

Contents

Acknowledgements	v
Foreword	vii
Introduction	1

PART ONE

The Unruly Caucasus:

From Colonial Rule to Independence 9

1. Historical Background and Geopolitical Importance	11
Territory, Ethnic Diversity and Political Context	11
Pre-Soviet Era	15
Armenians	16
Azeris	25
Georgians	35
The Soviet Epoch	44
Rebirth of Independence	55
Republic of Armenia	57
Republic of Azerbaijan	64
Republic of Georgia	74
2. Post-Soviet Transition and Obstacles to Regional Cooperation	87
Foreign Policy Determinants in the South Caucasian Countries	88
Different Security Concerns and Regional Dynamics	94
Post-September 11 th Regional Environment and New Opportunities in the Context of the War against Global Terrorism	111
Role of Post-Soviet Leadership and Political Portraits of Presidents	127
Heydar Aliyev, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan (1993-2003)	132
Eduard Shevardnadze, President of the Republic of Georgia (1995-2003)	138
Robert Kocharian, President of the Republic of Armenia (1998 – <i>present</i>)	145

PART TWO

Ethnic Separatism and Oil Pipeline Politics153

3. Re-emergence of Ethnic Conflicts: Old Tensions and New Realities155
 - Ethnic Situations and Inter-ethnic Relations158
 - Unresolved Conflicts and Peacemaking Efforts161
 - Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh162
 - Georgian-Abkhaz Conflict.177
 - Georgian-South Ossetian Conflict196
 - Post-Soviet Situation in Minority Areas208
 - Autonomous Republic of Ajaria209
 - Javakheti Armenians212
 - Kvemo Kartli Azerbaijanis217
 - Lezgins223
 - Talysh226
4. Caspian Sea Oil Riches: Cooperation versus Competition . . .229
 - The Caspian Sea Basin and Importance of Energy Resources230
 - History of Oil Booms in the Caspian Basin231
 - The Legal Status of the Caspian Sea.235
 - Major Pipeline Routes and Competition over Natural Resources . .243

PART THREE

Questions of Outside Intervention and International

Diplomacy.261

5. Great-Power Politics: Renewed Rivalries and Foreign Influence263
 - Geopolitical Competition and Regional Security Threats265
 - Geopolitical Roles and Strategic Interests of Great Powers267
 - Russian Influence and Policy268
 - Iranian Influence and Policy274
 - Turkish Influence and Policy280

Contents

U.S. Influence and Policy	.286
EU Influence and Policy.	.293
6. Mobilizing International Organizations in the Regional Context.	.301
The Role of the United Nations	.306
The Role of the OSCE	.313
The Role of NATO	.325
Conclusion: Geopolitical Breakthrough and Future Prospects . .	.335
Summary	.341
Policy Recommendations	.344
General Long-Term Recommendations for the Region	.344
Recommendations for Governments in the South Caucasus	.346
Recommendations for Principal Powers in the South Caucasus	.351
Recommendations for Western Democracies	.352
Recommendations for International Organizations	.354
Concluding Remarks	.355
Bibliography	.357
Annexes	.362
About the Author	.367
Acronyms	.368