



Central Asia-Caucasus Institute

CACI is an independent and privately funded research and policy center affiliated with the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University. Founded in Washington in 1996 as the first such institution in the United States, CACI today is firmly established as a leading focus of research and policy worldwide, serving a large and diverse community of analysts, scholars, policy-watchers, business leaders and journalists.



Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies
Johns Hopkins University

The Central Asia-Caucasus Institute

Nitze School for Advanced International Studies

JOHNS HOPKINS
U N I V E R S I T Y

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I. The Central Asia-Caucasus Institute

CACI is an independent and privately funded research and policy center affiliated with the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University. Founded in Washington in 1996 as the first such institution in the United States, CACI today is firmly established as a leading focus of research and policy worldwide, serving a large and diverse community of analysts, scholars, policy-watchers, business leaders and journalists.

II. Why an Institute Devoted to Central Asia and the Caucasus?

Central Asia and the Caucasus occupy the vast Eurasian territory between the heartlands of four of the world's great cultural zones: China, India, Europe, and the Middle East. Enlivened by trade and interaction with these worlds, Central Asia and the Caucasus developed over many centuries a series of cosmopolitan cultures which greatly enriched world civilization. By the sixteenth century, however, political fragmentation and the opening of sea routes between Western Europe and East Asia consigned the region to a prolonged oblivion.

Foreign conquest, isolation, and international neglect endured to 1991. The collapse of the USSR in that year caused the region suddenly to regain its visibility and significance in the world's eyes. The end of civil strife in Tajikistan and then Afghanistan several years later further pushed the region to the fore. Even though struggles over autonomy and integration

continue in Russian-ruled Chechnya in the North Caucasus, Azerbaijan-ruled Karabakh in the South Caucasus, and in Chinese-ruled Xinjiang, the identity of the region as a whole and the relevance of its constituent nations and states to the great questions of war and peace becomes increasingly evident by the day.

Few today would deny that political, economic and social developments within this region can have a decisive effect—whether positive or negative—on Eurasian stability as a whole. On the positive side, the creation of new, secular states in relatively literate and predominantly Muslim societies, and the development of diverse energy resources (oil, gas and hydroelectric power) in an energy-starved world both have importance extending far beyond the region itself. On the negative side, weak states, drug trafficking, religious extremism, and terrorism place world peace and stability at risk. Ringed by four, or possibly five, nuclear powers and a NATO member, Central Asia and the Caucasus have decisively regained their centrality to world affairs, notwithstanding their relatively modest population, wealth and political power.

So fast was this change that no country in the West or elsewhere was adequately prepared to deal with it. There was little knowledge of the histories and cultures of the region's peoples, let alone of their languages. Rather than treat these highly distinctive and diverse countries as something in the own right, they were subsumed under other headings, usually "post-Soviet" or Russian. Afghanistan and Xinjiang, intimate parts of Central Asia for millennia, were sliced off and treated exclusively under the rubric of South Asia, or China, respectively.

This was the reality to which CACI was designed to respond. By establishing a center in Washington for research and policy-related work

relating to Central Asia and the Caucasus, it was hoped to help bring these regions out of the shadows of the American and western consciousness to which fate had consigned them. By encouraging Americans to enter into an active and multi-faceted engagement with the region, and by promoting serious and well-informed policies towards it, CACI's founders hoped the new Institute could help a neglected world area to reclaim its legitimate and appropriate place in the world order.

III. CACI's Mission and Agenda

The Central Asia-Caucasus Institute promotes study and policy-related work on the region through five main channels:

- A. Impartial research.
- B. Forums for policymakers and experts.
- C. Teaching.
- D. Dissemination and
- E. A Washington "switchboard" for knowledge and information.

A. Impartial Research

Policies are only as good as the knowledge on which they are based. Recognizing this, CACI fosters both fundamental and applied research in a wide range of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities.

Occasionally, CACI sponsors researchers in the field, as, for example, a Tajik scholar collecting information on Islamist groups and movements in his country or an Afghan researcher studying staffing patterns in his country's new government.

More often, however, CACI receives scholars at its quarters in Washington, either as Fellows or Guest Scholars. With funding either from CACI itself or from collaborating institutions or sponsors, such visitors carry out open-ended research leading to monographs, articles, policy papers, or presentations in various media. Such guests normally stay for periods ranging from a few weeks to a year or more.

Since its founding, CACI has hosted 31 Fellows and guest scholars. These have come from Across Europe, Asia, and the Americas, as well as from every country in the region itself. Among their number have been former and future ministers, heads of Institutes of Strategic Studies in the region, academics, NGO pioneers, US ambassadors to the region, military experts, and senior parliamentary staffers. In fields formerly dominated by males, women have been prominent among CACI scholars.

In an effort to encourage talented younger researchers, CACI has created a category of modest awards to enable PH.D candidates to avail themselves of Washington's unparalleled resources on the region. Demands for this program to date has been modest but is expected to grow as the field matures.

From time to time, CACI organizes collaborative projects involving numerous scholars. One such endeavor, undertaken with The Atlantic Council, led to *A Strategic Assessment of Central Asia and the Caucasus*, prepared for the US Joint Chiefs of Staff and published in 2000. When 11 September 2001 occurred, this was the most comprehensive study in the US government of US policy in Central Asia and Afghanistan. It has been translated into several languages of the region.

Another such collaboration focused on Xinjiang, China's Turkic and Muslim frontier province. Funded by the Luce Foundation, the Xinjiang Project assembled eighteen scholars for two years of intensive study of this neglected part of Central Asia.

Currently, in cooperation with the Silk Road Studies Program of Uppsala University, Sweden, the Institute is undertaking a major study of the economic underpinnings and social and political implications of the narcotics trade on the broader Central Asian region.

All members of CACI's permanent staff are actively engaged in research and writing:

- S. Frederick Starr, CACI's chairman, edited the Xinjiang Project and has recently published on the economics of Central Asia, on governmental institutions in Afghanistan, on political instability in mountain zones, and on higher education and economic development.
- Charles H. Fairbanks, director of CACI, writes on U.S. policy towards Central Asia and the Caucasus, the weakness of the new state structures, and the informal military forces that wage war there. On the tenth anniversary of the collapse of communism he assessed the transition to democracy in Central Asia and the Caucasus.
- Svante E. Cornell, deputy director of CACI and editor of the *CACI Analyst*, has written extensively on ethno-political conflict in the Caucasus, has recently published on regional politics and Islamic radicalism in Central Asia, and is currently leading a study on drug trafficking in that region.

B. Forums for Policymakers and Experts

The W.P. Carey Forum, held at the Institute throughout the year, is well established as Washington's premier locus for rigorous discussion of issues pertaining to Central Asia and the Caucasus. The purposes of the forum are:

- To keep Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the Caspian Basin in the attention of the Washington foreign policy elite.
- To make steadily available the fruits of the latest and most authoritative research and analyses on conditions in this region, without taking sides on controversial issues.
- To alert all those interested in the region to questions that are important but neglected in the public debate.
- To give important officials in Central Asia, the Caucasus and Afghanistan an opportunity to present their views to a wider audience than might otherwise be available to them in Washington. Accordingly, the presidents, prime ministers, or foreign ministers of all the states of the region have turned to the W.P. Carey Forum as an appropriate venue to present their views.

The audience at W.P. Carey Forums varies from sixty to more than four hundred. Because they consist of officials from the American and other governments, academics, ambassadors, NGO leaders, congressional staffers, journalists, businessmen and SAIS students, Forum audiences challenge speakers to do their best. Often the comments from the floor prove as interesting and fruitful as the formal presentations.

Because of this, W.P. Carey Forums are regularly covered by Radio Free Europe/Free Asia, the Voice of America, and broadcasters from the region, as well as C-Span and other U.S. media.

The W.P. Carey Forum seeks to focus policy makers' attention on issues of importance to U.S. interests in the region, and benefits in this respect from its non-partisan access to the executive branch and both houses of Congress. Attendees are invited from a list that now contains more than 1,000 names of governmental officials, former officials, members of the Washington Policy community, members of Congress and their staffs, diplomats, business leaders, journalists, academics, and SAIS students. Most attendees are from Washington but numerous visitors from elsewhere in the US and abroad are received as well. They all find in the W.P. Carey Forum a common focus and point of dialogue for the many people who are interested in the region but are isolated in many governmental agencies, business offices, Capital Hill, the embassies, law firms, and think tanks. At CACI these people meet and get to know one another, find new sources of expertise, and become a community with more influence on policy overall than its members would have as scattered individuals.

Over the years, the Forum has not only broadened the range of issues deemed relevant to policy but has led the process of expanding the public's understanding of the geographical bounds of Central Asia and the Caucasus. Afghanistan, northern Pakistan, Xinjiang, Iranian Azerbaijan, and the peoples of the North Caucasus have all been brought into a discussion formerly limited to those parts of Central Asia and the Caucasus that had once been part of the Soviet Union.

C. Teaching

While devoted mainly to research and policy issues, CACI regularly offers advanced graduate seminars at Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies. Topics covered address nearly every aspect of the region, including society, geopolitics and domestic policies, economics, security issues, resource development, religion, terrorism, history, and the evolution of national identities. Participants have come from Armenia, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Pakistan, Russia Spain, Tajikistan, Turkey, Uzbekistan, as well as the US. Many have gone on to important careers involving Central Asia and the Caucasus and now form the core of a new generation of experts.

D. Dissemination

While the W.P. Carey Forum is primarily a laboratory for rigorous presentations and discussion, it is also an important part of CACI's program to disseminate information and insights on the region. When a recent forum on the impending elections in Georgia was beamed by radio to Georgia in Georgian, it played an important role in spreading the Institution's work to ordinary citizens in that Caucasus country. Other channels for disseminating CACI's work include the internet-based journal, *Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Analyst*, a monograph series published by M.E. Sharpe, Inc., and constant speeches and media interviews by Institute staff, Fellows, and guest Scholars.

The CACI Analyst

Established in 1999, the *Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst* has established itself among the world's most authoritative sources of analysis and information on the region. The *CACI Analyst* is edited by Dr. Svante Cornell.

The *CACI Analyst* is published on the Internet and in hardcopy edition on a fortnightly basis, and is freely available at <http://www.cacianalyst.org>. The website enables visitors to read single articles or download entire issues in Portable Document Format, and includes a fully searchable archive of over 500 articles published since 1999. Each issue of the *CACI Analyst* contains four analytical articles, four field reports, and a news digest. Through this format, the *CACI Analyst* strives to offer original insights on developments in the region. The analytical articles offer timely but succinct studies of important developments, written by some of the leading experts in the field, both western and regional. The field reports provide perspectives from within the region on ongoing processes and events taking place there. Finally, the news digests give readers reliable data on relevant events of the last fortnight.

The analytical mission of the *CACI Analyst* has been widely acclaimed by professionals in the West and in the region itself. The target audience of the *CACI Analyst* is broad, including the policy-makers in the United States and the European Union; business leaders; representatives of the media and academia; and students. Naturally, the same communities in the countries of the region are also part of the core audience. The *CACI Analyst* is read in the presidential offices and decision-making bodies of most Central Asian and Caucasian countries.

Monograph Series

CACI's monograph series seeks to present the best work by members of an emerging generation of scholars, as well as studies by the smaller number of more senior analysts. Both groups combine in the collaborative volume *Xinjiang: China's Muslim Frontier*, published in 2003. An earlier volume on *Democratic Processes in Central Asia*, published in English and Russian,

presented the insights of a rising generation of scholars from the region, while a volume on *Civil Society in Central Asia*, published jointly with the Center for Civil Society International, sought to analyze an issue that is all too often reduced to clichés. Subsequent volumes will seek to crystallize the experience of countries in the region over the first decade of their independence.

Articles for Press, and Policy Briefings

Beyond these more formal channels, CACI staff members, Fellows, and Guest Scholars write frequently for the press, both in the West and in the region. Thus, a series of articles in the Turkish press by a Fellow from that country analyzed the politics Turkey's involvement with the Turkic states. Short "op-ed" pieces by CACI members have appeared in nearly all the major American newspapers and in some cases have been widely syndicated abroad.

Scholarly addresses, testimony before Congressional committees, public lectures, and oral briefings are also a regular part of the work of CACI staff and scholars. The audiences for such presentations range from congressional committees and groups of specialists to the educated general public. Close collaboration with such institutions as the World Affairs Councils, the American Committees on Foreign Relations, and The Asia Society, assure that the latest insights from the world of scholarship are quickly made available in accessible forms to a broad audience at home and abroad.

Finally, CACI staff and fellows have made countless appearances as regional experts for US and foreign television and radio, as well as on the national media throughout the region. In the months after September 11th they gave more than 300 interviews, beginning with one on NPR's "All Things

Considered” that delineated the region for a shocked public. They recently figured prominently in an Uzbek language documentary on Islam in that country.

E. A Washington “Switchboard” for Knowledge and Information

CACI serves the most promising scholars and analysts working on Central Asia and the Caucasus. Such men and women are extremely decentralized. The best younger researchers in the US frequently teach at universities and colleges that are distant from the traditional academic centers of international studies.

A similar decentralization exists in Europe. Numerous centers for serious study exist throughout Central Asia and the Caucasus, among them being the Institutes of Strategic Studies that exist in every capital, and with which CACI maintains regular ties.

By contrast, Washington is firmly established as the greatest concentration of libraries, archives, study centers, and international agencies dealing with the region. In spite of the internet, nearly all researchers on contemporary affairs eventually find it necessary to visit Washington and utilize its unparalleled resources.

To meet the needs of all these researchers, as well as those in Washington itself, CACI has become an unofficial embassy for Central Asia and Caucasus Studies in Washington and kind of “intellectual switchboard” for such studies globally. CACI welcomes hundreds of visitors each year, including individuals, groups, and official delegations.

It also receives countless requests daily—including from officials and journalists of all nations—for assistance and guidance in finding research materials, contacting experts, or even in finding jobs or funding in the field. CACI staff respond to all such enquiries as fully as possible.

To assist all these persons, CACI is publishing a *Scholars' Guide to Washington for Central Asia and the Caucasus*. With detailed information on some 270 libraries, archives, governmental offices, international agencies, “think – tanks,” corporations and non-governmental organizations, the *Scholars' Guide* will prove an invaluable tool for thousands of interested persons both in this country and abroad.

IV. Some CACI “Firsts”

Down to 1997 the US Government had made no formal public statement of its policy on Central Asia and the Caucasus. To rectify this, CACI urged then Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott to develop such a statement and present it at a Forum Meeting, which he did in his “Farewell to Flashman: American Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia” speech delivered on July 21, 1997.

- In its volume *Democratic Processes in Central Asia*, CACI was the first to consider the relationship of Central Asia’s traditional neighborhood organizations (mahallah) to democracy.
- While the notion of civil society had been used to analyze post-Communist development in Central Europe since the late 1970’s and Russia since 1988, CACI, through its 1998 two-day conference and subsequent book, was the first to subject it to rigorous analysis in the context of Central Asia.

- Long before 11 September 2001 substantiated the threat of Islamic extremism, CACI had highlighted this issue in its somber 1999 conference “The Emergence of Religious Extremism in Central Asia and the Caucasus.”
- Prior to September, 2001, there was little interest in Afghanistan either within the US government or outside it. But the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute maintained, in its Forum meetings and in its January 2001 study *A Strategic Assessment of Central Asia and the Caucasus*, prepared for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that without normal conditions in Afghanistan, “no real peace or security can exist in the region” (p. 106). The Institute argued that Afghanistan must be the “first priority” for policy toward the region.
- When the American government publicized the presence of Afghan militants in Georgia’s Pankisi gorge and sent Special Forces to train Georgia’s army to deal with them, it strikingly confirmed the Institute’s prediction that the unresolved Chechen conflict would create opportunities for Islamist terrorism.
- Before 11 September, there was little public awareness of the use of Pakistani territory as a conduit for extremist visions of Islam. The Institute highlighted this problem in its conference of Tuesday, April 11, 2000 conference on “The Emergence of Religious Extremism in Central Asia and the Caucasus” mentioned above, and in several meetings Forum meetings.
- Among the Taliban’s fighters in Afghanistan were a number of Uyghur guerrillas from China’s Muslim province of Xinjiang. Unrest and repression there make Xinjiang ripe for Islamic terrorist movements. The Institute emphasized this problem beginning in 1999 in its multi-year research endeavor “The Xinjiang Project,” that gave rise to a major conference on the issue held five months before September 11.

- October 17, 2001, days after 11 September 2001, when the US's military intervention to topple the Taliban and destroy Al Quaida had scarcely begun, Forum speaker Ali Jalali (later Afghanistan's Minister of Internal Affairs) stunned attendees with a detailed report on the caves of Tora Bora, as yet scarcely known even to the U.S. military. Two months later these became the scene of some of the most intense fighting of the war.
- Two years before the world community took the first steps to rebuild Afghanistan's transport system, CACI actively promoted the revival of trade as the most effective tool for economic recovery there and throughout the broader region. Accepted by the Secretary of the Treasury and others, these proposals eventually became a pillar American policy.

V. CACI's Officers

S. Frederick Starr, Chairman, focuses on issues of social and economic development in Central Asia, especially its mountain regions. Starr was founding director of the Kennan Institute and is former President of Oberlin College and the Aspen Institute. He is working to build the University of Central Asia on behalf of the presidents of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and the Aga Khan.

Charles H. Fairbanks, Director, focuses on security issues (including terrorism), Islamic revival, human rights, and democratic transitions in the region. He formerly taught at the University of Toronto and Yale, and served on the Policy Planning staff of the Department State and as Deputy Assistant Secretary. He is founding a liberal arts college for the Caucasus.

Svante E. Cornell, Deputy Director and Editor, *The Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst*, focuses on national security, regional politics, and conflict management issues in the Caucasus, as well as in Turkey, Southwest and Central Asia. He is co-founder of the Silk Road Studies Program at Uppsala University and of Cornell Caspian Consulting, LLC.

VI. Support for the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute

CACI goes to great lengths to protect its standing as a rigorously independent center for research and policy. As part of Johns Hopkins' Nitze School for Advanced International Studies, it is firmly rooted in one of the worlds leading centers of academic research on global affairs. Sustaining support from the Smith Richardson Foundation under-girds that independence, and helps free CACI from the endless round of contracted research that distorts the autonomy of many Washington think – tanks. With these firm foundations, CACI is able to receive support for specific projects from leading foundations, among them the Henry Luce Foundation, the Bradley Foundation, the Folger Foundation, and the Earhart Foundation.

Over the years, many corporations active in the region have also provided open-ended support, including Exxon-Mobil, Chevron, Newmont Mining, Phillip Morris, and Unocal. The U.S. government, through its various branches, has also supported research by CACI scholars. Among U.S. governmental agencies are the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Department of Defense, the Department of State, the National Security Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency. In addition, CACI has entered into joint projects with many international agencies. All such analyses are published

openly and bear the signature of the researchers involved, who are solely responsible for the contents.

CACI regularly collaborates with other agencies to fund individual scholars. Among these are the Fulbright Commission, the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), the American Council of Teachers of Russian/American Council for Collaboration in Education and Language Studies (ACTR/ACCELS), the Aga Khan Foundation, and national governments in the region.

Finally, CACI regularly benefits from its close contacts with the Washington embassies of the various countries in the region. While their assistance proves invaluable in many ways, it is always offered and accepted in the full knowledge of CACI's firm stance as an independent scholarly enterprise that seeks to present all legitimate perspectives, including those of some of those governments' sternest critics.

VII. To Contact Us

General inquiries should be directed to:

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CACI's home page can be found at: <http://www.sais-jhu.edu/caci>

The *Central Asia Caucasus Analyst* is accessible at: www.cacianalyst.org

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Appendices

Selected Forum Meetings at CACI:

June 25, 1997: “Turkey in Central Asia: Successes, Failures, and Potential”
Huseyin Erdem, Former Chief Advisor for Central Asia and the Caucasus,
Office of the Prime Minister, Turkish Republic

July 21, 1997: “Farewell to Flashman: American Policy in the Caucasus and
Central Asia.”

Strobe Talbot, then Deputy Secretary of State

October 8, 1997: “What Lessons Can Azerbaijan Learn from Its First Oil
Boom As It Enters Its Second?”

Dr. Tadeusz Swietochowski, Monmouth University

October 5, 1998: “Kazakhstan’s Foreign Policy Agenda”

His Excellency, Kassymzhomart Tokayev, Foreign Minister of Kazakhstan.

February 3, 1999: “Tajikistan and the World.”

Ambassador Rashid Alimov, Ambassador of Tajikistan to the United
Nations.

September 15, 1999: “The Criminal Situation, Ethnic and Religious
Separatism in the North Caucasus”

General Anatoly Kulikov, Former Minister of the Interior, Russian
Federation

February 14, 2000: “Azerbaijan: Perils and Prospects.”

Heydar Aliyev, President of Azerbaijan

October 4, 2001 “Georgia, the United States, and the New Security
Paradigm in Eurasia.”

Eduard Shevardnadze, President of Georgia,

October 9, 2002: “Who Rules in Afghanistan's Provinces?”

Ali Jalali, Chief, Farsi Service, Voice of America, later Minister of the
Interior of Afghanistan

November 5, 2002: “Why is “Wahhabism Gaining Among Muslims?”

Olivier Roy, Centre des Recherches Scientifiques, Paris

November 21, 2002: “The Moscow Tragedy and the Search for Peace in Chechnya”

Ruslan Khasbulatov, Former Chairman, Parliament of the Russian Federation

December 9, 2002: “Post-September 11th Prospects for Tajikistan”

President Emomali Rakhmonov, President of Tajikistan

April 9, 2003: “Iran, South Azerbaijan, and Azerbaijan after the Iraq War”

Dr. Mahmudali Cheragani, Iranian democratic activist

Dr. Hasan Javadi, Chief, Azerbaijani Service, Voice of America

Dr. Nasib Nasibli, Khazar University

Articles From *CACI Analyst*, 2000-2003.

CACI Analyst articles have been among the first to highlight and shed light on important developments in the region.

May 2000: Juli MacDonald explored India’s increasing role in Central Asia.

June 2000: Alim Seytoff described the AIDS epidemic among Xinjiang’s Uighurs.

November 2000: Stephen Blank elucidated the deepening relations between Central and East Asia, and Ahmed Rashid viewed the tensions between different radical Islamic groupings in Central Asia.

May 2001: Archil Kekelia examined Georgia’s potential to become a major tourist resort and challenges to that.

June 2001: Christopher Boucek analyzed Israel’s involvement in the civil war in Afghanistan.

November 2001: Glen Howard incisively analyzed Moscow’s role in bringing the Northern Alliance to power in Afghanistan.

February 2002: Michael Denison explained Russia's policy of locking up Caspian gas resources with specific reference to Turkmenistan.

July 2002: Regine Spector highlighted the increasing development of a North-South trade route connecting India, Iran and Russia.

September 2002: Mamuka Tsereteli unveiled Russia's use of energy diplomacy to gain control over strategic assets in Georgia.

January 2003: Stephen Blank brought attention to the increasing Indian military presence in Central Asia, and Grant Smith examined the politics of dealing with warlords in Afghanistan.

February 2003: Robert Cutler analyzed the implications of the new foreign investment law of Kazakhstan.

March 2003: Roger McDermott studied the building and development of Tajikistan's military.

June 2003: Mike Redman shed light on Hizb-ut-Tahrir's increasing activities in Kazakhstan.

List of Fellows and Guest Scholars 1997 – Present

1. Yokubjon Abduhollihov, Tajikistan, University of Khujand
2. Leila Alieva, Azerbaijan, Center for Strategic and International Studies
3. Kadir Alimov, Uzbekistan
4. Dilshod Anarkulova, Tajikistan, Institute of Philosophy and Law, Tajik Academy of Sciences
5. Irakly Areshidze, Georgia, Chavchavadze University
6. Eldor Aripov, Uzbekistan, Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies attached to the President of Uzbekistan
7. Nadya Badykova, Turkmenistan, Economic Integration Department, Economic Institute at the Government of Turkmenistan
8. Angela Bejanova, Turkmenistan, U.S. Embassy in Ashgabat

9. David Darchiashvili, Georgia, Parliamentary Research Service
10. Zurab Davitashvili, Georgia, Tbilisi State University
11. Toktobioubiou Dyikanbaeva, Kyrgyzstan, Strategic Research Center, Government of Kyrgyzstan
12. Ana Teresa Gutierrez del Cid, Mexico, Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana
13. Liana Jervalidze, Georgia, Foreign Ministry of Georgia
14. Korneli Kakachia, Georgia, United Nations UNOMIG-Zugdidi
15. Oumirserik Kasenov, Kazakhstan, Center for Strategic and International Studies attached to the President of Kazakhstan
16. Kemal Kaya, Turkey, Turkish Parliament
17. Aftab Kazi, United States, Leipzig University
18. Mahmamin B. Mahmaminov, Tajikistan, Mountain Societies Development Support Program, the Aga Khan Foundation
19. Martin Malek, Austria, Defense Academy
20. Elkhan Mekhtiev, Azerbaijan, Director, Peace and Conflict Resolution Center, NATO Fellow, Fall 2000
21. Aibek Moldogaziev, Kyrgyzstan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
22. Nasib Nassibli, Azerbaijan, Khazar University
23. Saule Omarova, Kazakhstan, University of Wisconsin at Madison
24. Vladimir Paramonov, Uzbekistan, National University of Uzbekistan
25. Khatuna Salukvadze, Georgia, Parliament of Georgia
26. R. Grant Smith, United States, Former U.S. Ambassador to Tajikistan
27. Jyldyz Sydygalieva, Kyrgyzstan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
28. Kunduz Sydygalieva, Kyrgyzstan, Academy of Management, Bishkek
29. Anara Tabyshalieva, Kyrgyzstan, Institute of Regional Studies
30. Jamalbek Turgunbekov, Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz State National University
31. Maliheh Tyrrell, United States
32. Guli Yuldasheva, Uzbekistan, Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies attached to the President of Uzbekistan
33. Kairat Zhumabekov, Kazakhstan, Committee for Privatization.