

Contents

<i>Foreword by Stephen Blank</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
<i>Note on Transliteration</i>	xiv
1 Introduction	1
The South Caucasus	2
Theories of ethnic conflict and civil war	6
Methodological remarks	9
Organization of the book	11
2 Theorizing on the Causes of Civil War and Ethnopolitical Conflict	13
Explaining the terms	16
Typology of conflicts	27
Conflict vocabulary	27
Periodization in ethnopolitical conflict and civil war	29
Phase A: Mobilization – latent conflict	31
Phase B: Radicalization – sporadic or low-scale violence	31
Phase C: Sustained large-scale violence – civil war	33
Conflict-onset based theories	34
Structural accounts	35
Level of economic development	35
Facilitating a rebellion? Natural resources, diaspora, and geography	36
Demographic factors: ethnic diversity, size, and proportions	38
Regime type and regime change	39
Social inequality accounts	40
General shortcomings of quantitative research	41
Conflict-escalation based theories	42
Perceptual accounts	43
Ancient hatreds	43
Security dilemma	44
Symbolic (identity) politics	46
Instrumentalist accounts – manipulative leaders	47

Opportunity in power asymmetry: a missing causal link between ethnic riots and civil war?	48
③ The South Caucasus: A History of Identities, an Identity of Histories	51
Azerbaijan and Azerbaijanis	52
Azerbaijan	56
Relations with Persians and Persia, or Turks and Turkey, in historical perspective	56
Relations with Russians and Russia in historical perspective	59
Armenia and Armenians	61
Relations with Turks and Turkey in historical perspective	63
Relations with Russians and Russia in historical perspective	68
Georgia and Georgians	71
Relations with Russians and Russia in historical perspective	72
Forging nation-states: societal transition in the South Caucasus Republics	77
The internal political situation in Azerbaijan on the eve of the breakup of the U.S.S.R.	79
The role of clans in Azerbaijani politics	79
Mütəllibov's rule: chaotic internal politics	80
Elçibəy: the nationalists in power	85
The rise of Heydər Əliyev	85
The internal political situation in Armenia on the eve of the breakup of the U.S.S.R.	86
The internal political situation in Georgia on the eve of the breakup of the U.S.S.R.	89
4 Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia: The Ascent of Ethnopolitical Conflict	94
Nagorno-Karabakh	97
Conflict and historiography	101
Chronology of escalation	105
Phase A: Mobilization – latent conflict	105
Phase B: Radicalization – sporadic violence	108
Phase C: Armed conflict – civil (international) war	110
The conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia	112
South Ossetia	112
Abkhazia	114
Conflict and historiography	115
South Ossetia: chronology of escalation	122

Phase A: Mobilization – latent conflict	122
Phase B: Radicalization – sporadic violence	124
Phase C: Armed conflict – civil war	126
Abkhazia: Chronology of escalation	128
Phase A: Mobilization – latent conflict	128
Phase B: Radicalization – sporadic violence	132
5 War and Diplomacy: Ethnopolitical Conflicts as a Factor in the Foreign Policies of South Caucasian Countries (1991–94)	135
Turkey	136
Relations with Azerbaijan	136
Relations with Armenia	138
Turkey and the war in Nagorno-Karabakh	139
Iran	141
Relations with Azerbaijan	142
Relations with Armenia	143
Iran and the war in Nagorno-Karabakh	144
Russia	147
Relations with Azerbaijan	148
Relations with Armenia	150
Russia and the war in Nagorno-Karabakh	151
Russian relations with Georgia	155
Russian–Georgian relations and the war in South Ossetia	157
Russian–Georgian relations and the war in Abkhazia	159
Outcomes of the ethnopolitical conflicts in Georgia	162
Establishment of Russian military bases on Georgian territory	163
6 Conclusion	165
Level of economic development	165
Facilitating a rebellion? Natural resources, diaspora, and geography	166
Demographic factors: ethnic diversity, size, and proportions	168
Regime type and regime change	169
Social inequality accounts	170
Ancient hatreds	171
Security dilemma	173
Symbolic (identity) politics	175
Manipulative leaders	176
Expanding the theory	179

Distinguishing between onset-based and process-based causes of civil war and ethnic conflict	179
In-group cohesion	180
External support of secessionist movements	183
Power asymmetry-related opportunity, institutionalization of violence, and path to ethnic civil war	184
Notes	188
Bibliography	225
Index	243