

University of Miami

Department of Political Science

The Caspian and Black Sea Systems
Considerations of Energy and Security
Constructed Space, Contested Space

Dr. Bradford R. McGuinn
Politics 599
Spring 2010

Description

This course engages the intersection of energy and security within the contested geopolitical and geocultural space of the Caspian and Black Sea basins. It is concerned with these two, interconnected, sub-regions for what they tell us about ideas and acts, identities and interests, in a notoriously fluid period in international politics.

For centuries, these domains existed under Moscow's hegemonic management. In the post-Cold War period, a greater geopolitical pluralism developed, characterized by Russia's structural weakening and the ascendancy of various forms of American influence. The development of the region's oil and natural gas infrastructure, with the concomitant construction of pipelines, has placed these regions toward the center of the global economy. Now, in the context of America's war on terrorism and the resurgence of Russian confidence in its "near abroad" the contest for this space has taken another turn.

It is the purpose of this course to investigate three broad themes. The first concerns *language*. More specifically, it examines the manner in which the "energized space" of the Caspian and Black Sea basins have been made "securitized space" by local and extra-regional powers. Attention will be given here to the manner in which these areas are "captured" (defined and labeled) in global economic and geopolitical discourse in the context of a new Eurasianism. The second takes up *acts*, the tangible matter of the region's oil and gas infrastructure. Here the interplay between the actors of the Caspian and Black Sea systems is considered amongst themselves and with outside powers. And, the third theme focuses on the *dialectics* of identity, legitimacy and security within the various sub-regional "security complexes" of Eurasia.

Office Hours

The office is located on the third floor of the Jenkins Building, 314S. Regular office hours are kept between 10:30 and 12:00 on Mondays and Wednesdays. Additional meeting times can be made by appointment and communication is possible at

bmcguinn@miami.edu. Also, please check the blackboard before *each class session* for procedural and substantive information as the course goes along.

Reading Materials

Selected Articles [Available on Blackboard]

Grading

Abstract, Outline and Annotated Bibliography: 25%

Take-Home Final Examination: 25%

Research Paper: 40%

Participation and Attendance: 10%

Abstract, Outline and Annotated Bibliography

The preparation of a formal outline and abstract of the paper's scope and intention is meant to focus attention onto the subject early in the semester. It will also include a detailed bibliography with a short description of the items included.

Take-Home Final Examination

This assignment will involve responding to two of three questions based on lecture material and the readings. It will be submitted at the time scheduled for the course's final exam.

Analytical Paper

For this, class students will write an *analytical* essay of 25+ pages or so on a topic to be discussed with the professor. Its purpose will be less to describe a condition or set of questions and still less to offer opinions as such. Rather, its objective is to offer *explanation*. This is a difficult undertaking and requires engaging the substance of the paper topic in a vigorous fashion *early* in the semester. As the paper should adhere to the conventions of academic composition, more than a nodding acquaintance with Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* is to be desired.

Rules of Order

This class should be a very positive academic experience. To make best use of it regular attendance is essential. The material necessary for the examinations and the frameworks for the papers will be presented in class. There will be little time during the semester to review or make up for lost time. A deduction of half a letter grade will accompany late papers for each day beyond the agreed upon deadline. Plagiarism is a violation of University ethics policy and various copyright laws. Such behavior is also a notorious sign of bad manners. Much the same can be said about late arrivals, early departures and the use of telecommunications devices in class. Enough said.

Course Outline

Preface ...Roses and Ramzan

Readings

- "Russia Expands Support for Breakaway Regions in Georgia," *The New York Times*, 17 April 2008.
- "Russian Commentator Blames Georgia-Ossetia Conflict on Politicians," *Ekho Moskvy Radio*, 8 August 2008.
- "Georgia and Russia Nearing All-Out War," *The New York Times*, 10 August 2008.
- Anatol Lieven, "Analysis: Roots of the Conflict between Georgia, South Ossetia and Russia," *The Independent*, 11 August 2008.
- "Russian Forces Capture Military Base in Georgia," *The New York Times*, 12 August 2008.
- "The Chronicle of a Caucasus Tragedy," *Der Spiegel*, 25 August 2008.
- "Russia Backs Independence of Georgian Enclave," *The New York Times*, 27 August 2008.
- Ellen Barry, "Biden Pledges Support for Georgia, but Warns Against Militarism," *The New York Times*, 23 July 2009.
- Uwe Klussmann and Matthias Schepp, "Moscow's Troubles in the Caucasus," *Der Spiegel*, 3 August 2009.
- "Medvedev Vows to Wipe Out 'Bandits' in North Caucasus," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 8 January 2010.
- Sophia Kishkovsky, "Chechnya's Favorite Russian: Leo Tolstoy," *The New York Times*, 29 December 2009.
- Ellen Barry, "Chechnya and Its Neighbors Suffer a Relapse," *The New York Times*, 30 August 2009.
- "A Small Corner, Very Bloody," *The Economist*, 10 December 2009.
- C. J. Chivers, "A Fearless Activist in a Land of Thugs," *The New York Times*, 18 February 2009.
- C. J. Chivers, "Slain Exile Detailed Cruelty of the Ruler of Chechnya," *The New York Times*, 1 February 2009.
- Mairbek Vatchagaev, "Train Bombing Part of North Caucasus Rebels' Bid to Widen Insurgency," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, V. 6, I. 227 (10 December 2009).

Introduction ...abstracting influence in Eurasian space

Readings

- J. David Singer, "The Levels-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations," *World Politics*, V. 14, N. 1 (October 1961): 77-92.
- Thomas R. Bates, "Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, V. 36, N. 2 (April-June 1975): 351-366.
- Barry Buzan, "From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School," *International Organization*, V. 47, N. 3 (Summer 1993): 327-352.
- Martin van Creveld, "The Fate of the State," *Parameters* (Spring 1996): 4-18.
- Jeffery Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics*, V. 50, N. 2 (1990): 324-348.
- Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics*, V. 51, N. 1 (1998): 144-172.
- Robert D. Kaplan, "Kissinger, Metternich, and Realism," *The Atlantic Monthly* (June 1999) [Parts One and Two]
- Amitav Acharya, "The Emerging Regional Architecture of World Politics," *World Politics*, V. 59, N. 4 (July 2007): 629-652.

Glittering Prize ... oil, gas and their pipelines

Fires ...fields of energy, sources of attraction

Readings

- "Oil and Gas is Our Drug," *Der Spiegel* (9 November 2009).
- John P. McKay, "Baku Oil and Transcaucasian Pipelines, 1883-1891: A Study in Tsarist Economic Policy," *Slavic Review*, V. 43, N. 4 (Winter 1984): 604-623.
- Philip S. Gillette, "American Capital in the Contest for Soviet Oil, 1920-1923," *Soviet Studies*, V. 24, N. 4 (April 1973): 477-490.
- Joel Hayward, "Too Little, Too Late: An Analysis of Hitler's Failure in August 1942 to Damage Soviet Oil Production," *The Journal of Military History*, V. 64, N. 3 (July 2000): 769-794.

Claims ...estimating wealth, defining salience

Readings

- "Caspian Sea," *Energy Information Administration-Country Analysis Briefs* (January 2007).
- "Caspian Sea Region: Survey of Key Oil and Gas Statistics and Forecasts," *Energy Information Administration* (July 2006).
- Bernard A. Gelb, "Caspian Oil and Gas: Production and Prospects," *CRS Report for Congress* (8 September 2006).
- "Russia Energy Data," *EIA* (May 2008).
- "Azerbaijan," *EIA* (October 2009).
- International Monetary Fund*, "Republic of Azerbaijan, 2008," (May 2008).
- "Where Will Germany's Energy Come From?" *Der Spiegel* (15 April 2008).

Pipelines ...lines of control

Readings

- G. Raballand, "Economics and Politics of Cross-Border Oil Pipelines: The Case of the Caspian Basin," *Asia Europe Journal*, V. 5, N. 1 (March 2007): 133-146.
- Svetia Marinova, "Caspian Basin: Russia-Ukraine Spat Likely to Spur Construction of Alternative Pipelines," *Eurasianet* (7 January 2009).
- Anna Mudeva, "Bulgaria Urges EU to Secure Gas for Nabucco," *The Guardian* (20 January 2009).
- Shahin Abbasov, "Russia-Ukraine Gas Conflict Helps Azerbaijan, Nabucco," *Eurasianet* (20 January 2009).
- Bruce Pannier, "Nabucco Pipeline Conference Ends with EU Support, But No Cash," *Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty* (27 January 2009).
- "Merkel Calls on EU to Support Baltic Gas Pipeline," *Der Spiegel* (29 January 2009).
- "On Nord Stream, 'Germany Must Take a Selfish Stand'" *Der Spiegel* (6 November 2009).
- "New Twists in an Old Saga," *The Economist*, 13 November 2009.
- Bruce Pannier, "New Turkmen-China Pipeline Breaks Russia's Hold Over Central Asian Gas," *Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty* (14 December 2009).
- Judy Dempsey, "Hoping for More Than Just Energy from a Pipeline," *The New York Times* (23 December 2009).

Suggested

- Rafael Kandiyoti, "What Price Access to the Open Seas? The Geopolitics of Oil and Gas Transmission from the Trans-Caspian Republics," *Central Asian Survey*, V. 27, N. 1 (March 2008): 75-93.
- Shamil Midkhatovich Yenikeyef, "Kazakhstan's Gas: Export Markets and Export Routes," *Oxford Institute for Energy Studies* (November 2008).

Euro-Atlanticism ...America and Europe “beyond the Landstrasse”

Eurasianists ...the evolution of the Eurasian idea

Readings

- G. H. Bolsover, Palmerston and Metternich on the Eastern Question in 1834,” *The English Historical Review*, V. 51, N. 202 (April 1936): 237-256.
- Henry A. Kissinger, “The Conservative Dilemma: Reflections on the Political Thought of Metternich,” *The American Political Science Review*, V. 48, N. 4 (December 1954): 1017-1030.
- David Kerr, “The New Eurasianism: The Rise of Geopolitics in Russia’s Foreign Policy,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, V. 47, N. 6 (September 1995): 977-988.
- Donald W. Meinig, “Heartland and Rimland in Eurasian History,” *The Western Political Quarterly*, V. 9, N. 3 (September 1996): 553-569.
- Ronald Grigor Suny, “Provisional Stabilities: The Politics of Identities in the Post-Soviet Eurasia,” *International Security*, V. 24, N. 3 (Winter 1999-2000): 139-178.

Eastward...America, NATO and the “New Europe”

Readings

- Stephen Kinzer, “Azerbaijan Asks the U.S. to Establish Military Base,” *The New York Times* (31 January 1999).
- Jofi Joseph, “Pipeline Diplomacy: The Clinton Administration’s Fight for Baku-Ceyhan,” *The Woodrow Wilson Center* (January 1999).
- Robert D. Kaplan, “Where Europe Vanishes,” *The Atlantic Monthly* (November 2000).
- “A Worrying New World Order,” [Charlemagne] *The Economist* (11 September 2008).
- Gregory Feifer, “Orange Revolution’s Fate Hinges on Eastern Ukraine,” *Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty* (14 January 2010).
- Inna Kuznetsova and Heather Maher, “Tymoshenko Defends Achievements, Warns of Election Fraud,” *Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty* (15 January 2010).

Endeavors ...security systems, hegemonic projects

Readings

- Jonathan Monten, “The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy,” *International Security*, V. 29, N. 4 (Spring 2005): 112-156.
- Alexander Goncharenko, “Caspian-Black Sea Security Challenges and the Regional Security Structures,” *The Quarterly Journal*, V. 3, N. 2 (June 2004): 1-7.
- George Cristian Maior and Mihaela Matei, “The Black Sea Region in an Enlarged Europe: Changing Patterns, Changing Politics,” *Mediterranean Quarterly*, (Winter 2005): 33-51.
- “NATO Chief Urges Russia To Do More In Afghanistan,” *Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty* (16 December 2009).
- Daniel Steinvorth, “Disillusioned with Europe, Turkey Looks East,” *Der Spiegel* (12 November 2009).
- Robert Coalson, “U.S.-Russian Accord on Transit of Military Cargo Fails to Get off the Ground,” *Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty* (15 January 2010).
- Boris Gromov and Dmitry Rogozin, “Russian Advice on Afghanistan,” *The New York Times* (12 January 2010).

Suggested

- David Christian, “Silk Roads or Steppe Roads? The Silk Roads in World History,” *Journal of World History*, V. 11, N. 1 (Spring 2000): 1-26.
- Robert D. Kaplan, “Equal Alliance, Unequal Roles,” *The New York Times* (27 March 2008).

Vladimir Socor, "US-Georgia Security and Military Agreement in the Works," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, V. 5, Issue 241 (18 December 2008).
John Daly, "Central Asia's Energy Chessboard," *World Politics Review* (22 December 2008).

Soviet Space, Russia's Place ... Moscow and its "southern periphery"

Empire ... southern space and "self-evident" hegemony

Readings

Nicholas J. Spykman, "The Social Background of Asiatic Nationalism," *The American Journal of Sociology*, V. 32, N. 3 (November 1926): 396-411.
Hans Kohn, "Dostoevsky's Nationalism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, V. 6, N. 4 (October 1945): 385-414.
Nikolai P. Poltoratzsky, "The Russian Idea of Berdyaev," *Russian Review*, V. 21, N. 2 (April 1962): 121-136.
Ronald Grigor Suny, "Nationalities in the Russian Empire," *Russian Review*, V. 59, N. 4 (October 2000): 487-492.
Andreas Schonle, "Garden of the Empire: Catherine's Appropriation of the Crimea," *Slavic Review*, V. 60, N. 1 (Spring 2001): 1-23.

Marx ... southern space and "self-conscience" hegemony

Readings

Sidney Hook, "The Enlightenment and Marxism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, V. 29, N. 1 (January-March 1968): 93-108.
Adam B. Ulam, "The Historical Role of Marxism and the Soviet System," *World Politics*, V. 8, N. 1 (October 1955).
Alexandre Benningsen, "Colonization and Decolonization in the Soviet Union," *Journal Contemporary History*, V. 4, N. 1 (1969): 141-151.
Alfred J. Rieber, "Stalin, Man of the Borderlands," *The American Historical Association*, V. 106, N. 5 (December 2001): 1651-1691.

Adjustment ... southern space and "re-constructed" hegemony

Readings

Robert V. Barylski, "The Russian Federation and Eurasia's Islamic Crescent," *Europe-Asia Studies*, V. 46, N. 3. (1994): 389-416.
David Kerr, "The New Eurasianism: The Rise of Geopolitics in Russia's Foreign Policy," *Europe-Asia Studies*, V. 47, N. 6 (September 1995): 977-988.
David G. Rowley, "Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Russian Nationalism," *Journal of Contemporary History*, V. 32, N. 3 (July 1997): 321-337.
Ronald Grigor Suny, "Provisional Stabilities: The Politics of Identities in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *International Security*, V. 24, N. 3 (Winter 1999-2000): 139-178.
Steven Blank, "Russia and the Black Sea's Frozen Conflicts in Strategic Perspective," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, V. 19, N. 3 (Summer 2008): 23-54.
Pavel K. Baev, "Russia and NATO Explore the Limits of the 'Agreeing to Disagree' Posture," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, V. 6, I. 229 (14 December 2009).

Energized Spaces ...sub-regional “security complexes”

Identity ...landscapes and community

Readings

I. Historical and Theoretical Considerations

Ronald Grigor Suny, “Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations,” *The Journal of Modern History*, V. 73, N. 4 (December 2001): 862-896.

Owen Lattimore, “The New Political Geography of Inner Asia,” *The Geographical Journal*, V. 119, N. 1 (March 1953): 17-30.

Thomas M. Barrett, “Lines of Uncertainty: The Frontiers of the North Caucasus,” *Slavic Review*, V. 54, N. 3 (Autumn 1995): 578-601.

II. Travels and Imperial Journeys

A. F. Mummery, et al. “Further Explorations in the Caucasus,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, V. 11, N. 6 (June 1889): 351-374.

Edmund Otis Hovey, “Southern Russia and the Caucasus Mountains,” *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, V. 36, N. 6 (1904): 327-341.

W. E. D. Allen, “New Political Boundaries in the Caucasus,” *The Geographical Journal*, V. 69, N. 5 (May 1927): 430-441.

B. W. Blouet, “Sir Halford Mackinder As British High Commissioner to South Russia, 1919-1920,” *The Geographical Journal*, V. 142, N. 2 (July 1976): 228-236.

III. Identity Claims

Arthur E. Adams, “The Awakening of the Ukraine,” *Slavic Review*, V. 22, N. 2 (June 1963): 217-223.

Alexandre Bennigsen, [Review] *The Crimean Tatars* by Alan Fisher, *Slavic Review*, V. 38, N. 2 (June 1979): 329-330.

Stephan Shulman, “The Contours of Civic and Ethnic National Identification in Ukraine,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, V. 56, N. 1 (January 2004): 35-56.

N. Muir, “The Present Position of Bulgaria,” *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs*, V. 6, N. 2 (March 1927): 88-104.

Nizim Iren, “Turkish Conservative Modernism: Birth of a Nationalist Quest for Cultural Renewal,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, V. 34, N. 1 (February 2002): 87-112.

Ekaterina Sokiriansaia, “Families and Clans in Ingushetia and Chechnya: A Fieldwork Report,” *Central Asian Survey*, V. 24, N. 4 (December 2005): 453-467.

Legitimacy ...paradigms, polity and process

Readings

I. Islam’s place

Hamid Algar, “The Naqshbandi Order: A Preliminary Survey of Its History and Significance,” *Studia Islamica*, N. 44 (1976): 123-152.

Eric Hyer, “China’s Policy towards Uighur Nationalism,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, V. 26, N. 1 (April 2006): 75-86.

Bayram Balci and Raoul Motika, “Islam in post-Soviet Georgia,” *Central Asian Survey*, V. 26, N. 3 (September 2007): 335-353.

Kathleen Collins, “Ideas, Networks, and Islamist Movements: Evidence from Central Asia and the Caucasus,” *World Politics*, V. 60, N. 1 (October 2007): 64-96.

II. Sovietica and its legacies

Ronald Grigor Suny, "Labor and Liquidators: Revolutionaries and the "Reaction" in Baku," May 1908-April 1912," *Slavic Review*, V. 34, N. 2 (June 1975): 319-340.
Emilian Kavalski, "'Do Not Play with Fire': The End of the Bulgarian Ethnic Model or the Persistence of Inter-Ethnic Tensions in Bulgaria?" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, V. 27, N. 1 (April 2007): 25-36.
Patricia Ahmed, et. al. "Internal and External Ethnic Assessments in Eastern Europe," *Social Forces*, V. 86, N. 1 (September 2007): 231-255.

III. Neoliberal visions, hyper-capitalist realities

Tadeusz Swietochowski, "Azerbaijan: Perspectives from the Crossroads," *Central Asian Survey*, V. 18, N. 4 (1999): 419-434.

"Corruption in Bulgaria Tests EU Expansion," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 31 December 2008.

"Europe's Roma: Bottom of the Reap," *The Economist*, 19 June 2008.

"People-Trafficking and People-Smuggling: Drawing Lines in a Dark Place," *The Economist*, 14 August 2008.

Joshua Kucera, "Central Asia and Caucasus: Bleak Outlook for Democratization," *EurasiaNet*, 1 January 2010.

Security ...inside, outside

Readings

I. Insurgent Impulses

"Salafi Ban Reflects Tajik Officials' Growing Fear," *RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty*, 20 January 2009.

Clifford J. Levy, "President of Ingushetia is Wounded in Suicide Bombing," *The New York Times* (23 June 2009).

Miriam Lansky, "Daghestan and Chechnya: The Wahhabi Challenge to the State," *SAIS Review*, V. 22, N. 2 (Summer-Fall 2002): 167-192.

Mairbek Vatchagaev, "Rebel Ideologue Vows More Frequent Attacks on 'Russian Occupiers'," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, V. 7, I. 10 (15 January 2010).

II. Foreign and Security Policies

Sabrina Tavernise, "A Northern Neighbor Growls, and Azerbaijan Reassesses its Options," *The New York Times* (23 October 2008).

Pinar Ipek, "Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy and Challenges for Energy Security," *The Middle East Journal*, V. 63, N. 2 (2009): 227-239.

III. Regional Conflicts

Mark Kramer, "The Perils of Counterinsurgency: Russia's War in Chechnya," *International Security*, V. 29, N. 3 (Winter 2004-2005): 5-62.

Tracey C. German, "The Pankiski Gorge: Georgia's Achilles' Heal in its Relations with Russia?" *Central Asian Survey*, V. 23, N. 1 (March 2004): 27-39.

"Frozen Conflicts: Europe's Unfinished Business," *The Economist*, 19 November 2008.

Mairbek Vatchagaev, "The North Caucasus in 2009: Security Situation Worsened of Moscow," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, V. 7, I. 5 (8 January 2010).

Conclusions