

**DHP D267**  
**THE GLOBALIZATION OF CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS**  
**THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY**  
**SPRING 2017**

**PROFESSOR ANDREW C. HESS**

**TEL: (617) 627-2774**

**EMAIL: [andrew.hess@tufts.edu](mailto:andrew.hess@tufts.edu)**

**OFFICE: CABOT 603**

**OFFICE HOURS: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2 pm – 1 pm, or by appointment.**

**STAFF ASSISTANT: Rachel Brown; [rachel.brown@tufts.edu](mailto:rachel.brown@tufts.edu); 617.627.2734**

**TEACHING ASSISTANT: Alya Koraitem; [Alya.Koraitem@tufts.edu](mailto:Alya.Koraitem@tufts.edu)**

**I. COURSE DESCRIPTION**

DHP D267 is a course aimed at developing a structure for understanding contemporary events in the new complex of national frontiers in Central Eurasia created by the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. This new alignment of states starts with the Ukraine, and runs west through the South Caucasus, the northern borders of Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan and the Muslim republics from Central Asia into the western regions of China. Most of this space is steppe, dry-desert and cold mountain ranges. It can be an uninviting land for travelers and it seems to have little potential for tourism. One, however, soon finds does have a famous past. Who will forget the accounts of Eurasian mounted archers spilling out of the center of the steppe to set the stage for large scale imperial adventures central to the history of Europe and Asia's states and societies: Genghiz Khan is not forgettable!

In early modern times the geopolitical importance of this is continental space was technologically outflanked by European sailing ships until the arrival of the industrial era and the discovery of large quantities of oil and gas in the center of Eurasia. Promptly admirals and generals created a new global setting for Eurasian politics that included maritime spaces along the edges of the Atlantic, Indian Ocean and the eastern Pacific rim of China. Geo-politicians then reframed their arguments around how the control of land was not enough. The new organization of space included the Indo/Pacific maritime frontier as part of the geopolitical framework for an international politics known as the Great Game/Cold War. In our time the accelerated forces of modern industrial technologies have radically recast the geo-politics of Eurasia; and the difference between land and sea politics is now muted because the Prize is not land or silk or spices but petroleum.

Why the course starts with the last decade of the twentieth century has much to do with what happens when one of the world's largest producers of oil and gas experienced a political collapse: the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union. This epochal event was bound to shake up the global political and economic system that connected the USSR and Europe and Asia; and it did. In the last decade of the twentieth century Western Europe was dependent on the USSR for approximately 30 percent of its consumption of natural gas. This was a very large figure for an

area of the world already internally networked into rural, urban and transnational connections. When the disputes between Ukrainian and Russian over energy issues ballooned into warfare between the Russian Federation and the Ukraine in 2014 security officials promptly drew attention to how the conflict threatened all Russian gas lines supplying major European markets. The power of this instability probably contributed to the Russian invasion of the Crimea, a reinvigoration of European search for the diversification of supply of petroleum products, and an intensification of Ukrainian and Russian nationalism and so on.

But there is more to this petroleum story than the security of a portion of Western Europe's economy: the break-up of the Soviet empire produced numerous successor states still tied together in one form or another to the petroleum networks of the Soviet past. The rulers of these only partially industrialized new nations from the Black Sea to Vladivostok and on to the Sea of Japan are free to some extent to negotiate a new relationship with the heirs of the old networks or they could investigate new connections with the global energy markets as was the case with Azerbaijan. We will study the complexities of this development in order to determine the character of regional security environment for energy commerce on what is a new Eurasian/Russian petroleum frontier.

If one examines the map of oil and gas projects after 1991, it is very clear that the oil and gas business is indeed a global affair; and we will fit our analysis of Eurasian energy security within a global framework. Here the reason for a big picture approach is that the collapse of the Soviet Union roughly coincided with elite decisions in China and India to engage in massive modernization projects. This task will require the importation into both Asian countries of increasingly large quantities of oil and gas. Both China and India are not gifted with large petroleum reserves. Rather the nearest supplies of exportable petroleum products are in Russia and in the unstable new states along the southern boundary of the former Soviet Union. Thus, there is reason to believe policy planners in China and India and other bordering states are shaping their countries foreign policies to anticipate serious challenges to the land and sea lines of supply for meeting Asian energy demands. We will underline the scale of this happening: it is very large; and any major disruption of Eurasia's internal and external supply of oil and gas can encourage great power action to stabilize energy supply.

There is little disagreement among scholars that one of the forces behind the dynamics of institutional change on this new frontier is the disruptive impact of accelerated technological developments in the oil and gas industry on the pre-industrial states and societies of this region. For example, some visual sense of dramatic cultural change can be obtained from state constructed architectural symbols (very large) located in the southern portion of the Caspian Sea and on the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf.

We may, however, be more successful at capturing a knowledge of revolutionary change if we start with the global rate of innovation in the petroleum industry. Scholars generally agree that this industry is experiencing a new wave of accelerated technological change. Since the oil business in Eurasia and the world is very large, highly complex, and extraordinary lucrative system, we will only be able to select a few examples of its internal development to make our point that the human ability to control great forces is lose in Central Eurasia. The most familiar examples of technical dynamism are fracking, horizontal drilling, offshore operations, and Big-

Data application to improving production and so on. What characterizes all these technical achievements is the willingness of international investors to supply huge financial resources often in the form of medium and long term investments for risky technical projects such as recovering oil and gas from deep off-shore fields as the Kashagan oil field in the Caspian Sea, the Kara Sea discoveries in Siberia and the complex South Pars/North Dome gas fields in the Gulf. In summation, the wealth producing character of this industry, the forthcoming energy demands from large Asian States and rates of technological change will make it difficult for governments let alone semi-modern societies to manage the resulting social and cultural upheavals of the current era.

How the Central Eurasian states make the appropriate adjustments to fit within the complex systems of the one of the world's largest industries is fraught with violence as the current struggles along the former Soviet boundaries indicate. This course offers a substitute for explaining disorder not just on the new national framework of post-Cold War Eurasia but also as a result of the complex problems attached to the industrialization of Eurasia. This includes new research on social and cultural happenings along Central Eurasian internal frontier running from the Ukraine to the Muslim areas of Western China. This belt of states and societies is in a zone where the complex spread of modern institutions related to new nation states is producing a trend capable of destabilizing larger areas of Eurasia.

The forces of modern urban change and the communicational advances of digital technologies have unleashed social and cultural protests in Eurasia aimed at destroying existing institutions of the transitional era. This has already produced bloody consequences in Chechnya. It raises the question whether the advances achieved in the standard of living in Azerbaijan will determine the future of Central Eurasia or will terrorists export disorder from northern Iraq, Afghanistan, Tajikistan and the western frontier of China to the center of the Eurasian oil and gas patches?

## **II. FORMAT**

The class will meet Tuesdays and Thursday from 9:40 a.m. to 10:55 a.m. Lectures are organized to add a preliminary line of analysis on issues fundamental to understanding the course of events in Central Eurasia. Most of what we do in the classroom will proceed from recent scholarship. However, all of us must realize that the populations we study are passing through a revolutionary period that we are only beginning to understand. We all will probably benefit from an opened minded approach to the complex nature of recent institutional change in Central Eurasia.

Students will be expected to come to lectures having done the relevant assigned readings and prepared to participate in discussion and debate.

Students are also encouraged to join the Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilizations organization, and consider submitting written work to the online, student-edited journal, Al-Nakhla. Student groups sponsor lectures, seminars and social events outside the classroom that support the SWAIC effort to understand this complex region of the world. This includes viewing recent documentary evidence of political instability and social/cultural change.

My office hours are on Tuesday and Thursday in Cabot 603 from 2 pm to 3 pm. If that time is inconvenient, please see my assistant, Ms. Rachel Brown, to schedule an appointment. Tel: 617-627-2734 or email: Rachel.Brown@tufts.edu. For other questions, concerns or technical problems with readings or PowerPoint slides, please contact my teaching assistant for the school year, Alya Koraitem, at Alya.Koraitem@Tufts.edu.

### EVALUATION

The final grade for the course will be based upon the following:

- 15 percent for the mid-term exam
- 70 percent for the final exam
- 15 percent for participation

### III. COURSE READINGS

All readings will be available either in the Ginn library stacks, in the Ginn reserve or via Trunk. Key texts will also be available for purchase at the Tufts Bookstore. If you have difficulty getting at the readings, please see me.

## DIPLOMACY 267

### PART I

### THE COLLAPSE OF IMPERIAL ORDER

**Jan. 19, 2017**

#### LECTURE 1

*The Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Rise of the "Market State": Failure to Compete in the Global Era*

**Discussion Question:** How does one imagine the scale of what happened to Eurasian populations when the Soviet Union collapsed?

#### Assigned Readings

- Yegor Gaidar, *Collapse of an Empire: Lessons for Modern Russia*, translation by Antonina W. Bouis (Washington D.C., Brookings Institution Press, 2007), pp. 1-38, 220-256.
- John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York, Penguin Books, 2005), pp. 229-266.
- *Douglass C. North, Understanding the Process of Economic Change*, (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 146-154.

**Jan. 24, 2017**

#### LECTURE 2

*The New Eurasian Frontier: Old Worldviews and Modern Turkey and the Ukraine as Transit States*

**Discussion Question:** What is the appropriate geography for the modern geopolitics of energy for the Black Sea Region?

#### Assigned Readings:

Kent E. Calder, The New Continentalism (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 21-22 39-41, 232-33.

- Andrew Wilson, Ukraine Crisis (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 1-37, 99-143.
- Langton Winner, Autonomous Technology:Technics-out-of-control as a Theme in Political Thought (Cambridge, MA., MIT Press, 1977), pp.1-43.

**Jan. 26, 2017**

**LECTURE 3**

*Russia/Soviet Conquest of Central Asia: Assimilating Local Populations*

**Discussion Question:** Did the Soviet policy on national development assimilate local ethnic and sectarian divisions or preserve them?

**Assigned Readings:**

- Shreen T. Hunter, Islam in Russia: the Politics of Identity and Security (New York, NY, M. E. Sharpe, 2004).pp.3-41
- Vitaly V. Naumkin, Radical Islam in Central Asia (Lanham, Maryland, Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), pp. 1-36.
- Khalid, Adeeb, Islam After Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia (Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 2007), pp. 50-83.
- Douglass C. North and others, Violence and Social Orders (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-29

**Jan. 31, 2017**

**LECTURE 4**

*Oil and the New Great Game in Eurasia*

**Discussion Question:** Did the collapse of the Soviet Union enable Europe's industry to move away from dependence on Russian production of oil and gas?

**Assigned Readings:**

- Marshall I. Goldman, Petrostate: Putin, Power and the New Russia. (London, Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 93-209;
- Mehdi Parvizi Aminch, Towards the Control of Oil Resources in the Caspian Sea (New York, NY, St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 1-78;
- Thane Gustafson, Wheel of Fortune: The Battle for Oil and Power in Russia (Cambridge, MA., Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 1-29;

**PART II:**

**THE ARRIVAL OF NATIONALISM AND ITS INSTITUTIONAL COMPLEXITIES**

**Feb. 2, 2017**

**LECTURE 5**

*Soviet Heritage and Its Influence on the New Nations*

**Discussion Question:** Did the resurgence of nationalism in the South Caucasus and Central Asia take place under conditions that took place in modern Europe?

**Assigned Readings:**

- Ronald Grigor Suny, and Terry Martin, eds., A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin (New York, Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 23-90;
- Jonson, Vladimir Putin, pp. 43-60
- Martha Brill Olcott, Central Asia's New States (Washington D.C., US Institute for Peace, 1997), pp. 3-56;
- Abazov, Central Asia, Maps 37-38.

**Feb. 7, 2017**

**LECTURE 6**

*Central Asia and the Caucasus' Perilous Frontiers: The North Caucasus*

**Discussion Question:** Will the mountainous regions of Central Eurasia become the main refuge for terrorists?

**Assigned Readings:**

- Dimitri V. Trenin and Aleksei V. Malashenko with Anatol Lieven, Russia's Restless Frontier: The Chechnya Factor in Post-Soviet Russia (Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004), pp. 1-69;
- William Hayden, "Seeds of Unrest: The Political Genesis of the Conflict in Chechnya (1990-1994)", The Fletcher Forum vol. 24.1 (Spring, 2000), pp. 49-71;
- Anna Politkovskaya, A Small Corner of Hell: Dispatches from Chechnya (Chicago, USA, University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 118-160.

**Feb. 9, 2017**

**LECTURE 7**

*From Stalin's Protectorate to the Rose Revolution: Was the Georgian Revolution a Revolution?*

**Discussion Question:** Will the Russians continue to drink Georgian wine?

**Assigned Readings:**

- History of Georgia from Ancient to the Rose Revolution:  
<http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/History>
- Thomas De Waal, The Caucasus (London: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 131-224);
- Zurab Karumidze and James V. Wertsch eds., "Enough:" The Rose Revolution in the Republic of Georgia 2003, (New York, NY: Nova Publications, 2005), pp.1-20, 23-68, 69-92, 95-118.

**Feb. 14, 2017**

**LECTURE 8**

*Slouching toward Democracy: Azerbaijan, from Military Defeat to Second Oil Boom*

**Discussion Question:** Why are frozen conflicts like that between Armenia and Azerbaijan is not frozen.

**Assigned Readings:**

- Svante E. Cornell, Azerbaijan Since Independence, (New York, M.E. Sharpe, 2011), pp. 1-198.

- International Crisis Group, “Azerbaijan: Turning Over a New Leaf?” Europe Report Number 156 (13 May 2004), <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm>; pp. 1-32.
- For the development of Azerbaijan’s national history and Foreign Policy, the articles in volume one of 2008 of the journal for the Diplomatic Academy in Baku, Azerbaijan: pp. 69-132.
- Thomas de Waal, Black Garden (New York, New York University Press, 2004).

**Feb. 16, 2017**

**LECTURE 9**

*Armenia: Dancing with the Bear*

**Discussion Question:** What role does the Armenian diaspora play in the negotiations between Armenia and Azerbaijan?

**Assigned Reading:**

- De Waal, Caucasus , pp. 98-130
- International Crisis Group, “Armenia: Internal Instability Ahead,” Europe Report Number 158 (18 October 2004), pp 1-28, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm>;
- Gerard J. Libaridian, Modern Armenia: People, Nation and State (London, Transaction Publishers, 2004), pp. 265-302;
- Vartan Oskanian, “Armenia: Without Illusions”, available at [http://www.civilitasfoundation.org/cf/images/stories/report\\_ENG\\_2011\\_2.pdf](http://www.civilitasfoundation.org/cf/images/stories/report_ENG_2011_2.pdf)

**Feb. 21, 2017**

**LECTURE 10**

*Kazakhstan: A Complex Promise*

**Discussion Question:** Why might you want to invest in the industrial development of Kazakhstan?

**Assigned Reading:**

- Olcott, Kazakhstan: Unfulfilled Promise (Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002 edition), pp. 1-127;
- Pauline Jones Luong and Erika Weinthal, Oil is Not a Curse (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 259-98;
- E.K. Dosmukhamedov, Foreign Direct Investment in Kazakhstan (London, Palgrave-MacMillan, 2002), pp.101-173;

**Feb. 23, 2017**

**LECTURE 11**

*Is Uzbekistan at the Doorstep of Modernization?*

**Discussion Question:** Why should you invest in Uzbekistan (or not)?

**Assigned Reading:**

- International Crisis Group, “Asia Report: Uzbekistan’s Reform Program: Illusion or Reality?” (18 February 2003), pp. 1-38, Uzbekistan : New Leader Carrying Out Personnel Overhaul [www.eurasianet.org/node/80556](http://www.eurasianet.org/node/80556).  
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/central-asia/uzbekistan/046-uzbekistans-reform-program-illusion-or-reality.aspx>

- ICG, “Uzbekistan: The Andijon Uprising,” (25 May 2005), pp. 1-18; <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/central-asia/uzbekistan/B038-uzbekistan-the-andijon-uprising.aspx>
- Murat Arsel and Max Spoor, Water, Environmental Security and Sustainable Rural Development (New York, Routledge, 2010), pp. 125-211.

**Feb. 28, 2017**

**LECTURE 12**

*Tajikistan: A Frontier Nation State without Nationalism: Grand Social Cultural Divisions.*

**Discussion Question:** How Can Tajikistan put itself together? Or, shouldn't Tajikistan be considered a failed state?

**Assigned Readings:**

- Paul Bergne, The Birth of Tajikistan: National Identity and the Origins of the Republic (New York, I.B. Taurus, 2009) pp. 1-134;
- Shirin Akiner, Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation? (Washington DC, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2001), pp. 1-88;

**March 2, 2017**

**LECTURE 13**

*Kyrgyzstan: A Frontier State of Forty Tribes at the Center of Eurasian Politics*

**Discussion Question:** Do Chinese policy makers consider internal social divisions of the Kyrgyz a frontier advantage for their ambitions in Central Asia?

**Assigned Readings:**

- Askar Akaev, Looking to the Future with Optimism (New York, NY, Global Scholarly Publications, 2004), pp. 1-23;
- International Crisis Group, “Political Transition in Kyrgyzstan: Problems and Prospects,” Central Asia Report Number 81, (11 August 2004), pp. 1-42; <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/central-asia/kyrgyzstan/081-political-transition-in-kyrgyzstan-problems-and-prospects.aspx>
- International Crisis Group, “Kyrgyzstan: After The Revolution,” Asia Report Number 97, (4 May 2005), pp. 1-23, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/central-asia/kyrgyzstan/097-kyrgyzstan-after-the-revolution.aspx>
- Scott Radnitz, Weapons of the Wealthy; Predatory Regimes and Elite Led Protests in Central Asia (London, Cornell University Press, 2010), pp. 77-215; Elke Hevrfahrt-Pahle, “The Politics of Kyrgyz Water Policy”, in Arsel, and others, eds, Water, Environmental Security and Sustainable Rural Development, pp. 215-233;
- Laruelle and Peyrouse, Globalizing Central Asia, pp. 27-42, 96-116.

**March 7, 2017**

**LECTURE 14**

*Turkmenistan: a Landlocked Nation and Its Soviet and Turkic Heritages*

**Discussion Question:** How will Turkmenistan market its huge reserves of natural gas?

**Assigned Readings:**



- Adrienne Lynn Edgar, Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 1-69, 261-65;
- Michael Ochs, “Turkmenistan: the quest for stability and control” in Parrott, Conflict, pp. 201-241;
- International Crisis Group, “Turkmenistan After Niyazov,” Asia Report Number 60, (12 February 2007), pp. 1-33; <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/central-asia/turkmenistan/B060-turkmenistan-after-niyazov.aspx>

**March 9, 2017**

**MID-TERM EXAMINATION**

**PART III**

**EMMESHMENT IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC ORDER AND ITS CONSEQUENCES**

**March 14, 2017**

**LECTURE 15**

*Prelude to Economic Globalization: Tragedy in the Land of Cotton*

**Discussion Question:** Have globalizing forces undermined the efficient production of cotton in Central Asia?

**Assigned Readings:**

- Gertrude Schroeder, “Economic Transformation in the Post-Soviet Republics: An Overview,” in Bartłomiej Kaminski, Economic Transition in Russia and the New States of Eurasia, Vol. 8 The International Politics of Eurasia, (London, M. E. Sharpe, 1996), pp. 11-41;
- Boris Z Rumer, “Central Asia’s Cotton Economy and its Costs,” Boris Z. Rumer, Soviet Central Asia: The Failed Transformation (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989), pp. 62-89;
- Arsel and Spoor, Water, Environmental Security and Sustainable Rural Development, pp. 3-17, 99-121, 125-143, 175-211, 234-266.

**March 16, 2017**

**LECTURE 16**

*Central Eurasia: On the Doorstep of Economic Dynamism?*

**Discussion Question:** Given abundant raw material endowments of Central Eurasia, why should this region have power failures?

**Assigned Readings:**

- Daron Acemoglu, James A. Robinson, Why Nations Fail: the Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty (New York, Crown Business, 2012), pp. 1-151;
- Joseph Stiglitz, Globalization and its Discontents (London, Penguin Books, 2002), pp. 133-213;
- Abraham S. Becker, “Some Economic Dimensions of Security in Central Asia and the South Caucasus,” Faultlines, pp. 41-69

## **March 28, 2017**

### **LECTURE 17**

*Losing El Gordo: Some Consequences for Central Asia and the Caucasus of being part of the Global Economy of Oil*

**Discussion Question:** Have the Central Eurasian nations learned how dangerous dependence on hydrocarbon production can be?

#### **Assigned Readings:**

- Sergej Mahnovski, "Natural Resources and Potential Conflict in the Caspian Sea Region," in Faultlines of Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus, Olga Oliker and Thomas S. Szayna, (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corp., 2003), pp. 109-144;
- Vladimir Gelman and Otar Marganiya, eds., Resource Curse and Post Soviet Eurasia, (Lanham, Maryland, Lexington Books, 2010), pp. 1-170;
- Steve Levine, The Oil and the Glory, (New York, Random House, 2007), pp. 273-399
- Roger E. Kanet, "Russia and the Greater Caspian Basin: Withstanding the US Challenge", in Maria Raquel Freire and Roger E. Kanet, eds., Key Players and Regional Dynamics in Eurasia, (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 81-125;
- Svante E. Cornell and S. Frederick Starr, eds. The Guns of August 2008: Russia's War in Georgia, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2009), pp. 143-224.

## **March 30, 2017**

### **LECTURE 18**

*Transition to Capitalism in an Authoritarian Environment, the Privatization of Property and the Geography of Post-Soviet Industrial Activity*

**Discussion Question:** Do the Central Asian economies have solid industrial bases from which they can expand economic development beyond the extraction of raw materials?

#### **Assigned Readings:**

- Oksana Reznikova, "Transnational Corporations in Central Asia", in Central Asia in Transition, Boris Rumer, ed., (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), pp. 67-105;
- Olcott, Kazakhstan, pp. 128-171;
- Anders Aslund, How Capitalism was Built, (London, Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 143-181, 182-205, 256-280.

## **April 4, 2017**

### **LECTURE 19**

*Crime and the Rule of Law in Post-Soviet Eurasia: Heroin for everybody!*

**Discussion Question:** How did the collapse of the Soviet Union encourage large scale criminal activity throughout the territories of the former Soviet Union?

#### **Assigned Readings:**

- Robert Sharet, "Bringing the Rule of Law to Russia and the Newly Independent States: Role of the West in the Transformation of the Post-Soviet Legal Systems," The International Dimension of Post-Communist Transitions in Russia and the New States of Eurasia, Vol. 10, The International Politics of Eurasia, Karen Dawisha, ed. (London, M. E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 322-349;

- Thane Gustafson, Capitalism Russian-Style (Cambridge, UK, 1999), pp. 151-169;
- Aslund, How Capitalism was Built, pp. 241-255;
- Alexander Kupatadze, Organized Crime, Political Transitions and State Formation in Post-Soviet Eurasia (New York, Palgrave and Macmillan, 2012), pp. 1-89, 116-195.

## PART IV THE QUEST FOR IDENTITY AND ITS PROBLEMS

**April 6, 2017**

### **LECTURE 20**

*Illnesses pass, but habits remain: Terrorism and the Power of Blood in Central Asian and Caucasian Politics*

**Discussion Question:** How will the Central Eurasian states reduce the negative influence of ethnic and sectarian loyalties on the states' abilities to create an innovative society?

#### **Assigned Readings:**

- Douglass C. North, Violence and Social Order, pp. 148-180;
- Kathleen Collins, Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia, (London: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 23-61;
- Edward Schatz, Modern Clan Politics: The Power of "Blood" in Kazakhstan and Beyond, (London: University of Washington Press, 2004), pp. 3-91, 163-73;
- Schmidt and Cohen, The New Digital Age, pp. 32-81.
- For students who are heavily involved in terrorist questions I recommend reading Philip Bobbitt Terror and Consent: The Wars for the Twenty First Century (New York, Alfred Knopf, 2008). This is the best global analysis of terrorism.

**April 11, 2017**

### **LECTURE 21**

*The Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Fate of the Surrogate Proletariat.*

**Discussion Question:** Is the status of women in Central Asia a reflection of successful movements toward modern development goals?

- Linda Racioppi and Katherine O'Sullivan, eds., Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia, (Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University Press, 2009), pp. 1-43, 169-283;
- Edgar, Tribal Nation, pp. 221-260;
- Marianne Kamp, "Between Women and the State," in Luong, Transformation of Central Asia, pp. 29-58;
- Cynthia Werner, "Women, Marriage, and the Nation-State," in *ibid*, pp. 59-89.

**April 13, 2017**

### **LECTURE 22**

*Forming the "Nation:" the Globalization of Education*

**Discussion Question:** Are Central Asians acquiring the skills and mentalities appropriate to the digital era?

#### **Assigned Readings:**

- Laura Adams, “Cultural Elites in Uzbekistan,” in Luong, Transformation of Central Asia, pp. 93-119;
- Bhavna Dave, “A Shrinking Reach of the State? Language Policy and Implementation in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan,” in *ibid*, pp. 120-155;
- Karin Van Nieuwkerk, Muslim Halal, Rap and Soaps and Revolutionary Theater (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011), pp. 1-24;
- Nadia M. Diuk, The Next Generation in Russia, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan, (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2012), pp. 1-35, 67-90.

### **April 18, 2017**

#### **LECTURE 23**

*The Sectarian Factor in the Evolution of Post-Soviet Security Issues*

**Discussion Question:** Will internal sectarian divisions characterize future violence in Central Eurasia?

#### **Assigned Readings:**

- Schmidt and Cohen, The New Digital Era, pp. 183-216;
- Hunter, Islam in Russia, pp. 127-204, 414-425;
- Vitaly V. Naumkin, Radical Islam in Central Asia, (Lanham, MD: Rowham and Littlefield Publishers, 2005), pp. 37-126;
- Khalid, Islam after Communism, pp.168-203.

### **April 20, 2017**

#### **LECTURE 24**

*Central Eurasia's Geopolitics Pivots*

*Toward Asia*

**Discussion Question:** How will the rising economic and political capabilities of India and China change the geopolitics of Central Eurasia?

#### **Assigned Readings:**

- Kurt M. Campbell, The Pivot: The Future of American Statecraft in Asia (New York, Hachette Book Group, 2016), pp. 1-32.
- Jonson, Vladimir Putin, pp. 142-167;
- Thrassy N. Marketos, China's Energy Geopolitics: The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Central Asia (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 1-127;
- Roman Muzalevsky in <https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/chinas-long-march-central-asia>.

### **April 25, 2017**

#### **LECTURE 25**

*Who Wins the Wheel of Fortune in Eurasia?*

**Discussion Question:** Will Russia be able to reform an energy dependent economy during the next two decades, and if this not, what impact will this event have on the geo-politics of energy for the Market States of the world?

#### **Assigned Readings:**

- Gustafson, The Wheel of Fortune: the Battle for Oil and Power in Russia (New York: Harvard University Press, 2013), pp. 453-501; Vikram Rao, Shale Gas: The Promise and the Peril (North Carolina, USA, RTI Press, 2012), pp. 1-182.
- Geoffrey Kemp, The East Moves West (Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institute, 2010), pp. 149-238;
- David E. Sanger, Confront and Conceal: Obama's Secret Wars and Surprising Use of American Power, (New York, Crown, 2012), pp. 369-433;
- Mohan Malk,ed. Maritime Security in the Indo-Pacific Region: Perspectives from China, India and the United States (New York, Rowman and Littlefield, 2014), first chapter by Mohan Malik.

TBA  
FINAL EXAM

