

States, networks, and power in post-Soviet politics

(MA course, 4 credits)

Winter semester

AY 2010/2011

Class hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 3.30-5.10pm

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The course examines the path to and main features of post-Soviet statehood. The first part of the course investigates the origins and functioning of the Soviet state. Next the course examines the unraveling of the Soviet Union, paying special attention to the process of nationalist mobilization and the dynamics of conflict and war in some key areas of the post-Soviet space. Here notions of ethnicity, nationalism, clans, regions, and power networks are discussed. The final part of the course looks at the foreign policies of the post-Soviet states and the interplay between the region and some key global actors. The course focuses on Russia, the Caucasus (north and south) and Central Asia.

Course structure: The course is structured in four sections: state formation and collapse; regimes; networks; and foreign policy.

Assessment

35% Continuous assessment (10% Participation, 20% presentations)

30% Paper (3,000 words)

35% Final Exam

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 geo-strategic significance of the post-Soviet space 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 the post-Soviet republics since 1991;
- ✓ critically engage with post-communist transition literature and its relevance for post-Soviet scholarship;
- ✓ apply their knowledge of comparative foreign policies and democratisation to this region and demonstrate their appreciation of the domestic/foreign policy nexus.

Deadlines

Class attendance is mandatory. Failure to attend more than two classes will lead to failing the course.

Introductory texts

Russia

S. White, R. Sakwa and H. Hale (eds) (2009) *Developments in Russian Politics 7* (Palgrave)
M. McFaul (2005) *Russia's unfinished revolution* (Cornell UP)
S. Wegren and D. Herspring (eds) (2009) *After Putin's Russia*, 4th ed (Rowman and Littlefield)
Richard Sakwa, *Russian Politics and Society* (4th edn, 2008)
Edwin Bacon, *Contemporary Russia* (2nd edition 2010)
Thomas Remington, *Politics of Russia* (6th edition, 2009)
Stephen K Wegren, *After Putin's Russia* (4th edition, 2009)
Richard Sakwa, *Putin: Russia's Choice* (2nd edn, 2008)

Central Asia

R. Legvold *Thinking Strategically. The Major Powers, Kazakhstan, and the Central Asian Nexus* (MIT Press, 2003)
O. Roy, *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations* (I.B. Tauris, 2000)
G. Gleason, *The Central Asian states: discovering independence* (Westview Press, 1997).
Anderson, John, *The International Politics of Central Asia* (Manchester University Press 1997)
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, 2004)
Cummings, Sally .N., ed., *Power and Change in Central Asia*, (Routledge, 2002)
Dawisha, Karen and Bruce Parrott, *Conflict, cleavage, and change in Central Asia and the Caucasus* (Cambridge University Press, 1997)

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.
International Crisis Group, *Kyrgyzstan: A Deceptive Calm*. Asia briefing 79, August 2008.

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

C. Barnes and K. Abdullaev (eds) (2001) *Tajikistan: Politics of Compromise*. London: Conciliation Resources.
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*, Cimera, 2004,
<http://www.cimera.org/en/publications/situationrep.htm>

John Heathershaw *Post-Conflict Tajikistan: the politics of peacebuilding and the emergence of legitimate order* (London: Routledge, 2009).

Turkmenistan

A.L. Edgar, *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan*, Princeton UP, 2004.
International Crisis Group, *Turkmenistan after Niyazov*, Asia Briefing 60, February 2007.

Caucasus

C. King (2008) *The Ghosts of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus* (OUP)
C. Zuercher *The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus* (NYU Press 2007)
S.E. Cornell *Small nations and great powers: a study of ethnopolitical conflict in the Caucasus* (RoutledgeCurzon 2001).
M. Gammer (ed) *Ethno-Nationalism, Islam and the State in the Caucasus: Post-Soviet Disorder* (2007)
Edmund Herzig *The New Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia* (1999)
Ronald Grigor Suny *Transcaucasia: Nationalism and Social Change. Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia* (1996)
Dawisha, K., Parrott, B. (eds.) *Conflict, Cleavage, and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus* (Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Azerbaijan

Tadeusz Swietochowski *Russia and Azerbaijan: A Borderland in Transition* (1995)

Georgia

R.G. Suny, *The Making of the Georgian Nation* (1988)

Armenia

R.G. Suny *Looking Toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History* (1993);

Relevant journals

Relevant journals for this course include the following: Communist and post-Communist Studies; Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press; Demokratizatsiya; Europe-Asia Studies; International Affairs; Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics; Journal of Democracy; Post-Soviet Affairs; Central Asian Survey; China and Eurasia Quarterly.

E-learning

The course makes use of e-learning, a web-based learning programme (<http://elearning.ceu.hu>). Log in with your university ID and password and register for the course (located under 'International Relations and European Studies'). You will be given the enrolment key during the first class. Lecture slides will be uploaded there, as well as key additional readings. You are, however, strongly encouraged to do your own library searches, either among the hard copies of books and journals available in the CEU library or among the electronic resources.

Calendar

Session	Week	Title	Date
1	1	Introduction to the course. From the Tsarist Empire to the Soviet Union	11/1
2	1	Soviet rule	13/1
3	2	The Soviet collapse	18/1
4	2	State formation and collapse: The South Caucasus	20/1
5	2	State formation and collapse: The North Caucasus and the Russo-Chechen Wars	21/1

6	3	From disintegration to re-integration: Russia	25/1
7	3	State formation and collapse Central Asia I	27/1
8	3	State formation and collapse: Central Asia II	28/1
9	4	Hybrid regimes and competitive authoritarianism	1/2
10	4	Neo-patrimonialism and neo-Sultanism	3/2
11	5	After independence: Post-Soviet ethnocracies?	8/2
12	5	Networks: Clans and clan politics	10/2
13	5	Networks: Siloviki, business groups, and organized crime	11/2
14	6	Civil society	15/2
15	6	The colored revolutions	17/2
16	7	Religion and the state, religion against the state	22/2
17	8	Russia and the West	1/3
18	8	Russia and Central Asia	3/3
19	8	China and the post-Soviet space	4/3
20	9	The politics of energy	8/3
21	11	The 2008 Russia-Georgia War	22/3
22	11	The end of Kyrgyzstan?	24/3
23	12	Revision	29/3
24	12	Exam	31/3

Readings

1 Introduction. From the Tsarist Empire to the Soviet Union

The lecture will introduce the region and provide an overview of the course.

Core reading

D. Lieven (2002) *Empire* (Yale UP), ch. 6 and 9.

Charles King, "Post-postcommunism: Transition, Comparison, and the End of 'Eastern Europe,'" *World Politics*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (2000): 143-172.

Additional readings

D. Lieven (2002) *Empire* (Yale UP), ch. 7 and 8.

Richard Sakwa, *Soviet Politics in Perspective* (1998)

Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Soviet Experiment* (2010, 2nd ed)

David R. Marples, *The Collapse of the Soviet Union 1985-1991* (2004)

PART I: STATES

2 Soviet rule

Core 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

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.

R. Sawka, ch 1 in White, Sakwa and Hale, H. (2009)

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.

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

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.

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

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

Peter Kneen 'Reconceptualizing the Soviet System: Pluralism, Totalitarianism and Science', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 4, December 1998, pp. 28-50

Valerie Bunce and John Echols 'From Soviet Studies to Comparative Studies: The Unfinished Revolution', *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1 January 1979, pp 43-55

3 The Soviet collapse

Core reading

H. Hale (2000) Parade of Sovereignties; Testing theories of secession in the Soviet setting. *British Journal of Political Science*, 30, 31-56.

Additional readings

Rasma Karklins 'Explaining regime change in the Soviet Union', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 46, no. 1, 1994

David R. Marples *The Collapse of the Soviet Union 1985-1991*, esp. chapter 6, pp. 101-110

Alexander Dallin 'Causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 8/4, October-December 1992, pp. 279-302

Richard Sakwa 'A cleansing storm: the August coup and the triumph of perestroika', *JCS*, vol. 9, no 4, March 1993, pp 131-149

Rasma Karklins 'Explaining regime change in the Soviet Union', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 46, no. 1, 1994

David R. Marples *The Collapse of the Soviet Union 1985-1991*, esp. chapter 6, pp. 101-110

Alexander Dallin 'Causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 8/4, October-December 1992, pp. 279-302

Slavic Review (2004) Special Issue on Gorbachev and Reform of the USSR Vol. 63, No. 3, Autumn.

4 State formation and state collapse: The South Caucasus

Core readings

Svante E. Cornell Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective *World Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Jan., 2002), pp. 245-276

Caspersen, N. Separatism and Democracy in the Caucasus. *Survival*, 50(4), 113-136.

Additional readings

D. Lynch, 'Separatist States and post-Soviet Conflicts', *International Affairs*, 78, 4, 2002, pp. 831-848.

Ware, Robert Bruce 'Conflict in the Caucasus: An historical context and a prospect for peace' *Central Asian Survey* 1998 17(2)

Baran, Zeyno 'The Caucasus: Ten Years after Independence Washington Quarterly' 2001 25(1)

Nicolay Trapsh *The North Caucasus and the Multilevel International Subsystem*

Problems of postcommunism 54(2) 2007 pp. 38 – 48

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

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.

Ware, Robert Bruce 'Conflict in the Caucasus: An historical context and a prospect for peace' *Central Asian Survey* 1998 17(2)

Hunter, Shireen Borders, Conflict, and Security in the Caucasus: The Legacy of the Past. *SAIS Review*, 2006, 26(1).

D. Lynch, 'Separatist States and post-Soviet Conflicts', *International Affairs*, 78, 4, 2002, pp. 831-848.

Zourabian, Levon. The Nagorno-Karabakh Settlement Revisited: Is Peace Achievable *Demokratizatsiya*, Spring2006, Vol. 14 Issue 2, p252-265.

Malek, Martin State Failure in the South Caucasus: Proposals for an Analytical Framework *Transition Studies Review* 2006 - 13 - 2 – 441

Van Evera, Stephen, "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War", *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Spring), 1994, pp. 5-39.

Zürcher, C., ch. 6

International Crisis Group Nagorno-Karabakh: Risking War, Europe Report N°187, 14 November 2007

International Crisis Group Georgia's Armenian and Azeri Minorities, Europe Report N°178, 22 November 2006

International Crisis Group Abkhazia: Ways Forward, Europe Report N°179, 18 January 2007

Emil Souleimanov and Ondrej Ditrych 'The Internationalisation of the Russian-Chechen Conflict: Myths and Reality', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, no. 7, 2008

R. Dannreuther and L. March 'Chechnya: Has Moscow Won?' *Survival*, vol. 50, no. 4, 2008

John Russell 'Chechnya: Russia's 'war on terror' or 'war of terror'? *Europe-Asia Studies*; January 2007, Vol. 59 No. 1, pp 163–168

Charles King and Rajan Menon 'Prisoners of the Caucasus: Russia's Invisible Civil War' *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2010

R. Danreuther and L. March (eds) *Russia and Islam: State, society and radicalism* (Routledge)

Richard Sakwa *Putin: Russia's Choice*, chapter 8

David D. Laitin and Ronald Grigor Suny, "Armenia and Azerbaijan: Thinking a Way Out of Karabakh," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (October 1999).

5 State formation and collapse: The North Caucasus and the Russo-Chechen Wars

Core readings

Sagramoso D. (2007) Violence and conflict in the Russian North Caucasus *International Affairs*, 83(4).

Akkieva, Svetlana 'The Caucasus: One or Many? A View from the Region' *Nationalities Papers*, 2008, 36(2)

Additional readings

Anna Matveeva Chechnya: Dynamics of War and Peace. Problems of postcommunism 54(3) 2007 pp. 3 – 17

Hughes, James. The Chechnya Conflict: Freedom Fighters or Terrorists *Demokratizatsiya*, Summer2007, Vol. 15 Issue 3, p293-311

J. B. Dunlop and R, Menon 'Chaos in the North Caucasus and Russia's future' *Survival*, vol. 48, no. 2, 2006

Dov Lynch 'The Enemy is at the Gate': Russia after Beslan' *International Affairs*, January 2005, Vol. 81, No. 1, pp. 141-161

Anna Matveeva Chechnya: Dynamics of War and Peace. *Problems of postcommunism* 54(3) 2007 pp. 3 – 17

Gordon M. Hahn 'The Jihadi Insurgency and the Russian Counterinsurgency in the North Caucasus', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 24, no. 1, Jan-March, 2008

Anatol Lieven *Chechnya: Tombstone of Soviet Power*

Dmitri Trenin and A. Malashenko *Russia's Restless Frontier, the Chechnya Factor*

Julie Wilhelmsen 'Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Islamisation of the Chechen Separatist Movement', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 57, no. 1, 2005, pp. 35-60

Hughes, James. The Chechnya Conflict: Freedom Fighters or Terrorists *Demokratizatsiya*, Summer 2007, Vol. 15 Issue 3, p293-311

Cornell, Svante Conflicts in the North Caucasus *Central Asian Survey* 1998 17(3)

Kramer, Mark Guerrilla Warfare, Counterinsurgency and Terrorism in the North Caucasus: The Military Dimension of the Russian - Chechen Conflict *Europe-Asia Studies* 2005 57(2)

Anatol Lieven, "Nightmare in the Caucasus," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2000):145-159.

Austin Jersild Review: The Chechen Wars in Historical Perspective: New Work on Contemporary Russian-Chechen Relations *Slavic Review*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (Summer, 2004), pp. 367-377

Dunlop, John - Menon, Rajan Chaos in the North Caucasus and Russia's future *Survival* 2006 48(2)

6 Russia

Core reading

Richard Sakwa (2010) The Dual State in Russia', *Post-Soviet Affairs* Vol. 26, No. 3.

Additional reading

White, Sakwa and Hale (2010) Development in Russian Politics 7, esp. ch 1,2, 15.

H.E. Hale (2010) 'Eurasian polities as hybrid regimes: The case of Putin's Russia', *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2010, pp. 33-41.

Alexander Lukin (2009) 'Russia's New Authoritarianism and the Post-Soviet Political Ideal', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 1.

Andrei Okara (2007) Sovereign Democracy: A New Russian Idea or a PR Project?', *Russia in Global Affairs*, № 2.

Stephen White, ch 15.

Valerie Bunce 'Comparative Democratization: Lessons from Russia and the postcommunist World', in Michael McFaul and K. Stoner-Weiss (eds.), *After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transition*, pp. 207-31 **WebCT**

7 State formation and state collapse: Central Asia I

Core readings

Olcott, M.B., *Central Asia's second chance* (2005), ch 2.

K. Collins, *Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia* (Cambridge, 2006), 122-68.

Required 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.

Cummings, S.N. (2002) *Power and Change in Central Asia* part I. (ch 1-5)

Barnett R. Rubin, Chapter 7, "Russian hegemony and state breakdown in the periphery: causes and consequences of the civil war in Tajikistan," Rubin and Jack Snyder, *Post-Soviet Political Order: Conflict and State-Building* (Routledge, 1998), 128-161.

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

Graham Smith, Vivien Law, Andrew Wilson, Annette Bohr, Edward Allworth, Chapter 7, "The Central Asian States as Nationalizing Regimes," in *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 139-166.

Edward Schatz, "The Politics of Multiple Identities: Lineage and Ethnicity in Kazakhstan" *Europe-Asia Studies* 52(3), 2000, 489-506.

Kathleen Collins, "Clans, Pacts, and Politics in Central Asia," *Journal of Democracy* 13(3), 137-152.

8 State formation and state collapse: Central Asia II

Core readings

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.

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

Additional readings

K. Nourzhanov (2005) Saviours of the nation or robber barons? Warlord Politics in Tajikistan. *Central Asian Survey*, 24(2), 109-130.

Kılavuz, İdil Tunçer(2009) 'The Role of Networks in Tajikistan's Civil War: Network Activation and Violence Specialists', *Nationalities Papers*, 37: 5, 693 — 717.

Johan Engvall The State under Siege: The Drug Trade and Organised Crime in Tajikistan. *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 58, No. 6 (Sep., 2006), pp. 827-854

PART II Regimes

9 Hybrid regimes and competitive authoritarianism

Core reading

S. Levitsky and L. Way, 'The rise of competitive authoritarianism', *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 2002, p. 51-65.

White, ch 15 in White, Sakwa, and Hale (2009)

Additional reading

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

L. Diamond, 'Thinking about hybrid regimes', *Journal of Democracy*, 2002, pp. 21-35.

M. Morje-Howard and P.G. Roessler, 'Liberalizing electoral outcomes in competitive authoritarian regimes', *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 2006, pp. 365-381.

Schedler, A., The Menu of Manipulation. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 2002, pp. 36-50

McFaul, M. Explaining Party Formation and Nonformation in Russia: Actors, Institutions, and Chance. *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(1), 2001.

S. Kaufman Purcell, Decision-Making in an Authoritarian Regime: Theoretical Implications from a Mexican Case Study. *World Politics*, 26(1), 1973, pp. 28-54.

Gill, G., A new turn to authoritarian Rule in Russia? *Democratization*, 13(1), 2006

10 (neo-)Patrimonialism and (neo)Sultanism

Core reading

S. M. Eke, T. Kuzio, Sultanism in Eastern Europe: The Socio-Political Roots of Authoritarian Populism in Belarus. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 52(3), 2000, pp. 523-547.

Additional reading

S.N. Cummings and M. Ochs (2002) Turkmenistan: Saparmurat Niyazov's inglorious isolation. In: S.N. Cummings (2002) *Power and Change in Central Asia*, Routledge.

Linz, J.J. and Chehabi, H.E., *Sultanistic Regimes*, Johns Hopkins University Press (1998) ch 1., pp. 3-25

P. Brooker, *Non-democratic Governments*, ch 2 pp. 52-58,

P. Brooker, *Non-democratic Governments*, ch. 6

Linz, ch. 3

M. Weber, Charismatic Authority, in *Economy and Society* Vol 1, pp. 241-249

A. Bohr (2004) Independent Turkmenistan: From Post-communism to Sultanism? In S.N. Cummings (ed) *Oil, Transition and Security in Central Asia*, Routledge.

M. Bratton; N. Van de Walle, Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa. *World Politics*, 46(4), 1994, pp. 453-489.

Linz, ch 3

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

M. Weber, Types of Legitimate Domination, ch, 3 esp. pp. 212-216

A. Ilkhamov, Neopatrimonialism, interest groups and patronage networks: the impasses of the governance system in Uzbekistan, *Central Asian Survey*, 26(1), 2007, pp. 65-84.

11 After independence: Post-Soviet ethnocracies?

Core reading

R. Brubaker, 'National minorities, nationalizing states and external homelands in the New Europe', *Daedalus*, Vol 124, No 2, 1995, pp 107–32.

T. Kuzio, 'Nationalising states' or nation-building: a review of the theoretical literature and empirical evidence', *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol 7, No 2, 2001, pp 135–154

Additional reading

R. Brubaker, Nationhood and the National Question in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Eurasia: An Institutional Account. *Theory and Society*, 23(1), 1994, pp. 47-78.

O. Yiftachel, "Ethnocracy" and Its Discontents: Minorities, Protests, and the Israeli Polity. *Critical Inquiry*, 26(4), 2000, pp. 725-756.

Fumagalli, M. Ethnicity, state formation and foreign policy: Uzbekistan and 'Uzbeks abroad' *Central Asian Survey*, 26(1), 2007.

T. Kuzio, 'The myth of the civic state: a critical survey of Hans Kohn's framework for understanding nationalism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol 25, No1, 2002, pp 20–39.

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

M.S. Fish and R.S. Brooks, 'Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?', *Journal of Democracy*, 15, (1), 2004, pp. 154-166.

L. Barrington, The Domestic and International Consequences of Citizenship in the Soviet Successor States. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 47(5), 1995, pp. 731-763.

PART III: NETWORKS

12 Networks: Clans and clan politics

Core reading

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

Additional readings

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

2002, pp. 137-152.

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

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.

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, '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

Gregory Gleason, 'Fealty and Loyalty: Informal Authority Structures in Soviet Asia,' *Soviet Studies* 43(4), 1991, 613-628.

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

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.

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

13 Business, oligarchs and organized crime

Core reading

Daniel Treisman (2007) 'Putin's Silovarchs', *Orbis*, 51(1), 141-153.

Additional reading

Pauline Jones Luong, *Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Chapter 3, 51-74.

R. Sakwa *Putin: Russia's Choice* (2007) pp. 71-79, 143-50, ch. 9.

P. Rutland (2010) *The Oligarchs and Economic Development in S. K. Wegren and D. R. Herpring (eds) After Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*, Rowman and Littlefield (4th ed).

L. Shelley (2010) *Crime, Organized Crime, and Corruption in S. K. Wegren and D. R. Herpring (2010) After Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*, Rowman and Littlefield (4th ed), esp ch 7-8.

Philip Hanson and Elizabeth Teague (2005) 'Big Business and the State in Russia'. *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol 57, no. 5, 2005, pp. 657- 681.

Bettina Renz (2006) 'Putin's militocracy?: An alternative interpretation of the role of *Siloviki* in contemporary Russian politics'. *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 58, no. 6, 903-924.

Oxana Gaman-Golutvina (2008) 'Changes in Elite Patterns', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol 60, no. 6, 2008, pp. 1033-1050.

J. Johnson (1997) *Russia's emerging financial-industrial groups. Post-Soviet Affairs*, 13, pp. 303-332.

Goorha, Prateek. *The Political Economy of the Resource Curse in Russia Demokratizatsiya*, Fall 2006, Vol. 14 Issue 4, p601-611.

Bertil Nygren *Putin's Use of Natural Gas to Reintegrate the CIS Region. Problems of postcommunism* 55(4) 2008 pp. 3 – 15

Pierre Noel, *Beyond Dependence: How to deal with Russian Gas*. ECFR Policy Brief, 2008.
Dienes, Leslie. Natural Gas in the Context of Russia's Energy System. *Demokratizatsiya*, Fall 2007, Vol. 15 Issue 4, p408-428.
International Crisis Group, *Central Asia's Energy Risks*, Asia Report 133, 2007

14 The Colored Revolutions

Core 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.

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21 State collapse (once again): The non-recognised states and the 2008 Russo-Georgian War

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This session examines the causes of the current crisis in Kyrgyzstan and discusses some potential explanations of the 2010 violence. The regional implications of the crisis are also considered.

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23 Revision and exam preparation

24 Exam