

Political Science 362/462: Politics of Central Asia

Fall 2007

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The death of Turkmenistan's President Saparmurat Niyazov in December 2006 and the ouster of Kyrgyzstan's president Askar Akaev in March 2005 forced the issue of leadership succession in Central Asia from the realm of expert speculation into the domain of interelite struggle. These transfers of power were extraordinary events for the region, where, thanks to restrictions on opposition politics and formal extensions of their rule, presidents typically have remained in office for more than a decade. Yet to what extent can change in leadership improve life for the average Central Asian? To what degree are citizens even connected to their government leaders? This course explores these questions by examining how government efforts to build states, nations, and economies historically and recently have influenced societal institutions, such as Islam, community groups, and gender relations. We will focus on the countries of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan.*

Course Materials

During the semester 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. Three books, *Tribal Nation*, *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, and *The Transformation of Central Asia*, may be purchased at the bookstore. (They are also on reserve at Kelvin Smith Library's circulation desk.) International Crisis Group Reports and Kuehnast and Dudwick's study are available on the internet. (Web addresses are provided in the citations.) I will email you my "Market Reform" manuscript at least a week before we discuss it. 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: To follow current events in Central Asia, students should consult:

- Eurasianet, <http://www.eurasianet.org/> for news analyses (select "Eurasia Insight") or daily news (select a country for Recent Headlines)
- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, http://www.rferl.org/specials/central_asia/, for news analyses and reports.

Blackboard: Students will post questions on Blackboard, as later described. To post, select Blackboard on Case's home page, login, select POSC 362, choose Discussion Board, click on the appropriate date, click on my Instructions message, select Reply, write your questions, and click Submit. Additional assistance is available through Blackboard FAQ on the Blackboard home page.

* This paragraph draws heavily from Kelly M. McMann, "New Presidents in Central Asia: Will Life Improve for the Average Person?" *NewsNet*, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (May 2007).

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 8 pm Wednesday prior to class meetings during Parts I and II 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 LL06 at Kelvin Smith Library.

Commentaries: In addition to reading course materials, posting questions, and participating in class, *POSC 362 students* will write a commentary on the readings for three class meetings and *POSC 462 students* for six class meetings. *POSC 362 students* should write papers for two weeks in Part I and one week in Part II. *POSC 462 students* should write a paper for three weeks in Part I and two weeks in Part II. No commentaries will be accepted for Part III or Part IV. 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. *POSC 362 students* will submit a paper of 25-28 double-spaced pages, and *POSC 462 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 may 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, 4:30 pm, *one copy emailed to kelly.mcmann@case.edu as an attached Word file*)—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 1, *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 8, *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 15, *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

September 6: Introduction to Central Asia and the Course

Part I: Building States, Nations, and Economies

September 13: 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 20: Nation-building—Manas and Timur Take Center Stage

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,” “Ethnic Preferences and Ethnic Conflict: The Rise of a Turkmen National Elite,” “Helpers, Not Nannies: Moscow and the Turkmen Communist Party [part],” “Dueling Dialects: The Creation of a Turkmen Language,” “A Nation Divided: Class Struggle and the Assault on ‘Tribalism,’” “Cotton and Collectivization: Rural Resistance in Soviet Turkmenistan,” “From Soviet Republic to Independent Nation-State,” 41-109, 124-220, 261-265.

SELECT one of the following two for an account of contemporary nationalism (or read both if you have time):

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, Nations, and Economies [cont.]

September 27: National Politics—Divergent Paths

Madeleine Reeves. "Travels in the Margins of the State: Everyday Geography in the Ferghana Valley Borderlands." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 281-300. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

International Crisis Group. *Turkmenistan after Niyazov*. International Crisis Group. (February 12, 2007), 1-15.
Available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1251&l=1>. Scroll down and select the specific report. You will need to register the first time you use the site, but registration is free.

International Crisis Group. *Kyrgyzstan: A Faltering State*. International Crisis Group. (December 16, 2005), 1-20. See web address and instructions above.

International Crisis Group. *Uzbekistan: Stagnation and Uncertainty*. International Crisis Group. (August 22, 2007), 1-15. See web address and instructions above

International Crisis Group. *Tajikistan's Politics: Confrontation or Consolidation?* International Crisis Group. (May 19, 2004), 1-19. 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 (or read both if you have time):

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 I: Building States, Nations, and Economies [cont.]

October 4: Economic Legacies and Change—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. *Central Asia’s Energy Risks*. International Crisis Group. (May 24, 2007), 1-3, 6-42.
Available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1251&l=1>. Scroll down and select the specific report.

International Crisis Group. *The Curse of Cotton: Central Asia’s Destructive Monoculture*. International Crisis Group. (February 28, 2005), 1-30. See web address and instructions above.

Kelly M. McMann. “The Shrinking of the Welfare State: Central Asians’ Assessments of Soviet and Post-Soviet Governance.” In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 233-247. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

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.

MEET in ROOM LL06 of KELVIN SMITH LIBRARY

Part II: Societal Forces

October 11: Islam—Beaded Bracelets and Shariat

International Crisis Group. *Is Radical Islam Inevitable in Central Asia? Priorities for Engagement*. International Crisis Group. (December 22, 2003). Available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1251&l=1>. Scroll down and select the specific report.

Sean R. Roberts. "Everyday Negotiations of Islam in Central Asia: Practicing Religion in the Uyghur Neighborhood of *Zarya Vostoka* in Almaty, Kazakhstan." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 339-354. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

David M. Abramson and Elyor E. Karimov. "Sacred Sites, Profane Ideologies: Religious Pilgrimage and the Uzbek State." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 319-338. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

International Crisis Group. *Central Asia: Islam and the State*. International Crisis Group. (July 10, 2003). See web address and instructions above.

Eric M. McGlinchey. "Divided Faith: Trapped between State and Islam in Uzbekistan." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 305-318. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

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

MEET in ROOM LL06 of KELVIN SMITH LIBRARY

NO CLASS October 18

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

Part II: Societal Forces [cont.]

October 25: Community—NGOs, Clans, and Mahallas

NOTE: We will meet at 5:15 and finish at 6:15.

Students are strongly encouraged to attend renowned scholar Theda Skocpol's lecture at 4 pm in Ford Auditorium. (See <http://policy.case.edu/gender/> for more information.)

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.

Kelly M. McMann. "Market Reform as a Stimulus to Particularistic Politics," article manuscript. To be distributed by email at least a week before class.

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. Available as a free pdf file at <http://www.worldbank.org/reference/>. Select Documents & Reports in the Search menu and search for "better a hundred friends."

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.

Part II: Societal Forces [cont.]

November 1: Gender Relations—"Unveiling" and "Reveiling"

Douglas Northrop. "The Limits of Liberation: Gender, Revolution, and the Veil in Everyday Life in Soviet Uzbekistan." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 89-102. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Marianne Kamp. "The Wedding Feast: Living the New Uzbek Life in the 1930s." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 103-114. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

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.

SELECT one of the following two works (or read both if you have time):

Meltem Sancak and Peter Finke. "Konstitutsiya Buzildi! Gender Relations in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 160-177. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Greta Uehling. "Dinner with Akhmet." In *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present*, edited by Jeff Sahadeo and Russell G. Zanca, 127-140. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

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

Part III: Research Paper Workshops

November 8: 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 15: 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.)

NO CLASS November 22

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 IV: Conclusion

December 6: Central Asia—State-Society Relations

For this week students are expected to review their notes and be prepared to offer generalizations about connections between leaders and citizens of Central Asia. There is no reading for this week and commentaries will not be accepted.

DUE: One copy of research paper.