

State- and Nation-building in Central Asia

Institute of International Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences

Fall 2010

Tuesday 18.30-19.50, J2081

The Program of the Course

1. Introduction. Definition of Central Asian region, „Western“, Asian, Russian, Local Approaches to the region.
2. The Historical overview. Central Asia until 1991 and history as the legitimization factor in current political regimes in the country.
3. The Geopolitics of Central Asia. USA, China, Russia in Central Asia, the role of other powers – the emphasis of Iran, Turkey and India.
4. „The Great Energy Game in Central Asia and Caspian“. The analysis of hydrocarbon reserves in Central Asia, “the battle of the pipelines” (analysis of existing pipeline routes and projects).
5. Political Transformation of the Region after 1991. The different approaches to the political transformation. Integration and Disintegration tendencies in the region, the problems and perspectives of integration formations – ODKB, SCO, CA(E)S, ECO, Custom Union et al.
6. Formal and Informal Institutions in Central Asia. – political systems v. traditional social structures in Central Asian politics, opposition to authoritarian regimes. The road to authoritarianism, local leaders.
7. Ideology as the fundament of State- and Nation-building. History building, the cult of the leaders, ideology of modern and democratic state.
8. Islam in politics and society in Central Asia. Radical Islam and Afghan influence in Central Asia. The myth and reality of Islamic threats in Central Asia.
9. Conflict potential in Central Asia – real and potential conflicts (ethnic minorities, borders, water management – with Aral Sea problems, economic disaster)
10. Economic Transformation of Central Asia. Strategies of transformation in each state, the results and consequences for outside world.
11. The Perspectives of Central Asia. Scenarios for Central Asia from local and international point of view.

Requirements

- active participation in the course (reading and analyzing all obligatory readings when applicable as well as one of the selective readings for each topic).

- one paper 2000-4000 words, done until January 10, 2011, 24:00. The topic of the paper have to be agreed until October 31,2010). The discussion during final exam will be based on the paper and 1-2 additional basic questions concerning the topics of the course.

Readings

IMPORTANT NOTE!!! Readings are divided into “selective” and “additional”. Each student chooses one of the “selective” readings for each seminar (all readings should be distributed among students). The discussion during the seminar as well as the questions of the tutor will be based on comparing different articles/papers in these readings. “Additional” readings provide deeper background for the topic and are not obligatory for students. **Red coloured readings are obligatory for all students.**

General Readings

Nations in Transit (2003-2009 issues). Freedom House New York, Washington, Budapest, Bucharest, Belgrade, Kiev, Warsaw. www.freedomhouse.org.

Olcott, M. B.: Central Asia's Second Chance. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005.

Cummings, S. .N. (ed.): Oil, Transition and Stability in Central Asia. Routledge, 2004. Part 1.

Dawisha, K. – Parrott, B.: Conflict, cleavage, and change in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Thematic readings

1. Introduction – the main feature of the region, „Western“, Asian, Russian, Local Approaches to the definition of the region

- Djalili, M.-R. – Kellner, T.: Moyen-Orient, Caucase et Asie centrale: des concepts geopolitiques á construire et á reconstruire. Central Asian Survey (2000), 19 (1), 117-140.
- MacKinder, M.: Geographical Pivot of History. Geographical Journal, Dec2004, Vol. 170, Issue 4, p. 298-321.
- Starr, F.: A Partnership for Central Asia. Foreign Affairs, July/August 2005. http://www.cfr.org/publication/8937/partnership_for_central_asia.html.
- Soucek, S.: A History of Inner Asia, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 1-45 (Introduction).

2. *The Historical overview of the region until 1991 and its interpretation*

- Olivier Roy: *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations*. New York University Press, 2000, s. 1-24.
- Ilkhamov, Alisher: The Archeology of Uzbek Identity. *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 3-4, p. 286-326.
 - Abashin, S. N.: Post-Soviet Nationalism, Ethnos, Theory, and Constructivist Critique. *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia*, vol. 44, no. 4 (Spring 2006), pp. 58-63.
 - Gubaeva, S. S.: Ethnic Consolidation is a Natural-Historical Process. *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia*, vol. 44, no. 4 (Spring 2006), pp. 37-41
 - Fierman, W.: On Uzbek “Nationalization”. *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia*, vol. 44, no. 4 (Spring 2006), pp. 80-85
 - Savin, I. S.: Some Thoughts on A. Ilkhamov’s Article. *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia*, vol. 44, no. 4 (Spring 2006), pp. 52-57
 - Khalid, A.: The Modernity of Identity. *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia*, vol. 44, no. 4 (Spring 2006), pp. 86-91
 - Zohidov, Ochil: Construction and Deconstruction of Nations in Central Asia. 2010 (Manuscript)
- Ersanli, Büsra: History Textbooks as Reflections of the Political Self: Turkey (1930s and 1990s) and Uzbekistan (1990s). *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 34, Issue 2 (2002), p. 337-349 + Laruelle, Marlene: National narrative, ethnology and academia in post-Soviet Uzbekistan. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, No. 1, 2010, pp. 102-110 + Keller, Shoshana: Story, Time and Dependent Nation in the Uzbek History Curriculum, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 66, No. 2 (Summer 2007), pp. 257-277.

Additional Readings

- Центральная Азия в составе Российской империи. Новое литературное обозрение. Москва, 2008, с. 10-30.
- Ртвеладзе, Э. В. – Сагдуллаев, А. С.: Современные мифы о далеком прошлом народов Центральной Азии. Чулпана, Ташкент, 2007.

3. *The Geopolitics of Central Asia, role of world and regional powers in Central Asia*

- Rumer, Eugene: United States and Central Asia. In Search of the Strategy. In: *Central Asia: View from Washington, Moscow and Beijing*. New York: Sharpe, 2007, p. 18-74
- Trenin, Dmitri: Russia and Central Asia. Interests, Policies and Prospects. In: *Central Asia: View from Washington, Moscow and Beijing*. New York: Sharpe, 2007, p. 75-136
- Zhao, Huasheng: Central Asia in China’s Diplomacy. In: *Central Asia: View from Washington, Moscow and Beijing*. New York: Sharpe, 2007, p. 137-223.
- Kazantsev, Andrei: Russian Policy in Central Asia and the Caspian Sea Region. *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 60, No. 6, August 2008, p. 1073-1088.
- Vladimír Paramonov – Aleksey Stokov: The Evolution of Russia’s Central Asia Policy. Conflict Studies Research Centre, London: Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, 2008, 29p. + Vladimir Paramonov, Aleksey Stokov: Economic Involvement of Russia and China in Central Asia. Conflict Studies Research Centre, London: Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, 2007, 19p.
- *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, No. 3, 2009

- Makhmudov, Rustam: The Great Game in Central Asian Heartland: A New Spiral, pp. 47-58
- Tian Robert Guang: From Central Asia to Great Central Asia: The Goals and Adjustments of U.S. Central Asian Strategy, pp. 58-71
- Omarov, Noor – Omarov, Mels: Central Asia in the Foreign Policy of Russia, The United States and The European Union, pp. 71-78
- Bratersky, Maksim – Suzdaltsev, Andrei: Central Asia: A Region of Economic Rivalry among Russia, China, the U.S. and the EU.
- Laumulin, Marat: Russia's Strategic Interests in Central Asia Today, pp. 90-105.
- Paramonov, Vladimir – Stokov, Alexey – Stolpovsky, Oleg: Russia's Foreign Policy: Central Asia – A View from Uzbekistan.
- Cornell, Svante: Finding Balance: The Foreign Policies of Central Asia's States. In: Strategic Asia 2007–08: Domestic Political Change and Grand Strategy (Ashley J. Tellis and Michael Wills, eds.), National Bureau of Asian Research, 2007, pp. 267-298.
- Thrassyvoullos, M.: Iran's Geopolitics in the Midst of the U.S.-Russia-China Energy Security Struggle for Geostrategic Control over Eurasia. Central Asia and The Caucasus, No. 4-5 (58-59), 2009, p. 7-21.
- Laruelle, Marlene – Peyrouse, Sébastien: China as a Neighbor: Central Asian Perspectives and Strategies. Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program. Washington – Stockholm, 2009, pp. 18-62.

Additional Reading:

- Olivier Roy: The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations. New York University Press, 2000, p. 190-200.
- Мукиджанова, Р. М.: Страны Центральной Азии. Азиатский вектор внешней политики. Научная книга, Москва, 2005, s. 106-147 (Государства Центральной Азии и Афганистан).
- Лузянин, С. Г.: Восточная политика Владимира Путина. Восток-Запад. Москва, 2007, s. 188-267.

4. „The Great Energy Game in Central Asia and Caspian“

- For Overview of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Russia and Iran Oil and Gas reserves/production/export/consumption, please refer to The US Energy Information Agency (Section Country Analyses Brief - <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/>)
- Denison, Michael: The EU and Central Asia: Commercialising the Energy Relationship. EUCAM Working Paper, No. 2. EUCAM 2009 (16p). www.eucentralasia.eu/publications/working-papers.html
- Russia's Energy Relations with its Caspian Neighbors. Russian Analytical Digest, No. 56, March 2009. www.fni.no/russcasp/RAD-56.pdf
- Hayman, Gavin – Mayne, Tom: Energy-Related Corruption and its Effect on Stability in Central Asia. China-Eurasia Forum Quarterly, Volume, 8, No. 2 (2010), p. 137-148.
- Kondourova, V.: Looking for a Way to Resolve the Legal Status of the Caspian Sea: International Law Provides No Answer. Central Asia and the Caucasus, No. 6 (54), 2008, p. 74-89.

- Vladimír, Paramonov: The Future Supply of Gas From Central Asia To Russia. An Expert Assessment. Conflict Studies Research Centre, London: Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, 2008. 16p.
- Kim, Younkuyoo: Central Asia's Great Game and the Rise of China. In: Beyond Russian and Becoming Eurasian. The 2nd International Conference of the HK Russia·Eurasia Research Project, Hanyang Univ., Korea, May, 2010, pp. 9-41.
www.eurasiahub.org/data/ftproot/2010□□□□/□□□.pdf.

5. Political Transformation of the Region after 1991. Integration and Disintegration tendencies in the region

- McFaul, M.: The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World. World Politics, No. 54(2), 2002, 212-244.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v054/54.2mcfaul.pdf
- Allison, R.: Virtual Regionalism, regional structures, and Regime Security in Central Asia. Central Asian Survey, Vol. 27, No. 2, June 2008, p. 185-202.
- Gleason, G.: Foreign Policy and Domestic Reform in Central Asia. Central Asian Survey, Vol. 20, No. 2, 2001, p. 167-182.
- Tolipov, F.: Central Asia: Regional Response to a Global Challenge. Central Asia and the Caucasus, No. 4-5 (58-59), 2009, p. 117-126 + Rakhimov, Mirzokhid: Internal and External Dynamics of Regional Cooperation in Central Asia. Journal of Eurasian Studies, No. 1, 2010, pp. 95-101.
- Qoraboyev, Ikboljon: From Central Asian regional integration to Eurasian Integration Space? Changing Dynamics of Post-Soviet Regionalism. Eurasian Integration Yearbook, 2010. <http://www.eabr.org/eng/publications/IntegrationYearbook>
- Luong, P. J.: Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia, Cambridge University Press, 2002, s. 51-155 (Sources of Continuity: The Soviet Legacy in Central Asia, Sources of Change: The Transitional Context in Central Asia).

Additional Readings

- Olivier Roy: The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations. New York University Press, 2000, pp. 161-189.

6. Formal and Informal Institutions – political systems v. traditional social structures in Central Asian politics, opposition to authoritarian regimes.

- Collins, K.: **Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia. Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 1-62.**
- Kadyrov, Sh.: Turkmenistan: the political elite in an ethnic society. In: Cummings, S. .N. (ed.): Oil, Transition and Stability in Central Asia. Routledge, 2004. Part 1. pp. 108-118. + Nourzhanov, K.: Saviours of the Nation or Robber Barons? Warlord Politics in Tajikistan. Central Asian Survey, Vol. 24, No. 2 (2005), p. 109-30.
- Таксанов, А.: Теневая экономика и коррупция в Узбекистане. Клань и правоохрательные структуры в нелегальной и политической деятельности. Комильфо, Санкт-Петербург, 2008, с. 174-196.
- Schatz, E.: Modern Clan Politics. The Power of „Blood“ in Kazakhstan and Beyond. University of Washington Press, Seattle – London, 2004, pp. 3-21, 72-95.

- Satpaev, Dosym: An Analysis of the Internal Structure of Kazakhstan Political Elite and an Assessment of Political Risk Level. In: *Empire, Islam, and Politics in Central Eurasia* (Tomohiko, Uyama, ed.). Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido, 2007, pp. 283-300. + Murphy, Jonathan: Illusory Transition? Elite Reconstruction in Kazakhstan, 1989-2002. *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (June 2006), p. 523-554.
- Massicard, E. – Trevisani, T.: The Uzbek Mahalla. Between state and society. In: *Central Asia. Aspects of transition* (Everet-Heath, T., ed.). Routledge-Curzon, London-New York, 2003, 205-219. + Markowitz, L. P.: Local Elites, Procurators, and Extraction in Rural Uzbekistan. *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 27, no. 1 (2008), p. 1-14
- Khanin, V.: Political Clans and Political Conflicts in Contemporary Kyrgyzstan. In: *Democracy and Pluralism in Muslim Eurasia* (Ro'i Y., ed.). Franc Cass, London – New York, 2004, p. 215-232.

7. The Ideologies of Central Asian States

- Matveeva, A.: Legitimising Central Asian Authoritarianism: Political Manipulation and Symbolic Power. *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 7, September 2009, p. 1095–1121.
- March, A. F.: The use and abuse of history: ‘national ideology’ as transcendental object in Islam Karimov’s ‘ideology of national independence’. *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 2002, p. 371-384.
- Adams, L.: Cultural Elites in Uzbekistan: Ideological Production and the State. In: *Transformation of Central Asia. State and Societies from Soviet Rules to Independence* (Luong, P. J., ed.), Cornell University Press, 2004, p. 93-119.
- Denison, M.: The Art of the Impossible: Political Symbolism, and the Creation of National Identity and Collective Memory in Post-Soviet Turkmenistan. *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vo. 61, No. 7, September 2009, p. 1167-1187.
- Šír, J.: Cult of Personality in Monumental Art and Architecture: The Case of Post-Soviet Turkmenistan. *Acta Slavica Iaponica*. Tomus 25, p. 203-220.
- Lowe, R.: Nation-building and identity in the Kyrgyz Republic. In: *Central Asia. Aspects of transition* (Everet-Heath, T., ed.). Routledge-Curzon, London-New York, 2003, 106-131.
- Schatz, E.: What Capital Cities Say about State and Nation-Building. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. Vol. 9, No. 4, 2003, p. 111-140.
- Anacker, S.: Geographies of Power in Nazarbayev’s Astana. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 45, No. 7, 2003.

8. Islam in politics and society in Central Asia. Radical Islam and Afghan influence

- Naumkin, V.: **Radical Islam in Central Asia. Between Pen and Rifle. Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, 2005, p. 1-36.**
- Naumkin, Vitalij: Militant Islam in Central Asia: The Case of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. *Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies*. University of California. Berkeley, 2003.
- McGlinchey, E. M.: Divided Faith: Trapped between State and Islam in Uzbekistan. In: *Everyday Life in Central Asia* (Shahadeo, J. – Zanda, R., eds.). Indiana University Press, 2007, p. 305-318.
- Emmanuel Karagiannis, The challenge of radical Islam in Tajikistan: Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami, *Nationalities Papers* 34, No. 1, 2006.

- Khalid, A.: Islam after Communism. University of California Press, Berkeley, 2007, p. 116-139 (Chapter 5: The Revival of Islam).
- Strachota, Krzysztof – Falkowski, Maciej: Jihad vs. The New Great Game. Paradoxes of Militant Islam in Central Asia. Policy Brief, Osrodek Studiow Wschodnich, Warszawa, 2010, pp. 39-71.
- Асроров, А.: Радикальный ислам в ЦентрАзии. Разница в подходах. Центразия.ру, 26.1.2010 и 28.1.2010.

9. Conflict potential in Central Asia – ethnicity, borders, water management

- **Matveeva, A.: Central Asia: A Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding. International Alert, 2006, p. 15-44.**
- Grävingsholt, J.: Crisis Potential and Crisis Prevention in Central Asia. Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik, Bonn, 2004, pp. 65-88.
- Carlisle, D. S.: Geopolitics and Ethnic Problems of Uzbekistan and its Neighbours. In: Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies (ed. Yaacov Ro'i), London, 1995, pp. 71-104.
- Slezkine, Y.: The USSR as a Communal Apartment: How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism, No. 53(2), 1994, 414-452.
- Christine Bichsel, Conflict Transformation in Central Asia: Irrigation Disputes in the Ferghana Valley (2009), chapter 4, The Way of Water: Irrigation and Conflict.
- Osh events 2010:
 - Tishkov, Valeriy: Don't Kill Me, I'm a Kyrgyz. An Anthropological Analysis of Violence in Osh Ethnic Conflict. Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 32, No. 2, 1995, pp. 133-149.
 - Pogroms in Kyrgyzstan. International Crisis Group Asia Report, No. 193, August 23, 2010. <http://www.crisisgroup.org> (registration is needed for downloading report)
 - Petric, B.: Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in Osh: Just another local interethnic conflict? Ferghana.ru, June 20, 2010. <http://enews.ferghana.ru/article.php?id=2642>
 - Reeves, M.: The ethnicization of violence in Southern Kyrgyzstan. Ferghana.ru, June 25, 2010. <http://enews.ferghana.ru/article.php?id=2644>
 - Dalbaieva, Alina: Mixed Marriages in Kyrgyzstan Strained by Ethnic Violence, Eurasianet.org, August 13, 2010, <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/61735>
 - Khamidov, Alisher: Uzbeks Leaving Southern Kyrgyzstan in Mass Exodus, Eurasianet.org, July 26, 2010.
 - What Role Did Crime Kingpins in Southern Kyrgyzstan Violence? July 23, 2010. <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/61591>
 - Pannier, Bruce: Kyrgyzstan: Anatomy of A Conflict. RFE/RL, July 2, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Kyrgyzstan_Anatomy_Of_A_Conflict/2089464.html
 - Najibullah, Farangis – Pannier, Bruce: Kyrgyzstan: The Story of One Life Upturned By Ethnic Violence. RFE/RL, June 23, 2010. http://www.rferl.org/content/Kyrgyzstan_The_Story_Of_One_Life_Upturned_By_Ethnic_Violence/2080186.html

10. Economical Transformation

- Pomfret, R.: *The Central Asian Economies Since Independence*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2006, p. 1-22, 141-170.
 - Uzbekistan: Economic Gradualism and Political Stability (p. 23-39) + Kazakhstan: Oil Boom Economy (p. 40-60).
 - Tajikistan: Civil War and Its Aftermath (p. 61-72) + The Kyrgyz Republic: The Region's Rapid Reformer (p. 73-88) + Turkmenistan: The Realm of Turkmenbashi the Great (p. 89-104)
- Spechler, Marc: *The Political Economy of Reform in Central Asia. Uzbekistan under authoritarianism*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008, p. 28-64.
- Фридман, Л. А.: *Очерки экономического и социального развития стран Центральной Азии после распада СССР*. Гуманитарий, Москва, 2001, с. 28-60.

11. The Perspectives of Central Asia

- Olcott, M. B.: *Revisiting the Twelve Myths on Central Asia*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, 2001. <http://www.policyarchive.org/handle/10207/6568>
- Luong, P. J.: *The Middle Easternization of Central Asia*. *Current History*, No. 102, October, 2003.
http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Political_Science/OLD/pauline/Current%20History%2010-2003.pdf
- Gleason, Gregory: *'Asian Values' and the Democratic Transition in Central Asia*. *Asia Quarterly*. Volume V, No. 1. Winter 2001.
<http://www.asiaquarterly.com/content/view/91/40/>
- Fiona Hill, *The Eurasian Security Environment* (2005).
<http://www.brookings.edu/views/testimony/hill/20050922.pdf>