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Nationalism Studies ***History and Nationalism in Central Asia*** **July 4 - 15, 2005**

As this course is supported by a grant from [INTAS](#), which covers the participation costs of selected applicants from NIS countries (New Independent States of the former Soviet Union) applications from these countries are encouraged.

NIS countries are Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. Grant recipients are expected to be of 35 years of age or less at the starting date of the course and must be permanently living in one of the NIS and be NIS citizens. (NIS scientists with a permanent residence outside the NIS or with a temporary research position lasting longer than 6 months outside the NIS at the time of the summer school are not eligible to receive INTAS support.) The INTAS grant includes tuition fee, accommodation, subsistence and travel costs at the cheapest possible price (APEX, PEX or "excursion" must be used). Visa and travel insurance expenses may be included in the travel costs.

Course Director: **Ablet Kamalov**, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Institute of Oriental Studies, Almaty

Faculty: **Colin Mackerras**, Griffith University, Australia
Touraj Atabaki, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, the Netherlands
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Vincent Fourniau, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), Paris, France
Agnes Birtalan, University ELTE, Department of Inner Asian Studies, Hungary
Mihály Dobrovits, Central Asian Studies, Miskolc University, Hungary

Touraj Atabaki is Professor of History of the Middle East and Central Asia at the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam. He acquired Ph. D. from Utrecht University. He has been visiting professor at the Academy of Sciences of the Republics of Central Asia and Caucasus, as well as at the Middle East Center, St. Anthony's College of the University of Oxford. He has been president of the European Society for Central Asian Studies (1998-2002), member of editorial board of the *Journal of Azerbaijani Studies* and other Academic Journals on Central Asian Studies. He has published *Azerbaijan, Ethnicity and Autonomy in the Twentieth-Century Iran* (London, 1993), *Central Azje* (Amsterdam, 1994), *Post Soviet Central Asia* (London, 1998), *Azerbaijan: Ethnicity and the Struggle for Power in Iran* (London, 2000), *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernism in Turkey and Iran* (London, 2003).

Catherine Poujol is Professor at the Institut National des Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), Department of Eurasian Studies, in Paris. She earned her Ph. D. degree from the University of Sorbonne, Paris III (1985) in Slavic Studies. Her dissertation was on the Contribution of the Russian Travelers in Central Asia, 1714 to 1840. Her academic interests include, among others, History and Civilization of Modern and Contemporary Central Asia, Intercultural contacts, Islam from the Colonial period to Independent States. She has published 'Ouzbekistan: une culture de l'exception' (Paris, Belin: 2004), 'Les Etats postsovietiques, Identites en construction, transformations politiques, trajectoires economiques, Armand Colin, sous la direction de Jean Radvanyi, collaboration aux fiches Ouzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan' (Reed: 2004).

Vincent Fourniau is Assistant Professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), Paris. Being one of the leading French experts in Central Asian studies, in 1998–1920 he supervised the French Institute of Central Asia located in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. He held many research scholarships on Central Asia,

including that at the Leningrad University (1979-1980). In 1989-1994 he held a position of Assistant Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA. His academic interest covers mainly the Uzbek history and culture. His publications, among others, include 'Un mouvement de jeunesse inconnu en Asie Centrale: les Jeunes Boukhares entre les idéologies de libération nationale et sociale' (1991), 'Nation, majorité, minorité: héritages et développement à l'époque post-soviétique' (1995).

Colin Mackerras. Until November 2004 Foundation Professor in the School of International Business and Asian Studies, Griffith University, Australia, and now retired. He was a Co-Director of the Key Center for Asian Languages and Studies at Griffith University and Head of the School of Modern Studies, later Asian and International Studies (1996-2000). He has published *The Uighur Empire According to the Tang Dynastic Histories, A Study in Sino-Uighur Relations, 744-840* (Canberra, 1972) and numerous articles on medieval History of Inner Asia. Currently he works on different aspects of ethnic minorities of China. His third single-authored book on the Subject was *China's Ethnic Minorities and Globalization*, and it came out with Routledge Curzon in London in April 2003.

Agnes Birtalan Associate Professor, Head of the Department of Inner Asian Studies at Eötvös University, Budapest. Her academic interests cover Mongolian, Manchu and Tibetan languages, folklore, culture, religious beliefs. She had completed her Ph. D. dissertation at the Department of Inner Asian Studies with Prof. G. Kara. She has held Humboldt Fellowship in the University of Koln, Germany, and Szechenyi Fellowship (2001). She was director of the course "Oriental Religions in Central-Eastern Europe. Religious Renaissance and Multiculturalism" at the Summer School of Central European University (2000). Her publications among others include *Oseink nyomón Belso-Ezsióban II. Hitvilóg ús nyelvüszet* [*On the Traces of our Ancestors II. Belief and Linguistic Studies*] (Budapest, 1998), *Why summer follows the winter? Mongolian ethological myths* (Budapest, 1998). She is currently editor of the academic journal *Keletkutatás "Oriental Studies"* (Budapest).

Mihaly Dobrovits Lecturer in Central Asian Studies, Miskolc University. Graduated from the University ELTE, Budapest (Magister of Arts in Turkology and Medieval Studies). In 1987-90 was a postgraduate student at the Department of Medieval History at ELTE University in Budapest. In 1990-93 lectured on Turkology at the Arts Department Society, Miskolc, Hungary. In 1993-98 he held the position of a Research Fellow at the Research Group in Altaic Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Since 1993 lectured at ELTE University, Budapest focusing on History of Early and Post-Mongol Inner Asia. In 1999 he also finished the PhD courses in Mongolian Studies, ELTE University, Currently is affiliated with Miskolc University. Published numerous articles on medieval History of Central Asia.

Anuar Galiev Professor of History at the Department of Oriental Studies, Kazakh Academy of Labor and Social Relations, Almaty. He obtained Ph. D. from the Institute of History, Ethnography and Archeology at the Kazakh Academy of Sciences (1988). He has been Head of the Department of History of Culture and Religion in the Institute of Oriental Studies and Senior Research Associate at the International Center of Kipchak Studies. He also was a visiting lecturer at the Summer School of Central European University, Budapest (2000). His numerous publications focus on Semiotics and Culture, Kazakh Folk tradition, Mythologization and rewriting of the History in Central Asia, Kazakh religious beliefs. His main publications are *Models of the Socium and Cosmos of the Kazakhs* (Almaty, 1994) and *Traditional concept of the World among the Kazakhs* (Almaty, 1997; both in Russian)

Ablet Kamalov Associate Professor at the Al-Farabi Kazakh National University and Senior Research Associate at the Institute of Oriental Studies (Center of Uyghur Studies), Kazakh Academy of Sciences in Almaty, Kazakhstan. He earned Ph. D. from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russia (1990). He has been a Fulbright Scholar at the University of Washington (Seattle, 1997-1998), a visiting scholar at the University of Oxford (2001-2002), and the J. W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress. He has published *Drevniye Uigury, VIII-IX vv.* [*The Old Uighurs. VIII-IX cc.*] (Almaty, 2001), *Taribi umumiy Uiguristan* [*General History of Uiguristan*] (Tehran, 2002) and numerous articles on History and Culture of Central Asian peoples, especially the Uyghurs. He is an Executive Board Member of the Central Eurasian Studies Society, Harvard University. Currently he holds the Central Asian Research Initiative Fellowship (CARI), Open Society Institute.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

The course will use interdisciplinary perspective to examine the phenomenon of Revising and Rewriting of the History in Central Asia. It will examine the roots of this phenomenon going back to the colonial time of print-capitalism, which fostered the emergence of 'imagined communities' in Central Asia and look at the problem from a theoretical point of view placing it rightly within the theoretical concepts existing in Historical Anthropology, Post-Colonial Studies and Area Studies.

The course will focus, among others, on such problems as the complex interplay between Invention and Mythologization of the History and Ethno-Nationalism as well as emerging new national Identities. It will introduce the multifaceted debate on the nature of invention of the History and reveal its correlation with state building process, politics, and political regimes and show the role of History Writing in social and cultural life of societies during the transition period. The comparative analysis of the History Writing process in Central Asian states with those in other post-Communist societies (Caucasus, Mongolia) as well as Chinese Central Asia (Xinjiang) will enable to reveal general tendencies in the process of Rewriting of the History and describe it as a natural phenomenon for the contemporary post-colonial societies. The course will give participants the skills necessary to apply academic theories, concepts and methodology to their own researches and teaching curricula.

COURSE LEVEL, TARGET AUDIENCE

The course is primarily intended for advanced graduate students and young faculty members teaching History and Anthropology, but prospective participants could be those teaching and doing research in Central Eurasian Studies. Preference will be given to those applicants who do have some previous knowledge in Central Asian history and culture, but in-depth knowledge of topics discussed will not be required.

COURSE CONTENT

As a first approach to the topic we will raise some general problems concerning the process of Rewriting of the History in the post-Soviet countries including Central Asian newly independent countries and its relationship with Nationalism and Identity issues. In this preliminary discussion, we will raise some of the questions the course intends to refine, enlarge and perhaps tentatively answer. The individual courses held by the different resource persons will then explore various aspects of the phenomenon of Rewriting, Revising and Rethinking of the History both from theoretical and regional perspective. The major topics to be discussed will cover such problems as invention of history and state building, history and politics, mythologization of history, ethno-nationalism and history writing, elements of identity and public memory, interethnic and international relations and reconstruction of the historical past of peoples and states. They will explore theories such as those of Ernest Gellner on "Nations and Nationalism", Walker Connor on "Ethno-Nationalism" and Benedict Anderson on "Imagined communities", as well as that of Will Kymlicka on the rights of minority cultures, which are particularly important in discussions of history-writing. Rewriting of the History in the former Soviet Republics will be studied in the context of the colonial past of these countries. The course will discuss how the theories existing in Post-Colonial Studies can be applied to the trends in the development of the Central Asian Historiography. Central Asia has been a part of the Russian Empire and then the Soviet Union during several centuries in the past (while the Chinese Central Asia still remains an 'inner colony')

of China). The cotemporary Central Asian Historiography goes back to and to certain extent continues traditions of the Soviet historiography. The Soviet authorities strictly controlled history writing process, which was subjected to the Communist ideology and the Soviet worldview. In this context the course will explore if invention of national histories in the Soviet Union was a part of the colonialist agenda, like 'divide and rule', or it was a result of the Soviets' more or less genuine adherence to the principle of national self-determination. Other questions to be discussed here include: How can we understand the irony that Soviet versions of national histories were "usurped" quickly by nationalist intellectuals, and later by political elites of the newly independent states? Are Russo-centric worldviews and historical perceptions still retained by Central Asians? Is ethno-centralism of Central Asians a mirror of Russo-centrism, does it have other origins? The Soviet theories on History and Ethnology that regulated Central Asian historical studies to be discussed here include the theory of "Marrist" ethno-genetics, theories of Bromlei and Gumilev, which played crucial role in writing the History of Central Asia and fostering Ethno-Nationalism.

The course will study the formation of a series of notational and territorial identities in Central Asia following the demise of the Soviet Union. It will outline the process of state building, where a collective identity often is formulated and disseminated in order to foster the collective memoirs amongst the citizens of the new states. It will further examine the practice of collective imagination, the reconstruction and reinterpretation of history, the invention of necessary historical traditions, which intend to justify and give coherence to the emerging modern state by bringing groups of people together and strengthening or even forming their common sense of identity and political solidarity. We will look at the complex interplay between ethno-nationalism, which is a direct outcome of the peculiar type of Soviet ethno-federalist administration, and territorial nationalism, which is refashioned to introduce a sense of territorial attachment for all citizens of the new states, including the non-indigenous and non-titular ethnic groups. We will then discuss the dichotomy between ethno-nationalism and territorial nationalism, the possible conflict of interest between the new states, identified by new citizens, and the titular ethnic groups in the context of the process of transition of these countries, which are contested by localized ethno-religious conflicts. Case studies will include among others the current process of Rewriting of the History in Mongolia. The formation of contemporary Mongolian historiography, falsification of the Mongol History in the 20th century and historical debates on the importance of the period of Mongol empire will be examined. Another case study will be devoted to Chinese Central Asia, focusing on the region known as Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (Eastern Turkestan). It will look at the ethnic makeup of those areas and explore how notions of identity and nationalism have affected Chinese Central Asia. The history of the Uyghurs living in Eastern Turkestan and Central Asian Republic has been interpreted differently in the Chinese and Soviet academic literature. The Soviet-Chinese relations very much affected the cultural development of the Uyghurs on both sides of the border and the Uyghur History has always been a political issue in China, where the Uyghurs endeavor to establish their independent state, and in the former Soviet Union, where they were involved in the Soviet policy toward Xinjiang/Eastern Turkestan.

The course will further focus on Mythologization of the History in Central Asia, reveal its roots and look at in a broader theoretical and regional context providing examples of how invention of historical myths became an important part of History-writing in different countries of Central Asia and Caucasus. Mythologization of the History includes such aspects as glorification of so called "golden ages" in the history of peoples, making the history of peoples ancient and portraying them as ancient peoples existing since 'immemorial times', invention of National Heroes and new traditions, etc. All this makes the History of ancient and medieval periods very important issues in current Historical Studies in Central Asia, which shape ethnic, territorial and

national identities. Mythologization of History also serves the ruling groups, even persons legitimizing their right to power. Local historians construct new myths and legends on genealogical links between the present political leaders, founders of new states and outstanding historical leaders of the past as Alexander the Great, Chingis-Khan, Amir Timur etc. We will explore how mythologization of History is being exploited in the educational process and how falsification and invention of Mythologized History can deform the peoples' consciousness. The course will also examine the elements of identity and discuss how the history writing process reflects the formation of new identities in the post Soviet area. While identity constructions entails many facets, such as gender, class-consciousness, personality formation, and socialization, the rise of ethnic nationalism can represent a response to issues of nation-state incorporation, oppositional power hierarchies, and questions of modernity and identity in contemporary societies. Ethnic and national identity issues can be discussed as the primordialist-circumstantialist debate, 'imagining of tradition', invention of tradition, 'religious' nationalism, colonialist and post-colonialist discourse etc. The topics to be discussed here will include Leavening of Identity, Uses of Identity and Identity of Governance.

TEACHING METHODS AND ASSESSMENT

The course is composed of lectures and seminars looking at the phenomenon of the Rewriting of History in Central Asia from different angles, in both disciplinary and geographical terms. Each seminar will include lectures and combine it with discussion and interactive teaching methods. Readings for all classes will be provided to participants before the course begins and the materials included in readings will be discussed during the Seminars. Each seminar will end with a half-hour discussion session, which will link the days' material with presentations in previous seminars, and clear up questions raised during the lecture. After each seminar participants will be provided with the possibility to consult their supervisors and discuss important issues of their research papers. For this, lecturers will use their office-hours. Participants are advised to look at the research fields of instructors before arrival and identify in advance instructors they will want to talk with. In addition to lectures, teaching modes will include group discussions, participants' presentations (case studies), work in small groups, demonstrations of slides and printed materials, film screening and individual consultations with instructors. On the last day of the course each participant will present a two-page research paper on the subject of his/her interest. The paper can be either a revised version of the one submitted before the course or a different one. The papers will be discussed by the class and instructors. The performance of participants will be evaluated based on the final version of their paper and the 'defense' of their ideas. The papers must be written in the format of grant proposals and will be discussed by instructors and participants. Instructions on requirements for grant proposals will be given in the course of lectures. This assignment will not only show how participants acquired knowledge on the topics discussed, but also help them in gaining experience in proposal writing. Presentations will be assessed by instructors and participants.