

«Central Asian Studies World Wide»
Course Syllabi for the Study of Central Eurasia
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Politics of Central Asia (Political Science 362/462)
Syllabus for the course offered in Fall 2002
Case Western Reserve University
Dept. of Political Science

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Political Science 362/462: Politics of Central Asia

Fall 2002

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Once an unfamiliar region to many people of the world, Central Asia took center stage in the fall of 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 did their best to characterize Central Asia for their readers, listeners, and viewers. Are the generalizations they made 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 consider the influences of neighboring countries, such as Afghanistan. After a review of the khanate, tsarist, and Soviet eras, we will explore the following topics: national politics, nationalism, foreign relations, Afghanistan, Islam, gender relations, ethnicity, civic groups, economic legacies, resource wealth, and economic coping.

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 scholarly works as well as journalistic accounts and policy pieces. Political tracts, novels, and additional scholarly literature are suggested for further reading. The course also incorporates film clips, slides, and artifacts of the region.

Books and Articles: Three works are available for purchase at the bookstore: *Central Asian Security*, *Taliban*, and *The Day Lasts More Than A Hundred Years*. (*The Day Lasts More Than A Hundred Years* is not required, but recommended.) Other required materials are included in the coursepack, which can be purchased at the bookstore. The three books, the coursepack, and additional recommended materials, unless otherwise noted, are on reserve at Kelvin Smith Library. Extra copies of course handouts and maps of the region are available on the website.

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 compiled news articles (see “Daily News”);
- The Analyst, <http://www.cacianalyst.org/> for biweekly news analyses, http://www.cacianalyst.org/Field_reports.htm for reports from individuals in the field, or http://www.cacianalyst.org/News_Bites.htm for short news briefs;
- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, www.rferl.org/nca/features/ for news analyses five days a week or www.rferl.org/newsline/2-tca.html for news articles each weekday.

Course Requirements

Participation: The focus of each class will be on discussion, and students are strongly encouraged to take notes on the readings in order to be prepared to integrate and critique the materials and to pose questions for discussion. Readings should be completed by the first day of the week they are assigned. During the middle of the semester, small groups of students will each make a 15-minute presentation. Students should coordinate in advance with members of their group and prepare a stimulating, creative, and succinct presentation that poses questions and offers analysis in order to spark debate. Presentations should not summarize the readings. The last week of the course students will provide their own analyses of the region during discussion. 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.

Commentaries: In addition to reading course materials and participating in class, students will write a weekly commentary on the readings for six of the 14 weeks for which reading is assigned. 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. Students should incorporate concepts and arguments in readings from previous weeks, and the quality of the commentaries should improve throughout the semester. For the commentaries informal citations—phrases like “as Hirsch argues” or “as the International Crisis Group report notes”—are acceptable. Commentaries should be between one and a half to two pages double-spaced, and they must be submitted at the beginning of the first class of the week. Commentaries will be evaluated as excellent, good, fair, or poor.

Research Paper: Students will also write a research paper that further explores an idea raised in the readings or in class. Each student should meet at least once with the instructor to discuss the topic. The research paper should:

- Offer an analysis, not a summary of research materials.
- Provide evidence of assertions.
- Be factually accurate.
- Provide specific examples so as to avoid vague statement.
- Include citations and a bibliography. For formatting, see *The Chicago Manual of Style* (under Z253.C57 at Kelvin Reference), www.dartmouth.edu/~sources/, or a similar guide.

To avoid plagiarism, students should review “Plagiarism: What It is and How to Recognize and Avoid It,” included in the coursepack. Cases of plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be investigated by university judicial bodies.

Undergraduates will submit a paper of 15-20 pages, and graduate students will submit a paper of 20-30 pages. Graduate students are expected to do more extensive research for their papers. All students will submit a one-page, double-spaced paper proposal at the beginning of class Monday, October 14. A 1-2 page working bibliography will be submitted at the beginning of class Monday, November 11. The paper itself is due Friday, December 6 at the beginning of class.

The presentation, the final analysis, overall class participation, and class attendance will constitute 20 percent of the course grade, the six weekly commentaries will count for 40 percent, and the research paper for the remaining 40 percent. Students will lose a half a grade on an assignment for each day it is late.

Course Schedule and Readings

Part I: Historical Background

Week 1: Tribes and Khanates

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.

Week 2: The Tsarist Era

Olivier Roy. *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations*. New York: New York University Press, 2000. "The Russian Conquest," 25-34.

Richard A. Pierce. *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917: A Study in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. "Administrative Structure," "Administrative Reform," "Urban Development," "Rural Colonization," 64-91, 95-138.

Bacon. *Central Asians Under Russian Rule*. "Cultural Change Under Tsarist Rule," 92-115.

Week 3: The Soviet Period

Richard Pipes. *The Formation of the Soviet Union*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954. "The Moslem Communist Movement in Soviet Russia (1918)," "The Kirghiz Republic," "Turkestan," "The Consolidation of the Party and State Apparatus," "The RSFSR," "Relations Between the RSFSR and the Other Soviet Republics" [part], "The People's Republics," "Opposition to Centralization," "Nationalist Opposition: Enver Pasha and the Basmachis," "Lenin's Change of Mind" [part], "The Last Discussion of the Nationality Question," 155-161, 172-184, 242-251, 254-260, 276-281, 289-293.

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

Bacon. *Central Asians Under Russian Rule*. "The Pastoral Tribes After 1917," "The Oases Under Communism," "Central Asian Cultures as of 1965," 116-188, 202-217.

SUGGESTED: 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 II: Political Issues

Week 4: National Politics—Five Divergent Paths

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,

International Crisis Group. "Kyrgyzstan at Ten: Trouble in the 'Island of Democracy'." Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2001.

International Crisis Group. "Uzbekistan at Ten: Repression and Instability." Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2001.

International Crisis Group. "Tajikistan: An Uncertain Peace." Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2001.

Olcott. *Central Asia's New States*. "Kazakhstan: Living With a Hegemon," 57-85.

Olcott. *Central Asia's New States*. Sections on Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, 120-128, 144-152.

Bruce Pannier. "Central Asia: Elections Fail Democracy Test." Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (March 3, 2000),
<http://www.rferl.org/nca/features/2000/03/f.ru.000331134541.html>.

Douglas Frantz. "Free Press is Battered in Post-Soviet Central Asia." *The New York Times* (December 7, 2000): A14.

SUGGESTED: If you are particularly interested in Tajikistan or Turkmenistan, read:
Muriel Atkin. "Thwarted Democratization in Tajikistan." In *Conflict, Cleavage and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, edited by Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrot, 277-311. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Michael Ochs. "Turkmenistan: The Quest for Stability and Control." In *Conflict, Cleavage and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, edited by Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrot, 312-359. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

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

Week 5: Nationalism—Manas and Timur Take Center Stage

Roy. *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations*. “Ethnic Groups and Identities” [part], section beginning with the words “The artificiality,” “The Reality Effect of a State Structure” [part], “From Independence to Emerging Nationalism” [part], 72-73, 116-121, 161-168, 173-182.

John Schoeberlein-Engel. “The Prospects for Uzbek National Identity.” *Central Asia Monitor*, no. 2 (1996): 12-20.

Shahram Akbarzadeh. “National Identity and Political Legitimacy in Turkmenistan.” *Nationalities Papers* 27, no. 2 (1999): 271-290.

Eugene Huskey. “Kyrgyzstan: The Politics of Demographic and Economic Frustration.” In *New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations*, edited by Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, 654-676. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Shahram Akbarzadeh. “Why Did Nationalism Fail in Tajikistan?” *Europe-Asia Studies* 48, no. 7 (1996): 1105-1129.

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.

Week 6: Foreign Relations—A Great Game Rematch?

Martha Brill Olcott. "Central Asia: Common Legacies and Conflicts." In *Central Asian Security: The New International Context*, edited by Roy Allison and Lena Jonson, 95-126. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001. Read only 38-44 [beginning with the last paragraph on page 38].

Lena Jonson. "Russia and Central Asia." In *Central Asian Security: The New International Context*, edited by Roy Allison and Lena Jonson, 95-126. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001.

Edmund Herzig. "Iran and Central Asia." In *Central Asian Security: The New International Context*, edited by Roy Allison and Lena Jonson, 171-198. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001.

Gareth M. Winrow. "Turkey and Central Asia." In *Central Asian Security: The New International Context*, edited by Roy Allison and Lena Jonson, 199-218. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001.

Guangcheng Xing. "China and Central Asia." In *Central Asian Security: The New International Context*, edited by Roy Allison and Lena Jonson, 152-170. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001.

SUGGESTED:

Stephen Blank. "The United States and Central Asia." In *Central Asian Security: The New International Context*, edited by Roy Allison and Lena Jonson, 127-151. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001. This chapter provides some history of the U.S. relationship with the Central Asian states, although it offers little empirical information.

Roy Allison. "Structures and Frameworks for Security Policy Cooperation in Central Asia." In *Central Asian Security: The New International Context*, edited by Roy Allison and Lena Jonson, 219-246. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001. Read this chapter for details on the interregional and international organizations in Central Asia.

Week 7: Afghanistan—A Perpetual Security Threat

Ahmed Rashid. *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. Waterville, ME: Thorndike Press, 2002. Pages to be noted.

Part II: Social Issues

Week 8: Islam—From Beaded Bracelets to Shariat

Yaacov Ro'i. *Islam in the Soviet Union: From the Second World War to Gorbachev*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000. "Unofficial, Parallel Islam [part]," 287-321, 363-384.

Roy. *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations*. "Islam," 143-160.

Ahmed Rashid. *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002. "The Hizb ut-Tahrir: Reviving the Caliphate," "Namangani and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan," "Namangani and Jihad in Central Asia," 115-186.

Alexei Malashenko. "Islam in Central Asia." In *Central Asian Security: The New International Context*, edited by Roy Allison and Lena Jonson, 49-68. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2001.

DUE: Monday, October 14—One-page, double-spaced research paper proposal

Week 9: Gender Relations—"Unveiling" and "Reveiling"

Gregory J. Massell. *The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919-1929*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974. "Moslem Women as a Surrogate Proletariat: Soviet Perceptions of Female Inferiority" [part], "*Khudzhum*: Head-On Assault on Customs and Taboos," "Patterns of Popular Response: Implications of Tension-Inducing Action," 93-120, 123-127, 229-246, 256-284.

Kathleen Kuehnast. "From Pioneers to Entrepreneurs: Young Women, Consumerism, and the 'World Picture' in Kyrgyzstan." *Central Asian Survey* 17, no. 4 (1998): 639-654.

Colette Harris. "The Changing Identity of Women in Tajikistan in the Post-Soviet Period." In *Gender and Identity Construction: Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey*, edited by Feride Acar and Ayse Gunes-Ayata, 205-228. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

SUGGESTED: Marianne Ruth Kamp. "Unveiling Uzbek Women: Liberation, Representation and Discourse, 1906-1929." University of Chicago, 1998. University of Chicago, 248-335. Kamp challenges Massell's treatment of unveiling as a primarily non-indigenous movement.

Week 10: Ethnicity—“Big Brothers” and Brain Drain

Nancy Lubin. *Labour and Nationality in Soviet Central Asia: An Uneasy Compromise*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984. “Who Gets Hired for What?” “The Structure of Incomes,” “The Role of Culture,” 151-224.

Pål Kolstø and Andrei Edemsky. *Russians in the Former Soviet Republics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995. 209-258

Jacob M. Landau and Barbara Kellner-Heinkele. *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States: Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001. 35-44

Week 11: Societal Groups—Belonging to a Region, a Mahalla, and an NGO

Pauline Jones Luong. *Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Power Perceptions, and Pacts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. “Sources of Continuity: The Soviet Legacy in Central Asia” [part], 63-101.

Marianne Kamp. “Between Women and the State: Mahalla Committees and Social Welfare in Uzbekistan.” In *The Transformation of States and Societies in Central Asia*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, manuscript. Forthcoming Cornell University Press, 2003.

Kelly M. McMann. “The Civic Realm in Kyrgyzstan: Soviet Economic Legacies and Activists’ Expectations.” In *The Transformation of States and Societies in Central Asia*, edited by Pauline Jones Luong, manuscript. Forthcoming Cornell University Press, 2003.

Part III: Economic Issues

Week 12: Economic Legacies and Reform—A Stakhanovite on the Silk Road to Capitalism

Erika Weinthal. *State Making and Environmental Cooperation: Linking Domestic and International Politics in Central Asia*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002. "Cotton Monoculture as a System of Social Control," 73-102.

Boris Z. Rumer. *Soviet Central Asia: "A Tragic Experiment"*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989. "Central Asia's Role in the Soviet Economy and Its Economic Structure" [part], "Problems of Industrialization" [part], "Water" [part], "Labor and Employment" [part], "The Standard of Living," "The Shadow Economy and Organized Crime," 27-28, 43-45, 76-87, 105, 111-122, 123-159.

Richard W. T. Pomfret. *The Economies of Central Asia*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995. "The Economic and Political Collapse of the Soviet Union," and parts of chapters on each country, 41-60, 67-74, 80-97, 102-105, 109-118, 122-127.

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.

Stanislav Zhukov. "The Economic Development of Central Asia in the 1990s." In *Central Asia and the New Global Economy*, edited by Boris Z. Rumer, 57-85. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2000. See this chapter for recent economic statistics.

DUE: Monday, November 11—1-2 page working bibliography

Week 13: Natural Resources—A Blessing or a Curse

Robert Ebel, and Rajan Menon. "Introduction: Energy, Conflict, and Development in the Caspian Sea Region." In *Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, edited by Robert Ebel and Rajan Menon, 1-19. Lanham, M.D.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000.

Terry Lynn Karl. "Crude Calculations: OPEC Lessons for the Caspian Region." In *Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, edited by Robert Ebel and Rajan Menon, 29-54. Lanham, M.D.: Roman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000.

Pauline Jones Luong. "Kazakhstan: The Long-Term Costs of Short-Term Gains." In *Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, edited by Robert Ebel and Rajan Menon, 79-106. Lanham, M.D.: Roman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000.

Nancy Lubin. "Turkmenistan's Energy: A Source of Wealth or Instability?" In *Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, edited by Robert Ebel and Rajan Menon, 107-121. Lanham, M.D.: Roman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000.

Week 14: Coping With “Transition”—Shared Shoes

Cynthia Werner. “Household Networks and the Security of Mutual Indebtedness in Rural Kazakstan.” *Central Asian Survey* 17, no. 4 (1998): 597-612.

Jude Howell. “Poverty and Transition in Kyrgyzstan: How Some Households Cope.” *Central Asian Survey* 15, no. 1 (1996): 59-73.

Colette Harris. “Coping with Daily Life in Post-Soviet Tajikistan: The Gharimi Villages of Khatlon Province.” *Central Asian Survey* 17, no. 4 (1998): 655-671.

Part IV: Conclusion

Week 15: 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. Since there is no reading, commentaries will not be accepted for this week.

DUE: Friday, December 6—Research Paper