Prof. Henry Hale
Comparative State-Building in Central Asia and the Caucasus (DHP P226)
Syllabus for the course offered in Spring 1998
Tufts University
Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

Prof. Henry Hale
Department of Political Science
Indiana University
210 Woodburn Hall
Bloomington, IN 47405
U.S.A.
hhale@indiana.edu
I. About the Course

With the discovery of energy resources potentially rivaling those in the Middle East, Central Asia and the Caucasus have catapulted to the forefront of global policy agendas after centuries of obscurity. But while this region tantalizes both Europe and Asia with a way to escape dependence on Persian Gulf oil, it lies at the intersection of Orthodox, Islamic and Confucian cultures, and some thinkers warn that it may become a frontline in a looming Clash of Civilizations. Indeed, ethnic and civil wars currently block virtually every promising export route for the Caspian basin’s vast oil and gas reserves, and major powers actively exploit these divisions in the drive for influence.

In order for the West and Asia to realize their interests in developing these resources and preventing the outbreak of a major war, the new countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus must build states capable of providing domestic stability and external security. In this course, students will examine critical problems of state-building that each of these states face. Because these problems are most effectively analyzed in comparative perspective, students will first consider the experiences of other countries of the world that have faced similar problems. Then they will examine and compare the recent experiences of the Central Asian and Caucasian states themselves, determining which approaches have led to the greatest success.

The state-building process in this region is ongoing, and it is possible that students in this class will one day work for organizations which are called on to help these countries choose particular strategies. Each week students will be asked to think both analytically and prescriptively. Emphasis will be placed on how the various tasks of state-building are tightly intertwined. For the sake of analytical clarity, however, the course isolates and focuses on several key components of this process: building a stable set of relationships with other states, constructing a national identity, preventing or ending ethnic and civil conflict, instituting the right type of political regime, adopting a strategy of marketizing reform, choosing a plan for natural resource development, implementing a military strategy and providing sound political leadership.

II. Requirements

This is a seminar, and regular participation in class discussion is expected of everyone (30% of the final grade). The bulk of the final grade (60%) will be based on a research paper (20-30 pages) that must be comparative in nature (focusing on at least two Central Asian or
Transcaucasian states). Specific topics must be approved in person by the instructor. After Spring Break, each student is required to present a prospectus of his or her paper to the class (10% of the final grade). This prospectus (3 pages) must be made available to the other students by noon on the Tuesday before his or her presentation. Papers will be due at 5pm on Friday, May 1. Students are responsible for all reading assignments and for whatever information might be given out in class, including any announced changes in the syllabus.

III. Course Schedule and Readings Assignments

Books available for purchase at the Tufts University Bookstore:
Dawisha & Parrott (eds.). Conflict, cleavage and change in Central Asia and the Caucasus, 1997.

Key:
** = Available for purchase at the Tufts University Bookstore and on reserve in Fletcher's library
-- = In the course binder, on reserve in Fletcher's library
++ = Will be made available during the semester
(#) = Estimates of the number of pages each assignment contains.

PART I: BUILDING STATES IN CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS

Week 1: Introduction: What is State-Building in the Post-Soviet South? (20)

Week 2: How to Build a Successful State: Some Comparative Perspectives (199)
** Samuel P. Huntington. Political Order in Changing Societies (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968) pp.1-32, 78-92. (47) ** May arrive late in bookstore — if so, Fletcher’s library has several copies.

Week 3: Central Asia and the Caucasus: The Soviet Origins of Statehood (115)

PART II: ACHIEVING INTERNAL STABILITY

Week 4: Defining the Nation: Ethnic or Civic Identities? (190)
Comparative Perspectives: (85)

Central Asia and the Caucasus: (105)
Also choose at least TWO of the following sets of articles to read:
1. Kazakhstan:
2. Kyrgyzstan:

3. Tajikistan:

4. Uzbekistan:

Week 5: Achieving Domestic Stability: Preventing Ethnic and Civil Wars (214)

Comparative Perspectives: (87)

Central Asia and the Caucasus: (127)

Week 6: Crafting the Optimal Political System: Democracy or Autocracy? (240)

Comparative Perspectives: (120)


** Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott (eds.). *Conflict, cleavage and change in Central Asia and the Caucasus* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Choose three countries (including one or two from Central Asia and one or two from the Transcaucasus) and read the chapters on them. (Approx. 120 pages)

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### Week 7: Economy Building: Shock Therapy or Gradual Reform? (206)

**Comparative Perspectives:** (103)


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**Central Asia and the Caucasus:** (120)


**Week 8: Strategies for Natural Resource Development: The Politics of Oil (185)**

*Comparative Perspectives:* (78)


*Central Asia and the Caucasus:* (107)


**Week 9: The Importance of Leaders (197)**

*Comparative Perspective:*

** Samuel Huntington. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. pp.344-96. (53)

*Central Asia and the Caucasus:* (144)


Week 10: Spring Break

PART III: ACHIEVING EXTERNAL SECURITY (& PAPER PRESENTATIONS)

Week 11: Choosing a Military Strategy (133)
Comparative Perspectives: (55)
Central Asia and the Caucasus: (78)

Week 12: Achieving Independence: Forging a Relationship with Russia (113)
Week 13: Choosing International Partners: The New Great Game (129)

Comparative Perspective: (16)

Central Asia and the Caucasus: (154)

Week 14: Relations Among Central Asian States (82)