Objectives: Content

The Caucasus—Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia and Russian-controlled provinces to the north, including Chechnya—holds immense geostrategic importance but remains one of least stable, and least understood, regions of Eurasia. This course will analyze these states and societies from the period of imperial Russian control to the present. We will investigate colonial legacies and the complicated inheritance of the Soviet Union. The entire region, from Azerbaijan, blessed with oil and gas resources, to isolated mountain regions of the North Caucasus, continues to deal with poverty, corruption, and social transformation. “Frozen [perhaps not-so-frozen] conflicts,” in Georgia and Nagorno-Karabakh have already produced significant violence and international tension. Ethnicity and religion play key roles in informing identities and conflicts. Other issues we will discuss include political power, resource wealth and scarcity, resistance against Russian influence, the region’s role in the international stage, the roles of women, Islam, and, not least, everyday life.

Objectives: Skills

This course seeks to develop skills that will assist students either in further academic pursuits or at the early stages of their careers. Included among these are critical thinking; public speaking (oral participation/ reports/ role play); ability to write concise, focused papers (short writing assignments); ability to conduct and integrate secondary research (long writing assignment). We will also do small group work (project management). We will discuss over the semester how to leverage classroom skills on the job/ academic markets.

Required Texts:

Readings will be available on library reserve or through CU Learn

Requirements and Grading

Undergraduate Students

Oral Participation: 25%
News Analysis (see below) and Role Play: 10%
3 Short Papers (1-2 pp) (see due dates below) 15%
2 Medium Papers (3-4 pp) (see due dates below) 20%
Proposal and Bibliography (2 pp) (due Nov 3, by email) for Major Assignment: 5%
Major Written Assignment (10 pp) (due Dec 4, in class): 25%
Students will be graded on in-class participation and written assignments. Active and consistent class participation is VITAL to succeeding in this class. **Attendance is mandatory:** penalties for not attending (without medical documentation) are: 1 absence= 10% deduction of *entire* participation grade; 2 absences= 30% deduction; 3 absences= 50% deduction; 4 absences= 100% deduction from participation grade. Each *late arrival* will cost 25% of that day’s attendance/ participation grade for every 15 minutes late. Ringing cellphones, note passing, under (or over) the table texting and other disruptions will also result in a loss of the participation mark on the same scale as absences.

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.

Each student will present one short (5 minute maximum) news analysis. Students will sign up for individual weeks and offer an analytical report of one important current event in the region. This emulates a briefing that an area-studies expert would give to a politician, minister, NGO director etc.

The short and medium discussion papers will analyze the readings for individual weeks (*only one paper may be handed in for each week*), discussing the authors’ arguments and pinpointing major issues within the selected theme. Samples will be posted on the course website. The papers are expected to be structured around a thesis, supported with evidence from the readings (further details in class). Papers will be due on the day of discussion, or one week later; in the latter case, the student will not receive credit for ideas discussed in class. Papers may be handed in on any week, BUT the first short/medium paper must be handed in on OR BEFORE Sep 21, the second, Oct 5, third, Oct 19, fourth, Nov 9, and fifth, Nov 23.

***Students may, with permission of the instructor, substitute a 10 minute oral presentation on the topic of their choice (related to the week’s themes) in place of a medium paper.

The proposal will be 1-2 pages. It will include (a) a paragraph on research strategy (how you went about finding sources); (b) a paragraph on your topic, its central “puzzle” and your approach; (c) a paragraph (or annotated bibliography) on how 5-7 sources you have collected will be used for your paper.

The long paper will be an original piece of research using at least eight sources. The topic will be developed in consultation with the instructor, but can cover any region or theme within Central Eurasia from the late nineteenth century to the present. Papers will be graded on effectiveness of writing as well as analysis. Further details will be posted on the course website in advance of the deadline for the proposal and bibliography.

Do NOT cite wikipedia in your written work, and be careful and critical of websites not included on the list at the end of the syllabus (even those on the list will have their own lean).

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.

Assignments sent electronically will not be accepted without prior consent of the instructor. It is not acceptable to hand in the same assignment for two or more courses. To obtain credit in a course, students must meet ALL the course requirements for *attendance*, term work, and examinations.
Note: no laptops/ tablets/ phones will be allowed for use in class, except as needed during news or oral reports.

Class Schedule
(I reserve the right to make minor changes to the schedule/ readings over the course of the semester.)
(note: readings with * are REQUIRED readings)

Sep. 7: Introduction: Major Issues

Sep 14: Introductory Class: The Caucasus: The Region and the World
*Charles King and Menon Rajan, “Prisoners of the Caucasus” Foreign Affairs 89, no. 4 (2010): 20-34
*A. Bonjour “Abkhazia on Three Wheels” World Policy Journal 27, no. 2 (2010): 73-81
*Tracy German, “‘Good Neighbours’ or Distant Relatives? Regional Identity and Cooperation in the South Caucasus” Central Asian Survey 31, no. 2 (2012): 137-151

Tracey German, “Securing the South Caucasus: Military Aspects of Russian Policy Towards the Region Since 2008" Europe-Asia Studies 64, no. 9 (2012): 1650-1666
Svetlana Akkieva, “Caucasus, One or Many?” Nationalities Papers, May 2008 36 2, p253-273
Sep 21: Conquest of the Caucasus, Genocide and Memory

History

Memory
*Current Press on Armenian Genocide Recognition (will be posted on CUlearn)

Austin Lee Jersild, “From Savagery to Citizenship: Caucasian Mountaineers and Muslims in the Russian Empire” Russia’s Orient, 101-114

Leyla Aliyeva, ed. Baku Oil and Local Communities: A History (2009)
Ryan Gingeras, Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912-1923 (2009)
Nick Breyfogle, Heretics and Colonizers: Forging Russia’s Empire in the South Caucasus (2005)

Sep 28: Soviet Rule

*Bruce Grant, “Cosmopolitan Baku” Ethnos 75, no. 2 (2010): 123-147


Jo Laycock, “Armenian Homelands and Homecomings, 1945-9” Cultural and Social History 9 no. 1 (2012): 103-123


Michaela Pohl, “The ‘Planet of One Hundred Languages:’ Ethnic Relations and Soviet Identity in the Virgin Lands In Peopling the Russian Periphery, Nick Breyfogle et. al. eds (2007), 238-261


Oct 5: South Caucasus: Politics and Leadership


*Christofer Berglund, “Georgia between Dominant-Power Politics, Feckless Pluralism and Democracy” Demokratizatsiya 22, no. 3 (2014): 445-470

*Tracy German, “Heading West? Georgia’s Euro-Atlantic Path” International Affairs 91, no. 3 (2015): 601-614

*Diana Ter-Ghazaryan, “Civizing the City Center:’ Symbolic Spaces and Narratives of the Nation in Yerevan’s Post-Soviet Landscape” Nationalities Papers 41, no. 4 (2013): 570-589

Donnacha O. Beachain and Frederik Coene, “Go West: Georgia’s European Identity and Its Role in Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy Objectives” Nationalities Papers 42, no. 6 (2014): 923-41


Lincoln A. Mitchell, “Compromising Democracy: State Building in Saakashvili’s Georgia” Central
**Asian Survey** 28, no. 2 (2009): 171-183

**Oct 12: North Caucasus: Politics and Leadership**

*John Russell, “Kadyrov’s Chechnya: Template, Test, or Trouble for Russia’s Regional Policy” *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 3 (2011): 509-528
*Aurelie Campana and Jean-Francois Ratelle, “A Political Sociology Approach to the Diffusion of Conflict from Chechnya to Dagestan and Ingushetia” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 37 (2014): 115-134

Tomas Smid and Mirolav Mares, “‘Kadyrovtsy:’ Russia’s Counterinsurgency Strategy and the Wars of Paramilitary Clans” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 38, no. 5 (2015): 650-677
Robert Ware, “Has the Russian Federation Been Chechenised?” *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 3 (2011): 495-508
Mark Kramer, “Guerilla Warfare, Counterinsurgency and Terrorism in the North Caucasus: The Military
Robert Bruce Ware and Enver Kisilev, *Dagestan: Russian hegemony and Islamic resistance in the North Caucasus* (2010)
John Russell, “Ramzan Kadyrov: The Indigenous Key to Success in Putin’s Indigenization Strategy?” *Nationalities Papers* 38, no. 5 (2010); 601-622
Emma Gilligan, *Terror in Chechnya: Russia and the tragedy of civilians in war*

**Oct 19: North Caucasus and Georgia: Social Issues**


Martin Demant Fredriksen, *Young Men, Time and Boredom in the Republic of Georgia* (2013)


Nov 2: Armenia and Azerbaijan: Social Issues


Aklar, Yasemin, “Nation and History in Azerbaijani School Textbooks” *Ab Imperio* no. 2 (2005):469-497


Nov 9: Not-so-Frozen Conflicts and Georgia: Role Play

Tracy German, “Russia and South Ossetia: Conferring Statehood or Creeping Annexation?” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 16, no. 1 (2015): 155-167


DRAFT: Readings Subject to Change


Mike Bowker, “The War in Georgia and the Western Response” Central Asian Survey 30, no. 2 (2011): 197-211

Peter Kabachnik, “Wounds that Won’t Heal: Cartographic Anxieties and the Quest for Territorial Integrity in Georgia” Central Asian Survey 31, no. 1 (2012): 45-60


Nov. 16: Not-so-Frozen Conflicts 2: Wrap Up and Nagorno-Karabakh

Georgia, Abkhazia, and Ossetia

TBA depending on Role Play

Nagorno-Karabakh

*Thomas de Waal, The Caucasus, Ch. 4


International Negotiation: Special Issue on Nagorno-Karabakh 15, no. 1 (2010)

**Nov 23: Political Economy and the Environment**


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**Nov 30: Migration/ Diaspora and North Caucasus: Social Issues**

*Erin Hofmann, “Cultural Responses to Changing Gender Patterns of Migration in Georgia” *International Migration* 50, no. 5 (2012): 77-94


DRAFT: Readings Subject to Change


Dec 7: TBA: (Prisoner of the Caucasus?)

**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**

*Ponars Eurasia: New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia*

*Commentary and Policy Notes*

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

*International Crisis Group: South Caucasus*

*International Organization for Migration: South Caucasus*

*Economist Intelligence Unit* (use though Carleton library) See Individual Country Reports
**Caucasian Review of International Affairs**
**United Nations Development Program - Eurasia**
**Silk Road Studies Program: Central Asia-Caucasus Institute**

Incomplete List of 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)
- Communist and Post-Communist Studies
- Demokratizatsiya
- Eurasian Geography and Economics
- Europe-Asia Studies
- Nationalities Papers
- Journal of Eurasian Studies
- Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs
- Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History
- 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 may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of “F” for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline 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. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Grading:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

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<td>67-69</td>
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**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 [https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/) 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.