobilization and Comparison." *Nationalities Papers* 40 (5) (September): 677–701.

Caspersen, Nina. 2013. "The South Caucasus After Kosovo: Renewed Independence Hopes?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 65 (5) (July): 929–945.

Reading Week (October 28th 2013)

Week 8 (November 4th 2013): The Second Chechen War, the Impacts of 9/11, and the role of al-Qaeda

Evangelista, Matthew. 2002. *The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union?* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press: 46-85.

Wilhelmsen, Julie. 2005. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Islamisation of the Chechen Separatist Movement." *Europe-Asia Studies* 57 (1) (January): 35–59.

Moore, Cerwyn, and Paul Tumelty. 2008. "Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31 (5): 412–433.

Williams, Brian Glyn. 2004. "From 'Secessionist Rebels' to 'Al-Qaeda Shock Brigades': Assessing Russia's Efforts to Extend the Post-September 11th War on Terror to Chechnya." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24 (1) (April): 197–209.

Hahn, Gordon. 2007. *Russia's Islamic Threat*. New Haven: Yale University Press: 59-93.

Moore, Cerwyn. 2012. "Suicide Bombing: Chechnya, the North Caucasus and Martyrdom." *Europe-Asia Studies* 64 (9) (November): 1780–1807.

Week 9 (November 11th 2013): The Second Chechen War and the Chechenization Process

Gilligan, Emma. 2010. *Terror in Chechnya: Russia and the Tragedy of Civilians in War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 23-97.

Sakwa, Richard. 2010. "The Revenge of the Caucasus: Chechenization and the Dual State in Russia." *Nationalities Papers* 38 (5) (September): 601–622.

Russell, John. 2008. "Ramzan Kadyrov: The Indigenous Key to Success in Putin's Chechenization Strategy?" *Nationalities Papers* 36 (4) (September): 659–687.

Russell, John. 2011. "Chechen Elites: Control, Cooption or Substitution?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 63 (6) (August): 1073–1087.

Week 10 (November 18th 2013): The 2008 Russo-Georgian War

De Waal, Thomas. 2010. *The Caucasus: an introduction*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 7.

Cheterien, Vicken. 2009. "The August 2008 War in Georgia: From Ethnic Conflict to Border Wars" *Central Asian Survey* 28 (2): 155-170.

Bowker, Mike. 2011. "The War in Georgia and the Western Response" *Central Asian Survey* 30 (2): 197-211

Kriz, Zdenek. 2011. "Georgian Readiness for NATO Membership after Russian-Georgian Armed Conflict" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 44 (1): 89-97

MacFarlane, Neil S. 2010. "Colliding State-Building Projects and Regional Insecurity in Post-Soviet Space: Georgia versus Russia in South Ossetia" *Comparative Social Research* 27: 127-142

Week 11 (November 25th 2013): The Caucasus Emirate

Soulemanov, Emil. 2011. "The Caucasus Emirate: Genealogy of an Islamist Insurgency" *Middle East Policy*, XVIII (4) (Winter): 155-168.

Kuchins, Andrew C., Sergey Markedonov, and Matthew Malarkey. 2011. "The North Caucasus: Russia's Volatile Frontier". Center For Strategic & International Studies.
http://csis.org/files/publication/110321_Kuchins_NorthCaucasus_WEB.pdf.

Hahn, Gordon. 2011. "Getting the Caucasus Emirate Right". Center For Strategic & International Studies.
http://csis.org/files/publication/110930_Hahn_GettingCaucasusEmirateRt_Web.pdf.

Sagramoso, Domitilla. 2012. "The Radicalisation of Islamic Salafi Jamaats in the North Caucasus: Moving Closer to the Global Jihadist Movement?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 64 (3) (May): 561–595.

O'Loughlin, John, Edward Holland, and Frank Witmer. 2011. "The Changing Geography of Violence in Russia's North Caucasus, 1999-2011: Regional Trends and Local Dynamics in Dagestan, Ingushetia, and Kabardino-Balkaria." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 52 (5) (September): 596–630.

Week 12 (December 2nd 2013): Islam in the Contemporary Caucasus

Bram, Chen, and Moshe Gammer. 2013. "Radical Islamism, Traditional Islam and Ethno-Nationalism in the Northern Caucasus." *Middle Eastern Studies* 49 (2) (March 1): 296–337.

Holland, Edward C., and John O'Loughlin. 2010. "Ethnic Competition, Radical Islam, and Challenges to Stability in the Republic of Dagestan." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 43 (3) (September): 297–308.

Shterin, Marat, and Akhmet Yarlykapov. 2011. "Reconsidering Radicalisation and Terrorism: The New Muslims Movement in Kabardino-Balkaria and Its Path to Violence." *Religion, State and Society* 39 (2-3): 303–325.

Wilhelmsen, Julie. 2009 "Islamism in Azerbaijan: How Potent?" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 32 (8): 726-742

Balci, Bayram. 2004 "Between Sunnism and Shiism: Islam in post-Soviet Azerbaijan," *Central Asian Survey*, 23 (2): 205-217.

Week 13 (December 9th 2013): Concluding Discussion

Websites to Consult

Current news sources

[Eurasianet](#):

Sponsored by George Soros' Open Society Institute, Eurasianet publishes a broad range of news from the entire former Soviet Union, has special reporting and ongoing research projects on Central Asia, and covers some more unusual topics such as arts and culture in some depth.

[International War and Peace Reporting: Caucasus](#)

IWPR is a non-profit international organization that publishes fairly in-depth reports by local journalists.

[Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty](#)

Excellent reporting and in-depth coverage of Caucasus. US-funded organization uses local stringers in reporting.

[RFE/RL Caucasus Report](#)

[Transitions Online: Caucasus](#)

An online news magazine covering the formerly communist world.

[Caucasian Knot](#):

English version of Russian website with news from around the Caucasus: treat with caution!

Research and Analysis

[Caucasus Research Resource Centers](#)

Analysis and numerous databases on the region

[Central Asia Caucasus Analyst](#)

Analytical reporting on Central Asia and the Caucasus, mostly from a security perspective.

[Human Rights Watch - Europe and Central Asia](#)

[International Crisis Group: Caucasus](#)

In-depth journalistic reporting on key regional issues, aimed at policy makers and the broader public

[International Organization for Migration: South Caucasus](#)

[Economist Intelligence Unit](#) See Individual Country Reports

[Caucasian Review of International Affairs](#)

[United Nations Development Program - Europe and the CIS](#)

[Human Rights Watch](#)

[Silk Road Studies Program: Central Asia-Caucasus Institute](#)

Journals

Ab Imperio

Caucasian Review for International Affairs (online only)

Central Asian Survey

Central Asia and the Caucasus (online only)

Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst (online only)

Central Eurasian Studies Review (online only)

Communist and Post-Communist Studies

Demokratizatsiia
Eurasian Geography and Economics
Europe-Asia Studies
Nationalities Papers
Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs
Slavic Review
China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly

Article Databases

Scopus
Historical Abstracts
Social Sciences Fulltext
Ingenta Connect
J-Stor

Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day’s date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4

77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Grades: Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit <http://facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety> or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.