#### GOVT 444 & 731: Central Asian Politics: Local Change, Global Challenge

George Mason University Fall 2005 Seminar Wednesday: 4:30 - 7:10 pm Room: Thompson Hall 222

Professor Eric McGlinchey Office: Robinson A240 Email: emcglinc@gmu.edu

Office Hours: M 3-5 pm, T 1-3 pm, or by appointment

#### **Course Description:**

Lying between the Middle East, China and Russia, Central Asia is home to great cultural and resource wealth as well as to some of the 21st century's most pressing challenges. From the oil boom towns of Kazakhstan to the opium poppy fields of Afghanistan, the economics, politics and conflicts of Central Asia are critical to regional and often global stability and development. This course will examine Central Asian politics, addressing such questions as:

- \* Democratic and Authoritarian Regime Change
- \* Ethnic Conflict and Civil War
- \* Political Protest and Revolution
- \* Competing Conceptions of Islam and Political Islam
- \* Opium production, interdiction, and the global narcotics trade
- \* Economic development
- \* Challenges of poverty--human trafficking, migrant labor, disease
- \* Civil society growth and the legacy of communism
- \* Weak states and the international spread of terror

By the close of this course, students will be able to identify and evaluate these and other challenges confronting the post Soviet Central Asian states of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan as well as neighboring Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. Additionally, students will be able to assess the strategies Central Asian and international actors devise to address these challenges.

## **Course Readings:**

- 1. Books—we will be using the following books extensively in the course. They are all available through online book retailers.
  - Martha Brill Olcott, *Central Asia's Second Chance* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005)
  - Olivier Roy, *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations* (New York: NYU Press, 2000)
  - Pauline Jones Luong, ed., *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004)
- 2. Course Packet—These readings are denoted in the reading list by two asterisks, \*\*.
- 3. Periodicals—Understanding current events is central to our study of Central Asia and comparative politics. The following resources provide good overviews of Central Asian Current Events:
  - Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty: www.rferl.org
  - EurasiaNet: http://www.eurasianet.org/

## **Course Requirements:**

- 1. Students are required to attend all classes.
- 2. Students are expected to have completed the assigned readings <u>prior</u> to class and to be prepared for class discussion.
- 3. There will be a short geography quiz the fourth week of class.
- 4. There will be regular surprise quizzes and class exercises.
- 5. There will be *two mid-term exams* and *one comprehensive final exam*. Exams will include multiple choice, short answer and essay questions.
- 6. All students are required to write a *10 page paper* and present their findings to the class (presentations of 10-15 minutes). Paper topics as well as a list of possible research resources will be distributed in class.
- 7. Students taking the course for graduate-level credit will be asked to write 4 précis of 500 words each. Précis should critically analyze one of the week's readings and will be graded on students' clarity of writing and understanding of central issues.
- \*\* Make-up exams and quizzes will be given only if students have proper documentation. If you anticipate you will have a conflict due to travel, please let me know within the first three weeks of class.

<sup>\*\*</sup>This syllabus may change as the semester progresses.

#### **Honor Code:**

The 2005-2006 George Mason University Catalog Honor System and Code states: "Cheating and attempted cheating, plagiarism, lying, and stealing of academic work and related materials constitute Honor Code violations. To maintain an academic community according to these standards, students and faculty must report all alleged violations to the Honor Committee." Students are encouraged to read the full Honor Code in the University Catalogue (<a href="http://www.gmu.edu/catalog/apolicies/">http://www.gmu.edu/catalog/apolicies/</a>) and to remain vigilant against any violation of the Code in their own work. Any cases of academic dishonesty in this course will be pursued according to the guidelines detailed in the George Mason Catalog.

## **Special Needs:**

Please address any special needs or special accommodations with me at the beginning of the semester or as soon as you become aware of your needs. Those seeking accommodations based on disabilities should contact the Disability Resource Center (703) 993-2474, or the Equity Office (703) 993-8730.

**Grading—Undergraduate Level Credit:** 

9-333	
Geography Quiz—25 questions	10
Mid-term 1	100
Mid-term 2	100
Surprise Quizzes/Exercises/Discussion	50
Research Paper and Presentation	120
Final Exam—100 questions	120
Total	500 points

**Grading—Graduate Level Credit:** 

10
90
90
50
40
110
110
500 points

**Grading Scale:** 

	A: 460-500	A-: 450-459
B+: 440-449	B: 410-439	B-: 400-409
C+: 390-399	C: 360-389	C-: 350-359
D+: 340-349	D: 310-339	D-: 300-309
F: 299 and below		

# **Schedule:**

Class session	Topic	Readings
WK 1: 8/29-9/2	Course Introduction	
WK 2: 9/5-9/9	Central Asia—An Overview of Past and Present	<ol> <li>Economist Survey, "Central Asia At the crossroads," <i>The Economist</i>, July 24, 2003.**</li> <li>Olivier Roy, <i>The New Central Asia</i>, Chs. 1-2 (pp. 1-35). **</li> <li>Martha Brill Olcott, <i>Central Asia's Second Chance</i>, Chs. 1-3 (pp. 1-82). **</li> </ol>
WK 3: 9/12-9/16	Central Asia Under Soviet Rule—Creation and Contestation of Identities	<ol> <li>Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State promoted Ethnic Particularism," Slavic Review, 53:2 (1994), pp. 414-452. **</li> <li>Francine Hirsch, "Toward an Empire of Nations: Border-Making and the Formation of Soviet National Identities" Russian Review 59:2 (2000), pp. 201-226. **</li> <li>Douglas Northrop, "Languages of Loyalty: Gender, Politics, and Party Supervision in Uzbekistan, 1927-41," Russian Review 59:2 (2000), pp. 179-200. **</li> </ol>
WK 4: 9/19-9/23	Post-Soviet Central Asia—Old Identities in a New World or New Identities in an Old World?	<ol> <li>Laura Adams, "Cultural Elites in Uzbekistan: Ideological Production and the State," in Jones Luong, ed., <i>The Transformation of Central Asia</i>, pp. 93-119.</li> <li>Bhavna Dave, "A Shrinking Reach of the State?         <ul> <li>Language Policy and Implementation in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan," in Jones Luong, <i>The Transformation of Central Asia</i>, pp. 120-155.</li> </ul> </li> <li>Kathleen Collins, "The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories," <i>World Politics</i> 56:2 (2004), pp. 224-261. **</li> </ol>

WK 5: 9/26-9/30	Post-Soviet Central Asia—Identities and the State in Conflict	<ol> <li>Eric McGlinchey, "Revolutions and Religion in Central Asia," PONARS Policy Memo 364, Center for Strategic and International Studies (June 2005), 4 pages. **</li> <li>Human Rights Watch, "Bullets Were Falling Like Rain: The Andijan Massacre, May 13, 2005," pp. 1-63. **</li> <li>International Crisis Group, "Kyrgyzstan: After the Revolution," May 4 2005, 30 pages. **</li> <li>International Crisis Group, "Repression and Regression in Turkmenistan: A New International Strategy," November 4 2004, 45 pages. **</li> <li>International Crisis Group, "Tajikistan's Politics: Confrontation or Consolidation?," 24 pages. **</li> </ol>
WK 6: 10/3-10/7	Gender, Family, Society and State in Central Asia	<ol> <li>Cynthia Werner, "Women, Marriage, and the Nation-State: The Rise of Nonconsensual Bride Kidnapping in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan," in Jones Luong, <i>The Transformation of Central Asia</i>, pp 59-89.</li> <li>Marianne Kamp, "Between Women and the State: Mahalla Committees and Social Welfare in Uzbekistan," in Jones Luong, <i>The Transformation of Central Asia</i>, pp. 29-58.</li> <li>Kathleen Kuehnast and Nora Dudwick, <i>Better a hundred friends than a hundred rubles? Social networks in transition - the Kyrgyz Republic World Bank working paper series no. 39</i> (August 2004). Chapters TBA. **</li> <li>Paula A. Michaels "Kazakh Hospitality in Ethnohistorical Perspective," in Jeff Sahadeo and Russell Zanca, eds., <i>Everyday Life in Central Asia</i> (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, expected publication 2006), 21 pages. **</li> </ol>
WK 7: 10/10-10/14	MIDTERM	FIRST MIDTERM
WK 8: 10/17-10/21	Islam and Soviet Politics	<ol> <li>Olivier Roy, <i>The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations</i>, Ch.8, "Islam," pp. 143-160.</li> <li>Adeeb Khalid, <i>The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia</i> (Berkeley: UC Press, 1998), Introduction, Ch. 5—"Knowledge as Salvation," Ch. 6—"Imagining the Nation," pp. 1-17; 155-215. **</li> <li>Mark Saroyan, "The Reinterpretation and Adaptation of Soviet Islam," in Saroyan, <i>Minorities, Mullahs, and Modernity: Reshaping Community in the Former Soviet Union</i> (Berkeley: UC Press, 1996), pp. 57-87. **</li> </ol>

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WK 9: 10/24-10/28	Islam and Post Soviet Politics	<ol> <li>Dale F. Eickelman, James Piscatori, Muslim Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), Chapters TBA. **</li> <li>Ahmed Rashid, Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) pp. 115-186.</li> <li>Eric McGlinchey, "The Politics of Radical Islam in Central Asia," Current History (October 2005). **</li> <li>Eric McGlinchey, "Competing Islams: The Everyday Struggle for Faith in Uzbekistan," in Jeff Sahadeo and Russell Zanca, eds., Everyday Life in Central Asia (Forthcoming, Indiana University Press, 2006). **</li> </ol>
WK 10: 10/31-11/4	Central Asia's Political Economy	<ol> <li>Pauline Jones Luong and Erika Weinthal, "Prelude to the Resource Curse: Explaining Oil and Gas Development Strategies in the Soviet Successor States and Beyond," <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> 34:4 (2001), pp. 367-395.         <ul> <li>**</li> </ul> </li> <li>Theresa Sabonis-Helf, "The Rise of the Post-Soviet Petro-States: Energy Exports and Domestic Governance in Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan," in Daniel L. Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf, eds., <i>In the Tracks of Tamerlane: Central Asia's Path to the 21st Century</i> (NDU Press, 2004), pp. 159-186. **</li> <li>International Crisis Group, "The Curse of Cotton: Central Asia's Destructive Monoculture," (February 28, 2005), 56 pages. **</li> <li>Seymour M. Hersh, "The Price of Oil," <i>The New Yorker</i>, July 8, 2001. **</li> </ol>
WK 11: 11/7-11/11	The Trafficking Dilemma—The Drug and Sex Trade and the Crisis Among Central Asia's Youth	<ol> <li>Nancy Lubin, "Who's Watching the Watchdogs?: Drug Trafficking in Central Asia," in Daniel L. Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf, eds., <i>In the Tracks of Tamerlane</i>, pp. 361-376. **</li> <li>Saltanat Sulaimanova, "Migration Trends in Central Asia and the Case of Trafficking of Women," in Daniel L. Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf, eds., <i>In the Tracks of Tamerlane</i>, pp. 377-400. **</li> <li>International Crisis Group, "Youth in Central Asia: Losing the New Generation." (October 31 2003), 33 pages. **</li> </ol>

WK 12: 11/14-18	MIDTERM	SECOND MIDTERM
WK 13: 11/21-25	THANKSGIVING	THANKSGIVING
WK 14: 11/28-12/2	Aiding Central Asia— The Pitfalls and Successes of US Aid	<ol> <li>Thomas Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve (Washington, D.C. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999), Readings TBA. **</li> <li>Mat Bivens, "Aboard the Gravy Train," Harpers Magazine (August 1997) **         www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/1100.html</li> <li>Theodore P. Alves, "Audit Report on Allegations of Inappropriate Policies, Procedures and Practices Providing Assistance to Kazakhstan," US Agency for International Development (May 28, 1998), **         www.usaid.gov/oig/public/fy98rpts/a-000-98-005-p.pdf</li> <li>S. Frederick Starr, A Partnership for Central Asia Foreign Affairs 84:4 (2005), 11 pages. **</li> </ol>
WK 15: 12/5-12/9	Select Topics in Central Asia	Students will select this week's readings based on interests.