

Political Science 362/462: Politics of Central Asia

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Once an unfamiliar region to many people of the world, Central Asia has been in the spotlight since 2001 as a result of the U.S. campaign against terrorism. With little experience in the region and little time to learn, the mainstream press and the pundits have done their best to characterize Central Asia for their readers, listeners, and viewers. Are the generalizations they make about the region accurate? This course introduces students to the politics of Central Asia, enhancing their ability to evaluate current events. We will focus on the region that is today composed of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan, and we will explore the following topics: state formation, nationalism, national politics, Islam, gender relations, nongovernmental organizations, economic reform, natural resources, and economic survival.

By studying these topics across time, we can examine stereotypes that foreign media, as well as some Central Asians, often project on the region—Central Asia as a uniform, stagnant region with passive populations and radical Islamic activists. We will challenge these stereotypes by asking: how are the countries of the region similar, and how are they different? How much change has occurred in the region over time? Who have been the initiators of change? What is the nature of Islamic belief and Islamic political activity in the region?

Course Materials

To explore these questions, we will read works from different disciplines as well as policy pieces. Political tracts and novels are suggested for further reading. The course also incorporates film clips, slides, regional artifacts, policy simulations, and sessions on research techniques.

Books and Articles: Course materials are available for purchase at the bookstore, accessible on the internet, or provided in class. Two books, *The Transformation of Central Asia* and *Veiled Empire*, may be purchased at the bookstore. (They are also on reserve at the Kelvin Smith Library's circulation desk.) International Crisis Group Reports, Earle's study, and Jones Luong and Weinthal's article are available on the internet. (Web addresses are provided in the citations.) The remaining required materials will be distributed in class. Of the suggested works, Aitmatov's book is on reserve and the others are available in the box next to my office door.

News: Students who wish to follow current events in Central Asia should consult:

- Eurasianet, <http://www.eurasianet.org/> for news analyses (select "Eurasia Insight") or daily news (select a country for Recent Headlines)
- The Analyst, <http://www.cacianalyst.org/> for biweekly analytical articles, field reports from individuals in the region, or daily news
- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, www.rferl.org/nca/features/ for news analyses five days a week or <http://www.rferl.org/newsline/> for news articles each weekday

Blackboard: Students will post questions on Blackboard, as later described. To post, select Blackboard on Case's home page. Select Course Catalog, College of Arts & Sciences, POSC. Login next to POSC 362. Select Courses tab, POSC 362, and Discussion Board. Doubleclick on the appropriate week and then on my message. Select reply, write your questions, and click submit. Additional assistance is available through Blackboard FAQ on the first site.

Course Requirements

Participation: The focus of each class will be on discussion. Students should craft two analytical questions based on each week's readings and post them on the course Blackboard site by 3 pm Monday prior to class meetings during Parts I, II, and III of the course. Students should read their classmates' questions before the start of class. The instructor will select some questions, and students are welcome to raise questions in class. Students are expected to actively participate in class discussion and to thoughtfully evaluate their classmates' research paper materials (described below). Students are strongly encouraged to take notes on the readings in order to be prepared to integrate and critique the materials in class. Because participation is critical to understanding the material, students are expected to attend all classes. Except under extraordinary circumstances, absenteeism will negatively affect students' final grades. As indicated later on the syllabus, some class meetings will be held in Room 215 at Kelvin Smith Library.

Commentaries: In addition to reading course materials, posting questions, and participating in class, *undergraduates* will write a commentary on the readings for three class meetings and *graduate students* for six class meetings. *Undergraduates* should write a paper for one week in Part I, one week in Part II, and one week in Part III. *Graduate students* should write a paper for two weeks in Parts I, II, and III. No commentaries will be accepted for Part IV or Part V. The purpose of the commentaries is to help students understand, critique, and integrate the readings and prepare to pose questions for discussion in class. Students should not summarize the readings but should instead use the course materials to answer their own questions and explore their own arguments. The strongest papers typically introduce a question or argument in the first paragraph and then use evidence from the readings throughout the remainder of the paper to answer the question or defend the argument. They also usually incorporate ideas from each reading for that week and perhaps draw on ideas from previous readings as well. The quality of the commentaries should improve throughout the semester. For the commentaries informal citations—phrases like “as Northrop argues”—are acceptable. Commentaries should be between two and two and a half pages double-spaced. They must be submitted at the beginning of the class the analyzed materials are assigned. Grading of the responses will take into account the degree of independent thinking, use of assigned materials, and quality of writing.

Research Paper: Students will also write a research paper that further explores an idea raised in the readings or in class. The paper should offer an analysis, not a summary of research materials, and should otherwise meet the criteria set by the class in the beginning of the semester. *Undergraduates* will submit a paper of 25-28 double-spaced pages, and graduate students will submit a paper of 35-40 double-spaced pages. The research papers are due in class December 6. To facilitate their completion, each student will write the following by the designated date, and, for all materials except the draft papers and comments, the instructor will communicate potential pitfalls by email. Note that in some cases more than one copy should be submitted.

- Abstract (October 11, *one copy*)—In one paragraph the student should describe the focus of the paper. The abstract might include the expected argument and/or subtopics. Students are encouraged to discuss their topic with the instructor in advance. Grading will be based on whether such an abstract is submitted.
- Draft Bibliography (October 18, *one copy*)—This bibliography should include a list of all the materials obtained or ordered for the project. Formal citations are not necessary. However, so that others can help assess the quality of the materials, please include the following as is relevant: author/editor, title of chapter or article, title of book or journal, publisher, date. Grading will take into account the variety, relevance, and number of sources.

- Annotated Bibliography (November 8, *6 copies*)—This bibliography should include all the materials that you have reviewed and found useful to your paper. Each work should appear as a formal citation with one or two sentences describing its utility to your project. For formatting citations, see *The Chicago Manual of Style* (under Z253.C57 at Kelvin Reference), www.dartmouth.edu/~sources/, or a similar guide. Grading will take into account the variety, relevance, and number of sources.
- Outline (November 15, *8 copies*)—In two to four double-spaced pages, the outline should lay out your argument and subarguments and describe your evidence and sources for each. Grading will be based on the thoroughness and clarity of the outline.
- Draft Paper (November 22, *4 copies*)—The entire paper should be written and footnotes and a list of works cited included. Grading will be based on whether such a draft is submitted.
- Comments (November 29, *2 copies of comments for each paper*)—Each student will provide written comments on three classmates' draft papers, using an evaluation form developed by the class. Student will also share their comments orally during the class meeting. Grading will be based on whether such written comments are submitted.

All written work should be carefully structured and grammatically correct. To avoid plagiarism, students should review “Plagiarism: What It is and How to Recognize and Avoid It,” distributed in class. Cases of plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be investigated by university judicial bodies.

Blackboard discussion questions, class participation, and class attendance will constitute 10 percent of the course grade, the weekly commentaries will count for a total of 20 percent, the research paper preparation materials listed above for 25 percent, and the research paper for 45 percent. Students will lose a half of a grade on an assignment for each day it is late.

Course Schedule and Readings

August 30: Introduction to Central Asia and the Course

Part I: Building States and Nations

September 6: State Formation—Tribes, Khanates, and Governor Generalships

Elizabeth E. Bacon. *Central Asians under Russian Rule: A Study in Culture Change*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980. "Preface," "The Land and the People," "Before the Conquest: The Pastoral Nomads," "Traditional Oasis Culture," xxxv-91.

Richard A. Pierce. *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917: A Study in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. "Administrative Structure," "Urban Development," "Rural Colonization," 64-78, 95-138.

September 13: Nationalism—Manas and Timur Take Center Stage

Francine Hirsch. "Toward an Empire of Nations: Border-Making and the Formation of Soviet National Identities." *Russian Review* 59, no. 2 (2000): 201-226.

Adrienne Lynn Edgar. *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. "Assembling the Nation: The Creation of a Turkmen National Republic," 41-69.

Martha Brill Olcott. *Central Asia's New States: Independence, Foreign Policy, and Regional Security*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996. "A Premature Birth," 3-20.

Laura Adams. "Cultural Elites in Uzbekistan: Ideological Production and the State." In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 93-119. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Bhavna Dave. "A Shrinking Reach of the State? Language Policy and Implementation in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan." In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 120-155. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

SUGGESTED:

Sharof Rashidov. *The Banner of Friendship*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969. A political piece by one of the former first party secretaries of Soviet Uzbekistan.

Chingiz Aitmatov. *The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983. A novel by a Kyrgyz author set in Soviet Kazakhstan. Helpful and enjoyable to read anytime during the semester.

Part I: Building States and Nations [cont.]

September 20: National Politics—Divergent Paths?

International Crisis Group. *Uzbekistan: The Andijon Uprising*. International Crisis Group. (May 25, 2005). Available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3450&l=3#C2>. On this page select Crisis Group Analysis then the specific report. You will need to register the first time you use the site, but registration is free.

International Crisis Group. *Kyrgyzstan: After the Revolution*. International Crisis Group. (May 4, 2005). See web address and instructions above.

International Crisis Group. *Repression and Regression in Turkmenistan: A New International Strategy*. International Crisis Group. (November 4, 2004). See web address and instructions above.

International Crisis Group. *Tajikistan's Politics: Confrontation or Consolidation?* International Crisis Group. (May 19, 2004). See web address and instructions above.

Martha Brill Olcott. *Kazakhstan: Unfulfilled Promise*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002. "Trying Pluralism and Abandoning It," 87-127.

SELECT ONE of the following two for a perspective on subnational politics:

Alisher Ilkhamov. "The Limits of Centralization: Regional Challenges in Uzbekistan." In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 159-181. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Pauline Jones Luong. "Economic 'Decentralization' in Kazakhstan: Causes and Consequences." In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 182-210. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

SUGGESTED: Islam Karimov. *Uzbekistan: The Road of Independence and Progress*. Tashkent: Uzbekiston, 1992. A political tract by the current president of Uzbekistan.

Part II: Social Forces

September 27: Islam—From Beaded Bracelets to Shariat

Olivier Roy. *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations*. New York: New York University Press, 2000. *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations*. "Islam," 143-160.

Sergei P. Poliakov. *Everyday Islam: Religion and Tradition in Rural Central Asia*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1992, "By Way of Introduction" by Martha Brill Olcott, "Religious Institutions," "The Clergy," xiii-xix, 95-112.

International Crisis Group. *Central Asia: Islam and the State*. International Crisis Group. (July 10, 2003). Available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3450&l=3#C2>. On this page select Crisis Group Analysis then the specific report.

International Crisis Group. *Is Radical Islam Inevitable in Central Asia? Priorities for Engagement*. International Crisis Group. (December 22, 2003). See web address and instructions above.

Begin reading *Veiled Empire* for next week, if you have time. (See below.)

MEET in ROOM 215 of KELVIN SMITH LIBRARY

October 4: Gender Relations—"Unveiling" and "Reveiling"

Douglas Taylor Northrop. *Veiled Empire: Gender & Power in Stalinist Central Asia*. 1st ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004. "Embodying Uzbekistan," "Hujum, 1927," "Subaltern Voices," "Crimes of Daily Life," 33-68, 69-101, 164-208, 242-283. If you have time also read the chapters "Stalin's Central Asia," "Conclusion," and any others that look interesting.

Cynthia Werner. "Women, Marriage, and the Nation-State: The Rise of Nonconsensual Bride Kidnapping in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan." In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 59-89. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Part II: Social Forces [cont.]

October 11: Nongovernmental Organizations—GONGOs, BONGOs, and CBOs

Kelly M. McMann. "The Civic Realm in Kyrgyzstan: Soviet Economic Legacies and Activists' Expectations." In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 213-245. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Erika Weinthal. "Beyond the State: Transitional Actors, NGOs, and Environmental Protection in Central Asia." In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 246-270. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Lucy Earle, Bahodir Fozilhujaev, Chinara Tashbaeva, and Kulnara Djamankulova. *Community Development in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan: Lessons Learnt from Recent Experience, Occasional Papers Series No. 40*. Oxford: INTRAC, 2004. "Community Development in Historical Perspective," "Methodology," "Case Studies: Locations and Principal Focus," "Part 2: Research Results—Thematic Issues," "Conclusion," 11-12, 20-58. Available at <http://www.intrac.org/docs/OPS40Final.pdf>.

DUE: One copy of abstract. (See instructions under Course Requirements.)

MEET in ROOM 215 of KELVIN SMITH LIBRARY

Part III: Economic Forces

October 18: Economic Legacies and Reform—A Stakhanovite on the Silk Road to Capitalism

Gregory Gleason. *Markets and Politics in Central Asia: Structural Reform and Political Change*. New York: Routledge, 2003. Selections from “Kazakhstan and Globalization,” “Kyrgyzstan and the Reform Path,” “Civil War and Reconstruction in Tajikistan,” “Petro-dollars and ‘Positive Neutrality’ in Turkmenistan,” “Economic Self-Reliance and the ‘Uzbek Path,’” 37-52, 65-74, 82-92, 99-110, 117-127.

International Crisis Group. *The Curse of Cotton: Central Asia’s Destructive Monoculture*. International Crisis Group. (February 28, 2005). Available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3450&l=3#C2>. On this page select Crisis Group Analysis then the specific report.

SUGGESTED: Sharaf Rashidov. *The Victors*. Translated by Olga Shartse. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1958. A novel with economic and environmental themes by one of the first party secretaries of Soviet Uzbekistan.

DUE: One copy of draft bibliography. (See instructions under Course Requirements.)

NO CLASS October 25

November 1: Natural Resources—A Blessing or a Curse

John Roberts. “Caspian Oil and Gas: How Far Have We Come and Where Are We Going?” In *Oil, Transition and Security in Central Asia*, edited by Sally N. Cummings, 143-160. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Peter Riches. “Perspectives on the Political Risk System for Western Multinational Oil Company Investment in Central Asia.” In *Oil, Transition and Security in Central Asia*, edited by Sally N. Cummings, 161-174. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Stuart Horsman. “The Caspian Sea: The Management and the Politicisation of the Maritime Ecosystem in a Period of Transition.” In *Oil, Transition and Security in Central Asia*, edited by Sally N. Cummings, 192-202. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Pauline Jones Luong and Erika Weinthal. “Prelude to the Resource Curse: Explaining Oil and Gas Development Strategies in the Soviet Successor States and Beyond.” *Comparative Political Studies* 34, no. 4 (2001), 367-395. Available at <http://journals.ohiolink.edu/local-cgi/send-pdf/050710154035230555.pdf>. You will need to use a computer on campus or connect off campus using VPN.

Part III: Economic Forces [cont.]

November 8: Coping With “Transition”—Shared Shoes

Kelly M. McMann. “The Shrinking of the Welfare State: Central Asians’ Assessments of Soviet and Post-Soviet Governance.” In *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell Zanca. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, forthcoming 2006.

Marianne Ruth Kamp. “Between Women and the State: Mahalla Committees and Social Welfare in Uzbekistan.” In *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, 29-58. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Kathleen R. Kuehnast and Nora Dudwick. *Better a Hundred Friends Than a Hundred Rubles?: Social Networks in Transition—The Kyrgyz Republic*, World Bank Working Paper No. 39. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2004. 7-29, 33-39.

International Crisis Group. *Youth in Central Asia: Losing the New Generation*. International Crisis Group. (October 31, 2003). Available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3450&l=3#C2>. On this page select Crisis Group Analysis then the specific report.

DUE: Six copies of annotated bibliography. (See instructions under Course Requirements.)

Part IV: Research Paper Workshops

November 15: Strengthening Arguments

There is no reading for this week and commentaries will not be accepted.

DUE: Eight copies of outline. (See instructions under Course Requirements.)

November 22: Conducting Original Research

There is no reading for this week and commentaries will not be accepted.

DUE: Four copies of draft paper. (See instructions under Course Requirements.)

November 29: Polishing the Final Product

There is no reading for this week and commentaries will not be accepted.

DUE: Two copies of comments for each paper. (See instructions under Course Requirements.)

Part V: Conclusion

December 6: Central Asia—Challenging Stereotypes

For this week students are expected to review their notes and be prepared to offer generalizations about the politics, societies, and economies of Central Asia. There is no reading for this week and commentaries will not be accepted.

DUE: One copy of research paper.