

Central Asia in Transition? Political Change in the Stans, Models and Reality

Friday, 10:00 - 12:00 (Please note the New Day/Time)

5 Units, Winter 2003

Lecturer: Eric McGlinchey

mcglin@stanford.edu

For the first time in more than a century Central Asia is free to define its future. Central Asian rule has replaced Communism. Local elites have replaced Moscow's appointees. Independence has replaced empire. Freedom has replaced authoritarianism.... or has it?

This course will examine new challenges faced by the 5 post-Soviet Central Asian states:

- Civil War and Ethnic Conflict
- Political and Fundamental Islam
- Regional Instability—Neighboring Afghanistan, Iran, Western China
- Democratic and Authoritarian Regime Change
- Poverty

Discussion will be framed by current policy debates and class participants will be encouraged to consider what, if anything, the West can do to further Central Asian economic and political reform.



Central Asia in Transition? Political Change in the Stans, Models and Reality

For the first time in more than a century Central Asia is free to define its future. Central Asian rule has replaced Tsarist and Soviet suzerainty. Local elites have replaced foreign appointees. Independence has replaced empire. Freedom has replaced totalitarian control.... or has it?

In this course we will study post-Soviet Central Asian regime change. Following a brief overview of Soviet Central Asia, we begin our analysis by delineating similarities and noting differences among today's Central Asian regimes: to what extent are Central Asia's five successor states democratic or authoritarian, centralized or decentralized, stable or chaotic?

We survey enduring theories of political science in our attempt to understand and explain Central Asian similarity and variation. Seminars will begin with a brief overview of a theory or school of thought in the politics literature and then turns to concrete applications of these theories in the Central Asian context. The course thus provides both empirical insights into post-Soviet Central Asia as well as a review of, or even an introduction to competing theories of regime change and transition.

Course Requirements

Students are required to attend all sessions of the seminar having completed the assigned reading before class, to present brief, one page précis on select readings for three of the sessions and to prepare a seminar paper of approximately 20 pages due at the end of the quarter. Grades for the course will be based on the seminar paper (60%), on the précis (15%) and on class participation (25%).

Readings

(4) Books Are Available at the University Store

- Olivier Roy, *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations* (NYU: 2000)
- Martha Brill Olcott, *Kazakhstan: Unfulfilled Promise* (Carnegie: 2002)
- Ahmed Rashid, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (Yale: 2002)
- Roy Allison and Lena Jonson, eds., *Central Asian Security: The New International Context*

Many of the articles we will be reading are available on-line. I indicate in **bold** where and how to access these articles.

Introduction

I. Introduction—Course Overview

- Martha Brill Olcott, “Revisiting the Twelve Myths of Central Asia,” *Working Papers* (Carnegie: 2001) <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Olcott.pdf>
- Olivier Roy, *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations* (NYU: 2000), Chapter 1, pp. 1-34.

II. Russians in Central Asia—The Pull of Central and the Push of the Regional

- Olivier Roy, *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations* (NYU: 2000), Chapters 2-7 (pp. 25-142).
- Gregory J. Massell, *The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919-1929* (1974)—selected readings to be announced.

Identity Politics and the Formation of Nations

III. Identities Form

- Francine Hirsh, “Toward an Empire of Nations: Border Making and the Formation of the Soviet Union,” *Russian Review* v. 59, no. 2, (201 – 226).
Stanford e-journals
- Terry Martin, “An Affirmative Action Empire: The Soviet Union as the Highest Form of Imperialism,” in Ronald Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations—Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (Oxford: 2002), pp. 67-90.
- Douglas Northrop, “Nationalizing Backwardness: Gender, Empire, and Uzbek Identity,” in Suny and Martin, eds., pp. 191-220.
- David Laitin, “National Uprisings in the Former Soviet Union,” in Nancy Bermeo, ed. *Liberalization and Democratization: Change in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* (139-177) .

IV. Identities Clash

- Donald L. Horowitz, “Democracy in Divided Societies,” *Journal of Democracy* 4, no.4 (1993) pp. 18-38.
- Martha Brill Olcott, *Kazakhstan: Unfulfilled Promise* (Carnegie: 2002), chapter 3, “The Challenge of Creating Kazakhstanis,” pp. 51-86.
- Human Rights Watch, *Conflict in the Soviet Union: The Untold Story of the Clashes in Kazakhstan* (1990) (Report on the 1986 Almaty Riots), pp. 1-20; 35-39.

- Tishkov, Valery, “ ‘Don’t Kill Me, I’m a Kyrgyz!’: An Anthropological Analysis of Violence in the Osh Ethnic Conflict” *Journal of Peace Research* 32, (1995) pp. 133-149. **Jstor**
- Ahmed Rashid, “The Islamic Renaissance Party and the Civil War in Tajikistan,” in Rashid, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (Yale: 2002), pp. 95-114.
- **Optional**, Browse through:
“Politics of Compromise: The Tajikistan Peace Process,” *Accord* (March 2001)
<http://www.c-r.org/accord/index.htm?tajik/accord10/index.htm>

V. Islam and Central Asia

- Jillian Schwedler, “Islamic Identity: Myth, Menace, or Mobilizer?” *SAIS Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 2 (Summer/Fall, 2001), pp. 1-17. **Stanford E-Journals**
- Graham Fuller, “The Future of Political Islam,” *Foreign Affairs*, (March/April 2002). **ProQuest**
- Alexei Malashenko, “Islam in Central Asia,” in Allison and Jonson, eds., *Central Asian Security*, pp. 49-68.
- Olivier Roy, *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations*, Ch. 8, “Islam,” pp. 85-124.
- Ahmed Rashid, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia*, pp. 115-186

Regime Type and Regime Change

VI. Regime Type And Central Asia

- Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy*, Chapters 1-2, pp. 1-32.
- Larry Diamond, “Is the Third Wave Over?” *Journal of Democracy* v.7, no. 3 (1996), pp. 20-37. **Stanford E-Journals**
- International Crisis Group, “Kyrgyzstan at Ten: Trouble in the ‘Island of Democracy,’” (International Crisis Group, 2001), pp. 1-28. **Internet**
- Martha Brill Olcott, *Kazakhstan: Unfulfilled Promise*, chapter 4, “Trying Pluralism and Abandoning It,” pp. 87-127.
- Matthew Brzezinski, “Whatever It Takes,” *New York Times Magazine*, (December 16, 2001) (article on Uzbekistan, Karimov’s near totalitarian rule, religious freedoms). **LexisNexis**
- Claudia Rosett, “Turkmenbashi: Megalomaniac, Tyrant and ‘Ally’” *Wall Street Journal* Aug 29, 2002, p. A.12. **Proquest**
- Steven Lee Myers, “Turkmen Leader, Wishing to Be August, Settles for January,” *The New York Times*, 11 August 2002, p. 7. **LexisNexis**

VII. Regime Change in Central Asia (Institutions or Actors?)

- Peter A. Hall and Rosemary Taylor, “Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms,” *Political Studies*, v. 44, no. 5, December 1996, pp. 936-957.
- Pauline Jones-Luong, *Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia* (Cambridge: 2002), pp. 63-155; then select one of three case studies (either chapter 5,6 or 7); then Conclusion, pp. 253-279.
- Michael McFaul, “The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World,” *World Politics* (January 2002), pp. 212-244. **Stanford E-Journals**

VIII. Regime Change in Central Asia (Political Economy)

- Michael L. Ross, “The Political Economy of the Resource Curse.” *World Politics* 51 (January 1999), 279-322. **Stanford E-Journals**
- Robert Ebel and Rajan Menon, eds., *Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus* (2000)—selected readings.

Central Asia and the International Environment

IX. Security and Central Asia

- Pauline Jones Luong and Erika Weinthal, “New Friends, New Fears in Central Asia,” *Foreign Affairs* (Mar/Apr 2002). **ProQuest**
- Edward L. Morse and James Richard, “The Battle for Energy Dominance,” *Foreign Affairs*, (March/April 2002). **ProQuest**
- Roy Allison and Lena Jonson, eds., *Central Asian Security: The New International Context*, (Royal Institute of International Affairs 2001)—selected readings.

X. Policy Prescriptions—Foreign Assistance: Blessing or Curse?

- Thomas Carothers, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999).
- Matt Bivens, “Aboard the Gravy Train,” *Harpers Magazine* (August 1997).
<http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/1100.html>
- Theodore P. Alves, “Audit Report on Allegations of Inappropriate Policies, Procedures and Practices in Providing Assistance to Kazakhstan,” US Agency for International Development (28 May 1998),
<http://www.usaid.gov/oig/public/fy98rpts/a-000-98-005-p.pdf> (**skim**—this is a 25 page rebuttal to Bivens’s 9 page article!)
- **PRESENTATIONS**