

## Index

---

- Abashidze, Aslan, 67, 68, 74, 103  
 and Zviad Gamsakhurdia, 104  
 loss of support, 125  
 militia, 104  
 relationship with Shevardnadze, 103, 104  
 Support for Russia, 103  
 Support from Russia, 107
- Abkhaz  
 Support from Russia, 113
- Abkhazia, 1, 7, 10, 13, 19, 40, 49, 100, 102  
 autonomy, 99  
 civil war with Georgia, 112  
 de facto state, 1  
 demographics, 111, 113  
 economy, 102  
 Georginization, 109  
 privileges, 109  
 privileged position of Abkhazians, 60  
 protests, 111  
 refugees, 113  
 rent-seeking, 113  
 Russian military, 110  
 Russian military bases, 110  
 separatism, 1  
 Soviet Economy, 111  
 Soviet Union, 109
- Abkhazian parliament, 112
- Accommodation, 12
- Adjara, 11, 19, 40, 68, 70, 100, 102  
 autonomy, 99  
 conflict with Georgian government, 103  
 corruption and rent-seeking, 106, 107, 108  
 economy, 102, 108  
 ethnic makeup, 102  
 lack of titular minority, 102  
 media, 106  
 post Rose Revolution, 34, 71, 108–109  
 religion, 103  
 Rose Revolution, 107  
 Russian Empire, 103  
 Russian military base, 102, 103, 109
- Soviet Union, 103  
 support for Russia, 102  
 taxation, 105
- Adjarans  
 culture, 103
- Afghanistan, 2
- aggregate social actors, 39
- Air Defense Integration, 183
- Akhalkalaki, 13, 116  
 pro-Russian protest, 97
- Akhalkalaki. *See also* Javakheti  
 Russian Military Base, 97
- Akhmetov, Rinat, 93
- Aksyonov, Sergey, 91
- Akyaev, Askar, 196
- Alexandria, 168
- Algiers, 176
- Ali, Muhammed, 166  
 relationship with Ottoman Empire, 169  
 service with Ottomans, 168  
 state-building, 169
- anarchy, 5
- Andijan, 204
- annexation, 21
- Armenia, 107, 117, 182  
 conflict with Azerbaijan, 206  
 protests, 207  
 Turkey, 206
- Armenians, 14, *See* Georgia, Armenians
- Austro-Hungarian Empire, 79
- authoritarian regimes  
 mass politics, 35
- authority, 4, 6
- autonomous institutions, 102  
 effects on politics, 102
- autonomous regions, 59
- autonomous republics, 59
- Azerbaijan, 51
- Aztecs, 9
- Bakiyev, Kurmanbek, 198
- Balageur, Joaquin, 215

- balance of power, 15
- Balkash Radar base, 184
- Baltic regions, 78
- Baltic States, 16, 196
  - NATO, 8
- bargaining, 2, 27, 106, 159
  - information, 42
- Batkivshchyna, 84, 94
- Belarus, 46, 78
- Berdymukhamedov, Gurbanguly, 197
- Berlin Conference, 26
- Beylical states. *See* Ottoman Empire, North Africa
- Black Sea Fleet, 78, 92
- Blunt, Wilfred, 172
- Bolsheviks, 79
- Bosch, Juan, 214
- Boxer Rebellion, 160, 177
- Britain
  - China, 158
  - Persia, 153
  - Thailand, 153
  - threats to India as motivation, 175
- British colonialism, 4
- British occupation of Egypt, 167, *See* Egypt, British Occupation
- Bull, Hedley, 176
- Burjanadze, Nino, 68, 70
- Bush administration, 75
  
- Canton, 161
- Canton trade system, 157
- capitulations, 162
- Caucasus, the, 46
- Central African Republic, 208
- Central Asia, 5, 36, 46, 54
- Chakhalyan, Vahagn, 116
- Chanturia, Gia, 59
- Charter Cities, 218
- Chechen terrorists, 69
- Chechnya, 2
- China, 4, 224
  - Africa, 225
  - army and western support, 158
  - Boxer Rebellion, 2
  - Canton, 159
  - contrast with Ottoman Empire, 152
  - corruption and rent-seeking, 160
  - culture, 152
  - duration of extraterritoriality, 177
  - empire, 155
  - gentry, 156, 159
  - informal empire, 154
  - Japanese invasion, 161
  - local actors and trade, 33
  - mining concessions, 159
  - Mongols, 157
  - Muslim rebels, 159
  - navy and western support, 158
  - origins of extraterritoriality, 157
  - Qing, 18
  - Qing and decentralization, 155
  - rebellions, 156, 158
  - Revolution, 161
  - Russian Empire, 156
  - state-building, 220
  - treaties, 158
  - Unequal treaties, 23
  - warlords, 177
  - Western coastal traders, 157
  - Western loans, 154
  - World War II, 161
- Chinese Maritime Customs, 154, 158, 160
- Chinese nationalism, 157
- Citizen Union of Georgia, 105
- civil war
  - post Soviet, 51
- civilization, 53
- civilizational-state, 224
- client states, 8
- clinetelism and patronage, 37
- club goods, 130
- coercion, 6
  - costs, 24
  - out of equilibrium outcome, 42
- cold war, 27
- Cole, Juan, 168
- Collective Security Treaty
  - Organization, 183
- Collier, David, 18
- Colored Revolutions, 36
- commitment problems, 27, 177
  - domestic politics, 34
- Common Economic Space, 183
- Commonwealth of Independent States, 33, 183
  - Council of Border Guards, 183
  - Council of Defense Ministers, 183
  - Economic Court, 183
  - Georgia, 1
- Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 79
- competitive authoritarian regimes, 196
- concessions, 154
- Constantinople, 175
- constructivism, 17, 45
- contracting, 7
  - subnational actors, 7
- cooperation between empires, 175
- Correlates of War, 153
- corruption, 13, 29

## 268 Index

- Cossacks, 79  
 autonomy, 79  
 coups, 13  
 credible commitments, 54  
 Cretan revolt, 166  
 Crimea. *See* Russia, annexation of Crimea  
 Annexation, 49  
 annexation of Crimea, 90–92  
 referendum, 90  
 critical geopolitics, 54  
 culture, 10, 53  
 Customs Union  
 Armenia, 207  
 Kyrgyzstan, 205
- D'anieri, Paul, 80  
 Daoguang Emperor, 43  
 Darden, Keith, 53  
 Darwin, John, 23  
 de facto states, 7, 13  
 defection, 9  
 Dehli, 179  
 democracy, 34  
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 175  
 divide and rule, 45  
 Djibouti, 225  
 Dnieper river, 79  
 Dnipropetrovsk, 83, 93  
 Dominican Republic, 213  
 Donbas, 7, 92, 94  
 de facto state, 94  
 Donetsk, 83, 89, 93, 218
- East India Company, 179  
 Eastern Ukraine, 11, 81, 84, 92  
 economic development, 15, 16, 17, 47, 99,  
 100, 121, 156, 187, 219  
 Egypt, 4, 10, 24–25  
 capitulations, 167  
 consequences of autonomy, 170  
 debt, 171  
 European advisers, 25  
 extraterritoriality, 167  
 importance of cotton trade, 169  
 mixed courts, 170  
 occupation, 43  
 Ottoman authority, 167  
 Ottoman Empire, 43  
 Ottoman identity, 171  
 rent-seeking and patronage, 170  
 state-building, 168, 220  
 Suez Canal, 168, 174, 175  
 trade, 169  
 Turko-Circassian, 170
- Egyptian military, 12  
 uprising, 172  
*ejectorate*, 31, 194  
 Elchibey, Abulfaz, 198  
 elites  
 definition, 31  
 political survival, 29  
 Elliott, Henry, 164  
 Elster, Jon, 39  
 empire, 3, 46  
 formal, 52  
 energy producers, 16  
 English School, 176  
 Ergneti Market, 73  
 Escriba-Folch, Abel, 196  
 Estonia, 196  
 ethnic fractionalization, 188  
 ethnicity  
 politics, 99  
 Eurasia, 153  
 Eurasian Economic Community,  
 183  
 Kyrgyzstan, 205  
 Eurasian Economic Space  
 Kyrgyzstan, 205  
 Eurasian Economic Union  
 Armenia, 207  
 Euromaidan. *See* Ukraine, Euromaidan  
 Euromaidan protests  
 effects, 146  
 European empires  
 relative military power, 25, 26  
 European Union, 188  
 empire, 3  
 exogenous shocks, 12, 40, 44,  
 153  
 exploration, 25  
 external validity, 152  
 extraterritoriality, 7, 12, 26,  
 154  
 definition, 154
- feedback loop, 40  
 Feuerwerker, Albert, 154  
 fixed assets, 186  
 Fokin, Vitold, 81  
 formal empire, 5  
 obsolescence, 21  
 formal institutions, 13  
 France  
 China, 158  
 Egypt, 168, 172  
 occupation of Egypt, 168  
 Frieden, Jeffrey, 174  
 frozen conflict, 49. *See also* de facto states

- Gallagher, John, 10  
 Gamsakhurdia, Zviad, 1, 38, 56, 59, 64, 67,  
 104, 111, 112, 197  
 coup, 62  
 ethnic minorities, 60  
 nationalism, 59, 60, 61  
 relationship with warlords, 60, 61  
 Georgia, 1, 9, 97  
 1990 elections, 60  
 2000 presidential elections, 105  
 2003 parliamentary election, 69  
 2004 presidential elections, 70  
 2008 parliamentary elections, 70  
 2008 war with Russia, 2  
 2012 parliamentary elections, 76  
 Armenians, 14, 31, 99, 146  
 autonomous republics, 99  
 Azerbaijanis, 99  
 civil wars, 60  
 Collective Security Treaty Organization,  
 64, 66  
 comparison with Ukraine, 55–56  
 Commonwealth of Independent States,  
 57, 64, 72, 104  
 Communist Party, 59  
 constitution, 112  
 constitutional reform, 76  
 corruption and rent-seeking, 63, 71  
 Democratic Republic of Georgia, 58  
 early modern period, 58  
 electoral fraud, 69  
 ethnic conflict, 60  
 ethnic identity, 131  
 ethnic minorities, 1, 98  
 ethnic minorities and territorial  
 concentration, 100  
 frozen conflicts, 67  
 internally displaced people, 113, 114  
 Josef Stalin, 58  
 language politics, 111  
 membership of Collective Security  
 Treaty Organization, 57  
 Military Council, 62  
 militias and warlords, 31, 61, 63, 68, 100  
 Mkhedrioni, 61  
 nationalist protests, 111  
 political institutions, 68  
 reforms, 70  
 regional governors, 68  
 rent-seeking and corruption, 61, 68  
 Rose Revolution, 57  
 Russian Empire, 57  
 Russian language, 59  
 Russian military bases, 57, 72  
 Russian military support, 1, 64  
 secessionist movements, 63  
 sovereignty, 1  
 Soviet military, 60  
 Soviet Union, 58, 99  
 state weakness, 61  
 state-building, 1, 72  
 status in Russian Empire, 58  
 the Supreme Council, 60  
 United States, 74–75  
 War with Russia, 44, 49, 72–75  
 weakening of regions, 71  
 Georgia 1999 parliamentary election, 105  
 Georgian Dream, 70, 76, 77  
 Georgian military, 64, 66, 117  
 rent-seeking and corruption, 64  
 Georgian nationalism, 10  
 Georgian nationalist movement, 59  
 Georgian nobility, 58  
 Germany, 79  
 Geyrat, 121  
 Giorgadze, Igor, 64, 67–68  
 Gladstone, William, 44, 172  
 Glasnost, 79  
 global order, 2  
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 50, 80  
 governance, 5  
 Grachev, Pavel, 62  
 Grand Duchy of Lithuania, 78  
 Granovetter, Mark, 137  
 Group for Economic Development, 90  
 Gryszlov, Boris, 57  
 GUAM, 57, 66  
 Guentsadze, Roman, 112  
 Hale, Henry, 30, 34, 35, 36, 54, 85, 100,  
 126, 187, 189, 194, 203  
 Hart, Robert, 160  
 hierarchy, 224–226  
 as Giffen good, 223  
 Coercion and Resistance, 15, 42  
 costs for subordinate elites, 34  
 costs to subordinate, 33  
 definitions, 4–8  
 Governance Costs, 24–25  
 governance hierarchies, 8  
 great power competition, 5  
 greed versus political survival, 35  
 institutions, 7  
 military occupations, 5  
 ramifications, 5–6  
 social hierarchy, 8  
 types of support for subordinate elites,  
 32–33  
*holodomor*, 79  
 Honduras, 218

## 270 Index

- Hong Kong, 218  
 hoop tests, 126  
 Hopkins, Anthony, 174  
 Hyderabad, 179
- ideas, 53  
 identity, 11  
 Imereti, 68  
 Incas, 9  
 incomplete contracts, 41  
 India, 176, 179  
 informal empire, 6, 12, 25, 46, 156, 159, 178, 179  
 informal hierarchy, 22, 28  
 informal institutions, 13  
 institutions, 31, 47  
   legal, 47  
 insurgencies, 52  
 international organizations, 8  
 International society. *See* English School  
 international system, 18, 26  
   constraints, 27–28  
 Ioseliani, Jaba, 61, 112  
 Iran, 153  
 Ismail, Khedive, 12  
   greater autonomy from Ottoman Empire, 170  
 Ivanishvili, Bidzina, 76–77  
 Ivano-Frankivsk, 82  
 Ivanov, Sergei, 107
- Japan, 153  
 Javakheti, 1, 19, 31, 98, 100  
   contestation with Georgian government, 116  
   corruption and rent-seeking, 117  
   demographics, 114  
   economy, 115  
   language politics, 118  
   Ottoman Empire, 116  
   post Rose Revolution, 117  
   protests, 118  
   rent-seeking and corruption, 14  
   Russian Empire, 116  
   Russian military, 115  
   Russian military base, 116  
 Jiangnan, 159  
 Jianxi, 159  
 joint-stock companies, 163
- Kadyrov, Ramzan, 2  
 Kant airbase. *See* Kyrgyzstan, Russian military base  
 Karapetyan, Samvel, 207  
 Karimov, Islam, 196, 197
- Kaufmann, Stuart, 35  
 Kavsadze, Alexander, 112  
 Kayoglu, Turan, 26  
 Kazakhstan, 16  
   preference for increased integration, 184  
   Russian military cooperation, 184  
 Kitovani, Tengiz, 61, 62, 67, 107, 112  
   relationship with Russia, 62  
 Kocharyan, Robert, 198  
 Kokoity, Eduard, 73  
 Kolomoyskiy, Ihor, 92–93, 148  
 Krasner, Stephen, 9  
 Kravchuk, Leonid, 80–81, 198  
 Kuchma, Leonid, 81–83, 145, 198  
 Kvemo Kartli, 19, 68, 98, 100, 118  
   economy, 120  
 Kvemo Kartli, demographics, 114  
 Kyiv, 79, 89, 91  
 Kyrgyzstan, 16, 33, 182  
   Parliament, 206  
   personalist regime, 196  
   rent-seeking, 29  
   Russia, 41  
   Russian military base, 206  
   United States, 41
- Lake, David, 11, 202  
 Latin America, 153  
 Latvia, 196  
 legal pluralism, 157  
 legitimacy, 6, 9, 10  
 Lithuania, 196  
 Lugansk, 218  
 Lukashenko, Alexander, 199  
 Lutsenko, Yuri, 88, 92  
 Lviv, 82
- MacDonald, Paul, 11  
 Maduro, Nicolas, 33  
 Magalioni, Beatrice, 35  
 Maghrebi states, 179  
 Maghreb, 26  
 Mahrattas, 179  
 Mamaladze, Levan, 71, 106, 120  
 Manas Airbase, 42  
 Manchus, 157  
 Mariupol, 94  
 mass politics, 35  
   patronage, 35–37  
 Mauritius, 218  
 Medvedchuk, Viktor, 82  
 merchants, 23, 58  
 method of agreement, 152  
 Mexico, 9

- Midlothian campaign, 173  
 migration, 33  
 military assistance, 205, 207  
 Mingrelia, 1, 64, 112  
 Minsk, 198  
 missionaries, 23  
 Mkhedrioni, 61, 64  
 Mohyliov, Anatolii, 91  
 Moldova, 46, 51  
   Commonwealth of Independent States, 184  
 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, 79  
 Mongols, 78, 157  
 Moscow, 198  
 Mughal Empire, 26, 179  
   informal empire, 179  
 Muhammed Ali  
   conflict with Ottoman Empire, 169  
   desire to westernize Egypt, 169  
 multiethnic nations, 56  
 multipolarity, 27, 152, 177  
 Muscovy, 58, 78
- Nabiyev, Rahmon, 198  
 Nadibaidze, Vardiko, 64, 66  
 Nagorno-Karabakh, 115, 206  
 Nanking, 161  
 Napoleonic Wars, 168, 178  
 National Guard, 112  
 national identity, 53  
 nationalism, 10, 21, 27, 188  
 NATO, 8, 54, 77, 188  
 neo-colonialism, 225  
 New Zealand  
   South Pacific, 3  
 Ninotsminda, 117  
 Niyazov, Sapamurat, 197  
 Nodia, Ghia, 66, 116  
 Noghaideli, Zurab, 57, 68  
 nonauthoritarian regimes  
   hierarchy, 198  
 nonstate factors, 11, 13  
 norms, 10, 27  
   against territorial annexation, 51  
   territorial expansion, 21  
 North Africa  
   French imperialism, 26  
   French imperialism, Algiers, 27  
 North Ossetia, 73  
 Northern Alliance, 2
- Obama administration, 75  
 oligarchs, 83  
 Opium Wars, 27, 43
- Orange Revolution, 126, *See* Ukraine, Orange Revolution  
 Ottoman Administration of Public Debt, 7  
 Ottoman bureaucracy, 164  
 Ottoman Empire, 4  
   Armenians, 164  
   capitulations, 162  
   collapse, 167  
   contrast with China. *See* China, contrast with Ottoman Empire  
   culture, 152  
   decentralization, 164  
   Georgia, 58  
   Greeks, 164  
   importance of trade, 162  
   inheritance laws, 163  
   local actors and trade, 33  
   minorities, 163  
   North Africa, 178  
   protégé system, 163  
   protégés, 166  
   state-building, 221  
   tax farming, 165  
   Taxation, 165  
   taxation of foreigners, 163  
 Ottoman state, 164, 165  
 Ottomanization, 165
- Palmerston, John, 169  
 Pankisi Gorge, 69  
 Party of Regions, 87, 90, 94  
 Party regime, 195, 197  
   hierarchy, 198  
   rent-seeking, 197  
   stability of, 197  
 Pashinyan, Nikol, 207  
 patrimonialism, 152  
 patronage  
   negative consequences, 37  
 patronage and clientelism, 14  
 patronal regimes, 34  
 patron–client relationships, 2  
 Pavlovsky, Gleb, 85  
 People’s Republic in Donetsk, 92  
 Perestroika, 79  
 Persian Empire  
   Georgia, 58  
 Personalist regimes, 195, 196  
   hierarchy, 198  
   instability, 196  
   political threats, 196  
   rent-seeking, 197  
 Poland, 79  
 political authority. *See* authority

## 272 Index

- Political contestation  
 definition, 30  
 Polity, 185  
 Poroshenko, Petro, 94  
 decline in popularity, 148  
 post-Soviet region, 16–17  
 power, 4, 8, 9, 10, 47, 54  
 precommunist literacy, 189  
 preferences, 40  
 preferences and beliefs, 39  
 principal-agent problem, 219  
 protection pacts, 41  
 protests, 13  
 Putin, Vladimir, 86
- Qinghai, 157
- Radnitz, Scott, 36  
 Rahoman, Emomali, 198  
 Rational Choice  
 critiques, 39  
 information, 15  
 regime type, 45, 194  
 regional organizations, 51  
 relational contracting, 9  
 remittances, 33  
 rent-seeking, 29–30  
 and trust, 37  
 definition, 13  
 mass politics, 36  
 private good, 130  
 regulation, 14  
 subnational variation, 32  
 subsidies, 14  
 Republican Party (Armenia), 207  
 resolve, 43  
 Revival, 104  
 Rice, Condoleezza, 75  
 Robinson, Ronald, 10  
 Roki Tunnel  
 Romer, Paul, 218  
 Rose Revolution, 69–70, *See* Georgia, Rose Revolution  
 Round Table-Free Georgia bloc, 60  
 rule of law, 32, 128, 130  
 Russia  
 annexation of Crimea, 6, 12  
 China, 152, 157  
 Civil war in Ukraine, 30  
 costs of Crimean annexation, 92  
 hierarchy, 51  
 hierarchy and Central Asia, 5  
 integration, 50  
 interests in Georgia, 57, 98  
 military bases, 8, 23, 51, 183  
 Ottoman Empire, 152  
 Persia, 153  
 preference for hierarchy, 50  
 preferences for hierarchy, 46, 52  
 regional integration, 51  
 sanctions, 92  
 war with Georgia. *See* Georgia War with Russia  
 Russia  
 Civil War in Ukraine, 11  
 Russian air force, 184  
 Russian media, 85  
 Russian minorities, 188  
 Russification, 79
- Saakashvili, Mikhail, 34, 57, 62, 70, 107, 116  
 anticorruption efforts, 71  
 political strength, 71  
 Salt administration, 7, 154, 158  
 sanctions. *See* Russia, sanctions  
 Sargaysan, Serzh, 207  
 scramble for Africa, 26  
 Second Polish Republic, 79  
*selectorate*, 31, 212  
 self-determination, 92  
 self-strengthening movement, 158  
 Sevastopol, 77, 91  
 Shamba, Sergei, 114  
 Shevardnadze, Eduard, 1, 13, 32, 56, 59, 63, 74, 103  
 assassination attempts, 66  
 Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, 59  
 personalism, 68  
 political outlook, 63  
 relationship with warlords, 63  
 return to power, 62  
 Russian support, 32  
 Shikai, Yuan, 160  
 Siam. *See* Thailand  
 Sigua, Tengiz, 112  
 site-specific assets, 186  
 Slater, Dan, 16, 41, 151, 225  
*Svoboda Ukraine*, 79  
 Social Democratic Party, 82  
 social status, 4  
 social trust, 37  
 South Ossetia, 1, 7, 10, 40, 49, 72–74  
 de facto state, 1  
 Russian support, 1  
 separatism, 1  
 smuggling, 145  
 sovereign rights, 2, 5, 13

- sovereignty, 8
  - de jure, 6
  - economic, 8
- Soviet military, 62
- Soviet nationality policy, 58
- Soviet Republics, 50
- Soviet Union
  - federal structure, 50, 101
  - nationalism, 50
- Stalin, Josef, 59
- state, 46
  - modern, 46
- state-building, 51, 53
  - post-Soviet, 51
- status, 8
- stratification, 4
- Sublime Porte, 169, 170
- subnational actors, 2, 98
- subnational analysis, 99
- subordinate actor preferences, 37–38
- subregional hegemon, 54
- Sudan, 208
- Sukhumi, 112
- Supreme Council, 60
- Svoboda, 38
- systematic crises of empire, 177
  
- Taiping Rebellion, 158
- Tajikistan, 16, 51
- Taliban, 2
- Taruta, Serhiy, 92–94
- Tawfiq Pasha, 171
- Tbilisi, 62, 105
- technology, 15, 52
- Ter-Petrosyan, Levon, 198
- territorial expansion, 21, 23, 27, 28, 43, 51, 52, 92, 150, 176, 178, 224
- territorial partition, 157
- Tevzadze, Davit, 66
- Thailand, 7
- Tilly, Charles, 137
- Tippu Sultan, 179
- titular minorities, 50
- Toal, Gerard, 54
- trade, 47
- Transcaucasian Republic, 58
- transnational actors, 23–24
- Transnistria, 7
- treaties, 8
- Treaty of Deepening Integration, 183
- Tripoli, 178
- Trujillo, Rafael, 214
- trust, 136–138
  - general, 127
  - particularized, 37, 127
- trust differential, 136
- trusteeships, 219
- Tulip Revolution, 198
- Tunis, 153
- Turkmenistan, 51, 52, 54
  - regime type, 34
  - Russia, 34
- Tymoshenko, Yulia, 84, 85, 88, 126
  - nationalism, 86
  - prime minister, 86
  
- Ukraine, 16, 46
  - 2002 Rada elections, 84
  - 2004 election fraud, 85
  - 2004 presidential election, 32, 84
  - 2010 presidential election, 87
  - 2014 parliamentary election, 94
  - 2019 presidential elections, 148
  - Austro-Hungarian Empire, 133
  - Belarusians, 133
  - Black Sea fleet, 77, 88
  - blackmail, 83
  - CIS minimalist, 184
  - civil war, 94
  - Common Economic Space, 84
  - Commonwealth of Independent States, 80
  - comparison with Georgia, 55–56
  - constitution, 83, 86, 87
  - Eastern Ukraine, 97, 133
  - ethnicity, 133, 146
  - EU association agreement, 89
  - Euromaidan, 88–89
  - gas industry and rent-seeking, 30, 83
  - Hetmanate, 79
  - language, 134
  - militias, 93
  - Moldovans, 133
  - multivector foreign policy, 84
  - nationalism, 147
  - oligarchs, 92
  - Orange Revolution, 77, 85–87
  - presidential election, 81
  - presidential election, 82
  - privatization, 83
  - public perceptions of corruption, 147
  - regionalism, 133
  - rent-seeking and corruption, 83
  - response to 2008 Russo-Georgian War, 86
  - Russian Empire, 78, 133
  - Russian language, 79
  - Separatists Eastern Ukraine, 92–94
  - Soviet Union, 79–80, 133



## 274 Index

- Ukraine (cont.)
  - subnational actors, 92
  - Western Ukraine, 133
- Ukrainian civil war, 94
- Ukrainian nationalism
  - gender, 134
- UN Security Council, 90
- uncertainty, 48
- United National Movement, 69, 70, 74–75
  - Adjara, 108
- United States
  - Caribbean, 212
  - empire, 3
  - hierarchy and Central Asia, 5
  - South America, 3, 6, 23
- Urabi, Ahmed, 2, 172, 173, 175, 177
- Uzbekistan, 54
  - Collective Security Treaty Organization, 183
  - party regime, 196
- Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem), 185
- Velvet Revolution, 208
- Venezuela, 33, 208
- Viceroy of Chihli, 159
- Watson, Adam, 176
- Western Ukraine, 81, 135
- Wheatley, Jonathan, 66
- White Knights, 188
- World War I, 12, 167
- World War II, 12
- world wars, 153
- Wuchang, 161
- Yakobashvili, Temuri, 113
- Yanukovych, Victor, 32, 49, 94, 126
  - election campaign, 32
  - Russia, 88
- Yanukovych, Viktor, 85, 87, 90
- Yatsenyuk, Arseniy, 90
- Yeltsin, Boris, 80
- Yushchenko, Victor, 77, 83–84
  - prime minister, 83
- Zelenskiy, Volodymyr, 148
- Zhili, 160
- Zhukov, Yuri, 30
- Zhvania, Zurab, 70
- Ziblatt, Daniel, 16
- Zimmerman, William, 31, 194
- Zviadist rebels, 1, 32, 40, 63, 65, 112, 113