

## BIBLIOGRAFIA SELECCIONADA/ SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

(REVISTA UNISCI nº45 /UNISCI JOURNAL nº45)

### 1. Rusia y el Espacio Euroasiático: Su influencia en Asia Central.

María Isabel Nieto

Alonso, Antonio (2015): “Conflictos interétnicos en Asia Central: Repercusiones para la seguridad de Europa y el Mediterráneo Ampliado”, en *Minorías y fronteras en el Mediterráneo Ampliado: Un desafío a la seguridad internacional del siglo XXI*, Dykinson, Madrid.

Beneditto, Inma: La Ruta de la Seda: un 'Plan Marshall' para impulsar a China, *Expansión*, 13 de septiembre de 2017, en <http://www.expansion.com/economia/2017/05/13/5917499d22601d85728b45bd.html>

Bonnie, Cristian: “American taxpayers must be told the real cost of war”, *Forbes*, February 1, 2017, en <https://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2017/02/01/american-taxpayers-must-be-told-the-real-cost-of-war/#5af16415246b>

Brzezinsky, Zbigniew (1997): *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, New York, Basic Books.

Casey, Michel: “Caspian Agreement: Rare Good News for Central Asia Relations”, *The Diplomat*, May, 31 2015, en <http://thediplomat.com/2015/05/caspian-agreement-rare-good-news-for-central-asia-relations/>

Christian, David. (1998). *History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia, Volume I: Inner Eurasia from Prehistory to the Mongol Empire*. Blackwell Publishers.

Denyer, Simon: “China's advance into Central Asia ruffles Russian feathers”, *The Sidney Morning Herald*, January 1, 2016, en <http://www.smh.com.au/world/chinas-advance-into-central-asia-ruffles-russian-feathers-20151229-glwmgp.html#ixzz48RtuzBQS>

Fulton, Jonathan: “China is trying to pull Middle East countries into its version of NATO”, *The Washington Post*, June 21, 2017, en [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/06/21/how-china-is-shifting-toward-the-middle-east/?utm\\_term=.8b55186a3156](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/06/21/how-china-is-shifting-toward-the-middle-east/?utm_term=.8b55186a3156)

Guschin, Arthur: “China, Russia and the tussle for influence in Kazakhstan”, *The Diplomat*, March 23, 2015, en <http://thediplomat.com/2015/03/china-russia-and-the-tussle-for-influence-in-kazakhstan/>

Ibrahimov, Rafael: “Russia, Iran and Turkey in Central Asia: A nexus of minor tensions”, *Tony Blair Institute for Global Change*, 17 May 2017, en <http://institute.global/insight/co-existence/russia-iran-and-turkey-central-asia-nexus-minor-tensions>

Janusz Barbara: "The Caspian Sea Legal Status and Regime Problems", *Chatham House*, (August 2005), en <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Research/Russia%20and%20Eurasia/bp0805caspien.pdf>

"Joint Declaration of Partnership and Cooperation by the Five Countries of Central Asia and The United States of America", Samarkand, Uzbekistan, en <https://uz.usembassy.gov/joint-declaration-of-partnership-and-cooperation-by-the-five-countries-of-central-asia-and-the-united-states-of-america-samarkand-uzbekistan/>

J. Veichert, Brandon: "U.S. Out of Afganistan: Here's How", *American Greatness*, 18 August 2017, en <http://amgreatness.com/2017/08/18/u-s-afghanistan-heres/>

*Kazajstan*, en [http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/KAZAJSTAN\\_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf](http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/KAZAJSTAN_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf)

*Kazakhstan*, Informe, Country Analysis Brief, The U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), en [http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis\\_includes/countries\\_long/Kazakhstan/kazakhstan.pdf](http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis_includes/countries_long/Kazakhstan/kazakhstan.pdf)

*Kirguistán*, en [http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/KIRGUISTAN\\_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf](http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/KIRGUISTAN_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf)

Lang Józef: "Exporting Jihad – Islamic terrorism from Central Asia", *Center for Eastern Studies OSW*, n°. 236 (April 2017), en [https://www.osw.waw.pl/sites/default/files/commentary\\_236.pdf](https://www.osw.waw.pl/sites/default/files/commentary_236.pdf)

Lo, Bobo: *A Wary Embrace*, Lowi Institute, 3 April 2017, en <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/wary-embrace>

Lo Bobo: "Frontiers New and Old: Rusias's Policy in Central Asia", *Russie. Nei Visions*, IFRI, n° 82 (January 2015), pp. 5-25, en [https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ifri\\_rnv\\_82\\_central\\_asia\\_bobolo\\_eng\\_january\\_2015\\_0.pdf](https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ifri_rnv_82_central_asia_bobolo_eng_january_2015_0.pdf).

Mackinder, H: "The Geographical Pivot of History", *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 23, n°.4, (April 1904), pp. 421-437

Mackinder, Halford. (1962). *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, New York, W. W. Norton. (Publicado originalmente en 1919).

Mincheva, Luzmila and Asanova, Jamila: "A mapping study of civil society organizations in Kazakhstan", (October 2015), en [http://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/csos\\_mapping\\_study\\_executive\\_summary\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/csos_mapping_study_executive_summary_en.pdf)

Morales, Javier: “Asia Central en la Política exterior de Rusia”. *UNISCI Discussion Papers*, n° 28 (Enero / January 2012), en <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/UNIS/article/viewFile/38464/37203>

Nieto, María Isabel: “Rusia y la Estrategia Global de Seguridad de la Unión Europea”, en Marquina, Antonio (ed.) (2016): *La Estrategia Global de Seguridad de la Unión Europea, Asomándose al precipicio*, Madrid, UNISCI, pp. 307-338.

“Northern Distribution Network” (NDN), *Center for Strategic & International Studies CSIS*, en <https://www.csis.org/programs/transnational-threats-project/past-projects/northern-distribution-network-ndn>

Peyrouse Sébastien: “Iran’s Growing Role in Central Asia? Geopolitical, Economic and Political Profit and Loss Account”, *Aljazeera Centre for Studies*, 6 April 2014, en <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/dossiers/2014/04/2014416940377354.html>.

Pérez, Miguel Ángel: “La geoeconomía de Asia Central y el “Gran Juego” de los recursos naturales: agua, petróleo, gas, uranio y corredores de transporte (DT)”, *Real Instituto Elcano*, DT 59/2009, 23 noviembre 2009, en [http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano\\_es/contenido?WCM\\_GLOBAL\\_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano\\_es/zonas\\_es/dt59-2009](http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano_es/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_es/zonas_es/dt59-2009)

*Remarks by President Trump on the Strategy in Afghanistan and South Asia*, August 21, 2017, en <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/08/21/remarks-president-trump-strategy-afghanistan-and-south-asia>.

Resolución del Parlamento Europeo, de 13 de abril de 2016, sobre la aplicación y revisión de la Estrategia de la UE para Asia Central (2015/2220(INI)), en <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P8-TA-2016-0121+0+DOC+XML+V0//ES>

Resolución del Parlamento Europeo, de 18 de abril de 2013, sobre la situación de los Derechos Humanos en Kazajstán, en <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P7-TA-2013-0190+0+DOC+XML+V0//ES>.

Rolland Nadège: “China's `Belt and Road Initiative´: Underwhelming or Game-Changer?”, *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 40, n° 1 (2017).

Rumer Eugene, Sokolsky Richard and Stronsky Paul: “U.S. Policy Toward Central Asia 3.0”, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, January 25, 2016, en <http://carnegieendowment.org/2016/01/25/u.s.-policy-toward-central-asia-3.0-pub-62556>

*Russian Views of the International Order*, en [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1800/RR1826/RAND\\_RR1826.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR1800/RR1826/RAND_RR1826.pdf)

Sharifi Nagib: “Russia’s new game in Afghanistan”, *Aljazeera*, 27 February 2017, en <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/02/russia-game-afghanistan-170223095212195.html>

Stanganelli, Isabel, “Las conflictivas fronteras de Asia Central”, en <http://sedici.unlp.edu.ar/bitstream/handle/10915/38714/Ponencia.pdf?sequence=2>

“Statement of General Joseph L. Votel Commander U.S. Central Command Before the Senate Armed Services Committee on the posture of U.S. Central Command”, 9 March 2017, en [http://www.centcom.mil/Portals/6/Documents/Votel\\_03-09-17.pdf](http://www.centcom.mil/Portals/6/Documents/Votel_03-09-17.pdf).

*Turkmenistan*, The U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), July 2014, en <https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/country.cfm?iso=TKM>

*Uzbekistan*, The U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), July 2016, en <https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.cfm?iso=UZB>

*Uzbekistan: On the Path to High-Middle-Income Status by 2030*, *The World Bank*, April 13, 2016, en <http://www.worldbank.org/en/results/2016/04/13/uzbekistan-on-the-path-to-high-middle-income-status-by-2050>

Van Der Togt, Tony: “Bridging the Dividing Lines in Greater Eurasia”, *Russia in Global Affairs*, 6 June 2017, en <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Bridging-the-Dividing-Lines-in-Greater-Eurasia-18764>.

Vladimir, Putin, “El nuevo proyecto de integración para Eurasia, es el futuro que nace hoy”, *Izvestia*, 4 octubre 2011.

“World Oil Transit Chokepoints”, The U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), en <http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/regions-topics.cfm?RegionTopicID=WOTC&src=home-b2>

## 2. US Foreign Policy Towards Central Asia

Lance Alred, Sean Michael Kelly,  
Madina Ruby, Yuliya Shokh,  
Mariam Tsitsishvili, Richard Weitz

“Afghan Civilian Casualties Hit Half-Year Record, with 5,166 Dead or Maimed –UN”, UN News Centre, 25 July 2016, at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=54543#.WOGbLxyPdsQ>.

Azizian, Rouben: “Islamic Radicalism in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan: Implications for the Global War on Terrorism”, *ISN* (September 2005) p. 4, at <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?Lang=En&Id=44044>.

Balci and Chaudet: “Jihadism in Central Asia” and Dinar, Shlomi: “The Convergence of Terrorism And Translation Crime In Central Asia”, *Studies In Conflict And Terrorism*, vol. 38, n° 5 (2015) pp. 380-393.

Balci, Bayram and Chaudet, Didier: “Jihadism in Central Asia: A Credible Threat After the Western Withdrawal from Afghanistan?”, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (August 2014), at <http://Carnegieendowment.Org/2014/08/13/Jihadism-In-Central-Asia-Credible-Threat-After-Western-Withdrawal-From-Afghanistan>

Blinken, Anthony: “State’s Blinken On a Vision for Central Asia”, *Iip Digital*, 31 March 2015, at <http://Iipdigital.Usembassy.Gov/St/English/Texttrans/2015/04/20150401314506.Html#Axzz3ehwfhtoq>

Brautigam, Christopher: “Steppe Eagle Builds Capacity and Cooperation”, U.S. Army, 27 April 2016, at [https://www.army.mil/article/166836/steppe\\_eagle\\_builds\\_capacity\\_and\\_cooperation](https://www.army.mil/article/166836/steppe_eagle_builds_capacity_and_cooperation).

“Central Asia at Danger: The Islamic State Will Not Halt at The Caspian Sea”, Stratfor, September 5, 2014, <https://www.Stratfor.Com/The-Hub/Central-Asia-Danger-Islamic-State-Will-Not-Halt-Caspian-Sea>.

“Central Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone (Canwz)”, Nuclear Threat Initiative, (July 2016), at <http://www.nti.org/Learn/Treaties-And-Regimes/Central-Asia-Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zone-Canwz/>.

Chowdhury Fink, Naureen et al., “Addressing the Foreign Terrorist Fighters Phenomenon from A European Union Perspective”, Global Center on Cooperative Security, (December 2014), pp. 7-17

Cilluffo, Frank J.: “Wanted: Foreign Fighters – The Escalating Threat of Isil In Central Asia”, Helsinki Commission Hearing, (June 2015) at [http://Csce.Gov/Index.Cfm?Fuseaction=Contentrecords.Viewwitness&Contentrecord\\_Id=1621&Contenttype=D&Contentrecordtype=D&Parenttype=H](http://Csce.Gov/Index.Cfm?Fuseaction=Contentrecords.Viewwitness&Contentrecord_Id=1621&Contenttype=D&Contentrecordtype=D&Parenttype=H).

Cilluffo, op. cit.,” and Satke, Ryskeldi et al., “The Islamic State Threat in Central Asia: Reality or Spin?”, *Terrorism Monitor*, vol.13, n° 6 (2015), at [http://www.Jamestown.Org/Single/?Tx\\_Tnews%5btt\\_News%5d=43680&No\\_Cache=1#.Vy7knxo6ert](http://www.Jamestown.Org/Single/?Tx_Tnews%5btt_News%5d=43680&No_Cache=1#.Vy7knxo6ert);

Cohen, Ariel: “The Threat of Islamism In Central Asia And the North Caucasus”, Testimony Before the Europe, Eurasia, and Emerging Threats; And the Terrorism, Nonproliferation, And Trade Subcommittees, (February 2013), p. 8.

“Country Report on Terrorism 2014”, U.S. Department of State, at <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2014/>.

“Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2016”, U.S. Department of State, 2016, at <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/#wrapper>.

Daly, John C.K: “Russia Shuttters Northern Distribution Network”, *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 15 June 2015, at <https://Jamestown.Org/Program/Russia-Shuttters-Northern-Distribution-Network/>

Dominguez, Gabriel: “Central Asia’s Intensifying Water Dispute”, *Deutsche Welle*, 12 September 2014, at <http://www.dw.com/En/Central-Asias-Intensifying-Water-Dispute/A-17917965>.

Dzyubenko, Olga: “U.S. Vacates Base in Central Asia As Russia's Clout Rises”, *Reuters*, 3 June 2014, <http://www.Reuters.Com/Article/Us-Kyrgyzstan-Usa-Manas-Iduskbn0ee1lh20140603>

Eisenman, Joshua and Stewart, Devin: “China’s New Silk Road Is Getting Muddy”, *Foreign Policy*, 9 January 2017, <http://Foreignpolicy.Com/2017/01/09/Chinas-New-Silk-Road-Is-Getting-Muddy/>

Eustacia, Liana Reyes and Dinar, Shlomi “The Convergence of Terrorism and Translation Crime in Central Asia,” *Studies In Conflict And Terrorism*, vol. 38, n° 5 (2015), pp. 380-393.

Felbab-Brown, Vanda: “The Obama Administration’s New Counternarcotics Strategy in Afghanistan: Its Promises and Potential Pitfalls”, Brookings Policy Brief # 171, (September 2009), at <http://www.Brookings.Edu/Research/Papers/2009/09/Afghanistan-Felbabbrown;>

Foust, Joshua: “Security and Human Rights in Central Asia”, *Brown Journal of World Affairs* (Fall/Winter 2012), at <http://Joshuafoust.Com/Security-And-Human-Rights-In-Central-Asia/>.

Gavrilis, George: “Afghan Narcotrafficking: The State of Afghanistan’s Borders”, Joint U.S.-Russia Working Group on Afghan Narcotrafficking, Eastwest Institute, (April 2015).

Gorenburg, Dmitry: “External Support for Central Asian Military and Security Forces”, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute-Open Society Foundations Working Paper, (January 2014), pp. 85-90.

“Inspection of Embassy Dushanbe, Tajikistan”, U.S. Department of State, March 2015, at <https://oig.state.gov/system/files/isp-i-15-17a.pdf>.

“Justification for FY 2017 Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO) Afghanistan Security Forces Fund (ASFF), Office of the Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense Budget Fiscal Year (FY) 2017, February 2016, pp.1-2, at [http://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/defbudget/fy2017/FY17\\_J-Book-ASFF.pdf](http://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/defbudget/fy2017/FY17_J-Book-ASFF.pdf).

Kazantsev, Andrey A.: “Central Asia: Secular Statehood Challenged by Radical Islam”, Valdai Discussion Club, #2 (42) Valdai Papers, (January 2016), at <http://Valdaiclub.Com/Files/11419/>.

Kazantsev, Andrey: “Recruiting Foreign Terrorist Fighters and Dealing with Returnees: European Experience And The Prospects For Russia”, Working Paper, Russian Council On International Affairs, (April 2016), at [http://Russiaincouncil.Ru/En/Inner/?Id\\_4=7385#Top-Content](http://Russiaincouncil.Ru/En/Inner/?Id_4=7385#Top-Content).

“Kerry: Russia Enabling Assad 'Terror'”, *Voice of America*, 17 February 2014, at <http://Www.Voanews.Com/Content/Kerry-Russia-Enabling-Assad-Terror-Against-Syrian-People/1852696.html>.

Kucera, Joshua: "U.S. Defends Giving Armored Vehicles to Uzbekistan", *Eurasianet*, 5 July 2015, at <http://www.Eurasianet.Org/Node/74126>.

Kucera, Joshua: “U.S. Boosts Special Forces Training in Central Asia”, *Eurasianet*, 28 March 2017, at <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/83021>.

Kurtzleben, Danielle: “Chart: How the U.S. Troop Levels in Afghanistan Have Changed Under Obama”, *NPR*, 6 July 2016, at <http://www.npr.org/2016/07/06/484979294/chart-how-the-u-s-troop-levels-in-afghanistan-have-changed-under-obama>

Kutnaeva, Nuria: “Central Asian Cyber Security”, *Unipath*, at [https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0ahUK EwiZi67rkM3UAhVIFT4KHRFbBXUQFggyMAI&url=http%3A%2F%2Funipath-magazine.com%2Fcentral-asian-cyber-security%2F&usg=AFQjCNF96pfAV8gJzJ\\_cg3oNoGHe09m8Aw&sig2=ZzwB7BsLbPAIWO8046zhHg](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0ahUK EwiZi67rkM3UAhVIFT4KHRFbBXUQFggyMAI&url=http%3A%2F%2Funipath-magazine.com%2Fcentral-asian-cyber-security%2F&usg=AFQjCNF96pfAV8gJzJ_cg3oNoGHe09m8Aw&sig2=ZzwB7BsLbPAIWO8046zhHg)

Lang, Józef: “The Luftwaffe And American Military Equipment in Uzbekistan”, *OSW*, 4 February 2015, at <https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2015-02-04/luftwaffe-and-american-military-equipment-uzbekistan>

Laruelle, Marlene: “Cybersecurity in central Asia; Real Issues, false excuse?”, George Washington University, at <https://app.box.com/s/j14c2hogr3w636etdn67>

Luhn, Alec “Why Did Russia Shut Down Its Version of The DEA?”, *Vice News*, 6 July 2016, at <https://News.Vice.Com/Article/Vladimir-Putin-Shut-Down-Russian-Version-Of-The-Dea-Fskn>

Lukyanov, Grigory: “The Islamic State in Afghanistan: A Real Threat to The Region?”, Russian Council on International Affairs, 19 September 2016, at [http://RussianCouncil.Ru/En/Inner/?Id\\_4=8111#Top-Content](http://RussianCouncil.Ru/En/Inner/?Id_4=8111#Top-Content).

Marat, Erica: “Two Decades of U.S.-Kyrgyz Relations”, Rethink Institute, at <http://www.rethinkinstitute.org/two-decades-of-u-s-kyrgyz-relations/>.  
“Most NATO Members in Eastern Europe See It as Protection”, *Gallup*, 10 February 2017, at [http://www.gallup.com/poll/203819/nato-members-eastern-europe-protection.aspx?g\\_source=World&g\\_medium=newsfeed&g\\_campaign=tiles](http://www.gallup.com/poll/203819/nato-members-eastern-europe-protection.aspx?g_source=World&g_medium=newsfeed&g_campaign=tiles).

National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism: “Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)”, (March 2015), at <http://www.start.umd.edu/baad/narratives/islamic-movement-uzbekistan-imu>.

Nichol, Jim: “Central Asia: Regional Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests”, Congressional Research Service, (March 2014), at <https://Fas.Org/Sgp/Crs/Row/R133458.pdf>.

Nichol, Jim: “Turkmenistan: Recent Developments and US Interests”, Congressional Research Service, (December 2013), at <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/97-1055.pdf>.

Oliker, Olga And Shlapak, David A.: “U.S. Interests in Central Asia: Policy Priorities and Military Roles”, Rand Corporation, 2005, pp. 45-49.

Pannier, Bruce: “The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan Comes Unraveled”, *Radio Free Europe*, (November 2015), at <http://www.rferl.Org/A/Qishloq-Ovozi-Islamic-Movement-Uzbekistan-Fractured/27395160.html>

Pellerin, Cheryl: “Resolute Support Commander: More Troops Needed to Break Afghan ‘Stalemate’”, U.S. Department of Defense, 9 February 2017, at <https://www.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/1078377/resolute-support-commander-more-troops-needed-to-break-afghan-stalemate>

Peyrouse, Sébastien: “Central Asia’s Growing Partnership with China”, Working Paper n° 4 (Madrid: EUCAM, 2009) pp. 9–10.

Peyrouse, Sébastien: “Drug Trafficking in Central Asia, A Poorly Considered Fight?”, Ponars Eurasia Policy Memo n° 218, (September 2012), pp. 1-5.

Prentice, Alessandra and Zverev, Anton: “Ukraine, after war, becomes a trove for black market arms trade”, *Reuters*, 25 July 2016, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-arms-insight-idUSKCN1050ZE>.

Rafiyeva, Mavlouda: "Tajikistan Tries 23 Alleged Members of Jamaat Ansarullah", Plus/Tajikistan, 11 April 2015, at <http%3a%2f%2fnews.Tj%2fen%2fnews%2ftajikistan-Tries-23-Alleged-Members-Jamaat-Ansarullah>.



Roggio, Bill and Weiss, Caleb: “Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan Faction Emerges after Group’s Collapse”, *Long War Journal*, (June 2016), at <http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/06/islamic-movement-of-uzbekistan-faction-emerges-after-groups-collapse.php>.

Rosenblum, Daniel: “Addressing Security Challenges Associated with Recruitment of Central Asian Foreign Fighters by the Islamic State of Iraq and The Levant (ISIL)”, Helsinki Commission Hearing, (June 2015) at [http://Csce.Gov/Index.Cfm?Fuseaction=Contentrecords.Viewwitness&Contentrecord\\_Id=1619&Contenttype=D&Contentrecordtype=D&Parenttype=H](http://Csce.Gov/Index.Cfm?Fuseaction=Contentrecords.Viewwitness&Contentrecord_Id=1619&Contenttype=D&Contentrecordtype=D&Parenttype=H);  
Saikal, Amin: “Refining the Western Counter Terrorism Strategy”, East Asia Forum, 28 March 2015, at <http://www.Eastasiaforum.Org/2015/03/28/Refining-The-Western-Counter-Terrorism-Strategy/>.

SIGAR Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction: Quarterly Report to the United States Congress, 30 January 2017, at <https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2017-01-30qr.pdf>;

Solovyov, Dmitry: "Commander of Elite Tajik Police Force Defects to Islamic State", *Reuters*, 28 May 2015, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/05/28/us-mideast-crisis-tajikistan-iduskbn0od1ap20150528>.

Suslov, Dmitry: “A New Start for Russian-US Counter-Terrorism Cooperation”, Valdai Discussion Club, 7 September 2013, at <http://Valdaiclub.Com/Usa/60020.html>.

“TAPI: A Transnational Pipe Dream”, Stratfor, 15 December 2016, at <https://Www.Stratfor.Com/Analysis/Tapi-Transnational-Pipe-Dream>.

“Trafficking in Persons Report 2016”, U.S. Department of State, n.d., at <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2016/>.

Tromble, Rebekah: “Securitising Islamd, Securitizing Ethnicity: The Discourse of Uzbek Radicalism in Kyrgyzstan”, *East European Politics*, vol.30, n° 4 (2014) p. 539, at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/21599165.2014.950417>

U.S. – Central Asia (C5+1) Joint Projects, [https://tj.usembassy.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/143/2016/08/c5-1-fact-sheet\\_english.pdf](https://tj.usembassy.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/143/2016/08/c5-1-fact-sheet_english.pdf).

“U.S. Military Commander Talks with Tajik Leader in Central Asian Tour”, *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty*, 15 June 2016, at <http://www.rferl.org/a/centcom-commander-central-asian-tour/27799175.html>.

“Russia Re-Evaluates Security Ties in Central Asia”, 3 March 2016, Stratfor, at <https://www.Stratfor.Com/Analysis/Russia-Re-Evaluates-Security-Ties-Central-Asia>.

Vinson, Mark: "A Look at Tajikistan's Jamaat Ansarullah Leader Amriddin Tabarov". *Militant Leadership Monitor*, (August 2015), at <https://jamestown.org/program/a-look-at-tajikistans-jamaat-ansarullah-leader-amriddin-tabarov/>.

Votel, General Joseph L., Commander U.S. Central Command, Before the Senate Armed Service Committee on the Posture of U.S. Central Command, March 2017, at [https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Votel\\_03-09-17.pdf](https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Votel_03-09-17.pdf).

Weitz, Richard: “U.S. New Silk Road Initiative Needs Urgent Renewal”, The Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst, (March 2015), at <https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/13155-us-new-silk-road-initiative-needs-urgent-renewal.html>

Wesolek, Monette: “Arizona National Guard Soldiers Participate in Multi-National Training Exercise”, U.S. Army, 2 August 2016, at [https://www.army.mil/article/172673/arizona\\_national\\_guard\\_soldiers\\_participate\\_in\\_multi\\_national\\_training\\_exercise](https://www.army.mil/article/172673/arizona_national_guard_soldiers_participate_in_multi_national_training_exercise).

Yong-An, Zhang: “Asia, International Drug Trafficking, And U.S.-China Counternarcotics Cooperation”, The Brookings Institution, February 2012.

### 3. Los Intereses de China en Asia Central: One Belt-One Road.

Antonio Alonso

“Central Asia’s Silk Road Rivalries”, ICG Europe and Central Asia Report, nº245, 27 July 2017

Cai, Peter: “Understanding China’s Belt and Road Initiative”, Lowy Institute, March 2017

Gabuev, Alexander; Lissovnikov, Yaroslav; Timofeev, Ivan; Nadorshin, Evgeny y Smirnova, Larisa: “Second International Conference “Russia and China: Taking on a New Quality of Bilateral Relations”. Event Report, *Russian International Affairs Council*, 22 Diciembre 2016, en <http://old.russiancouncil.ru/common/upload/Conference-Report-RUCN2016-En.pdf>.

Ghiassy, Richard y Zhou, Jiayi: “The Silk Road Economic Belt: Considering security implications and EU–China cooperation prospects”, *SIPRI*, 2017, en <https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/The-Silk-Road-Economic-Belt.pdf>.

Higuera, Georgina: “La Ruta de la Seda del siglo XXI”, *Política Exterior*, septiembre-octubre 2015, nº 167, en <http://www.politicaexterior.com/politica-exterior/?numeroRevista=167>.

Joshi, Nirmala y Kumari, Kamala: “China’s Silk Road Economic Belt and the Central Asian Response”, *Russian International Affairs Council*, 11 Abril 2017, en <http://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/china-s-silk-road-economic-belt-and-the-central-asian-response>.

Kazantsev, A.A.; Zvyagelskaya, I.D.; Kuzmina, E.M. y Luzyanin, S.G.: “Prospects for Russian–Chinese Cooperation in Central Asia”, *Russian International Affairs Council*, Working Paper 28/2016, en <http://old.russiancouncil.ru/common/upload/RIAC-WP-Ru-Cn-CentralAsia-28-en.pdf>.

Kratz, Agatha: “Retórica y estrategias de la nueva Ruta de la Seda”, *Política Exterior*, Septiembre-octubre 2015, nº 167, en <http://www.politicaexterior.com/politica-exterior/?numeroRevista=167>.

Kudaibergenova, Diana T.: “My Silk Road to You”: Re-imagining routes, roads, and geography in contemporary art of “Central Asia”, *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, nº 8 (2017) 31–43,

Lain, Sarah y Pantucci, Raffaello: “The Economics of the Silk Road Economic Belt”, *RUSI*, November 2015, en [https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/20151126\\_cr\\_economics\\_of\\_the\\_silk\\_road\\_economic\\_belt.pdf](https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/20151126_cr_economics_of_the_silk_road_economic_belt.pdf)

Lain, Sarah: “China’s Silk Road in Central Asia: transformative or exploitative?”, *Financial Times*, 27 Abril 2016, en <https://www.ft.com/content/55ca031d-3fe3-3555-a878-3bcfa9fd6a98>.

Madiyev, Oybek: “Why have China and Russia become Uzbekistan’s biggest energy partners? Exploring the role of exogenous and endogenous factors”, *Cambridge Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 2017, vol. 1.

Montobbio, Manuel: “China: cultura estratégica y ascenso global”, *Esglobal*, 13 abril 2017, en <https://www.esglobal.org/china-cultura-estrategica-ascenso-global/>.

“One Belt One Road: A role for UK companies in developing China’s new initiative”, en <http://china-trade-research.hktdc.com/business-news/article/The-Belt-and-Road-Initiative/One-Belt-One-Road-A-role-for-UK-companies-in-developing-China-s-new-initiative/obor/en/1/1X000000/1X0A42O6.htm>

Rolland Nadège: “China's `Belt and Road Initiative´: Underwhelming or Game-Changer?”, *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 40, n° 1 (2017).

Spanger, Hans-Joachim: “Russia’s Turn Eastward, China’s Turn Westward: Cooperation and Conflict on the New Silk Road”, *Global Affairs*, 14 junio 2016, en <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/valday/Russias-Turn-Eastward-Chinas-Turn-Westward-Cooperation-and-Conflict-on-the-New-Silk-Road-18209>.

“The Belt and Road Initiative”, *HKTDC*, 21 Enero 2016, en [http://beltandroad.hktdc.com/sites/default/files/imported/beltandroadbasics/hktdc\\_1X0K715S\\_en.pdf](http://beltandroad.hktdc.com/sites/default/files/imported/beltandroadbasics/hktdc_1X0K715S_en.pdf)

Tom Phillips: “China's Xi lays out \$900bn Silk Road vision amid claims of empire-building”, *The Guardian*, 14 mayo 2016, en <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/14/china-xi-silk-road-vision-belt-and-road-claims-empire-building>.

Wong, John y Downs, Erica: “China’s new silk route: The long and winding road”, *PwC's Growth Markets Centre*, Febrero 2016, en [www.pwc.com/gmc](http://www.pwc.com/gmc)

#### **4. Placing India in the Emerging Regional Dynamics of Central Asia: From ‘Look North’ to ‘Connect North’**

**Meena Singh Roy, Rajorshi Roy**

Bayram Balci, “Jihadism in Central Asia: A Credible Threat After the Western Withdrawal from Afghanistan?”, *Carnegie Moscow Center*, 13 August 2014, at <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/08/13/jihadism-in-central-asia-credible-threat-after-westernwithdrawal-from-afghanistan>

“Bilateral agreements concluded during PM’s visit to Kazakhstan”, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 16 April, 2011, at <http://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/4845/bilateral+agreements+concluded+during+pms+visit+to+kazakhstan>

Bisaria, Ajay (2013): “Connect Central Asia Policy”, in *Perspectives on Bilateral and Regional Cooperation South and Central Asia*, Chandigarh, Centre for Rural and Industrial Development(CRRID), Chandigarh.

“BP Statistical Review of World Energy”, June 2017, *BP*, at <https://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/en/corporate/pdf/energy-economics/statistical-review-2017/bp-statistical-review-of-world-energy-2017-full-report.pdf>

“Briefs on India’s Foreign Relations: Kyrgyzstan”, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Bilateral\\_brief\\_-\\_Open-30.11.2016\\_new.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Bilateral_brief_-_Open-30.11.2016_new.pdf)

“Briefs on India’s Foreign Relations: Tajikistan”, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Tajikistan\\_August\\_2017.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Tajikistan_August_2017.pdf)

“Briefs on India’s Foreign Relations: Uzbekistan”, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Uzbekistan\\_Jan\\_2017.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Uzbekistan_Jan_2017.pdf)

“Dry run for Russia-Iran-India transport project likely tomorrow”, *Live Mint*, 12 April 2017, at <http://www.livemint.com/Politics/dio3cLF9lcJp8srblf1ccO/Dry-run-for-RussiaIranIndia-transport-project-likely-tomor.html>

“Examining the President’s FY 2018 Budget Proposal for Europe and Eurasia”, Foreign Affairs Committee, July 25, 2017, at <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/hearing/subcommittee-hearing-examining-presidents-fy-2018-udget-proposal-europe-eurasia/>

Inaugural Address by Prime Minister Narendra Modi at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Raisina Dialogue, New Delhi, January 17, 2017 at [http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/27948/Inaugural\\_Address\\_by\\_Prime\\_Minister\\_at\\_Second\\_Raisina\\_Dialogue\\_New\\_Delhi\\_January\\_17\\_2017](http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/27948/Inaugural_Address_by_Prime_Minister_at_Second_Raisina_Dialogue_New_Delhi_January_17_2017)

“India’s trade with Central Asian Republics”, Government of India, Department of Commerce, at <http://commerce.nic.in/eidb/default.asp>

“India-Kazakhstan Relations”, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, July 2016, at [https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Kazakhstan1\\_July\\_2016.pdf](https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Kazakhstan1_July_2016.pdf)

“India’s petroleum import bill rose 9 per cent last fiscal, import dependency of crude rises to 82 percent”, *Energy World of Economic Times*, 26 April 2017, at <http://energy.economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/oil-and-gas/-indias-petroleum-import-bill-rose-9-per-cent-last-fiscal-import-dependency-of-crude-rises-to-82-percent/58380805>

“India to accede to the Ashgabat Agreement”, Press Information Bureau, Government of India, 23 March 2016, at <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=138309>

“India’s trade in 1993”, World Integrated Trade Solution (WITS ), at <http://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/IND/Year/1993/TradeFlow/EXPI MP/Partner/by-country>

“India to expand its economic footprints in Central Asia”, *The Economic Times*, 1 May 2017, at [http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/india-to-expand-its-economic-footprints-in-central-asia/articleshow/58455678.cms?utm\\_source=contentofinterest&utm\\_medium=text&utm\\_campaign=cppst](http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/india-to-expand-its-economic-footprints-in-central-asia/articleshow/58455678.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst)

Information provided by Jenisbek Jumanbekov, Director, RATS SCO Executive Committee during VII SCO Forum meeting in Almaty, 24 April 2012

“Joint Statement between Uzbekistan and India during the Prime Minister's visit to Uzbekistan”, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 6 July 2015, at [http://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/25429/Joint\\_Statement\\_between\\_Uzbekistan\\_and\\_India\\_during\\_the\\_Prime\\_Ministers\\_visit\\_to\\_Uzbekistan](http://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/25429/Joint_Statement_between_Uzbekistan_and_India_during_the_Prime_Ministers_visit_to_Uzbekistan)

“Keynote Address by E. Ahamed at First India-Central Asia Dialogue”, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 12 June 2012, at <http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-statements.htm?dtl/19791/Keynote+address+by+MOS+Shri+E+Ahamed+at+First+India+Central+Asia+Dialogue>

“Media Statement by Prime Minister during his visit to Tajikistan”, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 13 July 2015, at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25465/Media\\_Statement\\_by\\_Prime\\_Minister\\_during\\_his\\_visit\\_to\\_Tajikistan\\_July\\_13\\_2015](http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25465/Media_Statement_by_Prime_Minister_during_his_visit_to_Tajikistan_July_13_2015)

Meena Singh Roy and Rajorshi Roy, “Managing Threats and Challenges of Terrorism in the Eurasian Region”, *Asian Strategic Review*, 2016 [http://www.idsa.in/system/files/book/book\\_ASR2016.pdf](http://www.idsa.in/system/files/book/book_ASR2016.pdf)

Minutes of the 7th meeting of the Expert Groups I and II and 6th INSTC Coordination Council Meeting held at New Delhi on 19-21 March 2015.

Mukerji, Asoke: “India, Central Asia and the new Silk Road”, *IISS*, 10 July 2012, at <http://www.iiss.org/en/events/events/archive/2012-4a49/july-70c4/india-central-asia-and-the-new-silk-road-e4d1>

Muni, S.D. (2003): ‘India and Central Asia: Towards a Cooperative Future’, in *Central Asia—The Great Game Replayed: An Indian Perspective*, New Delhi: New Century Publications, p. 125

Mohan, Raja: “A message to Inner Asia”, *Indian Express*, 6 July 2015, at <http://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/a-passage-to-inner-asia/>

Remarks by Prime Minister at Plenary of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation 10 July 2015, at [http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25454/Remarks by Prime Minister at Plenary of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation](http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25454/Remarks_by_Prime_Minister_at_Plenary_of_the_Shanghai_Cooperation_Organisation)

Roy, Meena: “Iran: India's Gateway to Central Asia”, *Strategic Analysis*, vol. 16, n° 6 (2012) pp: 957-975; “Once operational, Chabahar port will be gateway to golden opportunities: Gadkari”, *The Times of India*, 6 August 2017 at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/india-business/once-operational-chabahar-port-will-be-gateway-to-golden-opportunities-gadkari/articleshow/59940737.cms>

Roy, Meena: “India’s ‘Connect Central Asia’ Policy: Building Cooperative Partnership”, *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, vol. 8, n° 3 (July–September 2013), pp. 301-316.

Roy, Meena, “The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: India Seeking New Role in the Eurasian Regional Mechanism”, *IDS*, February 2014 at <http://www.idsa.in/system/files/monograph34.pdf>

Roy, Meena, “International North-South Transport Corridor: Re-energising India’s Gateway to Eurasia”, *IDS*, 18 August 2015, at [http://idsa.in/issuebrief/InternationalNorthSouthTransportCorridor\\_msroy\\_180815](http://idsa.in/issuebrief/InternationalNorthSouthTransportCorridor_msroy_180815)

Roy, Meena and Roy, Rajorshi (2016): “Managing Threats and Challenges of Terrorism in the Eurasian Region”, in *Asian Strategic Review 2016 – Terrorism: Emerging Trends*, New Delhi, Pentagon Press, pp. 160-188

“SCO Energy Club: What it Should be”, *Shanghai Cooperation Organization*, 13 March 2012, at <http://infoshos.ru/en/?idn=9616>

“Sector Assessment (Summary): Energy”, Asian Development Bank, 2016, at <http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/linked-documents/cps-taj-2016-2020-ssa-02.pdf>

Soliev, Nodirbek, “Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan”, *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analysis*, vol 7, n°1 (1 February 2015) pp. 50-57.

Speech by Foreign Secretary Dr. S. Jaishankar at IISS, July 20, 2015, at [http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25493/IISS\\_Fullerton\\_Lecture\\_by\\_Dr\\_S\\_Jaishankar\\_Foreign\\_Secretary\\_in\\_Singapore](http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25493/IISS_Fullerton_Lecture_by_Dr_S_Jaishankar_Foreign_Secretary_in_Singapore)

Speech by Ambassador Jayant Prasad on “India and its Neighbours”, during P.C. Lal Memorial Lecture, New Delhi, March 16, 2016.

Speech by Foreign Secretary at the Research and Information System for Developing Countries, 25 August, 2017, at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/28888/Speech\\_by\\_Foreign\\_Secretary\\_at\\_the\\_Research\\_and\\_Information\\_System\\_for\\_Developing\\_Countries](http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/28888/Speech_by_Foreign_Secretary_at_the_Research_and_Information_System_for_Developing_Countries)

“Summit Focuses on Central Asia’s Islamic State Anxieties”, *Eurasianet*, 15 September, 2015, at <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/75091>

“Testimony of Daniel Rosenblum Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs Before the House Foreign Affairs Committee Hearing on “Examining the President’s FY 2018 Budget Proposal Europe and Eurasia”, *Foreign Affairs Committee*, July 25, 2017, at <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/hearing/subcommittee-hearing-examining-presidents-fy-2018-budget-proposal-europe-eurasia/>

“The energy sector of the Republic of Tajikistan”, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan*, <http://mfa.tj/en/?l=en&cat=28&art=201>

“The World in 2050 Will the shift in global economic power continue?”, *PWC*, February 2015, <https://www.pwc.com/gx/en/issues/the-economy/assets/world-in-2050-february-2015.pdf>

“Uranium and Nuclear Power in Kazakhstan”, *World Nuclear Association*, August 2017, at <http://www.world-nuclear.org/information-library/country-profiles/countries-g-n/kazakhstan.aspx>

“Uranium in Uzbekistan”, *World Nuclear Association*, May 2017 at <http://world-nuclear.org/information-library/country-profiles/countries-t-z/uzbekistan.aspx>



## 5. La Evolución de Afganistán: sus efectos sobre el futuro de la región

**Mario Laborie**

Abi-Habib, Maria: “Tehran Builds on Outreach to Taliban”, Wall Street Journal, 1 August 2012, en <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10000872396390444130304577560241242267700>

Afghanistan in 2016: A Survey of the Afghan People, en <http://asiafoundation.org/publications/pdf/1558>

Afghanistan Opium Survey 2016, en [https://www.unodc.org/documents/crop-monitoring/Afghanistan/AfghanistanOpiumSurvey2016\\_ExSum.pdf#yuiHis=1%7Cuploads%7Cdocuments%7C/crop-%7C/crop-monitoring/Afghanistan/AfghanistanOpiumSurvey2016\\_ExSum.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/crop-monitoring/Afghanistan/AfghanistanOpiumSurvey2016_ExSum.pdf#yuiHis=1%7Cuploads%7Cdocuments%7C/crop-%7C/crop-monitoring/Afghanistan/AfghanistanOpiumSurvey2016_ExSum.pdf)

Afghanistan Overview, en <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/afghanistan/overview>

Afghanistan protection of civilians in armed conflict. Annual Report 2016 (febrero 2017), en [https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/protection\\_of\\_civilians\\_in\\_armed\\_conflict\\_annual\\_report\\_8feb\\_2016.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/protection_of_civilians_in_armed_conflict_annual_report_8feb_2016.pdf)

Afghanistan: EU to sign a cooperation agreement on partnership and development, en [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/02/13-afghanistan-cooperation-agreement/?utm\\_source=dsms-auto&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=Afghanistan%3a+EU+to+sign+a+cooperation+agreement+on+partnership+and+developmenthtmlfile\Shell\Open\Command](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/02/13-afghanistan-cooperation-agreement/?utm_source=dsms-auto&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Afghanistan%3a+EU+to+sign+a+cooperation+agreement+on+partnership+and+developmenthtmlfile\Shell\Open\Command)

Afghanistan: The Future of the National Unity Government, International Crisis Group - Asia Report nº 285, 10 April 2017, en [https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/285-afghanistan-the-future-of-the-national-unity-government%20\(1\).pdf](https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/285-afghanistan-the-future-of-the-national-unity-government%20(1).pdf)

Areshev, Andrey: “Events in Xinjiang”, Strategic Culture Foundation, 21 March 2013, en <http://www.strategic-culture.org/news/2013/03/21/events-in-xinjiang.html>

Aziz, Masood: “Afghanistan: The Geopolitics of Regional Economic Integration. The Emergence of China as the New Facilitator”, CIDOB Policy Research Project, septiembre 2012, en [http://www.cidob.org/en/publications/stap\\_rp/policy\\_research\\_papers/afghanistan\\_the\\_geopolitics\\_of\\_regional\\_economic\\_integration\\_the\\_emergence\\_of\\_china\\_as\\_the\\_new\\_facilitator](http://www.cidob.org/en/publications/stap_rp/policy_research_papers/afghanistan_the_geopolitics_of_regional_economic_integration_the_emergence_of_china_as_the_new_facilitator)

Aznar Fernández-Montesinos, Federico (2013): “Conflicto y conflictividad en el valle de la Ferganá”, en IIEE : *Panorama Geopolítico de los Conflictos 2013*.

Bathija, Sham L: “The new silk route initiative: Towards a new strategy for regional economic cooperation”, SAIS Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, 29 September 2011, en [http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/publications/110929SEAP\\_Bathija.pdf](http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/publications/110929SEAP_Bathija.pdf)

Brussels Conference on Afghanistan - Self-Reliance through Mutual Accountability Framework, en [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/afghanistan-web-release-20160513\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/afghanistan-web-release-20160513_en.pdf)

Constable, Pamela: “Afghanistan wooed a fugitive warlord, aiming to lure the Taliban, too. Now the deal is stuck”, *The Washington Post*, 25 March 2017, en [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/afghanistan-wooed-a-fugitive-warlord-aiming-to-lure-the-taliban-too-now-the-warlords-deal-is-stuck/2017/03/24/949278d0-0e3e-11e7-aa57-2ca1b05c41b8\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.5606d9e7f1f6](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/afghanistan-wooed-a-fugitive-warlord-aiming-to-lure-the-taliban-too-now-the-warlords-deal-is-stuck/2017/03/24/949278d0-0e3e-11e7-aa57-2ca1b05c41b8_story.html?utm_term=.5606d9e7f1f6)

Cooley, Alexander: “The New Great Game in Central Asia. Geopolitics in a Post-Western World”, *Foreign Affairs*, 7 August 2012, en <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/central-asia/2012-08-07/new-great-game-central-asia>

Cooper, Helene: “U.S. Says It Has 11,000 Troops in Afghanistan, More Than Formerly Disclosed”, *The New York Times*, 30 August 2017, en [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/30/world/asia/afghanistan-troop-totals.html?mcubz=3&\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/30/world/asia/afghanistan-troop-totals.html?mcubz=3&_r=0)

De la Corte Ibáñez; Luis; Hristova Gergova, Hristina: “La red Haqqani y la evolución del yihadismo local y transnacional en la región AF-PAK”, Documento de Investigación 07/2016, IEEE, 5 septiembre 2016, en [http://www.ieee.es/Galerias/fichero/docs\\_investig/2016/DIEEEINV07-2016\\_Red\\_HAQQANI\\_AF-PAK\\_DelaCorte-Hristova.pdf](http://www.ieee.es/Galerias/fichero/docs_investig/2016/DIEEEINV07-2016_Red_HAQQANI_AF-PAK_DelaCorte-Hristova.pdf)

Department of Defense: “General John Nicholson - Press Briefing in the Pentagon”, 2 December 2016, en <https://www.defense.gov/News/Transcripts/Transcript-View/Article/1019029/department-of-defense-press-briefing-by-general-nicholson-in-the-pentagon-brief/>

Enhancing Security and Stability in Afghanistan. Report to Congress, December 2016, en <https://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/Afghanistan-1225-Report-December-2016.pdf>

Esteban Cabrejos, Rafael (2014): “El escenario centroasiático”, en *Afganistán después de la ISAF*, Cuadernos de Estrategia nº 164, IEEE.

“Fragile States Index 2017”, Fund For Peace, en <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/country-data/>

Ghazi, Z; Zahid, N: “US, Afghan Forces Attack IS Stronghold in Eastern Afghanistan”, *VOA News*. 10 April 2017, en <https://www.voanews.com/a/us-afghanistan-forces-attack-islamic-state-stronghold-eastern-afghanistan/3804518.html>

Ghubar, Gulabudin: “Russia Gives Green Light To Host Afghan Peace Talks”, *ToloNews*, 15 April 2017, en <http://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/russia-gives-green-light-host-afghan-peace-talks>

Giustozzi, Antonio: “Shifting ground: Competition intensifies between the Islamic State and Al-Qaeda for Central Asian support”, *Jane’s Terrorism & Insurgency Monitor* (April 2017).

Hall, Simon: “China to Produce First Afghan Oil, Kabul Contends”, *The Wall Street Journal*, 20 March 2013, en <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424127887324103504578371912086399952.html>

“Human Right Watch - World Report 2017”, en [https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/world\\_report\\_download/wr2017-web.pdf](https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/world_report_download/wr2017-web.pdf)  
“Kabul Declaration on Good-Neighbourly Relations” [Afghanistan], en <http://www.refworld.org/docid/42ef429e4.html>

Katzman, Kenneth; Thomas, Clayton: “Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy”, CRS Report, 22 August 2017, en <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL30588.pdf>.

Khattak, Daud: “The New Cold War Politics in Afghanistan”, *The Diplomat*, 10 April 2017, en <http://thediplomat.com/2017/04/the-new-cold-war-politics-in-afghanistan/>

Kheel, Rebecca: “Top commander: Russia ‘legitimizing’ Taliban to undermine US, NATO”, *The Hill*, 9 February 2017, en <http://thehill.com/policy/defense/318741-top-commander-russia-legitimizing-taliban-to-undermine-us-nato>

Khzmalyan, Erik: “China’s Gamble in Central Asia: The Rise of Sino-Afghan Relations”, Era Institute, 27 March 2017, en <http://www.era.institute.org/chinas-gamble-in-central-asia-the-rise-of-sino-afghan-relations/>

Kugelman, Michael: “Danger on the Durand Line. Tensions Rise Between Afghanistan and Pakistan”, *Foreign Affairs*, 2 March 2017, en [https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2017-03-02/danger-durand-line?utm\\_source=Sailthru&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=Editorial%20-%20Early%20Bird%20Briefhtmlfile\Shell\Open\Command](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2017-03-02/danger-durand-line?utm_source=Sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_term=Editorial%20-%20Early%20Bird%20Briefhtmlfile\Shell\Open\Command)

“La situación en el Afganistán y sus consecuencias para la paz y la seguridad internacionales”, Informe del Secretario General, en <https://www.un.org/es/comun/docs/?symbol=S/2017/783>

Lamothe, Dan: “‘Probably the largest’ Al Qaida training camp ever destroyed in Afghanistan”, *The Washington Post*, 30 October 2015, en: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/10/30/probably-the-largest-Al-Qaida-training-camp-ever-destroyed-in-afghanistan/?utm\\_term=.6b294a9cde57](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/10/30/probably-the-largest-Al-Qaida-training-camp-ever-destroyed-in-afghanistan/?utm_term=.6b294a9cde57)

Latifi, Ali M.: “How Iran Recruited Afghan Refugees to Fight Assad’s War”, *The New York Times*, 30 June 2017, en <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/30/opinion/sunday/iran-afghanistan-refugees-assad-syria.html?mcubz=3&r=0>

Martínez, César: “Minorías chinas: los uigures (First Part)”, China Files, 9 July 2013, en <http://www.china-files.com/page.php?id=30670>

Mashal, M; Schmitt, E: “Afghan Security Crisis Sets Stage for Terrorists’ Resurgence”, *The New York Times*, 2 December 2016, en [https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/02/world/asia/afghanistan-security-terrorism-taliban.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/02/world/asia/afghanistan-security-terrorism-taliban.html?_r=0)

Masood, Salman: “Pakistan Shrine Bombing Kills Scores in Worst Attack in Months”, *The New York Times*, 16 February 2017, en <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/16/world/asia/pakistan-shrine-bombing.html>

McNally, Lauren; Amiral, Alex: “The Islamic State in Afghanistan. Examining its Threat to Stability”, MEI Policy Focus 2016-11, (May 2016) en [https://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/publications/PF12\\_McNallyAmiral\\_ISISAfghan\\_web.pdf](https://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/publications/PF12_McNallyAmiral_ISISAfghan_web.pdf)

Michel, Casey: “Survey Projects Show Progress on TAPI Pipeline”, *The Diplomat*, 12 April 2017, en <http://thediplomat.com/2017/04/survey-projects-show-progress-on-tapi-pipeline>

Munoz, Carlo: “Military leaders worry about Afghan militias”, *Start and Stripes* (August 2015), en <http://www.stripes.com/news/military-leaders-worry-about-afghan-militias-1.362114>

“Pakistán reabre la frontera con Afganistán tras más de un mes cerrada”, *EFE*, 21 marzo 2017, en <https://www.efe.com/efe/espana/mundo/pakistan-reabre-la-frontera-con-afghanistan-tras-mas-de-un-mes-cerrada/10001-3213535>

Ramachandran, Sudha: “Afghanistan Clashes with Iran over Dam Construction”, CACI Analyst, 2 May 2017, en <https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/13443-afghanistan-clashes-with-iran-over-dam-construction.html>

Ramani, Samuel: “What's Driving Russia-Pakistan Cooperation on Afghanistan?”, *The Diplomat*, 9 May 2017, en <http://thediplomat.com/2017/05/whats-driving-russia-pakistan-cooperation-on-afghanistan/>

Rasmussen, Sune E.: “Afghanistan reels from Taliban's deadliest attack on army since 2001”, *The Guardian* 23 April 2017, en [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/23/afghanistan-reels-from-talibans-deadliest-attack-on-army-since-2001?utm\\_source=EBB%204.24.2017&utm\\_term=Editorial%20Brief](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/23/afghanistan-reels-from-talibans-deadliest-attack-on-army-since-2001?utm_source=EBB%204.24.2017&utm_term=Editorial%20Brief)

Rasmussen, Sune Engel: “US 'mother of all bombs' killed 92 Isis militants, say Afghan officials”, *The Guardian*, 15 April 2017, en <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/15/us-mother-of-all-bombs-moab-afghanistan-donald-trump-death-toll>

“Remarks by President Trump on the Strategy in Afghanistan and South Asia”, en <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/08/21/remarks-president-trump-strategy-afghanistan-and-south-asia>

“Resolute Support Mission (RSM): Key Facts and Figures”, (March 2017), en [http://www.nato.int/nato\\_static\\_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf\\_2017\\_03/20170313\\_2017-03-RSM-Placemat.pdf](http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2017_03/20170313_2017-03-RSM-Placemat.pdf)

Sajjad Syed, B: “Taliban refusal puts talks in jeopardy”, *Dawn*, 6 March 2016, en <https://www.dawn.com/news/1243904/taliban-refusal-puts-talks-in-jeopardy>

Serwer, Adam: “Did Boston Bombing Suspect Post Al Qaida Prophecy on YouTube?”, *Mother Jones* (April 2013), en <http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2013/04/boston-bombing-suspect-posted-video-AlQaida-prophecy-youtube>

Sheng, Z: “¿Qué se propone EEUU con apertura de “nueva Ruta de la Seda”?”, *Pueblo en Línea*, 2 enero 2012, en <http://spanish.peopledaily.com.cn/31619/7664180.html>

Snow, Shawn: “Chinese troops appear to be operating in Afghanistan, and the Pentagon is OK with it”, *Military Times*, 5 March 2017, en <http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/chinese-troops-afghanistan>

Sood, Jyotika; Bhaskar, Utpal: “India’s Chabahar port plan runs into Iran loan application hurdle”, *LiveMint*, 12 April 2017, en <http://www.livemint.com/Politics/lhUckmnYMrTCBIBxPaDTO/Indias-Chabahar-port-plan-runs-into-Iran-loan-application-h.html>

“Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction. Quarterly Report to the United States Congress” (January 2017) en <https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2017-01-30qr.pdf>

Spivak. Vita: “A New Great Game in Russia’s Backyard”, *Carnegie Moscow Center*, 10 September 2016, en <http://carnegie.ru/2016/09/10/new-great-game-in-russia-s-backyard-pub-64542>

“State Sponsors of Terrorism”, *Country Reports on Terrorism 2012*, May 2013, en <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2012/>

Transparency International: “Corruption Perceptions Index 2016”, en [http://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption\\_perceptions\\_index\\_2016#table](http://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2016#table)

“Warsaw Summit Declaration on Afghanistan”, 9 July 2016, en [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_133171.htm?selectedLocale=en](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133171.htm?selectedLocale=en)

Wellman, Phillip Walter: “Russia’s Afghan peace initiative seen as undermining NATO misión”, *Stars and Stripes*, 11 April 2017, en [https://www.stripes.com/news/russia-s-afghan-peace-initiative-seen-as-undermining-nato-mission-1.462977?utm\\_source=Sailthru&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=EBB%204.12.2017&utm\\_term=Editorial#.WPM313cryV5](https://www.stripes.com/news/russia-s-afghan-peace-initiative-seen-as-undermining-nato-mission-1.462977?utm_source=Sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=EBB%204.12.2017&utm_term=Editorial#.WPM313cryV5)

Wong, Catherine: “Concerns grow over rise in Chinese jihadis in Syria”, *The South China Morning Post*, 22 April 2017, en [http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2089808/inside-shadowy-world-chinese-militants-fighting-syria?utm\\_source=Sailthru&utm\\_4.24.2017&utm\\_term=Editorial%20ef](http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2089808/inside-shadowy-world-chinese-militants-fighting-syria?utm_source=Sailthru&utm_4.24.2017&utm_term=Editorial%20ef)

Zahid, Noor: “Afghan Lawmakers to Investigate Growing Ties Between Taliban, Russia and Iran”, *VOA News*, 5 December 2016, en <https://www.voanews.com/a/afghanistan-iran-russia-taliban/3624592.html>.

## **6. Multi-Vector Diversification: Kazakhstan's Transnational Future.**

**Elvira Aidarkhanova, Farkhod Aminjonov,  
Garth McLennan, Tanara Kolesnikova**

Adilet legal portal, O Programme Razvitiya Elektroenergetiki do 2030 Goda (On the Program on Electric Power Development Until 2030), Adilet.zan.kz, (2010), at [http://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/P990000384\\_](http://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/P990000384_).

Adnan, Syed and Bukhari, Athar: "Cooperative Threat Reduction: Case Study of Kazakhstan – Analysis", *Eurasia Review*, 13 June 2011, at <http://www.Eurasiareview.Com/13062011-Cooperative-Threat-Reduction-Case-Study-Of-Kazakhstan-Analysis/>.

"Astana Hosted Central and South Asia Regional Conference on Countering Violent Extremism," KazInform, at <http://www.Inform.Kz/Eng/Article/2791831>.

Blanchard, Christopher M., Humud, Carla E., Katzman, Kenneth and Weed, Matthew C.: "The 'Islamic State' Crisis and U.S. Policy," Congressional Research Service, June 2015, p. 1, at <https://Fas.Org/Sgp/Crs/Mideast/R43612.pdf>.

Boyle, Darren and Wyke, Tom: "Isis Release Shocking New Video of Child Soldiers from Kazakhstan Being Trained with Ak47s," *Daily Mail*, 22 November 2014, at <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2845531/isis-release-shocking-new-video-child-soldiers-kazakhstan-trained-ak47s.html>

British Petroleum Company, BP Statistical Review of World Energy June 2015, London: British Petroleum Co., 2015, at [www.bp.com/en/global/corporate/energy-economics/statistical-review-of-world-energy.html](http://www.bp.com/en/global/corporate/energy-economics/statistical-review-of-world-energy.html).

Burton, Douglas: "Nonproliferation: Key to Kazakhstan's Economic Miracle," *The Washington Diplomat*, 7 November 2016, at [https://www.Washdiplomat.Com/Poucharticle/Cms/Index.Php?Option=Com\\_Content&View=Article&Id=488](https://www.Washdiplomat.Com/Poucharticle/Cms/Index.Php?Option=Com_Content&View=Article&Id=488).

Cohen, Ariel: Kazakhstan: "The Road to Independence: Energy Policy and the Birth of a Nation", Uppsala: Silk Road Studies Program, Institute for Security and Development Policy, 2008, p. 119.

Cohen and Roach, "Central Asian Terrorism: An Emerging Threat to U.S. Security," Heritage Foundation, at <http://www.Heritage.Org/Research/Reports/2011/06/Central-Asian-Terrorism-An-Emerging-Threat-To-Us-Security>.

Cornell, Svante E.: "Kazakhstan's Snap Elections," *Diplomatic Courier*, 25 March 2015, at <http://www.Diplomaticcourier.Com/Channels/Ballot-Box/2511-Kazakhstan-S-Snap-Election>

"CTR Assistance – What It Does: Kazakhstan", U.S. Department of Defense, 15 June 1998, at <http://www.dod.mil/pubs/Ctr/Kazakhstan.html>.

Daly, John C.K: “How Real Is The Jihadi Threat to Kazakhstan?” Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst, 17 September 2014, at <http://Www.Cacianalyst.Org/Publications/Analytical-Articles/Item/13043-How-Real-Is-The-Jihadi-Threat-To-Kazakhstan?.html>.

Eni: World Oil and Gas Review for 2014, Rome, September 2014, <https://www.eni.com/world-oil-gas-review-2014/sfogliabile/O-G-2014.pdf>.

Eurasian Economic Commission, Gruppa 27: Toplivo Mineralnoe, Neft i Produkti ix Peregonki; Bituminoznie Veshstva; Voski Mineralnie (Group 27: Mineral Fuels, Oil and Products of its Distillation; Bituminous Substances; Mineral Waxes) (Moscow: Eurasian Economic Commission, n.d), at <http://www.tsouz.ru/db/ettr/PSN/Pages/psn27.aspx>.

Eurasian Economic Commission: “Important Events in the Activity of the Department of Energy,” (2014), at <http://eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/energetikaiinfr/energ/events/Pages/default.aspx>.

“Factsheet: U.S. – Kazakhstan Cooperative Activities in Nuclear Security”, *The Japan Times*, 25 March 2014, at [http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/11/09/national/politics-diplomacy/japan-kazakhstan-push-fresh-sanctions-north-korea/#.wiqff1fsp\\_q](http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/11/09/national/politics-diplomacy/japan-kazakhstan-push-fresh-sanctions-north-korea/#.wiqff1fsp_q).

“Fight against Terrorism and Extremism in Kazakhstan,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan, at <http://www.mfa.kz/index.php/en/foreign-policy/current-issues-of-kazakhstan-s-foreign-policy/counteraction-to-new-challenges/fight-against-terrorism-and-extremism-in-kazakhstan>.

Hoyle, Rhiannon: “Uranium Price Jumps As Top Supplier Pulls Back,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 11 January 2017, at <http://www.wsj.Com/Articles/Uranium-Price-Jumps-As-Top-Supplier-Pulls-Back-1484128198?Cb=Logged0.5717679292429239>.

“IAEA Low Enriched Uranium Bank,” International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), at <https://www.iaea.org/topics/iaea-low-enriched-uranium-bank>

Japan, Kazakhstan To Push for North Korea Sanctions, Closer Economic Ties,” *The Japan Times*, 9 November 2016, at [http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/11/09/national/politics-diplomacy/japan-kazakhstan-push-fresh-sanctions-north-korea/#.wiqff1fsp\\_q](http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/11/09/national/politics-diplomacy/japan-kazakhstan-push-fresh-sanctions-north-korea/#.wiqff1fsp_q)

“Kazakhstan Exports”, Trading Economics, at <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/kazakhstan/exports>.

“Kazakhstan Facing Massive Recruitment of Citizens by Terror Organizations” *Tengri News*, 29 June 2015, at <http://en.Tengrinews.Kz/Military/Kazakhstan-Facing-Massive-Recruitment-Of-Citizens-By-Terror-261007/>.

“Kazakhstan Overview,” The Nuclear Threat Initiative, June 2014, at <http://www.nti.org/learn/countries/kazakhstan/>.



Koncepciya Razvitiya Gazovogo Sektora Respubliki Kazaxstan do 2030 Goda (Gas Sector Development Concept of the Republic of Kazakhstan until the period of 2030), Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Online.zakon.kz, 5 December 2014, at [http://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc\\_id=31641775](http://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=31641775).

Mariya Y. Omelicheva (2011): *Counterterrorism Policies in Central Asia*, Abingdon, Routledge.

Mcdermott, Roger: “Kazakhstan Unveils New Counter-Terrorism and Anti-Extremism Strategy,” *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 8 October 2013, at [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5btt\\_news%5d=41462&c\\_hash=939309d2a1269d27fa14119c13651699#.vzvx6mb773m](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/single/?tx_ttnews%5btt_news%5d=41462&c_hash=939309d2a1269d27fa14119c13651699#.vzvx6mb773m).

Michel, Casey: “Islamic State Video Features Ethnic Kazakhs” *The Diplomat*, 26 November 2014, at <http://TheDiplomat.Com/2014/11/Islamic-State-Video-Features-Ethnic-Kazakhs/>; and

Miklos, Vincze: “The Tragic Story of The Semipalatinsk Nuclear Test Site,” *Gizmodo*, 5 March 2013, at <https://Io9.Gizmodo.Com/5988266/The-Tragic-Story-Of-The-Semipalatinsk-Nuclear-Test-Site>

Nichol, Jim “Kazakhstan: Recent Developments and U.S. Interests,” Congressional Research Service, July 2013, pp. 1-6, at <http://www.Fas.Org:8080/Sgp/Crs/Row/97-1058.pdf>.

Nitzsche, Alexander: “IAEA Moves Ahead on Establishing Low Enriched Uranium Bank in Kazakhstan”, 11 June 2015, IAEA, at <https://www.iaea.org/newscenter/news/iaea-moves-ahead-establishing-low-enriched-uranium-bank-kazakhstan>.

Our Work, “The IAEA LEU Bank,” 10 March 2016, IAEA, at <https://www.iaea.org/ourwork/leubank>

Pasternack, Alex: “Why the U.S. Is Building A High-Tech Bubonic Plague Lab In Kazakhstan,” *Vice News*, at <http://Motherboard.Vice.Com/Blog/Why-The-Us-Is-Building-A-High-Tech-Plague-Lab-In-Kazakhstan>.

Pillalamarri, Akhilesh: “Does Kazakhstan Get Nuclear Nonproliferation?,” *The Diplomat*, 2 April 2016, at <http://thediplomat.com/2016/04/does-kazakhstan-get-nuclear-nonproliferation/>

Pirani, Simon “Central Asian and Caspian Gas Production and the Constraints on Export,” Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2012, at [http://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/NG\\_69.pdf](http://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/NG_69.pdf).

“Prosecutor General Holds Meeting with the Us Ambassador,” *KazInform*, at <http://www.Inform.Kz/Eng/Article/2777760>.

Rauf, Tariq: "From 'Atoms For Peace' To An IAEA Nuclear Fuel Bank," *Arms Control Today*, October 2015, at [https://www.Armscontrol.Org/Act/2015\\_10/Features/From-Atoms-For-Peace-To-An-Iaea-Nuclear-Fuel-Bank/](https://www.Armscontrol.Org/Act/2015_10/Features/From-Atoms-For-Peace-To-An-Iaea-Nuclear-Fuel-Bank/).

Rauf, Tariq and Vovchok, Zoryana: "Fuel for Thought," IAEA, March 2008, at <https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/49204845963.pdf>.

Surkov, Nikolay: "Evraziyskiy Ekonomicheskiy Soyuz v Zamen Tamojennogo Soyuz (Eurasian Economic Union to Replace the Customs Union)," RBTH, 28 October 2013, at [http://rbth.co.uk/international/2013/10/28/eurasian\\_economic\\_union\\_to\\_replace\\_customs\\_union\\_31237.html](http://rbth.co.uk/international/2013/10/28/eurasian_economic_union_to_replace_customs_union_31237.html).

"The 11th National Report: On implementation of the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2015," EITI, (2015), at [https://eiti.org/sites/default/files/documents/national\\_reports\\_fot\\_eiti\\_2015\\_eng.pdf](https://eiti.org/sites/default/files/documents/national_reports_fot_eiti_2015_eng.pdf).

"The List of Foreign Terrorist and Extremist Organizations, That Are Prohibited on the Territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan By the Court," Agency For Religious Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, at [http://www.Din.Gov.Kz/Eng/Press-Sluzhba/Spisok\\_Terroristicheskix\\_I\\_Jek/](http://www.Din.Gov.Kz/Eng/Press-Sluzhba/Spisok_Terroristicheskix_I_Jek/).

The Customs Union and the Common Economic Space of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation, Astana: Mfa.kz, (2015), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, at <http://www.mfa.kz/index.php/en/foreign-policy/integration-processes/customs-union>.

"Transport Infrastructure," KazMunaiGaz, (January 2016), at [www.kmg.kz/en/manufacturing/gas/infrastructure/](http://www.kmg.kz/en/manufacturing/gas/infrastructure/).

Voloshin, George: "Domestic Stability to Remain Kazakhstan's Main Priority in 2013", *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 16 January 2013, at [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5bttn\\_news%5d=40311#.vzsscwb773m](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5bttn_news%5d=40311#.vzsscwb773m).

Zavadski, Katie: "Newest Isis Video Stars a Child Executioner," *New York Magazine*, 13 January 2015, at <http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2015/01/latest-isis-video-shows-kazakh-child-executioner.html>.

## 7. Turkmenistán: Evolución de un Estado Neopatrimonial y persistencia de su vulnerabilidad al golpe de palacio.

Rubén Ruiz Ramas

- Acemoglu, Daron y Robinson, James A. (2012): *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*, Nueva York, Crown.
- Balmaceda, Margarita (2008): *Energy Dependency, Politics and Corruption in the Former Soviet Union: Russia's Power, Oligarchs' Profits and Ukraine's Missing Energy Policy 1995-2006*, Londres, Routledge.
- Bratton, Michael y Van de Walle, Nicholas (1997): *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, Bess: "Governance in Central Asia: The Case of Turkmenistan", *Helsinki Monitor*, nº3 (2003), pp. 206-217.
- Carothers, Thomas: "The End of the Transition Paradigm", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, nº 1 (enero 2002), pp. 5-21.
- Chehabi, Houchang E. y Linz, Juan J. (1998): *Sultanistic Regimes*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Collins, Kathleen (2006): *Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Collins, Kathleen (2009): "Economic and Security Regionalism among Patrimonial Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of Central Asia", *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 61, nº 2 (2009), pp. 249-281.
- Cummings, Sally N. (2005): *Kazakhstan: Power and Elite*, Londres y Nueva York, I. B. Tauris.
- Cummings, Sally. N. (2012): *Understanding Central Asia: Politics and Contested Transformations*, Londres, Routledge.
- De Andrés Sanz, Jesús y Ruiz Ramas, Rubén: "Charles Tilly's concept of revolution and the "color revolutions", en Funes (ed.) (2016): *Regarding Tilly: Conflict, power and Collective Action*. New York, Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, pp. 135-157.
- Denison, Michael: "The Art of the Impossible: Political Symbolism and the Creation of National Identity and Collective Memory in Post-Soviet Turkmenistan", *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 61, nº.7 (2009), pp. 1167-1187.
- Demidov, Serguei (2002): *Postsovetskii Turkmenistan*. Moscú, Natalis.
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. (1978): *Revolution and the Transformation of Societies: A Comparative Study of Civilizations*, Nueva York, Free Press.
- Erdmann, Gero y Engel, Ulf (2006): "Neopatrimonialism Revisited – Beyond a Catch-All Concept", GIGA Working Paper, nº 16, Hamburgo, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA).

- Erdmann, Gero, “Neopatrimonialism: Problems of a Catch-All Concept”, en Stewart, Susan (ed.) (2012): *Presidents, Oligarchs and Bureaucrats: Forms of Rule in the Post-Soviet Space*, Londres: Ashgate.
- Evans, Peter (1995): *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Fisun, Alexander: “Postsovetskie neopatrimonial'nye rezhimy: genezis, osobennosti, tipologija”, *Otechestvennye zapiski*, n° 6 (2007), pp. 45-63.
- Fredholm, M., “The Prospects for International Unrest in Turkmenistan”, Conflict Studies Research Center Report, Defense Academy of the United Kingdom K40, (abril 2003), 22-23.
- Fritz, Verena (2007): *State-Building. A Comparative Study of Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, and Russia*, Budapest, CEU Press.
- Ganev, Venelin I.: “Post-Communism as an Episode of State Building: A Reversed Tillyan Perspective”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 38, n° 4 (2005), pp. 425-445.
- Geiss, Paul: “Turkmen Tribalism”, *Central Asia Survey*, vol. 18, n°3 (1999), pp. 347-357.
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna y Jones Luong, Pauline: “Reconceptualizing the State: Lessons from Post-Communism”, *Politics & Society*, vol. 30, n° 4 (2002), pp. 529-554.
- Guliyev, Farid: “Personal Rule, Neopatrimonialism, and Regime Typologies: Integrating Dahlian and Weberian Approaches to Regime Studies”, *Democratization*, vol. 18, n° 3 (2011), pp. 575-601.
- Hiro, Dilip (2011): *Inside Central Asia. A Political and Cultural History of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkey, and Iran*, Londres, Overlook Duckworth.
- Hale, Henry E.: “Democracy or Autocracy on the March? The Colored Revolutions as Normal Dynamics of Patronal Presidentialism”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 39, n° 3 (2006), pp. 305-326.
- Hale, Henry. E. (2015): *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Horák, Slavomír: “Turkmennistan posle Turkmenbashi: Kvoprosu o transformatsii rezhimov lichnoi vlasti”, *Politeks*, n°1 (2008), pp. 63-79.
- Horák, Slavomír y Šír, Jan: “Dismantling Totalitarianism? Turkmenistan under Berdimuhamedow”, Silk Road Paper, (March 2009), Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program.
- Horák, Slavomír: “Changes in the Political Elite in post-Soviet Turkmenistan”, *China and Eurasian Forum Quarterly*, vol. 8, n°3 (2010), pp. 27-46.
- Ijajamov, Alisher: “Neopatrimonialism, Interest Groups and Patronage Networks: The Impasses of the Governance System in Uzbekistan”, *Central Asian Survey*, vol. 26, n° 1 (2007), pp. 65-84.

Isaacs, Rico (2009): “Between Informal and Formal Politics: Neopatrimonialism and Party Development in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan”, tesis doctoral, Oxford, Oxford Brookes University.

Jones Luong, Pauline (2002): *Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Power, Perceptions, and Pacts*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Junisbai, Barbara: “A Tale of Two Kazakhstans: Sources of Political Cleavage and Conflict in the Post-Soviet Period”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, n° 2 (2010), pp. 235 - 269.

Kadyrov, Sojrat (2003): *Natsiia Plemen: Etnicheskie istoki, transformatsiia, perspektivy godusarstvennosti v Turkmenistane*, Moscú: RAN.

Kadyrov, Sojrat: “Turkmenistan: The Political Elite in an Ethnic Society”, en Cummings, Sally. N. (ed.) (2003) *Oil, Transition, and Security in Central Asia*, Londres, Routledge Curzon. pp. 108-118.

Kadyrov, Shoijrat (2009): *Elitnye klany: Shtriji k portretam*, Oslo, University of Oslo Press.

Kitschelt, Herbert (1999): *Postcommunist party systems: competition, representation, and interparty cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kononenko, Vadim y Moshes, Arkady (2011): *Russia as a Network State: What Works in Russia When State Institutions Do Not?* Londres, Palgrave Macmillan.

Kunysz, Nicholas: “From sultanism to neopatrimonialism? Regionalism within Turkmenistan”, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 3, n°1 (2012), pp. 1-16.

Laruelle, Maurene: “Discussing Neopatrimonialism and Patronal Presidentialism in the Central Asian Context”, *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, vol. 20, n° 4 (2012), pp. 301-324.

Lewis, David (2008): *The Temptations of Tyranny in Central Asia*, Nueva York, Columbia University Press.

Libman Alexander (2012): “Studies of Regional Integration in the CIS and in Central Asia: A Literature Survey”, EDB Centre for Integration Studies Report, n° 2, San Petersburgo, EDB Centre for Integration Studies.

Mann, Michael (1986): *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 1, A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

McGlinchey, Eric (2011): *Chaos, Violence, Dynasty: Politics and Islam in Central Asia*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press.

Médard, Jean: “The Underdeveloped State in Tropical Africa: Political Clientelism or Neo-Patrimonialism?”, en Clapham, C. (ed.) (1982): *Private Patronage and Public Power: Political Clientelism in the Modern State*, Nueva York, St. Martin’s Press.

Migdal, Joel Samuel, Kohli, Atul y Shue, Vivienne (eds.) (1994): *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*, Nueva York, Cambridge University Press.

Møller, Jørgen y Skaaning, Sven-Erik: “Post-Communist Regime Types: Hierarchies across Attributes and Space”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 43, n° 1 (2010), pp. 51-71.

Nichols, Jim: “Turkmenistan’s Political Succession: developments and Implications”, Congressional Research Service Reports, 18 enero 2007.

Ostrowski, Wojciech: “The Legacy of the ‘Coloured Revolutions’: The Case of Kazakhstan”, *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, vol. 2, n° 3 (2009), pp. 345-368.

Peyrouse, Sebastien (2012): *Turkmenistan. Strategies of Power, Dilemmas of Development*. New York – Londres, M.E. Sharpe, p.80.

Pomfret, Richard (2013): “Turkmenistan after Turkmenbashi”, en Ahrens, Joachim y Hoen, Herman J. (eds.): *Institutional Reform in Central Asia: Politico-Economic Challenges*, Londres, Routledge.

Rasizade, Alec: “Turkmenbashi and his Turkmenistan”, *Contemporary Review*, 283, n° 1653, (2003), pp.200-204.

Radnitz, Scott (2005): “Networks, Localism, and Mobilization in Aksy, Kyrgyzstan”, *Central Asian Survey*, vol. 24, n° 4, pp. 405-424.

Radnitz, Scott: “What Really Happened in Kyrgyzstan?”, *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 17, n° 2 (2006), pp. 132-146.

Radnitz, Scott (2010): *Weapons of the Wealthy: Predatory Regimes and Elite-Led Protests in Central Asia*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Rejepova, Tavus (2014): “Turkmenistan Holds Its First Multiparty Parliamentary Elections”, *The Central Asia-Caucasus Analysis*, A Biweekly Briefing on Current Affairs. 8 enero 2014.

Ruiz Ramas, Rubén: “Los regímenes neopatrimonialistas y el clan en Asia Central, 1991-2010: un análisis conceptual”, en Stavridis, S. y De Prado, C. (eds.) (2010): *Panorámica de Actores y Factores en Asia Central*, Zaragoza, Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, pp. 9-28.

Ruiz Ramas, Rubén (2013): “The Institutional Persistence of Patrimonialism in the Kyrgyz Republic: Testing a Path Dependency (1991-2010)”, en Ahrens, Joachim y Hoen, Herman W. (eds.): *Institutional Reform in Central Asia: Politico-Economic Challenges*, Londres, Routledge.

Sabonis-Helf, T.: “The rise of the post-Soviet petro-states: energy exports and domestic governance in Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan”, en D.L. Burghart, (ed.) (2005): *In the tracks of Tamerlane: Central Asia’s path to the 21st century*, Washington, DC, National Defense University.

Schatz, Edward (2005): *Modern Clan Politics: The Power of ‘Blood’ in Kazakhstan and Beyond*, Seattle, University of Washington Press.

Sjöberg, Friedrik (2011): “Competitive Elections in Authoritarian States: Weak States, Strong Elites, and Fractional Societies in Central Asia and Beyond”, tesis doctoral, Uppsala, Uppsala Universitet.

Snyder, Richard, “Explaining Transitions from Neopatrimonial Dictatorships”, *Comparative Politics*, vol. 24, n° 4 (1992), pp. 379-400.

Stewart, Susan, Klein, Margarete, Schmitz, Andrea y Schröder, Hans-Henning (eds.) (2012): *Presidents, Oligarchs and Bureaucrats: Forms of Rule in the Post-Soviet Space*, Londres, Ashgate.

Timm, Christian (2010): *Neopatrimonialism by Default: State Politics and Domination in Georgia after the Rose Revolution*, Hamburgo: GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies.

Tunçer-Kılavuz, İdil: “Understanding Civil War: A Comparison of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 63, n° 2 (2011), pp. 263-290.

Von Soest, Christian (2010): “What Neopatrimonialism Is – Six Questions to the Concept”, Hamburgo, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies.

## 8. Tayikistán entre aparente estabilidad y nuevos retos

Ignacio Prieto

Alonso Marcos, Antonio. “Hizb ut Tahrir en Asia Central a comienzos del siglo XXI” *UNISCI Discussion Papers*, nº 28 (Enero/January 2012).

Arkady, Duvnov: “Keeping it in the family: Tajikistan vote secures ruling clan” *Eurasianet*, 31 diciembre 2016.

Bedi, Rahul. “IAF at Farkhor Air Base in Tajikistan: present & future Ambitions”. Indian Defence Forum, Delhi, 16 February 2012.

Deirdre, Tynan, “Tayikistán: un estado cada vez más frágil en una región más quebradiza”. International Crisis Group, 18 enero 2016.

Esfandiar, Tamiris: “Rahmon widens his political nepotism”. *Eurasianet*, 24 mayo 2014.

Gómez Ágreda, Ángel. “El factor militar en Asia Central”. *UNISCI Discussion Papers* nº 28, enero 2012.

Hiro, Dilip (2011): *Inside Central Asia. A Political and Cultural History of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkey, and Iran*, Londres, Overlook Duckworth Inside Central Asia, Delhi, Harper&Collins.

Michel, Casey: “The Central Asia-China Gas Pipe Line”, *The Diplomat*, March 2016.

Mironova, Xeniya. “Destroying Historical Dushanbe and Building Luxury Real Estate”. Central Asia Fellowship Papers, January 2016.

Oliker, Olga&Szayna, Thomas (2003): *Faultlines of Conflict in Central Asia*, RAND

Rashid Ahmed (2008): *Descent into Chaos*, London, Penguin Books.

Rickleton, Chris, “Under China’s Economic Thumb”, *Eurasianet*, agosto 26, 2014.

Sainz Gsell, Nora: “Tayikistán, la última frontera de Europa”. Polígonos Revista de Geografía nº13, 2003 Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

Serra i Puig, Roger. “La doble gobernanza en Asia Central: Instituciones clásicas y estabilidad política en Uzbekistán”. Asia Central Gobierno, Cooperación y Seguridad. CIDOB, Asia nº 18, octubre 2007.

Sodikov, Alexander: “Tajikistan cedes disputed land to China” *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 24 enero 2011

Stronski, Paul, “Tajikistán a los 25: Rahmon consolida su poder”. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1 febrero 2016.

Stronsky, Paul. “Tajikistán at twenty-five: Rahmon consolidates power”. Carnegie



Endowment for International Peace. February 2016.

Terzani Tiziano (2015): *Buonanotte, Signor Lenin*, Milano, TEA.

Torres Duarte, Juan David, “El eterno líder de Tayikistán”, *El Mundo*, 27 diciembre 2015

Tynan, Deirdre, “Tayikistán, un estado cada vez más frágil en una región más quebradiza”. International Crisis Group, 18 enero 2016.

Vidal Liy, Macarena, “China da un nuevo paso en la Moderna Ruta de la Seda y la lleva a Afganistán” *El País Internacional*, 9 septiembre 2016.

Wilches Victor (2007): *Movimientos Islamistas Radicales y Violentos en Asia Central*. , Buenos Aires, Ediciones Insumisos Latinoamericanos

Zarcone, Thierry: “L’Islam d’Asie Centrale et le monde musulman. Restructuration et interférences”. Le cercle de Samarcande. *Revue Herodote*, n° 87, 2° Semestre, París 1997

## 9. Border Issues in Central Asia: Current Conflicts, Controversies and Compromises

Zhulduz Baizakova

Alisher Toksonbaev: “Barack exclave situated on the border area of Uzbekistan isto the Kara-Suu district of Osh region of Kyrgyzstan”, The Kyrgyz Committee for Human Rights, 29 July 2013, at [http://www.kchr.org/JM2/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=299:barack-exclave-situated-on-the-border-area-of-uzbekistan-isto-the-kara-suu-district-of-osh-region-of-kyrgyzstan&catid=9&Itemid=883&lang=en](http://www.kchr.org/JM2/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=299:barack-exclave-situated-on-the-border-area-of-uzbekistan-isto-the-kara-suu-district-of-osh-region-of-kyrgyzstan&catid=9&Itemid=883&lang=en)

“Central Asia: Border disputes and Conflict potential”, ICG Asia Report n° 33, International Crisis Group, 4 April 2002.

Fergana Valley Five Year Humanitarian Trends Assessment, Aging Leadership, Economic Shocks, Decreased Funding and Reduced Resilience to Environmental Hazards, Middle East, March 2017, at <http://www.iris-france.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Ferghana-Valley-Report.pdf>

Hermann Kreutzmann: “The Significance of Geopolitical Issues for Development of Mountainous Areas of Central Asia”, International Workshop, Dushanbe, Tajikistan, June 6-10, 2005.

“Hot border Central Asia”, Center For Strategic Assessment and Forecasts, 21 May 2013, at <http://csef.ru/en/politica-i-geopolitica/326/goryachie-graniczy-czentralnoj-azii-4278>

Reeves, Madeleine: *Border Work: Spatial Lives of the State in Rural Central Asia*, Cornell University Press, 2014, pp. 241–250.

“Tajikistan, Uzbekistan discuss border delineation issues”, *Asia Plus*, at <http://news.tj/en/news/tajikistan/politics/20161121/233403>.

Torokul Doorov: “Small Exclave Spells Big Problems For Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan”, *Radio Free Europe*, 16 January 2014, at <http://www.rferl.org/a/kyrgyzstan-tajikistan-exclaves-vorukh-tensions/25232311.html>

Trade turnover of Kyrgyzstan with Uzbekistan down by 30%, Tajikistan by 4.5%, Turkmenistan by 4.1% in 2015, AKIPRESS.COM, 7 April 2016, at <http://akipress.com/news:575334>

Бишкек предлагает Душанбе меняться, 29 October 2015, at <http://milli-firka.org/content/ДВАНАНЈА/title/Бишкек-предлагает>

Григорий Михайлов: Водный конфликт: Узбекистан выдвинул войска и бронетехнику к границе, *Central Asia Monitor*, 24 March 2016, at <https://camonitor.kz/22246-vodnyy-konflikt-uzbekistan-vydvinul-voyska-i-bronetehniku-k-granice.html>

Кубанычбек Жолдошев: ¿Власти хотят перенести телевышку с Унгар-Тоо?,  
Сентябрь 20, 2016, at <http://rus.azattyk.org/a/28001592.html>

Кыргызстан и Узбекистан согласовали еще 7 спорных участков госграницы,  
Sputnik, 14 November 2016, at  
<https://ru.sputnik.kg/politics/20161114/1030260139/mid-uzbekistan-i-kyrgyzstan-soglasovali-56-spornyh-uchastkov-na-granice>

Марат Уралиев: Жители села в Баткенской области подрались с таджикстанцами  
из анклава Ворух, 27 April 2013, at  
[http://www.vb.kg/doc/226422\\_jiteli\\_sela\\_v\\_batkenskoy\\_oblasti\\_podralis\\_s\\_tadjikistancami\\_iz\\_anklava\\_voryh.html](http://www.vb.kg/doc/226422_jiteli_sela_v_batkenskoy_oblasti_podralis_s_tadjikistancami_iz_anklava_voryh.html)

Орто-Токойское водохранилище Кыргызстан принял на свой баланс, но оно  
эксплуатировалось Узбекистаном, - правительство, Akipress, at  
<http://kg.akipress.org/news:632443>, [www.fergananews.com/news/25177](http://www.fergananews.com/news/25177)

Стрельба на границе Кыргызстана и Таджикистана. Ждать ли нового конфликта?,  
3 December 2016, <http://www.stanradar.com/news/full/23151-strelba-na-granitse-kyrgyzstana-i-tadjikistana-zhdad-li-novogo-konflikta.htm>

Узбекистан и Киргизия согласовали 49 участков линии госграницы, Regnum, 1  
November 2016, at <https://regnum.ru/news/2200265.html>

## 10. Central Asia Going On “Hyper-Islamisation”: Between Adaptation to Post-Communism and Calls for Radicalization.

Catherine Poujol

Benslama, Fethi (2016): *Un furieux désir de sacrifice, Le surmusulman*, Paris, Seuil.

Heathershaw, John, and Montgomery, David W.: “The Myth of Post-Soviet Muslim Radicalization in the Central Asian Republics,” Chatham House (November 2014).

Kepel, Gilles (2008): *Terreur et martyre*, Paris, Flammarion.

Khosrokhavar, Farhad (2014): *Radicalisation*, Paris, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme.

Nasritdinov E., Esenamanova, N.: “The war of billboards: hijab, Secularism and Public Space in Bishkek”, paper presented at the American University of Central Asia, at the conference “Reimagining Civil Society in a Period of ‘Uncivil Societies’”, March, 24th, 2017.

Poujol, Catherine: “Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Democracy versus Justice”, in Morozova Irina (ed) (2005): *Towards Social Stability and Democratic Governance in Central Eurasia, Challenges to Regional Security*, IOS Press, pp. 50-63.

Poujol, Catherine: “L’islam en Asie centrale: une visibilité accrue après un long confinement”, *Questions internationales*, n°82, La Documentation française, novembre-décembre 2016, pp. 63-76.

Roy, Olivier (2016): *Le djihad et la mort*, Paris, Seuil.

Schyuler, Eugene (1877): *Turkistan, notes of a journey in Russian Turkestan, Khokand, Bukhara and Kuldja, 1840-1881*, New York, Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

## **11. The Role of the Khodjas and Mahallas in Uzbekistan: Tools for Social Stability?**

**Komil Kalanov, Antonio Alonso**

Abramson, David: “A Critical Look at NGOs and Civil Society as Means to an End in Uzbekistan”, *Human Organization*, vol. 58, n° 3 (Fall 1999) pp. 240-250.

Adams, Laura L. (2010): *The Spectacular State: Culture and National Identity in Uzbekistan*. Durham, Duke University Press.

Bektemirov, K. and Rahimov, E.: “Local Government in Uzbekistan”, in Popa, V.M. (ed.) (2001): *Developing New Rules in the Old Environment*. Budapest, LGI/OSI Europe, pp. 469-520.

Cavatorta, Francesco (2013): *Civil Society Activism under Authoritarian Rule: A Comparative Perspective*. New York, Routledge.

Collins, Kathleen: “The Political Role of Clans in Central Asia”, *Comparative Politics*, vol. 35, n° 2 (2003) pp. 171-190.

Coudouel, Aline; Marnie, Sheila and Micklewright, John: “Targeting Social Assistance in a Transition Economy: The Mahallas in Uzbekistan”, *Innocenti Occasional Papers*, Economic and Social Policy Series, n° 63 (1998), UNICEF International Child Development Centre, Firenze.

Dadabaev, Timur: “Community Life, Memory and a Changing Nature of Mahalla Identity in Uzbekistan”, *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, vol. 4, n° 2 (2013) pp. 181-196.

Fourniau, V. y Poujol, C.: “The States of Central Asia (Second Half of Nineteenth Century to Early Twentieth Century)”, en Adle, Chahryar (president); Madhavan, K. Palat and Tabyshalieva, Anara (co-Eds.) (2005): *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century*, Multiple History Series, vol. VI. París, UNESCO Publishing, pp. 33-34.

Gleason, Gregory: “Asian Values and the Democratic Transition in Central Asia”, *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, vol. 5, n° 1 (2001) pp. 20011-15.

Haghighy, Mehrdad (1995): *Islam and Politics in Central Asia*. New York, St. Martins Press.

Massicard, Elise and Tommaso Trevisani: “The Uzbek Mahalla: Between State and Society”, in Tom Everett-Heath (ed.) (2003): *Central Asia: Aspects of Transition*. London and New York, Routledge and Curzon, pp. 205-218.

Schumpeter, Joseph (1942): *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. New York, Harper.

Tunçer-Kılavuz, Idil (2014): *Power, Networks and Violent Conflict in Central Asia: A Comparison of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan*. New York, Routledge.

## 12. Kazakh-Uzbek Relations in the Context of Regional Security

**Seilbek Asanov, Malik Augan,  
Yermek Chukubayev**

Ashimbayev, Maulen S.: "Modern geopolitical situation in Central Asia in the context of interests of world and regional states", *Kazakhstan in Global Processes*, vol. 2, n° 2 (December 2005), pp. 6-14.

Aubakirova, Anna A.: "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and the Council for Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (SVDMA) – the ratio: geopolitical prospects". *Bulletin of KazNU*, n° 1 (2005), p. 22.

Idrisov, Yerlan: "Kazakhstan – Uzbekistan: border problems will be solved in a civilized manner", *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* (April 2000), p. 28.

Jakuleviciene, Lyra: "Present and Future Challenges of Asylum Law and Policy in the EU", *Journal of the National Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine*, vol. 3, n° 86 (October 2016), pp. 40-42.

Kapitonov, Ivan A., Taspenova, Gaukhar A., Meshkov Vladimir R., Shulus, Aleksei A.: "Integration of Small and Middle-sized Enterprises into Large Energy Corporations as a Factor of Business Sustainability", *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy*, vol. 7, n° 2 (April 2017), pp. 44-52.

Kozhamzharova, Zhuldyz Z. (2010): *Cooperation of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in modern conditions: historical aspect (1991-2008)*, Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology, Almaty.

Kulshmanov, Aysultan: "Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan: The history of relations for the years of independence", BNews.KZ (September 2016), at [http://bnews.kz/ru/news/politika/vneshnyaya\\_politika/kazahstan\\_i\\_uzbekistan\\_istoriya\\_vzaimootnoshenii\\_za\\_godi\\_nezavisimosti\\_foto-2016\\_09\\_03-1288783](http://bnews.kz/ru/news/politika/vneshnyaya_politika/kazahstan_i_uzbekistan_istoriya_vzaimootnoshenii_za_godi_nezavisimosti_foto-2016_09_03-1288783).

Kushkumbaev, Sanat K. (2002): *Central Asia on the way to integration: geopolitics, ethnicity and security*, Almaty, Suleimenov Institute of Oriental Studies of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Lalonde, Suzanne N. (2004): *Determining Boundaries in a Conflicted World: The Role of Uti Possidetis*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Laumulin, Murat T. (1994): *Western researchers of Central Asia and Kazakhstan*, Almaty, Kenzhe Press.

Laumulin, Murat T. (2005): *Central Asia in foreign political science and world geopolitics. Volume I: Central Asia and Kazakhstan in modern political science*, Almaty, KISI.

Logvinov, Grigory S.: "Shanghai Cooperation Organization is a qualitative step forward", *Problems of the Far East*, n° 5 (October 2002), pp. 7-14.

Nazarbayev, Nursultan A. (2012): *When thought is material*, Moscow, Fiction.

Nazarbayev, Nursultan A.: Speech by President N. Nazarbayev at an Expanded Meeting of the Board of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *Diplomacy of Zharshysy: Special issue* (October 1998), p. 68.

Olimov, Muzaffar: "SCO and security problems in Central Asia", *Proceedings of the International Conference* (October 2005), Almaty, Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, pp. 66-72.

Rakhimov, Mirzohid: "Relations between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan: main trends and sustainability factor in Central Asia", Central Asian Analytical Network (April 18, 2016), at <http://caa-network.org/archives/6994>.

Saparbayev, Berdibek: "Akimat SKR is ready to facilitate the resettlement of the citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan residing in Turkestanets", Karavan, February 2002, at <https://www.caravan.kz/news/akimat-yuko-gotov-sposobstvovat-pereseleniyu-grazhdan-rk-prozhivayushhikh-v-poselke-turkestanec-172100/>.

Seidin, Nurlan: "Delimitation of the Kazakh-Uzbek border: problems and solutions", Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (April 2002), at <http://kisi.kz/ru/categories/geopolitika-i-mezhdunarodnye-otnosheniya/posts/delimitaciya-kazahstansko-uzbekskoy-granicy-problemy-i->

Shaw, Malcolm N. (2014): *International Law*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shaw, Malcolm N.: "The Heritage of States: The Principle of Uti Possidetis Juris Today", *British Yearbook of International Law*, vol. 67, n° 1 (November 1997), pp. 75-154.

Sulyagina, Julia O.: "State regulation of the integration processes of immigrants in modern Russia", *Materials of the Afanasiev Readings*, vol. 1, n° 10 (2012), pp. 282-287.

Tokayev, Kasymzhomart K. (2000): *Foreign policy of Kazakhstan in conditions of globalization*, Almaty, Kazakhstan.

Zerkalov, Dmitry (2009): *Political Security: Problems and reality*, Kiev, Osnova.

Zhetpisov, Jalal: "Kazakh-Uzbek relations and the problem of regional security", Information and Analytical Center for the Study of Socio-Political Processes in the Post-Soviet Space, April 2007, at [http://ia-centr.ru/archive/public\\_detailsa3c4.html?id=471](http://ia-centr.ru/archive/public_detailsa3c4.html?id=471).