

Department of Political Science

Fall 2008

MA

Politics of Central Asia

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Course description

Dramatically and unexpectedly, Central Asia was thrust to independence in 1991. Of all the Soviet republics, the five of Central Asia – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan – had been the largest net recipients of Soviet aid, had benefited most economically from the Soviet Union and had thus been the most reluctant to break from the Soviet empire. Once the path of independence was followed, each of these five states faced considerable ethnic, state, economic, social and foreign policy challenges. New attention to Central Asia after 9/11, including a Western military presence, has also focused minds on whether the region is at serious threat from Islamist radicalism. This module aims to analyse these nation- and state-building agendas, seeking to address critically some of the now widely held assumptions about this post-Soviet area. Located in one of the world's most strategic zones, between Russia, China and a troubled Middle East, Central Asia relies on its substantial human and natural resources in the renegotiation of its geopolitical status.

Aims

The course's main aim is to provide students with a strong understanding of:

- The role of the Russian and Soviet legacies in shaping the trajectory and form of post-Soviet transformation;
- the inter-twined nature of the various dimensions of post-Soviet transformation (political, economic, cultural, social);
- the main traditional and human security challenges facing the five Central Asian republics;
- the geo-strategic significance of Central Asia and the interaction between actors internal and external to the region.

Learning outcomes

By the end of the course students will:

- ✓ acquire a firm understanding of the key political and international developments in Central Asia since 1991;
- ✓ critically engage with post-communist transition literature and its relevance for Central Asia;

- ✓ apply their knowledge of comparative foreign policies and democratisation to this region and demonstrate their appreciation of the domestic/foreign policy nexus.

Lecture Topics

Session	Topic
1	Introduction: What is Central Asia?
2	Russian colonization
3	From Soviet rule to independence
4	Political transformation 1: Initial Divergence
5	Political transformation 2: (un-)Reconstructed authoritarianism?
6	Economic Transformation 1: Shock therapy or neo-Sovietism?
7	Economic Transformation 2: Natural Resource Development
8	Identities and Nationalism 1: Nation-building
9	Identities and Nationalism 2: Clan politics
10	The rise of radical Islam
11	Civil society
12	Color revolutions and prospects for change in the region
13	Human Security: Trans-national Organised Crime and migration
14	Russia
15	United States
16	European Union
17	China
18	Regional integration and competition
19	Debate: A New Great Game?
20	Afghanistan
21	Xinjiang
22	<i>Prospect to class</i>
23	<i>Prospect to class</i>

Assessment

- 20%: Seminar presentations
- 40%: Reaction papers (4 x 300-word papers)
- 10%: Prospect to class (final paper outline)
- 30%: Final paper (3500 words)

Deadlines

Reaction papers: These should not be summaries of the readings (I know what's in there!). Rather, they should be critical analyses of the theses outlined by the author(s). The choice of readings/papers is structured as follows. Students should submit four reaction papers overall, each selected from a different group of readings (marked *RP* in the syllabus). Those readings will be made available on the e-learning website. The first group of readings (I) covers sessions 2 and 3; the second (II) 5, 6, 8, and 9; the third (III) covers sessions 10, 11, 12, and 13. The fourth (IV) covers sessions 15, 16, 17, and 20.

Deadlines for submission:

Group I: 28 September 8pm

Group II: 19 October 8pm

Group III: 6 November, 8pm

Group IV: 30 November 8pm

Reaction papers should be submitted by email to fumagallim@ceu.hu

Final paper: 14 December 2008, 4pm. Word count includes foot-/endnotes, but not the bibliography. You should start discussing the topic and possible title as soon as possible during the semester. It would be preferable if titles were phrased as a question.

Introductory texts:

Olcott, Martha Brill, *Central Asia's Second Chance* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005)

Roy, Olivier *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations* (I.B. Tauris, 2000)

Gleason, Gregory, *The Central Asian states : discovering independence* (Westview Press, 1997).

Anderson, John, *The International Politics of Central Asia* (Manchester University Press 1997)

On the post-Soviet era, to set Central Asia in the context of post-Soviet politics:

Olcott, M.B. *Central Asia's second chance* (2005)

Cummings, Sally .N., ed., *Power and Change in Central Asia*, (Routledge, 2002)

Cummings, Sally .N., ed., *Oil, Transition and Stability in Central Asia* (Routledge, 2004)

Jones Luong, Pauline, ed., *The Transformation of Central Asia. From Soviet rule to independence* (Cornell UP, 2003)

Dawisha, Karen and Bruce Parrott, *Conflict, cleavage, and change in Central Asia and the Caucasus* (Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Monographs on the Central Asian republics

Kazakhstan

S.N. Cummings, *Kazakhstan: Power and the Elite*, IB Tauris, 2005

M.B. Olcott, *Kazakhstan: Unfulfilled Promise*, Brookings, 2002

B. Dave, *Kazakhstan. Ethnicity, Language and Power*, Routledge, 2007

Kyrgyzstan

J. Anderson, *Kyrgyzstan: Central Asia's Island of Democracy?* Harwood, 1998

International Crisis Group, *Kyrgyzstan: A faltering state*, Asia Report 109, 16 December 2005.

Uzbekistan

N.J. Melvin, *Uzbekistan: Transition to Authoritarianism on the Silk Road*, Harwood, 2000

A. Bohr, *Uzbekistan: Domestic and Regional Policy*, RIIA, 1998

International Crisis Group, *Uzbekistan: Stagnation and Uncertainty*, Asia Briefing 67, 2007.

Tajikistan

S. Akiner, *Tajikistan: Consolidation or Disintegration?*, RIIA, 2001

P. Bergne, *The Birth of Tajikistan. National Identity and the Birth of the Republic*, IB Tauris, 2007

L. De Martino, ed. *Tajikistan at a crossroads*, Cibera, 2004,
<http://www.cibera.org/en/publications/situationrep.htm>

Turkmenistan

A.L. Edgar, *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan*, Princeton UP, 2004.

In addition, Part I (chapters 1-5) of Cummings, S.N., ed., *Oil, Transition and Security in Central Asia*, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003 provides a good survey of each country.

Journals

Central Asian Survey (CAS)

Europe-Asia Studies (EAS)

China and Eurasian Forum Quarterly (CEFQ), available at

http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/inside/publications/CEF_quarterly.htm

CAS and EAS are available in either electronic or hard copy version in the CEU library.

Useful news updates

RFE/RL (www.rferl.org)

IWPR (www.iwpr.net)

Central Asia and the Caucasus Analyst (www.cacianalyst.org)

Fergana.ru (www.fergana.ru)

International Crisis Group (www.crisisgroup.org)

E-learning

The course makes use of e-learning, a web-based learning programme (<http://e-learning.ceu.hu>). Log in with your university ID and password and register for the course (located under 'Political Science'). Lecture slides will be uploaded there, as well as key additional readings, including the readings marked as *RP* (reaction papers) in the syllabus.

1 Introduction: What is Central Asia?

The lecture will introduce the course and its aims, outline the forms of assessment and then provide some introductory background to the region.

Required Reading:

Olcott, M.B., *Central Asia's Second Chance*, ch. 1

Additional Reading:

G. Gleason, Chs. 1&2

Cummings, S.N., ed., *Oil, Transition, and Security in Central Asia*, chs 1-5

2 Russian Colonization

The lecture will look at the encounter of Russians and Central Asians, starting from the advent of the Russian Empire in the late nineteenth century. The lecture will then present the legacies of Russian Colonisation in Central Asia at the advent of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Required Reading

RP A. Abdurakhimova, 'The Colonial System of Power in Turkistan', *IJMES*, 2002, 239-262.

Additional reading

G. Gleason, Chapters 1, 2 and 3

S. Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (CUP, 2000) ch. 14-19

RP R.G. Suny, "Ethnicity and Nationality in Imperial Russia Nationalities in the Russian Empire" *Russian Review*, Vol. 59, No. 4. (Oct., 2000), pp. 487-492.

E. Allworth (ed.), *Central Asia: 130 years of Russian dominance, a historical overview* (Duke University Press, 1994)

3 From Soviet Rule to Independence

The lecture will examine the nature of Soviet rule in Central Asia and discuss the extent to which it has come to define Central Asia's politics, economy, culture and society.

Required reading

G. Gleason, Ch. 3

Additional reading

A. Khalid, 'Locating the (Post-)colonial in Soviet History', *Central Asian Survey*, 26(4), 2007, 465-473.

RP L. Adams, 'Can we apply Postcolonial Theory to Central Eurasia?', *Central Eurasian Studies Review*, 7(1), 2008, 2-8, available at http://www.cesr-cess.org/pdf/CESR_07_1.pdf.

N. Pianciola and P. Sartori, 'Waqf in Turkestan: The Colonial Legacy and the Fate of an Islamic Institution in early Soviet Central Asia 1917-1924', *Central Asian Survey*, 26(4), 2007, 475-498.

Haugen, Arne, *The Establishment of National Republics in Central Asia* (Palgrave, 2003)

Y. Kulchik et al., *Central Asia after the Empire* (Pluto Press, 1996) Ch 2

M. Beissinger, 'Rethinking Empire in the Wake of Soviet Collapse', in Zoltan Barany and Robert Moser, eds., *Ethnic Politics and Post-Communism: Theories and Practice*, Cornell University Press, 2005.

T. Martin and R.G. Suny, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Building in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, Oxford UP, 2001.

T. Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union 1923-1939*, Cornell UP, 2001.

4 Political Transformation I: Initial divergence

The lecture reviews the process of state-building in post-Soviet Central Asia, concentrating on the initial variation in terms of the strategies adopted by the local elites.

Required reading

Olcott, M.B., ch 2.

Additional reading

P. Jones Luong, 'Introduction', in P. Jones Luong (ed), *The Transformation of Central Asia. States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, Cornell UP, 2004.

Gleason, ch. 4.

Cummings, S.N., part I. (ch 1-5)

P. Jones Luong (ed), *The Transformation of Central Asia. States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, Cornell UP, 2004.

5 Political Transformation II: (Un-)reconstructed authoritarianism?

The lecture will introduce concepts such as transition, transformation and democratisation, and will look at their applicability to the Central Asian context. Special attention will be paid to the gradual shift from initial divergence to later convergence in terms of strategies of political transformation.

Required Reading

M. McFaul, 'The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World', *World Politics*, 54:2 (2002), 212-244.

Additional reading

RP Collins, K., 'The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories', *World Politics*, 56(2), 2004, pp. 224-261

RP T. Carothers, 'The End of the Transition Paradigm?', *Journal of Democracy*, 13, 1, 2002.

Valerie Bunce, "Should Transitologists Be Grounded?" *Slavic Review*, Spring 1995, pp.111-127.

6 Economic Transformation I: Shock therapy or gradualism

The lecture will look at the various strategies of economic development adopted by the Central Asian states.

Required reading

R. Pomfret, *The Central Asian Economies since Independence*, Princeton University Press, 2006, ch. 1

Additional reading

K. Ruziev, D. Ghosh, S.C. Dow, The Uzbek puzzle revisited: an analysis of economic performance in Uzbekistan since 1991, *Central Asian Survey*, 26(1), 2007, 7-30.

G. Gleason, *Markets and Politics: Structural Reform and Political Change in Central Asia*, Routledge, 2003, ch. 1&2
R. Pomfret, Economic Development Strategies in Central Asia since 1991, *Asian Studies Review*, 25(2), 2001

7 Economic Transformation II: Natural resource development

The lecture discusses the growing importance of natural resources to the region's economies and introduces concepts such as patrimonialism and rentierism as possible tools to understand the impact and consequences of the undiversified economic structures.

Required reading

International Crisis Group, *Central Asia's Energy Risks*, Asia Report 133, 2007

Additional reading

RP R. Pomfret, 'Kazakhstan's Economy since Independence: Does the Oil Boom Offer a Second Chance for Sustainable Development?', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 57(6), 2005, 859-876
P. Jones Luong and E. Weintal, 'Prelude to Resource Curse', *Comparative Political Studies*, 2001

R. Kandiyoti, 'What price access to open seas? The geopolitics of oil and gas transmission from the Transcaspian Republics', *Central Asian Survey*, 27(1), 2008, 75-93.

RP P. Jones Luong and E. Weintal. 'Rethinking the Resource Curse: Ownership Structure, Institutional Capacity and Domestic Constraints', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9, 2006, 241-263.

8 Identities and nationalism: Nation-building

The lecture examines the role of Soviet rule on identity formation in Central Asia and the impact on post-independence nation-building.

Required reading

F. Hirsch, 'Towards an Empire of Nations: Border-Making and the Formation of 'Soviet' National Identities,' *Russian Review*, 59(2), 2000, 201-26.

Additional readings

RP Yu. Slezkine, 'The USSR as a Communal Apartment: How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism', *Slavic Review*, 53(2), 1994, 414-452.

Hirsch, F., 'The Soviet Union as a Work-in-Progress; Ethnographers and the Category Nationality in the 1926, 1937, and 1939 Censuses,' *Slavic Review* 56(2) (1997), 251-78.

RP A. L. Edgar, "Genealogy, Class and 'Tribal Policy' in Soviet Turkmenistan, 1924-1934", in *Slavic Review*, 60(2), 2001

9 Identities and nationalism: Clan politics

The lecture looks at the process of nation-building in Central Asia and discusses the extent to which other forms of (non national) affiliation have survived Soviet rule.

Required reading

Collins, K., 'The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories', *World Politics*, 56(2), 2004, pp. 224-261

Additional reading

RP Neil J Melvin, 'Patterns of Centre-Regional Relations in Central Asia: The Cases of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic and Uzbekistan', *Regional and Federal Studies*, 2001, 11(3), pp. 165-193

RP Gullette, D., 'Theories of Central Asian factionalism: The Debate in political science and its wider implications', *Central Asian Survey*, 26(3), 2007, 373-387.

Collins, K., 'Clans, Pacts, and Politics in Central Asia', *Journal of Democracy*, 13(3), 2002, pp. 137-152

R. Brubaker, *Nationalism reframed : nationhood and the national question in the New Europe*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

G. Smith, V. Law et al., *Nation-building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands*, CUP, 1998.

S. Akbarzadeh, 'Why Did Nationalism Fail in Tajikistan?', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 48(7), 1996, pp. 1105-1130

10 The Rise of radical Islam

The various forms of Islam present in Central Asia are briefly reviewed. Special attention will be paid to the radicalisation of Islam and the emergence of radical Islamic organizations in the region.

Required Reading

A. Khalid, 'Islam in Opposition', in A. Khalid, *Islam after Communism* (University of California Press, 2007), ch. 6.

Additional reading

Richard Weitz 'Storm Clouds over Central Asia: Revival of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)?', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 27, 6, 2004, pp. 505-530

International Crisis Group, *Is Radical Islam inevitable in Central Asia?*

N. Megoran, 'Framing Andijon, narrating the nation: Islam Karimov's account of the events of 13 May 2005', *Central Asian Survey*, 27(10), 2008, pp. 15-31.

RP Khalid, Adeeb, 'A secular Islam: Nation, state, and religion in Uzbekistan', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2003, 35(4)

RP McGlinchey, E., 'Autocrats, Islamist, and the Rise of Radicalism in Central Asia'. *Current History*, October 2005

S. Horsman, 'Themes in official discourses on terrorism in Central Asia' in *Third World Quarterly - Journal of Emerging Areas*, March 2005, 26(1), pp. 199-213.

Naumkin, V.V., *Radical Islam in Central Asia: Between Pen and Rifle*. Rowman and Littlefield, 2005

RP A. Ilkhamov, 'The Phenomenology of "Akromiya": Separating Facts from Fiction', *CEFAQ*, 2006, pp. 39-48.

M.B. Olcott, *Roots of Radical Islam in Central Asia*, Carnegie Paper No. 77, January 2007 http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp_77_olcott_roots_final.pdf

E. McGlinchey, 'The Making of Militants: The State and Political Islam in Central Asia', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 25, 3, 2005) pp. 554-566.

International Crisis Group, *Is Radical Islam Inevitable in Central Asia? Priorities for Engagement*, Asia Report 72, 22 December 2003.

International Crisis Group, *Central Asia: Islam and the State*, Asia Report 59, 10 July 2003.

11 Civil society

The lecture examines the varying fortunes of the development of civil society in the region, and the growing dependence of some of the countries' on international aid.

Required reading

D. Stevens, 'Political society and civil society in Uzbekistan – never the twain shall meet?', *Central Asian Survey*, 26(1), 2007, 49-64.

Additional reading

S. Freizer, 'Neo-liberal and communal civil society in Tajikistan: Merging or dividing in the post war period?', *Central Asian Survey*, 24(3), 2005, pp. 225-243.

RP P. Jones Luong and E. Weinthal 'The NGO Paradox: Democratic Goals and Non-Democratic Outcomes in Kazakhstan', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 51, 7, 1999, pp. 1267-1284.

Central Asian Survey, Special issue, 24(3), 2005

B. Grodsky, 'Resource Dependency and Political Opportunity: Explaining the Transformation from Excluded Political Parties to Human Rights Organizations in post-communist Uzbekistan', *Government and Opposition*, 42(1), 2007, 96-120.

J. Anderson, 'Creating a Framework for Civil Society in Kyrgyzstan,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.52, January 2000

N.W. Megoran, 'Theorizing gender, ethnicity and the nation-state in Central Asia', *Central Asian Survey*, 18, 1, 1999, pp. 99-110.

12 Color revolutions and prospects for regime change

The lecture reviews the recent episodes of social and political unrest in Central Asia (Turkmenistan 2002, Kyrgyzstan 2002 and 2005, Uzbekistan 2005) and looks at the evolution of state-society relations in terms of social and political activism and state response.

Required reading

Hale, H.E. (2005) Regime Cycles. Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in post-Soviet Eurasia. *World Politics*, 58, pp. 133-165.

Additional reading

Beissinger, M. R. (2007) Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(2), pp. 259-276.

RP D'Anieri, P. (2006) Explaining the success and failure of post-communist Revolutions. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 39, pp. 331-350.

RP Hale H.E. (2006) Democracy or autocracy on the march? The colored revolutions as normal dynamics of patronal presidentialism. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 39, pp. 305-329.

Herd, G.P. (2005) Colorful Revolution and the CIS. 'Manufactured' versus 'Managed' Democracy? *Problems of Post-Communism*, 52(2), pp. 3-18.

Hill, F. and Jones, K. (2006) Fear of Democracy or Revolution: The Reaction to Andijon. *Washington Quarterly*, 29(3), pp. 111-125.

- McFaul, M. (2007) Ukraine imports Democracy. External Influences on the Orange Revolution. *International Security*, 32(2), pp. 45-83.
- Tucker, J.A. (2007) Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(3), pp. 535- 551.
- T. Kuzio, 'Democratic Breakthrough and Revolutions in Five post-communist Countries: Comparative Perspectives on the Forth Wave', *Demokratizatsiya*, 16(1), 2008, 97-209
- M.N.. Katz, 'Will there be revolution in Central Asia?', *Communist and Post-communist Studies*, 40, 2007, pp. 129-141.
- M. Fumagalli, 'State Violence and Popular Resistance', *ISIM Review*, 18 Autumn, pp. 28-29,
- E. Marat, *The Tulip Revolution One Year After*, Jamestown Foundation 2006, available at <http://www.jamestown.org/images/pdf/Jamestown-TulipRevolution.pdf>

13 Human Security: Trans-national organised crime and migration

The lecture asks whether the concept of human security has any relevance when applied to the challenged faced by the Central Asian states. It pays special attention to the questions of trans-national organised crime and migration.

Required reading

P. Chalk, 'Non-Military Security in the Wider Middle East Studies', *Conflict and Terrorism*, 26, 3, 2006, pp. 197-214

Additional reading

RP J. Engvall, 'The state under Siege: The drug trade and organised crime in Tajikistan', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 58, 6, 2006, pp. 827-854.

RP C. Kennedy-Pipe 'Whose Security? State-Building and the 'Emancipation' of Women in Central Asia', *International Relations*, 18, 2004, 91-107.

N. Jackson, 'The trafficking of narcotics, arms and humans in post-Soviet Central Asia: (mis)perceptions, policies and realities', *Central Asian Survey*, 24, 1, 2005, pp. 39-52

R. Paris 'Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?', *International Security*, 26, 2, 2001, pp. 87-102.

S.E. Cornell, 'Narcotics, Radicalism and Security in Central Asia: The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan', *East European Studies Working Paper* 84, December, 2004 available at <http://www.east.uu.se/publications/AR84SC84.doc>

J. Glenn 'Human Security and the Disaffected of Central Asia', *International Relations*, 17, 2003, pp 453 - 475.

M. Laruelle, 'Central Asian Labor Migrants in Russia: The Diasporization of the Central Asian States?', *CEFAQ*, 5(3), 2007, pp. 101-119.

J. Sahadeo, 'Druzhba narodov or second-class citizenship? Soviet Asian migrants in a post-colonial world', *Central Asian Survey*, 26(4), 2007, 559-579.

E. Marat, *The State-Crime Nexus in Central Asia: State Weakness, Organized Crime and Corruption in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan*, Silk Road Paper, 2005

N. Jackson, 'International Organizations, Security Dichotomies and the Trafficking of Persons and Narcotics in Post-Soviet Central Asia: A Critique of the Securitization Framework', *Security Dialogue*, 37, 3, 2006, pp. 299-317.

UNDP *Central Asia Human Development Report 2005*

http://hdr.undp.org/docs/reports/regional/CIS_Commonwealth_of_Independent_States/Central_Asia_2005_en.pdf

14 Russia

After an initial retreat, Russia has sought a comeback in the region. What are the implications for the region and for Russia itself?

Required Reading:

M.N. Katz, 'Primakov Redux? Putin's Pursuit of 'Multipolarism in Asia', *Demokratizatsiya*, 14(1), 2006, pp. 144-152.

F. Hill, 'Moscow Discovers Soft Power', *Current History* (October 2006).

Recommended Reading:

M. Fumagalli, 'Alignments and re-alignments in Central Asia: Rationale and Implications of Uzbekistan's Rapprochement with Russia', *International Political Science Review*, 28, 3, 2007, pp. 253-271.

Laruelle, M. *Russia's Central Asian Policy and the Role of Russian Nationalism*, Silk Road Studies Papers, Johns Hopkins University-Uppsala University, 2008 (<http://www.isdp.eu/files/publications/srp/08/ml08russiacentral.pdf>).

Bazev, P. "Russia's counterrevolutionary offensive", CSIS Ponars policy memo 309, http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/pm_0399.pdf

F. Hill "Energy Empire: Oil, Gas and Russia's Revival" Report for the Foreign Policy Centre, September 2004, <http://www.brookings.edu/views/articles/Fhill/20040930.pdf>

L. Jonson, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia* (IB Tauris, 2004).

B. Lo, *Russian Foreign Policy in the post-Soviet era* (Palgrave, 2002).

B. Lo, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia: The Shaping of Russian Foreign Policy* (I B Tauris 2004).

D. Trenin, *Russia's Strategic Choices* (Carnegie Policy Brief, 2007) available at http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/pb50_trenin_final.pdf

15 The United States

The lecture revisits the sudden rise of US influence in Central Asia and the causes of its decline.

Required reading

Blank, S., 'US Interests in Central Asia and their Challenges', *Demokratizatsiya*, 15(3), 2007, pp. 312-334.

Additional reading

M.B. Olcott, 'The Shrinking US Footprint in Central Asia', *Current History*, October 2007

RP J. Heathershaw, 'Worlds Apart: the making and remaking of geopolitical space in the US-Strategic Partnership', *Central Asian Survey*, 26, 1, 2007, pp. 123-140.

A. Polat 'Reassessing Andijan: The Road to restoring US-Uzbek relations', *Jamestown Foundation Occasional Papers*, June 2007, available at <http://www.jamestown.org/docs/Jamestown-Andijan.pdf>

R. Weitz, 'Averting a New Great Game in Central Asia', *Washington Quarterly*, 29(3), 2006, pp. 155-167.

S.N. Macfarlane, 'The United States and Regionalism in Central Asia' *International Affairs*, 80, 3, 2004.

S. Akbarzadeh. *Uzbekistan and the United States* (Zed, 2004)

- E. Rumer, 'The U.S. Interests and Role in Central Asia after K2', *Washington Quarterly*, 29(3), 2006, pp. 141-154.
- F. Hill and K. Jones, 'Fear of Democracy or Revolution: The Reaction to Andijon', *Washington Quarterly*, 29(3), 2006, pp. 111-125.
- S. Akiner, *Violence in Andijan, 13 May 2005: An Independent Assessment*, Silk Road Papers, July 2005.
- J. Daly, K. Meppen, V. Socor, S.F. Starr, *Anatomy of a Crisis: U.S.-Uzbekistan Relations, 2001-2005* Silk Road Papers, February 2006.

16 The European Union

The lecture discusses the growing European interest in the region, also in light of the recent adoption of the EU strategy for Central Asia.

Required reading

N.J. Melvin, 'The European Union's Strategic Role in Central Asia', *CEPS Policy Brief* 128, 2007

Additional reading

- 'The EU and Central Asia: Strategy for a New Partnership 2007-2013' (Brussels, 2007).
- N.J. Melvin (ed) *Engaging Central Asia: The European Union's Strategy in the Heart of Eurasia*, CEPS/Brookings Institution Press, Brussels (2008), available at http://shop.ceps.eu/BookDetail.php?item_id=1662
- *RP* A. Warktosch, The OSCE as an agent of socialisation? International norm Dynamics and political change in Central Asia, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 59(5), 2007, 829-846.
- *RP* P. Burnell, 'Political Strategies of External Support for Democratization', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 1, pp. 361-384.
- International Crisis Group, *Central Asia: What Role for the European Union?*, Asia Report 113, 10 April 2006.
- International Crisis Group, *Uzbekistan: Europe's Sanctions Matter*, Asia Briefing 54, 6 November 2006.
- Fumagalli, M. 'Tajikistan and the EU: From Post-Conflict Reconstruction to Critical Engagement', *CEPS Policy Brief* 132, June 2007.
- B. Dave, 'The EU and Kazakhstan: Balancing Economic Cooperation and Aiding Democratic Reforms in the Central Asian Region', *CEPS Policy Brief* 127, 2007.
- M. Denison, 'Turkmenistan in Transition – a Window for EU Engagement', *CEPS Policy Brief* 129, 2007.

17 China

China's growing economic and political influence in the region are examined, also in the context of the country's relations with other external powers.

Required reading

R. Ong. 'China's security interests in Central Asia', *Central Asian Survey*, 24, 4, 2005, pp. 425-439.

Additional reading

- *RP* B. Lo, 'The Long Sunset of Strategic Partnership: Russia's Evolving China Policy', *International Affairs*, 80, 2, 295–309.
- *RP* N. Swanström, 'China and Central Asia: a new Great Game or traditional vassal relations?' *Journal of Contemporary China*, 14, 2005, pp. 569-584.
- G. Raballand and A. Andresy, 'Why should trade between Central Asia and China continue to expand?' *Asia-Europe Journal*, 5(2), 2007.
- S. Breslin, 'Power and Production: Rethinking China's Global Economic Role', *Review of International Studies*, 31, 4, 2005, 735–753.
- T.J. Christensen 'Posing problems without catching up – China's rise and challenges for US security policy', *International Security*, 25, 4, 2001, pp 5-40.
- M.B. Olcott, 'Is China A Reliable Stakeholder in Central Asia?' *Carnegie Policy Paper*, 2006 <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/MBO0806.pdf>
- A. Waldron, 'The rise of China: military and political implications', *Review of International Studies*, 31, 4, 2005, pp 715-733,
- W.A. Callahan, 'How to understand China: the dangers and opportunities of being a rising power', *Review of International Studies*, 31, 4, 2005, pp 701-714.
- S. Zhao, 'China's Global Search for Energy Security: Cooperation and Competition in Asia-Pacific', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 17(55), 2008, 207-227.
- Mark Lynch 'Why Engage? China and the Logic of Communicative Engagement', *European Journal of International Relations*, 18, 2, pp. 187-230.

18 Regional integration and competition

The lecture examines the factors that have hindered and facilitated co-operation in post-Soviet Central Asia. Special attention is paid to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

Required reading

A. Bohr, 'Regionalism in Central Asia: New Geopolitics, Old Regional Order', *International Affairs*, 80, 3, 2004.

Additional reading

M. Lanteigne, 'In Medias Res: The Development of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a Security Community', *Pacific Affairs*, 79(4), 2007, pp. 605-622.

C.P. Chung, 'The Shanghai Co-operation Organization: China's Changing Influence in Central Asia', *China Quarterly*, 180, 2004.

S. Tang, 'Economic Integration in Central Asia: The Russian and Chinese Relationship', *Asian Survey*, 40, 2, 2000, pp. 360-376.

R. Allison, 'Regionalism, Regional Structures and Security Management in Central Asia', *International Affairs*, 80, 3, 2004.

A. Misra, 'Shanghai 5 and the emerging alliance in Central Asia: the closed society and its enemies', *Central Asian Survey*, 20, 3, 2001, pp. 305-321.

Special issue on the SCO in *China and Eurasia Quarterly* January 2004.

R. Allison, 'Regionalism, Regional Structures and Security Management in Central Asia', *International Affairs*, 80, 3, 2004

C.P. Chung, 'The Shanghai Co-operation Organization: China's Changing Influence in Central Asia', *China Quarterly*, 180, 2004.

19 A New Great Game?

Competition over gas and oil has been fierce in the Central Asian region, and around the Caspian Sea in particular. The lecture will look at the reasons, expectations, and some of the unfulfilled promises of this contemporary versions of the 'Great Game'.

Required reading

M.B. Olcott, 'The Great Powers in Central Asia', *Current History*, 2005

Additional reading

M.B. Olcott, 'Friendship of Nations in the World of Energy', *Pro et Contra*, Vol. 10, Issue 2-3, Summer 2006 <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/Friendship.pdf>

R. Menon, 'The New Great Game in Central Asia', *Survival*, 45, 2, 2003.

R. Manning and A. Jaffe, 'The Myth of the Caspian Great Game: Real geopolitics of energy', *Survival*, 40, 4, 1998.

B. Janusz, 'The Caspian Sea: Legal Status and Regime Problems', *Chatham House Papers*, August 2005 available at

http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/research/russia_eurasia/papers/view/-/id/303/

McGlinchey, E. "Avoid the Great Game and Domestic Unrest in Central Asia", CSIS Ponars policy memo 402 http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/pm_0402.pdf

S.F. Starr and S.E. Cornell, eds, *The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline: Oil Window to the West*, Washington and Uppsala: CACI & SRSP, May 2005 available at

<http://www.silkroadstudies.org/CACI/Strategy.pdf>.

20 Afghanistan

The lecture focuses on Afghanistan's role in Central Asian geopolitics and looks at the threats, challenges and opportunities it poses to regional stability.

Required Reading:

RP T.H. Johnson, 'On the Edge of the Big Muddy: The Taliban Resurgence in Afghanistan', *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, 5(2), 2007 pp. 93-129.

Additional reading

F.S. Starr, *A Greater Central Asia Partnership for Afghanistan and its Neighbours*, JHU-SAIS- Silk Road Paper 2005.

R.H. Magnus; E. Naby, 'Afghanistan and Central Asia: Mirrors and Models', *Asian Survey*, 35, 7, 1995, pp. 605-620.

M. McCauley, *Afghanistan and Central Asia : a modern history* (2002)

B.R. Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan* (Yale UP, 2002)

J.K. Cooley, *Unholy wars : Afghanistan, America and international terrorism* (Pluto, 2000)

P. Marsden, *The Taliban : war, religion and the new order in Afghanistan* (Zed, 2001)

21 Xinjiang

The lecture provides some background to Xinjiang and outlines its importance in Central Asian studies.

Required reading

G. Fuller and S. F. Starr, *Xinjiang*, Silk Road Papers, 2003, ch. I-III.

Additional reading

G. Fuller, S. F. Starr, *The Xinjiang Problem*, Silk Road Papers, December 2003

M. Clarke, 'Xinjiang and China's Relations with Central Asia, 1991-2001: Across the 'Domestic-Foreign Frontier'?' *Asian Ethnicity*, 2003, 4(2), pp. 207-224.

Bernard, C. 'Central Asia: Apocalypse soon or Eccentric Survival?' In Angel Rabasa, Cheryl Benard, Peter Chalk, C. Christine Fair, Theodore W. Karasik, Rollie Lal, Ian O. Lesser and David E. Thaler, *The Muslim World after 9/11*, Rand Corporation, 2004 available at http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2004/RAND_MG246.pdf.

J.P. Dorian, B. Wigdorts, and D. Gladney, 'Central Asia and Xinjiang, China: Emerging energy, economy, and ethnic relations', *Central Asian Survey*, 16(4), 1997, pp. 461-486.

G. Fuller and S. F. Starr, *Xinjiang*, Silk Road Papers, 2003.

S.F. Starr (ed), *Xinjiang, China's Muslim Borderland*, ME Sharpe, 2004.