



## CEU Summer University

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

#### SYLLABUS

SESSION 1 - TOURAJ ATABAKI  
**NATIONALISM AND HISTORY**  
Seminar and discussion

The session maps the scope of problems related to the relationship between Nationalism and a History writing process. It provides the theoretic basis for the phenomenon of rewriting and revising History in Central Asia, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It will consider several different major theories of nations and nationalism, including those of Ernest Gellner, E.J. Hobsbawm, Anthony Smith and others. What precisely do the terms “nation” and “nationalism” mean and what do they imply? When and in which conditions did the term “nation” come into use? Is a “nation” as old as history of human societies? Is nationalism a positive or negative force in the writing of history? The session gives some attention to Benedict Anderson’s notion of nations as “imagined communities” and the role of historiography in construction of national identities.

#### Reading Assignments

Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, Hutchinson University library, London, 1960, second revised edition 1961, pp. 74–9.

James G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity, Second Edition*, St. Martin’s Press, New York, 1998, pp. 1–9, 43–64.

Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1995, 58–67.

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London and New York, 1983, revised edition 1991, pp. 37–46.

#### On the Internet

*The Nationalism Project* website is <http://www.nationalismproject.org/index.htm>. It includes a good many links, some of which will be useful.

“What is Nationalism?”, *The Nationalism Project* <http://www.nationalismproject.org/what.htm>

Ernest Gellner Defining "nation", *The Nationalism Project*,  
<http://www.nationalismproject.org/what.htm>

Benedict Anderson, "The Nation as Imagined Community", *The Nationalism Project*,  
<http://www.nationalismproject.org/what/anderson.htm>

Eric Hobsbawm Nations and Nationalism since 1780, *The Nationalism Project*,  
<http://www.nationalismproject.org/what.htm>

Michael Hechter, "Types of Nationalism", *The Nationalism Project*,  
<http://www.nationalismproject.org/what.htm>

Anthony D. Smith's opening statement: "Nations and their pasts", *The Warwick Debates*,  
<http://members.tripod.com/GellnerPage/Warwick.html>

Ernest Gellner's reply, *The Warwick Debates*,  
<http://members.tripod.com/GellnerPage/Warwick2.html>

### **Writing Assignments Before the course**

Begin drafting your research proposal. Check the office hours of those faculty members you want to consult with in its preparation

SESSION 2 - TOURAJ ATABAKI

**ETHNO-NATIONALISM AND TERRITORIAL NATIONALISM IN CENTRAL ASIA**

Lecture, seminar, discussions

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. Dichotomy between the new states, identified by new citizens, and the titular ethnic groups in the context of the processes of transition of these countries, which are contested by localized ethno-religious conflicts. History and justification of territorial claims.

### **Reading and/or writing Assignments Before the Course**

Touraj Atabaki, 'Russification and Sovietisation of Central Asia', In: *Encyclopedia of modern Asia*, Levinson, David and Karen Christensen, et al., Eds. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2002

Touraj Atabaki & Sanjyot Mehendale, '*Trans-nationalism and Diaspora in Central Asia and the Caucasus*', Routledge Press, London & New York, 2005.

Bert G. Fragner, 'Soviet nationalism': An Ideological Legacy to the Independent Republics of Central Asia', in: E.J. Zürcher and W. van Schendel (eds), *Identity Politics in Central Asia and Muslim World*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2001, pp. 13-33.

Geoffrey Wheeler, *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia* London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964, pp. 31-47.

## SESSION 3 - TOURAJ ATABAKI

**WHO WRITES WHOSE HISTORY IN CENTRAL ASIA?**

Lecture, seminar, discussion

This seminar studies the formation of a series of national and territorial identities in Central Asia following the demise of the Soviet Union. It outlines the process of state building, where a collective identity often is formulated and disseminated in order to foster the collective memory amongst the citizens of the new states. It also examines 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 peoples together and strengthening or even forming their common sense of identity and political solidarity.

**Reading and/or writing Assignments  
Before the course**

Touraj Atabaki, *Beyond Essentialism. Who writes whose Past in the Middle East and Central Asia?* Amsterdam, Aksant, 2003.

Douglas Northrop, *Veiled Empire, Gender and Politics in Stalinist Central Asia* Ithaca and London, Cornell University, 2004, pp. 69-101.

Nick Megoran, 'Theorizing gender, ethnicity and the nation-state in Central Asia', *Central Asia Survey*, Vol. 18, No, 1, 1999, pp. 99-110.

A.Sarsembayev, "'Imagined Communities: Kazak nationalism and Kazakification in the 1990s', *Central Asia Survey*, Vol. 18, No, 3, 1999, pp. 319-346.

Anthony Hyman, 'Turkestan and Pan-Turkism revisited', *Central Asia Survey*, Vol. 16, No, 3, 1997, pp. 339-351.

Shahram Akbarzadeh, 'The Political shape of Central Asia', *Central Asia Survey*, Vol. 16, No, 4, 1997, pp. 517-542.

Shahram Akbarzadeh, 'Nation-building in Uzbekistan', *Central Asia Survey*, Vol. 15, No, 1, 1996, Pp. 23-32.

## SESSION 4 - CATHERINE POUJOL

**RESHAPING THE CONCEPTUAL FRAME FOR THE CENTRAL ASIAN TRANSITION**

Lecture, discussion

The methodology of comparative analysis and cross-disciplinary approach will be used to enlighten crucial contemporary problems of emerging Identities and the role of History writing process in shaping national ideas in newly independent states of Central Asia. The impact of disrupt, Modernity, the time of changes or the persistence of mentalities, the resilience of social groups, the perception of power; democracy versus justice.

### Reading and/or writing Assignments

Hunter, Sh., 'Central Asia Since Independence' (*The Washington Papers* ), Vo. 168. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishing, 1996, pp. 1-39

Ro'I, Y., "The Secularization of Islam and the USSR's Muslim Areas" (in) *Muslim Eurasia* (The Cummings Center Series). Frank Cass Publishers, 1995, pp.5 –20.

Haghighyeghi, M., *Islam and Politics in Central Asia*, Palgrave Macmillan Publishing, 1996, Ch. 6, pp.164-206

Eickelman, D., *Russia's Muslim Frontiers: New Directions in Cross Cultural Analysis* (*Indiana Series in Arab and Islamic Studies*). Indiana University Press,

Gross, Jo-Ann. Introduction; "Approaches to the Problem of Identity Formation" (in) *Muslims in Central Asia: Expressions of Identity and Change*. Duke University Press. 1992.

Sabahi, F. and Daniel, W. *The OSCE and The Multiple Challenges of Transition: The Caucasus and Central Asia* Ashgate Publishing. 2004.

Ghebali, V.-Y., *OSCE Regional Policy in Central Asia, Rationale and Limits*. Ch. 1, pp.3-12.

#### SESSION 5 - VINCENT FOURNIAU

#### A CULTURE OF INDEPENDENCE? HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CENTRAL ASIA SINCE 1945.

##### Block I. Lectures:

- a) The creation of the Academy of Sciences and the indigenization of the cadres in Soviet Central Asia
- b) The Ethno-History, or a wishful thinking to Continuity

##### Block II. Lectures

- a) The writing of the State Tradition: Universality and Anteriority for 5 centralities?
- b) Which rewriting of History ?

*Four lectures in two blocks and discussion*

The first part of the session will be an introduction to the process of indigenization of the cadres in the university, and research through the Academies of sciences, in Soviet Central Asia since the creation of the federal republics. Indeed, a social analysis of the university and research cadres is necessary to better understand the making of knowledge in many different fields and the ways of writing history.

The second part of the session will provide a glance to the production of ideology in the Social sciences in Soviet Central Asia, and since 1991, and will shape an analysis of their strong intellectual continuity. In conclusion, the study of the Social Sciences is a very fruitful ground to better know the global Soviet history in Central Asia and to better understand the specificity of the transition in the post-Soviet Central Asian States.

### Reading and/or writing Assignments

Burg, S.L., 'Russians, Natives and Jews in the Soviet Scientific elite. Cadre competition in Central Asia', *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, 1979, 20, pp. 43-59.

Edgar, A., *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan*, 2004.

Rakowska-Harmstone, T., *Russia and nationalism in Central Asia. The case of Tadzhikistan*, Baltimore, London, J. Hopkins Press, 1970.

*Soviet Nationality Problems*, Columbia University Press, 1971.

#### SESSION 6 - COLIN MACKERRAS

#### **HISTORY, IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM IN CHINESE CENTRAL ASIA**

Lecture, seminar, discussion

The session will take up the concepts of cultural autonomy and the relationship between identity and history writing in Chinese Central Asia, especially Xinjiang and Tibet. It will interrogate the concept of 'Chinese Central Asia', raising questions over precisely what it implies. It also examines the concept of identity and implications and discusses the rights of minority cultures, especially as discussed by Will Kymlicka.

The session next turns to consider the boundaries of China, how they have shifted and what that might mean for understanding the history of China. It raises the question of what is China, giving specific attention to Mongolia, Xinjiang and Tibet. It considers the histories of several particular ethnic groups in terms of identity and nationalism. Finally, it takes up two case studies in the study of history, identity and nationalism: ancient archaeological finds in Xinjiang and the Uygur state lasting from 744 to 840.

### Reading and/or writing Assignments

Colin Mackerras, 'Introduction', in Colin Mackerras, ed., *Ethnicity in Asia*, Routledge Curzon, London and New York, 2003, chapter 1, pp. 1–15.

Colin Mackerras, 'What Is China? Who Is Chinese? Han-Minorities Relations, Legitimacy, and the State', in Peter Hays Gries and Stanley Rosen, eds, *State and Society in 21<sup>st</sup> Century China: Crisis, Contention, and Legitimation*, Routledge Curzon, London and New York, 2004, Ch.11.

#### On the Internet

Erkin Alptekin, "The Uighurs", [http://www.taklamakan.org/history/uighur\\_update\\_1.html](http://www.taklamakan.org/history/uighur_update_1.html)

#### SESSION 7 - COLIN MACKERRAS

#### **STATE, POLITICS AND THE WRITING OF HISTORY IN CHINA**

Lecture, seminar, discussion

The session will trace how history-writing has developed in China. It will consider the nature of the relationship of the state and politics to history-writing in imperial China, giving attention to the late imperial period. It will move on to consider how "modernity", the May Fourth

Movement (1919) and the impact of the West affected the writing of history in China, especially the changing role of nationalism and how the state tried to influence this, but failed to prevent the rise of leftist historical theories. The discussion of the early twentieth century will include Prasenjit Duara's theory of "rescuing history from the nation", which critiques the nation as the subject of history.

The session will give considerable space to the People's Republic, analyzing how history writing has been greatly affected by state policy and ideology. It will show differences among the periods when Mao Zedong was in control, mentioning the Cultural Revolution, and give some attention also to the changes in the relationship between the writers of history, the state and politics during the reform period since 1978.

### **Reading and/or writing Assignments Before the course**

Arif Dirlik, *Revolution and History, The Origins of Marxist Historiography in China, 1919–1937*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1978, pp. 259–68.

Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation, Questioning Narratives of Modern China*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1995, pp. 3–16, 229–36.

#### SESSION 8 - MIHALY DOBROVITS

#### **ISLAM AND NATIONALISM IN CENTRAL ASIA**

##### Lecture

History of Islam in Central Asia and its role in nation and state building processes. The revival of Islam in contemporary Central Asia. Muslim identity as an essential element of national/ethnic identity. Islam in the Soviet period.

### **Reading and/or writing Assignments**

Csirkes, F., 'Defender of Three Empires: Armin Vambery and the Eastern Question', p. 454-475.

#### SESSION 9 - MIHALY DOBROVITS

#### **HUNGARIAN HISTORY: IN SEARCH OF CENTRAL ASIAN ROOTS**

##### Seminar and discussion

Real and/or imagined historical links between Hungarians and Central Asian peoples. Search of Central Asian roots in the Hungarians' origin and the role of Central Asian ethnic elements in the formation of the Hungarians. Hungarians' contribution to the development of pan-Turkism. Contribution of Hungarian scholars to Central Asian Studies. Armin Vambery and Turkology. Contemporary Central Asian Studies in Hungary.

### **Reading and/or writing Assignments**

## SESSION 10 - AGNES BIRTALAN

**FROM 'SECRET HISTORY' TO MONGOL NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY**

Lecture, seminar, discussion

The session examines the evolution of the Mongolian Historiography and growth of Mongol Nationalism. The example of the native Mongolian Historiography is the 'Secret History' of the Mongols, but after Buddhist conversion the Mongolian chronicles (starting from the 17<sup>th</sup> century) became influenced by the Indo-Tibetan narratives, which particularly transformed the original empire ideology. This combination of Buddhist and original nomadic native historiography presented the ideological basis even for the Theocratic Mongolian State at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and traces of it can be found in the ideology and historiography of socialist Mongolia.

**Reading and/or writing Assignments  
Before the course**

Ayuudai Ochir, 'A Brief History of Mongolian Historical Research 1921-1996', in: *Facets of Transformation of the Northeast Asian Countries II*. Ed. by Hiroki Oka. Center for Northeast Asian Studies, Tohoku University 1999. pp. 191-215.

## SESSION 11 - AGNES BIRTALAN

**REVISITING THE HISTORY DURING THE TIME OF SOCIALISM AND AFTER THE POLITICAL CHANGES**

Lecture, discussion

The 20th century historical view changed several times and the principles of pan mongolism and Nationalism used the Chingisid ideology, while depending on the ideology of the neighboring countries (USSR, China) even the national history became interpreted as a "shame" for the Mongols. However after the political changes this situation changed and as it is usual it went somehow from one extreme to the other.

**Reading and/or writing Assignments  
Before the course**

Bulag, Uradyn E., 'The Creation of Ethnicity and Nationalism in Twentieth-Century Mongolia', in: *Nationalism and Hybridity in Mongolia*. Clarendon Pres Oxford 1998. pp. 215- 258.

## SESSION 12 - AGNES BIRTALAN

**THE TRENDS OF THE FORMATION OF AN INNER-ASIAN EMPIRE. THE EXAMPLE OF THE GREAT MONGOLIAN EMPIRE**

Lecture and discussion

The 13th century history of the Mongols became the ideological example for the following centuries in the vast territories of the North-Eurasia. Main historical trends of the formation of nomadic empires will be reviewed. Various sources on the Mongol History will be described.

**Reading and/or writing Assignments  
Before the course**

Tsogt-Ochir Ishdorj, 'The Mongolain Reconceptation of Chinggis Khan', in: *Facets of Transformation of the Northeast Asian Countries II*. Ed. by Hiroki Oka. Center for Northeast Asian Studies, Tohoku University 1999. pp. 217-228

SESSION 13 - ABLET KAMALOV

**CONTESTED HISTORIES OF THE UYGHURS: CHINESE AND UYGHUR PERSPECTIVES**

Lecture, discussion

The Seminar is devoted to the role of the State in constructing historical concepts of minorities on the example of differences between official version of the Uyghur History in China and Uyghur Nationalist interpretation of the Uyghur history. The Chinese Nationalist ideas and chauvinist concepts on History of China and exclusiveness of the Han civilization produced formation of alternative views on history representing the local Nationalist feelings of the non-Han peoples. The Seminar will trace the roots of Uyghur Nationalism and determine the role of Historiography and Literature, especially historical novels, in shaping Uyghur nationalism and aspirations to independence from China.

**Reading and/or writing Assignments  
Before the course**

L. Benson, 'Contested History: Issues in the Historiography of Inner Asia's Uighurs', in *Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia*, 2 (1996), pp. 87-113.

G. Bovington, Nabijan Tursun, 'Contested Histories', in: *Xinjiang. China's Muslim borderlands*. Ed. S. Fredderick Starr, Armonk, New York, London, 2004, pp. 353-374.

SESSION 14 - ABLET KAMALOV

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY: BEING A STATELESS NATION**

Film screening and discussion

The 'Great Game' in Central Asia and the Russian/Soviet policy towards Xinjiang (Eastern Turkestan). The Soviet Uyghurs and the Soviet-Chinese relations. The Soviet-Chinese debates on History of Central Asia and Uyghurs. Eastern Turkestan Republic (1944-1949) and the rise of historical Studies on Eastern Turkestan and Uyghurs.

**Reading and/or writing Assignments  
Before the course**

J. Jon Ruselson, 'Uighur Historiography and Uighur Ethnic Nationalism', in: *Ethnicity, Minorities and Cultural Encounters*. Ed. by I. Svanberg, Uppsala;Uppsala Univeristy Press, 1991, pp. 64-82.

A. Kamalov, 'Uighur community in 1990s Central Asia. Decade of change', in: *Central Asia and the Caucasus. Transnationalism and Diaspora*. Ed. By Touraj Atabaki and Sanjyot Mehendale/ London and New York: Routledge. 2005. p. 148-168.



## SESSION 15 - ABLET KAMALOV

**TARIM MUMMIES: CONTINUITY BETWEEN ANCIENT AND MODERN PEOPLES**

Lecture, film screening, discussion

The seminar discusses the role of ancient cultures and civilizations in shaping modern national identities and nationalism on the example of ‘Tarim Mummies’ of East Turkistan/Xinjiang. It will discuss how the images of the past are used in ‘individualization’ of a nation and for justification of political rights of peoples to their territories.

How is it important to demonstrate continuity between the ancient inhabitants and modern nationalities? The role of Archeology and Cultural Anthropology in construction of national identity. Film-screening: Riddle Desert Mummies

**Reading and/or writing Assignments  
Before the course**

J. Jon Ruselson, ‘The Xinjiang Mummies and Foreign Angels: Art, Archaeology and Uyghur Muslim Nationalism in Chinese Central Asia’, *Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia*, 2 (1996), pp.

The Taklamakan Mummies:

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/chinamum/taklamakan.html>

**PARTICIPANTS’ PRESENTATIONS****Writing Assignments  
During the course**

Submit your 2- 5-page research proposals containing description of topics and concrete research questions, place in existing research, methodology, and expect outcome. Present your main points in ten minutes strictly and be prepared to answer questions.