

Security in Central Asia
Fall 2020

Professor Gubad Ibadoghlu

E-mail: gubad.ibadoghlu@rutgers.edu

Phone: +1 (732) 895-3249

Course # PS 01:790: 253: ME

Class hours: Monday/Wednesday 10:55 AM-12:15 PM

Office hours: Mondays and Wednesdays 1 pm- 3 pm and by appointment, at office AB 6109 West

Online course: SR (synchronous delivery)

Learning Management System (LMS): Sakai, asynchronous presentation, reading material in the section of lessons of the Sakai system

Online platform: WebEx/Zoom

Course Description:

The region of Central Asia—located between Russia, China, India, and Europe—has emerged from obscurity in recent decades to become a key front in the war against international terrorism and radical Islam. This course explores the political and cultural history of Central Asia, as well as religious and social issues that impact the region's governmental structures, foreign relations, and security. Students will explore the impact of Russian conquest and Soviet domination of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, as well as the Soviet- Afghan War (1979-1989), before moving on to an analysis of contemporary issues in government and politics in the region. Emphasis will be on the rise of Islamism, great power politics, U.S. involvement in the region after 9/11, "managed democracy," corruption and economic development, and petro politics.

This course will explore mainly security challenges in Central Asia as well as assess the role of key regional powers and international actors in shaping the geopolitics and security regimes in the region. By focusing on some major ethnic and social conflicts in specific states, analysing the shared traits as well as divergences in political processes across the region, it will identify some fundamental shifts taking place in the region. It will begin with exploring the historical debates on the geopolitical importance of the

broader region (the 'Great Game' perspective), analyse the effects of its isolation during the Soviet years, and highlight the new strategic salience of the region since September 2001. It will examine the centrality of oil and energy resources in shaping cooperation and competition among the states in the region as well as the engagement of international actors (Russia, China, EU and the US in particular) in the region.

The key research and analysis questions to be addressed in the course include:

- What are the prevailing trends in Central Asia?
- What factors have affected the stability and security in Central Asia?
- What is the role of external powers in stability/instability in Central Asia?
- What is the role of regional actors in Central Asia?
- Major developmental issues in Central Asia?
- What kind of initiatives can be more effective for developing in Central Asia?
- What is the perspective of regional integration via the existing mechanisms multilateral arrangements (SCO, ECO, Eurasia Union)?
- What are the essential measures to facilitate connectivity and trade in Central Asia?
- How the regional countries can help to fight extremism?
- How regional arrangements in Central Asia can help development, stabilizing and security?
- What are the key essential factors in development of the region (Energy, Caspian Sea)?

Objectives and learning outcomes of the course

After successfully completing the course, students will be able to:

- Analyze historical and imperial factors that have shaped the region.
- Assess the relevancy of emerging concepts in international relations: security, modernity, liberal democracy.
- Comprehend the norms and purposes of international structures and regimes.
- Understand the various forms of globalization and impacts from various political, economic and social systems.
- Explain the co-existence of integration and disintegration regimes in the global community.

On completion of the course students will have the following:

- A broad understanding of the nature of geopolitics, major conflicts and security concerns in the Central Asia region
- A competent knowledge of how the local context, Russian and Soviet legacy and international actors are defining the geopolitics, conflicts and security framework in Central Asia
- A critical understanding of processes driving regional cooperation or hampering it
- An analytical perspective that questions the prevalent myths and stereotypes about the region
- An in-depth inquiry into a topic of their interest pertaining to the region
- The ability to apply political science concepts and theories to analyse political developments in the region.

Core Reading

There is no core text for this course. However, the following books will provide a useful background to some of the themes covered by this course.

- *Adeeb Khalid, Islam after communism: Religion and politics in Central Asia (University of California Press, 2014).*
- *Alexander Cooley, Great Games, local rules: The new great power contest in Central Asia (Oxford University Press, 2012).*
- *Jeff Sahadeo & Russell Zanca (eds.): Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present (Indiana University Press, 2007).*
- *Kathleen Collins, Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia (Cambridge University Press, 2006).*
- *Mariya Y. Omelicheva, Democracy in Central Asia: Competing perspectives and alternative strategies (University Press of Kentucky, 2016).*
- *Sally N. Cummings: Understanding Central Asia: Politics and Contested Transformations (Routledge, 2012).*
- *Thomas Stephan Eder, China-Russia relations in Central Asia: Energy policy, Beijing's new assertiveness and 21st Century geopolitics (Springer, 2013).*

Journals which students on this course should find useful include:

- *Asian Affairs*
- *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale*

- *CEMOTI: Cahiers d'études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turcoiranien*
- *Central Asia & the Caucasus*
- *Central Asian Survey*
- *Communist and post-Communist Studies*
- *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*
- *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of post-Soviet Democratization*
- *Eurasian Geography and Economics*
- *Europe-Asia Studies*
- *Journal of Eurasian Studies*
- *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*
- *Nationalities Papers*
- *Post-Soviet Affairs*
- *Problems of post-Communism*
- *The China & Eurasia Forum Quarterly*
- *The International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
- *The Iranian Journal of International Affairs*
- *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*
- *The Middle East Journal*

Important Dates

This course begins on 10/22/20 and ends on 12/10/20.

COURSE OUTLINE

Date	Overview of Lectures	Readings
10/26	Introducing Central Asia: political transformations and nation-building in the Soviet period	Soucek Svatopluk, <i>A History of Inner Asia</i> , Cambridge University Press, 2000, Chapter 17 Cummings Sally, <i>Understanding Central Asia</i> , London: Routledge 2012, Chapters 1 and 3.
10/28	Central Asia since 1991 Geopolitics and Independent Statehood	Gleason Gregory, <i>The Central Asian States: Discovering Independence</i> Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 1997, Chapter 1.

		<p>Brill-Olcott Martha, Central Asia's Second Chance, Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005. Chapter 6.</p> <p>Cummings Sally, Understanding Central Asia, London: Routledge: 2012, Chapter 7.</p> <p>Peimani, H. General Overview of the Caucasian and the Central Asian Countries at the Time of Independence. In: Failed Transition, Bleak Future? War and Instability in Central Asia and the Caucasus, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002, p. 7-24.</p>
11/02	Politics of Natural Resources and Energy Security in Central Asia	<p>Ghokay, Bhulent. Politics of Caspian Oil. Gordonsville, VA, USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p.1-50</p> <p>Malek, M. The South Caucasus at the Crossroads: Ethno-territorial Conflicts, Russian Interests, and the Access to Energy Resources. In: G. Hauser & F. Kernic (eds.), European security in transition. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006., p.145-160.</p>
11/04	Influence of Russia, China and other Regional Powers to Central Asia	<p>Petersen Alexandros and Barysch Katinka, Russia, China and the Geopolitics of Energy in Central Asia. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for Peace, 2011: Chapter 3</p> <p>China Looms Large in Central Asia - Carnegie Moscow Center - Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 4/3/20</p> <p>The Four Big Issues Central Asia Faced In 2019 (And They're Not Going Away), By Bruce Pannier https://www.rferl.org/a/central-asia-2019-challenges-security-china-facial-recognition/30356077.html</p> <p>Thomas Stephan Eder, China-Russia relations in Central Asia: Energy policy, Beijing's new assertiveness and 21st Century geopolitics (Springer, 2013).</p>

11/09	Sovereignty and the Challenges of Regional Cooperation and Regional Security Arrangements: Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), SCO	<p>Roy Allison, Regionalism, regional structures and security management in Central Asia <i>International Affairs</i>, Volume 80, Issue 3, May 2004, p. 463–483.</p> <p>Annette Bohr, Regionalism in Central Asia: New Geopolitics, <i>Old Regional Order International Affairs</i>, Volume 80, Issue 3, May 2004, p. 485–502</p>
11/11	Conflicts, Violence and Peace-building in Central Asia (civil war in Tajikistan, ethnic violence in Osh, uprising in Andizhan)	<p>Central Asia: A Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding, By Anna Matveeva London, 2006</p> <p>Understanding Civil War: A Comparison of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan by Idil Tunçer-Kilavuz Pages 263-290 Published online: 14 Mar 2011</p> <p>Lynch, D. (2001). The Tajik Civil War and Peace Process. <i>Civil Wars</i>, 4(4), 49. https://doi.org/10.1080/13698240108402487</p> <p>Heathershaw John, Peacebuilding as Practice: Discourses from Post-Conflict Tajikistan, <i>International Peacekeeping</i>, 2005.</p>
11/16	Civil Society and mass media development in Central Asia	<p>Babajanian, B., Freizer, S., & Stevens, D. (2005). Introduction: Civil society in Central Asia and the Caucasus. <i>Central Asian Survey</i>, 24(3), 209–224. https://doi.org/10.1080/02634930500310287</p> <p>Buxton, C. (2009). NGO networks in Central Asia and global civil society: potentials and limitations. <i>Central Asian Survey</i>, 28(1), 43–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/02634930902775129</p> <p>Growing Civil Society in Central Asia, INTRAC's First Central Asia, Regional Conference, Almaty, Kazakhstan, 13-14 June 2002</p> <p>https://www.intrac.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/OPS39final.pdf</p>

11/18	Islam and Nationalism in Central Asia	<p>Hann, C., & Pelkmans, M. (2009). Realigning Religion and Power in Central Asia: Islam, Nation-State and (Post)Socialism. <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i>, 61(9), 1517–1541. https://doi.org/10.1080/09668130903209111</p> <p>Khalid, A. (2014). <i>Islam After Communism : Religion and Politics in Central Asia</i>. Berkeley: University of California Press. Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&site=eds-live&db=edsebk&AN=691726</p> <p>Islamic clerical establishment in Central Asia Shahram Akbarzadeh a a La Trobe University</p> <p>Available online: 08 May 2007</p> <p>What Happens When Your Town Becomes an ISIS Recruiting Ground? Lessons from Central Asia about Vulnerability, Resistance, and the Danger of Ignoring Perceived Injustice, CAP Paper 209, July 2018</p>
11/23	Food Security in Central Asia	<p><u>Jane Falkingham</u> Welfare in Transition: Trends in Poverty and Well-Being in Central Asia University of Southampton - Southampton Statistical Sciences Research Institute (S3RI) Date Written: February 1999</p> <p>Achieving food security in Central Asia — current challenges and policy research needs Suresh Babu * , Per Pinstrup-Andersen International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), 2033 K Street, NW, Washington, DC, 20006-1002, USA</p> <p>Attaining food security in Central Asia— emerging issues and challenges for policy research Suresh Chandra Babua,*, Alisher Tashmatovb a International Food Policy Research Institute, 2033 K Street NW, Washington, DC 20006, USA</p>

11/25	Labor Migration, Transnational Networks and Reconfiguration of Eurasian Space	Laruelle, M. (2013). Migration and Social Upheaval in the Face of Globalization in Central Asia. Leiden: Brill. Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&site=eds-live&db=edsebk&AN=569840
11/30	Constitutional developments and human rights: An Authoritarian Security Governance in Central Asia	Cummings Sally. Understanding Central Asia, London: Routledge 2012: Chapter 6. Adams Laura and Rustemova Assel, Mass Spectacles and Styles of Governmentality in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Europe-Asia Studies, 2009, p. 1249-1276. Kubicek Paul. Authoritarianism in Central Asia: Curse of Cure? Third World Quarterly, 19 (1) 1998.: p. 29-43.
12/02	Dictators without Borders: Extraterritorial Security	Heathershaw John and Cooley Alexander. Dictators Without Borders: Power and Money in Central Asia. London: Yale University Press: Chapter 7. Hug, Adam (ed.). Shelter from the Storm? The Asylum, Refuge and Extradition Situation Facing Activists from the Former Soviet Union in the CIS and Europe. Foreign Policy Centre 2014. Kathleen Collins, Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia (Cambridge University Press, 2006).
12/07	US and EU: Economic and Security Interests, Democracy promotion	Alexander Cooley, Great Games, local rules: The new great power contest in Central Asia (Oxford University Press, 2012). U.S. Checked in Central Asia By Joshua Kucera https://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/05/opinion/us-checked-in-central-asia.html? r=0 U.S. Military Aid to Central Asia: Who Benefits? Joshua, Central Eurasia Project Occasional Paper Series No. 7, September 2012 Michael Rywkin, Security and Stability in Central Asia: Differing Interests and Perspectives Available online: 22 Sep 2006

12/09	The Future of the Central Asian Security	Research Paper
-------	--	----------------

Grading policy: Grades in the course will be based on the following items:

- Class Participation: - 10 percent
- Homework: - 40 percent. Homework will consist of review of reading materials and write up short policy briefs between 500-1000 words (double-spaced, 12-point font, Times New Roman with 1" margins).
- Research Paper: - 50 percent. Throughout this course you are expected to write a term paper between 2,500-3,500 words (double-spaced, 12-point font, Times New Roman with 1" margins). The intent of this assignment is for you to demonstrate a solid grasp of the changing nature of security and politics in Central Asia.

Attendance: Students are expected to attend all classes. If you expect to miss one or two classes because of illness or a family emergency, please use the university absence reporting website <https://sims.rutgers.edu/ssra/> to indicate the date and reason for your absence. An email is automatically sent to me. Reporting an absence through this system does not excuse missed exams and problem sets (see policies above).

Academic Integrity: Students must follow the Rutgers academic integrity policy. All suspected violations will be referred to external authorities.