

# A b s t r a c t s

## **Central Asia as Mosaic of Power Traditions, Restrictions, Aspirations**

Jörg Stadelbauer  
Between Mountains and Desert  
Central Asia's Natural Realm

The five post-Soviet states of Central Asia possess structural geographic features that contribute to some development processes unfolding with greater difficulty than in other parts of the world. The contrasts in landscapes, an increasing water shortage, the consequences of squandered resources and growing population pose problems that can be met only inadequately with the current environmental and economic management.

Bert Fragner  
Civilisations and Steppe Empires  
Central Asia's Cultural Realm

For ages, Central Asia has been an area of structured multi-culturalism. The tension – sometimes symbiosis – between highly specialised, cattle-breeding equestrian nomadic life and sedentary high culture has shaped the physiognomy of Central Asia up to modern times. Violent conflicts led to mass migration covering large areas. Symbiosis produced the legendary Silk Road, a highpoint of trans-cultural co-existence. Since the 18th century, however, specific aspects of the region have been transformed, first as the western part of Central Asia fell under Chinese rule, and then as the eastern part came under Russian rule in the 19th century. The borders of the contemporary nation-states are thus the product of imperial competition and Soviet nationality policy.

Annette Krämer  
Islam in Central Asia  
Blossoming, Suppression, Instrumentalisation

Since the Arab expansion in the 7th century, Central Asia has repeatedly been an important centre of the Islamic world. Especially in the 14th century, mystic currents from this region set in motion important impulses. For many centuries, the Sufi tradition has shaped all of Central Asia. The break with the past came with the absorption of the region into the Soviet Union. Moscow relied at times on repressing, at times on controlling Islam. However, within Central Asia's societies, a "parallel" Islam continued to live alongside official Islam. As pressure subsided during perestroika, religious life flourished again. After independence, all of the Central Asian states gave themselves an Islamic streak. Since the middle of the 1990s, however, Islam has once again been subjected to increasing restrictions. Above all in Uzbekistan, Islam is more and more frequently equated with terror.

Uwe Halbach  
The Soviet Inheritance  
Continuities and Departures in Central Asia

The Soviet Union casts long shadows in Central Asia. Despite the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the independence of the five Central Asian countries, 1991 was no "zero hour". The

political elites may well postulate a “renaissance” of culture and a new orientation in politics under the rubric of nation-state, but Soviet traditions continue to have an impact. The Brezhnev era in particular is important. In Central Asia, this “leaden period” was characterised by dynamic processes that remain relevant to this day for the region’s development. During the decades of Communist rule, social, cultural and political trends developed that shape these countries’ politics, economics and society.

Ingeborg Baldauf  
 Tradition, Revolution, Adaptation  
 The Cultural Sovietisation of Central Asia

Soviet cultural policy in Central Asia was subjected to significant changes over the decades. In the 1920s, an emancipated cultural approach dominated, combining socialist and national projects as well as the modernisation efforts of the Central Asian intelligentsia. The Stalinist cultural revolution interrupted this development and replaced cultural pluralism with Soviet paternalism, standardisation and an emphasis on folklore. Under the Soviet surface, however, elements of an original Central Asian everyday culture, traditional values, customs and rituals were able to maintain themselves right up to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Andreas Heinemann-Grüder, Holger Haberstock  
 Sultan, Clan and Patronage  
 The Dilemmas Facing Central Asia’s Regimes

The colour revolutions in Ukraine and Georgia fed expectations expectations of democratisation in Central Asia. This, however, did not happen. The systems of rule there are considered semi-authoritarian or sultanic. Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan demonstrate the dilemmas facing these regimes. They hardly produce stability and legitimacy, and for that reason, they all fear a change of regime by means of elections or succession crisis. The security apparatus plays a key role. In Central Asia, a mixture of the Putin and Chinese models is taking shape as the most probable scenario.

Marlène Laruelle  
 Renaissance per Decree  
 Nation Building in Central Asia

After attaining independence, the states of Central Asian faced the task of creating a national identity. Unlike the European successor states to the Soviet Union, where broad-based popular movements struggled for national independence, nation building in Central Asia came from above. The authoritarian rulers created for their titular nations symbols aimed at establishing an identity, national heroes and traditions. In order to construe a centuries-old statehood, to glorify their own nation and to legitimise the regime’s rule, those in power are neglecting historical transformations and the problematic recent past. This forced ideological conformity excludes all alternative interpretations of history.

Paul Georg Geiß  
 Other Paths to Modernism  
 Law and Administration in Central Asia

Political science examines primarily elections, parties or the relations between state and society. This applies also with regard to Central Asia. It pays too little attention to the legal system and administration. A comparison of Soviet and post-Soviet Central Asia shows that only Kazakhstan has reformed its legal system and administration and appears to changing from a neo-patrimonial state to a bureaucratic developing typically found in Southeast Asia.

Beate Eschment  
Nationality, Clan, Region, Generation  
Recruiting Elites in Central Asia

In Western Europe, political offices are occupied by means of elections. But how are elites recruited in Central Asia? The assumption that nationality, clan, generation or regional background is decisive is misleading. An analysis of Kazakhstan shows that the recruitment of elites has no mono-causal explanation, because factors change in importance. At the start of the 1990s, antagonism between Russians and Kazakhs was more important than it is today. In the second half of the 1990s, clan affiliation determined at least social perceptions. And the generation question is gaining in importance as the ruling elite ages.

Cornelius Graubner, Alexander Wolters  
Kyrgyzstan's Field Test with Democracy  
Between the Shadow State and the Tulip Revolution

The Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan is frequently considered the result of foreign intervention. Another popular thesis is that it was all about a conflict of clans. Neither is convincing. Kyrgyz politics is shaped by clientele politics. Power comes to those who understand how to control access to resources within the Kyrgyz shadow state and to distribute them. This is shown by the main conflicts of interest that have been fought since 2005. In such a situation, the influence of western efforts to promote democracy cannot be all that great.

Michael Denison  
Turkmenistan's Leadership Cult  
Discipline and persuade

In Central Asia the cult of the leader is the most important instrument of political and cultural control. National in content, it is Soviet in practice. The bizarre excess surrounding the "father of all Turkmen", Nursultan Niyazov, had several functions: It secured power for the leader as well as goodwill and access to financial resources for the elites, and it served the population's social integration and political socialisation. After the death of "Turkmenbashi", his successor Gurbanguly Berdymukhammedov is developing a similar cult.

Gunda Wiegmann  
The Failure of the State in Tajikistan  
Local Rule after the Civil War

After independence, Tajikistan descended into civil war. The reconstruction of the state is unfolding with difficulty. Local authorities, non-government organisations and international organisations make public goods available to the regional villages that had formerly supported the opposition. The situation is difficult in the regions where loyalists to the Dushanbe regime live. International aid rarely makes its way there. The United Nations are trying to promote state building from below by means of local projects. But the re-establishment of a central state is indispensable.

Matteo Fumagalli  
The Uzbek Quandary  
State Nationalism and Uzbeks abroad

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the fear of ethnic conflicts in Central Asia was widespread. All of the states are home to population groups that belong to the titular nation of a neighbouring state. The Uzbeks abroad are the largest such group. But Uzbekistan does not see itself as their protective power; it sees these Uzbeks as citizens of other states or even as Islamic terrorists.

The Uzbeks of Kyrgyzstan are disappointed by authoritarian Uzbekistan. As bad as their situation is, at least in Kyrgyzstan they can express their displeasure.

Sébastien Peyrouse  
Return and Departure  
Migratory Trends in Central Asia

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, millions of Russians pulled out of Central Asia and went to Russia. Now the Central Asians are following – as workers. This migration brings with it opportunities and risks. Russia wins workers, but social instability looms due to a growing xenophobia. The migrants transfer their income back home. This influx of money creates prosperity and stability. But the shrinking of the population is also leading to social dislocations.

Roy Allison  
Blockade and Incentive  
Authoritarianism and Regional Co-operation

Regional co-operation in Central Asia has so far failed due to national rivalries and disinterest. The authoritarian rulers are unwilling to give up their rights of sovereignty and to put their power at risk. Islamic fundamentalism and Western pressure for democratisation are compelling those in power to co-operate. But they consider trans-regional organisations such as the Shanghai Co-operation Organisation primarily as instruments for stabilising their rule. Since the colour revolutions, Russia has gained in importance as a protecting power against democratisation.

Anna Matveeva  
Traditions, Calculations, Functions  
Russia's Return to Central Asia

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Central Asia played no role in Russia's foreign policy. During Putin's second term of office, this has changed. Russia once again has the financial means and instruments to play a major role there. Central Asia has become an important stage where Russia can pursue its security policy and economic interests and compete for power with China and the United States. In the process, it is able to fall back on Soviet networks and practices. Putin's role model and Russia's "managed democracy" play to the interests of the authoritarian rulers of Central Asia. However, they are hardly willing to submit to Moscow's dictate.

Eugene B. Rumer  
Periphery, Centre, Problem  
U.S. Central Asia Policy

In the 1990s, Central Asia was for the United States primarily one thing: periphery. Washington even did everything to ensure this remained the case. The region was to become a zone free of the great powers. But neither China, nor Russia – and especially not the Central Asian states themselves – had an interest in this. The United States was not completely so reserved either. It took part in the competition for Caspian oil. But disappointment in the failure of American democratisation efforts as well as a more realistic assessment of the oil resources in the Caspian Sea area led to noticeable waning of interest at the end of the 1990s. The turning point came on September 11, 2001. Central Asia promptly became an assembly area for the fight against terror. But the friendship between the Central Asian autocrats and Washington did not last long. The about-face came with the brutal deployment of Uzbek security forces in Andijan. Washington demanded an investigation; Tashkent felt snubbed. Moscow and Beijing have profited from the quarrel.

Gudrun Wacker  
New Old Neighbours  
China and Central Asia

China has historical, ethnic and religious ties to the region on its western border. Since the end of the Soviet Union, the preservation of stability has stood in the forefront in relations to the new neighbouring states, for this question has an impact on China's northwest, the autonomous region of Xinjiang-Uighur. In its relations with all of the Central Asian republics, China is counting on good political and economic relations and is nurturing these by means of a diplomacy centred on frequent visits. At the same time, co-operation in security policy has been intensified not only at the bilateral but also at the multilateral level. The Shanghai Co-operation Organisation, to which Russia and four of the five Central Asian states belong, serves China as a framework for the latter.

Andrea Schmitz  
Interests, Ideals and the Limits of Influence  
The European Union and Central Asia

Since 2001, the European Union has developed a growing interest in Central Asia. The reason is the region's energy resources as well as the goal of pursuing a preventive security policy. This includes linking co-operation with the maintenance of human rights and minimal standards of democracy. The outlook for success is slight, however. With Russia and China, two states are active in the region that have much more potential as regional powers, and that support the authoritarian regimes. At most, the EU can seize a certain room for manoeuvre as a counterweight to the two regional great powers.

Rainer Freitag-Wirminghaus  
From Pan-Turkism to Pragmatism  
Turkey and Central Asia

Turkey likes to see in the Turkic-speaking nations of Central Asia fraternal peoples. When these achieved independence at the start of the 1990s, politicians in Ankara dreamed of political pan-Turkic unity. These burgeoning dreams quickly faded. Turkey exhibited much less attraction on the Central Asian states than Ankara had hoped. Nonetheless, Turkey is very present in the region in economic terms, and cultural ties have been intensified. That Ankara has in the meantime given preference to *realpolitik* as opposed to its fixation on allegedly fraternal peoples is seen in energy and security policy. In these two decisive fields, Turkish interests have shifted to the southern Caucasus. There, Georgia has become an important partner alongside Azerbaijan, which is closely allied with Turkey culturally and politically. Nonetheless, in Central Asia as well, Ankara is trying to find its place as a mediator between Russia and the United States.

Nicole J. Jackson  
Security Co-operation in Central Asia  
The Struggle against the Drug Trade and Terrorism

The drug trade and terrorism are key threats to Central Asia. In order to fight them, governments there are seeking to work together through the Shanghai Co-operation Organisation and the Collective Security Treaty Organisation. But effective co-operation going beyond symbolic military manoeuvres is faltering, because those in power distrust one another, see different threats, and prefer bilateral relations. The states are part of the problem: The regimes' repressive domestic policies foment Islamic extremism and corruption. Infiltration by organised crime is paralysing state agencies.

Gernot Erler  
Experience and Interest  
EU Engagement in Central Asia

The EU has had a Central Asia strategy since June 2007. It is seeking to build on its relations to the countries in the region. The EU is interested in promoting security and stability there, improving the human rights situation, intensifying economic co-operation as well as importing energy resources from the region. The EU offers experience in bilateral co-operation and know-how. Water management is the primary field of policy where trans-national co-operation commends itself.

Imke Dierßen  
Without Resolve  
Human Rights Policy towards Uzbekistan

Hundreds of people died in Andijan in May 2005 when Uzbek security forces broke up a demonstration. The European Union imposed sanctions on Uzbekistan, but also decided to remain in dialogue with Tashkent. In doing so, Brussels failed to orient itself along transparent criteria. That weakens the coherence, consistency and resolve of its own human rights policy.

Martha Brill Olcott  
Without a Line  
The West and Uzbekistan after Andijan

After September 11, 2001, Uzbekistan opened itself up to the United States for military co-operation. This rapprochement cooled when the Bush administration moved from the "war on terror" to a self-proclaimed "campaign for democracy and freedom" around the world. The blood letting by armed Uzbek units in Andijan in May 2005 was a watershed event. Since then, the serious differences in values between Uzbekistan and the West have been apparent to all. Russia and China are strengthening the Karimov regime. The charge that the West measures authoritarian regimes with different standards according to its need for raw materials and strategic interests presents a challenge to the United States and the EU: A consistent policy is required.

Jörn Grävingholt  
Without Guarantees  
Promoting Democracy in Central Asia

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, western states, international organisations and non-governmental organisations have tried to promote democracy in Central Asia. They have not contributed to the establishment and consolidation of democracies. The implicit assumption that Central Asia must be helped along the way to democracy is misleading. The central challenge is promoting democracy within non-democracies. There are good reasons to do this, provided goals are realistically formulated and commensurate means are deployed.

Bernd Kuzmits  
Trans-National Co-operation  
Afghanistan and Its Northern Neighbours

The Amu Darya river marks a large part of the border between Afghanistan and its northern neighbours Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Until the end of the Soviet Union, this border could hardly be passed and formed a line of separation between different paths of development. Today, security is the first maxim of Central Asian border policy. Nonetheless, the beginnings of trans-border co-operation are gradually taking shape.

H. Rempel, S. Schmidt, U. Schwarz-Schampera, S. Röhling, K. Brinkmann  
 Central Asia's Resources  
 Reserves and Potential for Europe

Around the world, energy consumers have been taking notice of Central Asia. An analysis of the region's supply potential and production prognoses shows that in future Central Asia will produce more oil, natural gas, coal and uranium. Oil and gas could contribute to diversifying EU energy imports. Coal is more likely to be used in the region itself, and uranium will be supplied primarily to Russia. The EU will hardly be able to cover its growing need for energy resources by means of Central Asia.

Roland Götz  
 Myth of Diversification  
 Europe and Caspian Natural Gas

The Caspian Sea's natural gas deposits have raised expectations not only in the West but also within the region. Whereas Europe links these resources to its hopes for a further regional diversification of its gas imports, the states of Central Asia would like to emancipate themselves from Russia. But to reorient gas exports to the West, a number of conditions would have to be fulfilled. Azerbaijan will most likely be able to export substantial quantities of gas to Europe, while Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan will supply mainly Russia and China. Europe should not get involved in a politically motivated "diversification race" with Gazprom.

Kirsten Westphal  
 Competition for Energy Resources  
 Market and Power in Central Asia

Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are of strategic importance for global energy markets. The competition for resources and pipelines often stands under the key word Great Game. This recourse to the imperial past distorts the view of contemporary developments. Geo-politics, questions of power and market control may dominate. The EU's alternatives for providing political order – which rely on multilateral co-operation, international law and market mechanisms – are making little impact. But the reasons are not only to be sought in international projections of power and the politicisation of the energy issue. The reasons are that Central Asia's authoritarian regimes insist on non-intervention in their internal affairs and find grateful and politically comfortable clients in Russia and China.

Gundula Bahro, Inge Lindemann  
 Wealth at Great Cost  
 The Destruction of the Caspian Sea Environment

The Caspian Sea in Central Asia is the largest enclosed body of water on the planet and lies in the world's oldest oil region. The area is well-known due to its abundance of resources, especially its sturgeon, from which black caviar is won, and its reserves of gas and oil. Increasing destruction of the environment is making the Caspian Sea an endangered habitat.

Ernst Giese, Jenniver Sehring  
 Conflicts over Water  
 Competing for Usage Rights in Central Asia

The independence of the former Soviet republics of Central Asia has exacerbated water problems in the region. The national development strategies of the five states have led to conflicting claims over rights of use. Alongside the classic conflicts of distribution, the conflict between irrigation and energy production is increasingly coming to the fore, something that must be negotiated between those upstream and downstream. This conflict becomes more explosive due to Russian,

Chinese and Iranian interference. All of the players have geo-strategic interests and an enormous demand for energy.

Jennifer Sehring  
The Aral Sea Disaster  
An Obituary for Multilateral Crisis Management

The Aral Sea is the scene of one of the greatest manmade environmental disasters. In just 50 years, it lost nine-tenths of its water. In a territory larger than Germany, 4 million people suffer from salt storms with pesticide residue. The child mortality rate is one of the highest in the world. Typhus, hepatitis and cancer are disproportionately frequent. To this come serious socio-economic problems. All the rescue attempts of the past 15 years have failed. Multilateral crisis management has collapsed. The states on the Amu Darya and Syr Darya, which feed the Aral Sea, continue to draw enormous amounts of water for agriculture contrary to all self-imposed obligations.

Ansgar Gilster, Henriette Hättich  
Fall, Stagnation, Rise  
Education and Health in Central Asia

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Central Asian states' social systems were plunged into crisis. This crisis appears to have bottomed out. To this day, these states live off the infrastructure and socio-political inheritance of the Soviet Union. Literacy rates are high; at the same time, facilities are inefficient and under-financed. The governments know about the problems and show a willingness to reform. The basic conditions are better than ever: The gross domestic product is rising. Indicators of development such as life expectancy are pointing upward. Investments and reform are necessary to make the transition from underdeveloped to modern societies. Health and education are the preconditions of all development.

Marcus Bensmann  
A Lot of Censorship, a Little Freedom  
The Media in Central Asia

When it comes to freedom of the press, the Central Asian states are ranked among the lower third of the world's countries. The regimes control television and limit the freedom of the press. Only a small circle of people has access to the Internet. In Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, there is at least a rather multi-faceted press with opposition papers. It is different in Uzbekistan. Here, after the crushing of the Andijan uprising in 2005, the regime expelled foreign media from the country and forbid local journalists to work. With that, the last niches of press freedom were removed. In Turkmenistan, these never existed. Only in North Korea were conditions for an independent media worse in 2006.

Falk Bomsdorf  
Ends and Means: Tolerance  
Nathan the Wise in Central Asia

"There is no good unless one does it!": Erich Kästner's maxim stood godfather to an unusual project to convey to Central Asia the substance of tolerance from the spirit of the Enlightenment. Also present is the classic Nathan, who unfolds his wisdom in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.

Klaus Mangold  
Potential and Prospects  
Central Asia at the Heart of Commerce and Industry

Trade between Germany and Central Asia has increased in recent years. The region is attractive to German commerce and industry as a source of raw materials and as a growing market for

German goods. Kazakhstan is Germany's main trading partner in Central Asia. In order to tap this potential for economic co-operation, political stability, investment security, transparency and rule of law are needed in the region.

Andrea Schneider, Jörg Stadelbauer  
On the Upland Pastures of Kyrgyzstan  
Local Tourism and Regional Development

Few tourists visit Central Asia. Those who do are primarily cultural tourists at the historical sites of the Silk Road. Tourism can also contribute to the development of remote regions. In Kyrgyzstan, there is a Project – Community Based Tourism – which practices a form of tourism oriented towards sustainability and tradition. Tourists to the high mountains share the inhabitants' way of life and get to know their everyday routines, their traditions and skills. That creates and work and development.

Evelyn Moser  
Tilting at Windmills  
Street Children in Kyrgyzstan

Street children are a part of everyday life in Central Asia, above all in the big cities of Kyrgyzstan. They eke out a living doing temporary jobs, begging and stealing and often even support their parents as well. Many of the children prefer their independence to life in an orphanage. The state responds to the street children primarily with repression.

Rudolf A. Mark  
The Famine in Kazakhstan  
Confronting Stalinist Crimes

The 1932-33 Famine was among the major "white spots" of Kazakhstan's Soviet historiography. Since independence, this disaster has become the subject of historical research – also as a national project. The Famine was long explained as a "workplace accident" or as a "violation of Leninist principles." Now, with growing distance to the Soviet era, Famine is being interpreted as a part of the violent levelling and disciplining policy of the totalitarian Stalinist system.

Wladislaw Hedeler, Meinhard Stark  
The Grave on the Steppe  
The Penal Colony Karaganda in the 1930s

The "correctional labour camp" in Karaganda, Kazakhstan, was one of the Gulag's largest camp complexes. From 1930 to 1959, 800,000 inmates performed forced labour there. They cultivated the barren land and created the preconditions for the creation of one of the largest coal, manganese and copper mining areas within the USSR. Many inmates met their death in this camp. At first, many Kazakhs who resisted expulsion from their pastures died there as well. The camp archive's administration and prison files as well as the personal memoirs of survivors provide insight into the camp's oppressive living and working conditions, the chaos of its construction as well as its organisation, structure and production.

Jörn Happel  
Shukrullo's Memoirs  
An Uzbek Life in the 20th Century

In his memoirs, the Uzbek poet Shukrullo Yusupov addresses the upheavals that the Soviet regime unleashed in Central Asia, upheavals that have consequences to this day: the collectivisation of agriculture, the break with tradition by changing the alphabet twice, the deportations, imprisonment and camps. His memoirs provide insight into how individuals deal with such upheavals and make it possible to reconstruct historical events.