Post-Communism 25+: Reflections on Social, Economic & Political Transitions

6-8 October 2016
Akun Hotel, Issyk Kul
Kyrgyz Republic
<table>
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<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>Departure from the OSCE Academy</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:00-17:00</td>
<td>Arrival at Akun Hotel, Issyk Kul</td>
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<tr>
<td>18:00-18:10</td>
<td>Welcoming Speech</td>
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<tr>
<td>18:15-19:45</td>
<td>Panel I</td>
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<td>8:00-8:25</td>
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<td>14:00-15:30</td>
<td>KEYNOTE SPEECH</td>
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<td>12:30-13:40</td>
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<td>13:45-15:25</td>
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<td>15:45-17:20</td>
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<td>Wrap up comments/discussions</td>
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<td>18:00-19:00</td>
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<td>19:30</td>
<td>Departure to Bishkek</td>
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<td>24:00</td>
<td>Departure to Airport from Bishkek</td>
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<td>2:00 (9 Oct)</td>
<td>Departure to Airport from Akun</td>
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**Wi-Fi**
login: **osce**
password: **2016**

Meals will be served at Deniz Restaurant in the Conference hotel.

Meeting point for departure to Bishkek is the Reception area.

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Wednesday 5 October

12:00-17:00  Arrival at Akun Hotel, Issyk Kul

18:00-18:10  Welcome Speech (Big Conference Hall)

  Indira Satarkulova, OSCE Academy Deputy Director

18:15-19:45  Panel I: PANEL OF EXPERTS

  Post-Communist Transitions: Democracy, Human Rights & Social Justice in Central Asia

  Alisher Khamidov (New Castle University, UK)
  Kamoludin Abdullaev (Tajik-Slavonic University, Tajikistan)
  Anna Chernova (Oxfam Great Britain, UK)
  Steve Swerdlow (Human Rights Watch, Kyrgyzstan)

  Moderator:

  Olivier Ferrando (Sciences Po, France)

19:50  Dinner

Thursday 6 October

7:00-8:00  Breakfast

8:00-8:25  Registration

8:30-10:10  Panel II: COMPARING POST-COMMUNIST CIVIL SOCIETIES

  “Advocacy in Belarus: The Experience of NGOs”

  Natallia Rabava (SYMPA, Belarus)

  “Broken Social Scene? The State & Civil Society in the Russian Federation”

  Nazira Kozhanova (Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan)

  “The Development of Kyrgyz Civil Society: An Historical Analysis of its National & International Power Relations”

  Chiara Pierobon (Bielefeld University, Germany)

  “The Evolving Discursive & Normative Environment of Civil Society in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan”

  Medet Tiulegenov (AUCA, Kyrgyzstan)

  Discussant: Alisher Khamidov (New Castle University, UK)

10:10-10:35  Coffee break
10:40 - 12:30 Panel III: POST-COMMUNISM, DEMOCRACY & AUTHORITARIANISM
“Disarming Public Protest in Russia: Transforming Public Goods into Private Goods”
Dumitru Minzarari (OSCE, Kyrgyzstan/U. Michigan, USA)

“Democracy in Unlikely Places: Lessons from Two Poor Democracies of Kyrgyzstan & Mali”
Igor Logvinenko (Wellesley College, USA)
Jaimie Bleck (University of Notre Dame, USA)

Asel Doolotkeldieva (Turkish Kyrgyz Manas U., Kyrgyzstan)

“Legitimation Strategies in Modern Semiauthoritarian Regimes: The Case of Kazakhstan”
Sofya Omarova (Oxford Brookes University, UK)

“Nation Building in Central Asia through Language Legislation”
Charles Carlson (Turkish Kyrgyz Manas U., Kyrgyzstan)

Discussant:
Maxim Tabachnik (University of California, Santa Cruz, USA)

12:30 - 15:30 Lunch

14:00 - 15:30 KEYNOTE SPEECH
‘Разгосударствление’: Rule & Revenue in Post-Communist Eurasia
Dr Gregory Gleason (Marshall Center, Germany)

15:30 - 15:55 Coffee break

16:00 - 17:50 Panel IV: POST COMMUNIST POLITICAL ECONOMIES
“Forming State-Society Relationship in Transition: Post-Socialist Political Economy—the Case of Russia”
Seonhee Kim (University of Washington, USA)

Neil Robinson (University of Limerick, Ireland)
Dr Gregory Gleason is Professor of Security Studies at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies located in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, a partnership of the German Ministry of Defense and the U.S. Department of Defense. Gleason’s work at the Marshall Center is focused primarily on the foreign policy of the countries of the former USSR.

After joining the Marshall Center in 2007, Gleason retired from the University of New Mexico where he taught courses in international relations and economics for 24 years. Gleason is the author of five books, including *Federalism and Nationalism* (1991) and *Markets and Politics in Central Asia* (2003) as well as numerous articles in scholarly journals.

Gleason’s research agenda vacillated between the theoretical and the practical. Public and private foundations such as the National Science Foundation (USA) and the National Academy of Sciences (USA) sponsored his scholarly research. In the practical world, Gleason served as consultant to Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Sandia National Laboratories, the Asian Development Bank, USAID, the U.S. Department of State, and others.

Gleason devoted considerable time to applied, field-based activities while in academia. During 1993-1995 Gleason headed the first USAID program on legal and governmental reform in Central Asia. In 1996 Gleason headed a USAID program on market reform and privatization in Kazakhstan followed by serving as the deputy lead of Asian Development Bank’s regional economic cooperation program in Central Asia in 1997-1998. During the 1998-2000 academic years Gleason was director of the University Partnership Program between the University of New Mexico and Urals State Technical University, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Energy’s efforts in nuclear nonproliferation. During 1999-2001 Gleason headed a partnership between the University of New Mexico and Kazakhstan universities sponsored by the U.S. Department of State. During 2005-2007 Gleason worked under the auspices of a partnership between USAID and the Kazakhstan government to develop a new program in environmental management at Eurasian National University.

Gleason finished the Ph.D. in political science at the University of California in 1984 with a dissertation focused on Central Asian cotton production. During his years as a graduate student and aspiring young academic, Gleason was an avid skier. But in the late 1980s, Gleason paused his skiing temporarily because the winter holidays were the best time for him to travel for field research to the USSR. In Moscow in December 1991 Gleason was deeply impressed by the historical importance of the events he was witnessing. He decided to suspend his ski plans with the intention of returning to the slopes only after the post-communist transition was complete. Gleason has not skied since 1989.
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<tr>
<td>19:15</td>
<td>Dinner</td>
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<td>20:30</td>
<td>Documentary: <em>Tajikistan: Hunting Critics at Home &amp; Abroad</em></td>
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<td>Discussant: Steve Swerdlow (HRW, Kyrgyzstan)</td>
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<td><strong>Friday, 7 October</strong></td>
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<td>6:45-8:00</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
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<td>8:30-10:10</td>
<td>Panel V: <strong>INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE POST-COMMUNIST SPACE</strong></td>
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<td>“Contesting Global Governance in ‘Weak’ States: International Organizations in Post-Soviet Central Asia”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Oleg Korneev (University of Paris 13, France)</td>
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<td>Farkhod Aminjonov (Central Asian Institute for Strategic Studies, Kazakhstan)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“International Organizations and Urban Youth in Tajikistan: Confused about Foreign Aid or Confused Foreign Aid?”</td>
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<td>Karolina Kluczewska (University of St. Andrews, UK)</td>
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<td>“Have the Strategies of International Organizations, both of the Development &amp; Financial Varieties, Been Effective in Affecting Positive Change among Post-Communist States?”</td>
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<td>Fidanka Bacheva-McGrath (CEE Bankwatch, Bulgaria)</td>
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<td>10:10-10:35</td>
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10:40-12:30  **Panel VI: WATER, ENVIRONMENT, & POST-COMMUNISM**

“Tractors into Ploughs: Central Asian Environmental Management after the Soviet Union”
Igor Rubinov (Princeton University, USA)

“The Impact of the European Union's Environmental Policy on the Quality of Environment in Poland”
Krzysztof Chmielewski (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland)

“Living in Mining Cities of the Ferghana Valley after 1991: From Industrial Risk to Human Insecurity”
Olivier Ferrando (Sciences Po, France)

“Hydroenergy Controversies in Transitional Central Asia”
Kinga Szálkai (EötvösLoránd University, Hungary)

“Caspian Sea Legal Status Negotiations as Model of Resolving Regional Issues after Quarter-century of Collapse of the USSR”
Stanislav Pritchin (Institute of Oriental Studies, Russia)

Discussant: Farkhod Aminjonov (Central Asian Institute for Strategic Studies, Kazakhstan)

12:30-13:40  **Lunch**

13:45-15:25  **Panel VII: RUSSIA & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

“Real Competitors After All? The Role of Russia & the EU in Energy Security of Georgia and Armenia”
Annamaria Kiss (Centre for European Neighbourhood Studies, Hungary)

“Putin Goes Back to the Future”
Troy McGrath (Independent Scholar, USA)

“History Matters: Russia’s Interpretation of Its Past & International Relations”
James Pearce (Anglia Ruskin University, UK)

“A Return of Spheres of Influence? Russia as a Great Power in Central Asia—between Post-Imperial and Post-Soviet Legacies”
Stefanie Ortmann (University of Sussex, UK)

Discussant: Gregory Gleason (Marshall Center, Germany)
15:25-15:50  Coffee break

15:55-17:35  Panel VIII:  
**THE FATE OF KAZAKHSTAN UNDER POST-COMMUNISM**  
“Russia’s Soft Power in Kazakhstan: Can Astana Stay Neutral in the New Epoch of the ‘Cold War’?”  
*Bakytzhan Kurmanov* (UNDP, Kazakhstan)  
*Rustam Kudaibergenov* (Eurasian Integration Research Institute, Kazakhstan)  

“Kazakhstan 25+: An Historical Analysis of Dis/Continuities in Post-Communist Transition(s)”  
*Nari Shelekipayev* (University of Montreal, Canada)  

“The Transnational Impact of the Arab Spring in Kazakhstan, 2010-2012”  
*Sarah Dorr* (University of Leeds, UK)  

“Putting Kazakhstan on the Couch: A Lefortian Analysis of Nazarbayevian Regime Discourse”  
*Christopher Schwartz* (AUCA, Kyrgyzstan)  

Discussant:  
*Kamoludin Abdullaev* (Tajik-Slavonic University, Tajikistan)  

17:35-17:55  Break  

18:00-19:30  Panel IX:  **FEMINISM & POST-COMMUNISM**  
“Colonization of the Feminist Identity in the Contemporary Russia”  
*Tatiana Bogacheva* (Independent Researcher, Germany)  

“Collapse of the Soviet Union: Effects on Lives of Women in Central Asia”  
*Ibrahim Koncak* (Intl. Ataturk Ala-too University, Kyrgyzstan)  

“Gendered Dichotomies of Work & Intimacy in the Markets of Southern Kyrgyzstan”  
*Grace Zhou* (Stanford University, USA)  

Discussant:  
*Karolina Kluczewska* (U. of St. Andrews, UK)  

19:45  Dinner
### Saturday, 8 October

#### 7:00-8:00
**Breakfast**

#### 8:30-9:50
**Panel X: PERSPECTIVES ON UKRAINE’S POST-COMMUNIST TRAVALS**

  **Solomiya Shpak** (George Mason University, USA)

- "The Role of Symbolic Capital in Shaping the Separatists’ Strategies: The Cases of Bosnia & Ukraine"
  **Bogdan Zawadewicz** (Institute of East & Southeast European Studies, Germany)

- "Ukraine & Moldova on the Geopolitical Transformation Boundary"
  **Przemyslaw Ozierski** (Central Asia Center for Analysis, Dialogue & Development, Kyrgyzstan)

Discussant: **Igor Logvinenko** (Wellesley College, USA)

#### 9:50-10:15
**Coffee break**

#### 10:20-12:30
**Panel XI: POST-COMMUNISM & THE ‘NEW COLD WAR’**

- "Exporting Nuclear Reactors: A New Cold War between Russia & the West?"
  **Li-Chen Sim** (Zayed University, Dubai)

- "Post-Cold War International Order in the Frame of Cold War’s Institutional & Linguistic Paradigms"
  **Mariam Pipia** (Tbilisi State University, Georgia)

- "The Primacy of the Military-Political in Transition"
  **Ryan McCarrel** (University College Dublin, Ireland)

- "Causes of Acrimonious Relations between US & Russia in the 21st Century"
  **Irina Lepilova** (Altai State University, Russian Federation)

- "Instrumentalizing the Past? Russia’s ‘New Cold War’ Narrative & Its Impact on the Former Soviet Space"
  **Vasile Rotaru** (Natl. University of Political Studies, Romania)

Discussant: **Stefanie Ortmann** (University of Sussex, UK)
12:35-13:50  Lunch

14:00-15:20  Panel XII: MIGRATION & ITS DISCONTENTS UNDER POST-COMMUNISM

“In the Shadow of the New Hegemon? The European Migrant Crisis & the Visegrad Group”
Frank Cibulka  (Zayed University, Dubai)

Maxim Tabachnik  (University of California, Santa Cruz, USA)

“Discourses on Syrian Refugees in the German and Russian Media: Unmanageable Crisis or Managed Opportunity?”
Rashid Gabdulhakov  (Central Asian Dev. Institute, Kyrgyzstan)

Discussant: Igor Rubinov  (Princeton University, USA)

15:20-15:40  Coffee break

15:45-17:20  Panel XIII:
VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN THE POST-COMMUNIST SPACE

“Lack of Rule of Law as a Push Factor to Violent Extremism in the NorthCaucasus, 1994-2016”
Marta Ter  (League of People’s Rights, Spain)
Adrián Tarín  (Eurasian Observatory, Spain)

“When Religion Resorts to Violence: Explaining the Spacial Variation in Religiously-based Mobilization in Central Asia”
Alisher Khamidov  (New Castle University, UK)

“Securatization or Desecuratization of Islam in Kazakhstan?”
Lyubov Sartakova  (Sana, Kazakhstan)

“The Paradox of Uzbekistan's Afghanistan Policy”
Joakim Bartvoll  (NUPI, Norway)
Nurbek Bekmurzaev  (NUPI, Norway)

Discussant:
Steve Swerdlow  (Human Rights Watch, Kyrgyzstan)

17:20-17:50  Wrap up comments/discussions

17:50  Closure, Indira Satarkulova, Deputy Director, OSCE Academy
18:00-19:00 Dinner
19:30 Departure to Bishkek from Akun Hotel
24:00 Departure to Bishkek Airport from the OSCE Academy
2:00 (9 Oct) Departure to Bishkek Airport from Akun Hotel

PARTICIPANT BIOS

Dr Kamoludin Abdullaev  
*Tajik Slavonic University*  
kamoludin@gmail.com

Kamoludin is an Associate Professor at the Russian-Tajik (Slavonic) University in Dushanbe. A historian, policy analyst and independent consultant with experience with international non-governmental research organizations involved in conflict resolution, conflict prevention, peace-building, civil society building and education, Abdullaev has also taught Central Asian subjects at Yale University and the Ohio State University from 2001-2013. He has authored and edited ten books including *Historical Dictionary of Tajikistan* (2002 and 2010), with Shahram Akbarzaheh, and *Ot Sintsiana do Khorasana: IzIstorii Sredneaziatskoi Emigratsii 20 veka* (From Xinjiang to Khurasan: A History of the 20th Century Central Asian Emigration) (2009), and *Politics of Compromise: The Tajikistan Peace Process*, with Catherine Barnes (2009).

Nurbek Bekmurzaev  
*NUPI*  
nurbek@nupi.no

Nurbek is a visiting research fellow with the Russia, Eurasia and the Arctic group at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). His current works at NUPI are concentrated on the topic of the relationship between state and religion and patterns of religious regulation in Central Asia. Nurbek has published on such topics of religious peace-building and the history of religious extremism in Central Asia. He holds a MA degree in Politics and Security (Central Asia) from the OSCE Academy in Bishkek.
Joakim Brattvoll
NUPI
jobr@nupi.no

Joakim is a research assistant at NUPIs Research group for Russia, Eurasia and the Arctic, where he is working on NUPI’s collaborative project with Moscow School of Civic Education. He holds a Master’s degree in International Relations from the Norwegian University of Life Sciences and a Bachelor’s degree from The University of Copenhagen, with studies in Russian language and society as well as Spanish. His research interests are critical security studies and issues related to identity in international relations. He has studied and/or worked in Denmark, Russia and Spain.

Dr Charles Carlson
Kyrgyz Turkish Manas University
charlescarlson333@gmail.com

Charles grew up in the state of Utah where his younger years were devoted to music. He gained his BA in music from Utah State University, played violin with the Utah Symphony Orchestra, graduated from the Music Academy of the West in Santa Barbara, California and went on a LDS mission to Finland. Later he attended Indiana University where he studied Finno-Ugric Linguistics (Hungarian) and Turkology, receiving an MA and PhD in Uralic and Altaic Studies under Professor Denis Sinor. He then went to work for RFE/RL in Munich and Prague where he first reviewed scripts for the Central Asian Services, wrote research papers for broadcast, held various management positions, helped establish bureaus in the field, and assisted in setting up broadcasts to Afghanistan. Since retirement, Dr Carlson has been teaching, first as an adjunct professor at the University of Washington where he was advisor to the Program on Comparative Religion in Uzbekistan, and now as a visiting professor at Manas University in Bishkek where he teaches courses on linguistics, literature, and International Relations. He is a member of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference where he served as president on two occasions. His publications mainly with Turkology, Central Asian history and ethnography. He makes his home in Munich, Germany.
Anna Chernova
Oxfam Great Britain
achernova@oxfam.org.uk

Anna is a Senior Regional Policy Coordinator with the MENA/Eurasia regional centre at Oxfam in London. She advises on policy and advocacy in key social justice campaigns with a focus on influencing and strategic policy on governance, development, rights-based advocacy, active citizenship and conflict-sensitive programming. Anna coordinates Oxfam GB’s inequality campaign in the region as well. Prior to joining Oxfam, Anna worked for the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE, where she directed parliamentary policy in the areas of human rights, humanitarian issues, democracy and rule of law. She has also held senior management positions in large-scale NGO emergency operations in protection, relief and recovery in Russia’s North Caucasus. Anna is a US Fulbright and IREX fellow, and has studied conflict resolution in the CIS region at St. Petersburg State University in Russia, as well as minority and refugee rights in Bulgaria. She is bilingual in English and Russian, and is learning Persian.

Krysztof Chmielewski
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań
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Krysztof is a graduate of the Faculty of Law and Administration of the University of Warsaw. He is currently a PhD Candidate in History of Political Systems and law at the Faculty of Law and Administration of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Krysztof is a member of the Polish Penitentiary Society and the Scientific Association Collegium Invisibile and author of the publications pertaining to the history of law, human rights and international law. A few of his publications are: “The Education of Prison Staff and its Impact on the Respect for Human Rights” (2011), “The Image of Lawyers in the Polish Society” (2011), and “Tadeusz Krychowski: The General Inspector of the Prison Guard (1935-1939)” (2014).
Asel Doolotkeldieva  
*Kyrgyz Turkish Manas University*  
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Asel is a Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University, Bishkek. She holds a Doctor degree in Politics (University of Exeter, UK) and MA in Comparative Politics (Sciences Po, France). Asel’s doctoral research was centered on the study of center-periphery resistance. She is largely interested in social mobilizations, state-business relationships, electoral politics, extractive industries, and informality. Her recent papers include “State as Resource, Mediator and Performer: Understanding the Local and Global Politics of Gold Mining in Kyrgyzstan” (2015); and “Limited Plurality by Default: The Pitfalls of A Weakly Institutionalized Party System in Kyrgyzstan?”, with Alexander Wolters (2016).

Sarah Dorr  
*University of Leeds*  
ptswd@leeds.ac.uk

Sarah is a third year PhD Candidate at the University of Leeds, UK. Her dissertation is titled: “The Reception of the Arab Spring in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan: A Study of Political Change.” Her research interests include civil resistance in authoritarian contexts; the role of new media in democratization and authoritarian resilience; political change in the post-Soviet space and critical discourse analysis. She is currently a visiting researcher at KIMEP University in Almaty.

Rashid Gabdulhakov  
*Central Asian Development Institute*  
rashidgabdulhakov@gmail.com

Rashid is a Researcher at the Central Asian Development Institute (CADI). Originally from Uzbekistan, he holds an MA in Politics and Security from the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic, and a Master of Advanced Studies Degree in International and European Security from the University of Geneva and the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Switzerland. Rashid has research experience in development with
various UN agencies, including UNHCR, UNDP, UN Women and UN Volunteers. In 2014-2015 he was a Fellow of the Central Asia Program at the Elliott School of International Affairs in Washington DC, USA. Rashid’s key research interests include migration, identity, borders and enclaves, nation-building and media instrumentalization.

**Søren Jarnvig**  
*Independent Consultant*  
sjarnvig@gmail.com

Søren is an independent consultant specialising on institutional analysis, formation, and reform of public services provision. Søren’s focus on the way that institutions both affect and are affected by the complex adaptive system within which they are situated has benefited a number of urban and rural water supply programmes funded by the World Bank, EBRD, and DFID. He maintains an active scholarly relationship with international research communities. Søren holds Masters Degrees in Public Administration and International Development Studies from Roskilde University, Denmark.

**Dr Alisher Khamidov**  
*New Castle University*  
akhamido@hotmail.com

Alisher specializes in ethnic relations, religious activism, social movements, political economy, and inter-state relations in Central Asia and Eurasia. He is currently a visiting fellow at Newcastle University in the UK. During 1998-2001, he served as Director of the Osh Media Resource Center, a nonprofit independent media association in Kyrgyzstan. During 2012-2014, Alisher was a British Academy and Royal Society-sponsored Newton International Fellow at Newcastle University. He has previously worked as lecturer and researcher at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of Johns Hopkins University, Notre Dame University’s Sanctions and Security Project, the NEH Summer Institute on Eurasian Civilizations at Harvard University and at the Foreign Policy Studies Program of the Brookings Institution. Alisher has an MA in International Peace Studies from Joan B. Kroc Institute of International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame (2003), and a PhD in International Relations from Johns Hopkins University (2011).
Seonhee Kim  
*University of Washington*
*skim2014@UW.edu*

Seonhee, a PhD Candidate, studies political economy, and state-society relationships in the post-socialist states. Particularly, her research focuses on examining state-society relations in Russia and the impact of ideational factors on the political economies of post-socialist nations. Her primary foundational field at the University of Washington are States, Markets and Societies. Prior to the admittance to the PhD program, she acquired an MA in International Relations from Seoul National University in her home country, South Korea.

Annamaria Kiss  
*Central European University*
*annamariakiss.ru@gmail.com*

Annamária Kiss is a Researcher at the Center for European Neighborhood Studies at Central European University in Budapest. She has an MA in Russian Studies from the EötvösLóránd University in Budapest and has also worked for the Hungarian Institute of International Affairs. Her primary interests are in Russian foreign and security policy, but her research also covers the Caucasus, radical Islam in Russia and post-Soviet politics. Her publications include: “The Spread of Radical Islam in the North Caucasus as a Security Challenge to Russia: The Caucasus Emirate” (in Hungarian, 2013), and “Russia and the South Caucasus: Managing Contradictions” (2013).

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