

PSCI 4503A/EURR 4207A
Politics of Central Eurasia

Wed, 11:35-2:25

Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Professor Jeff Sahadeo
Office: 1308 Dunton Tower
Office Hours: Mon 3-5pm, Fri 1-3pm and by appointment
Phone: 613-520-2600 ext.2996
E-mail: jeff_sahadeo@carleton.ca

Objectives

Central Eurasia—stretching from the Caucasus to the Chinese province of Xinjiang— has become a geopolitical hotspot, even as its peoples struggle to overcome poverty, corruption, and repression. This course will analyze these regions, states and societies across eras, from the nineteenth-century “Great Game” to the present. We will investigate the legacies of western and Chinese colonialism. We will also examine the region in a contemporary international context, particularly the roles of Russia, the United States, and China. The course will emphasize the relationships between local, regional, and international politics, identities, and societies in such fields as: political power; the impact of oil and gas; authoritarian rule and “clans”; the philosophy and practice of Islam; the rise of radicalism; poverty and underdevelopment; gender and the roles of women, and, certainly not least, everyday life.

Required Texts:

Jeff Sahadeo and Russell Zanca, eds. *Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present* (Indiana University Press, 2007) (available at university bookstore)

Other readings will be available for consultation in the Political Science Resource Room, C666 Loeb, (open from 8:30-4:15 pm M-F)

Requirements and Grading

Undergraduate Students

Oral Participation:	25%
News Update and Role Play:	10%
3 Short Papers (1-2 pp) (Oct 7, Oct 21, Nov 4):	15%
2 Medium Papers (3-4 pp) (Nov 18, Dec 2):	20%
Proposal and Bibliography (2 pp) (due Oct 28, in class) for Major Assignment:	5%
Major Written Assignment (12 pp) (due Dec 2, in class):	25%

Students will be graded on in-class participation and written assignments. Active and consistent class participation is VITAL to succeeding in this class. **Attendance is mandatory:** penalties for not attending (without medical documentation) are: 1 absence= 10% deduction of *entire* participation grade; 2 absences= 30% deduction; 3 absences= 50% deduction; 4 absences= 100% deduction from participation grade. Each **late arrival** (after 11:40) will cost 25% of that day’s attendance/ participation grade for every 15 minutes late. Ringing cellphones, note passing, and other disruptions will also result in a loss of the participation mark on the same scale as absences.

Participation grades will be determined based on: (a) attendance and attention level and (b) active participation that (i) displays awareness of the subject (ii) contributes to the flow of conversation (iii) shows knowledge of the readings (iv) offers critical analysis of the readings and topic

The short and medium discussion papers will analyze the readings for individual weeks (**only one paper may be handed in for each week**), discussing the authors' arguments and pinpointing major issues within the selected theme. Samples will be posted on the webCT site. The medium papers are expected to be structured around a thesis, supported with evidence from the readings (further details in class). Papers will be due on the day of discussion, or one week later; in the latter case, the student will not receive credit for ideas discussed in class. **The first short/medium paper must be handed in by October 7, the second by Oct 21, third by Nov 4, fourth by Nov 18, and fifth by Dec 2.**

***Students may, with permission of the instructor, substitute a short (10 minute) oral presentation on the topic of their choice (related to the week's themes) in place of a medium paper.

The long paper will be an original piece of research using at least eight sources. The topic will be developed in consultation with the instructor, but can cover any region or theme within Central Eurasia from the late nineteenth century to the present. Papers will be graded on effectiveness of writing as well as analysis. Further details will be posted on the web CT in advance of the deadline for the proposal and bibliography.

Do **NOT** cite wikipedia in your written work, and be very careful of websites not included on the list at the end of the syllabus.

Late papers will be penalized one letter grade (i.e. A- to B+) per day late. No work will be accepted after the end of classes (December 7).

Assignments sent by fax will not be accepted. Assignments sent electronically will not be accepted without prior consent of the instructor. It is not acceptable to hand in the same assignment for two or more courses. To obtain credit in a course, students must meet **ALL** the course requirements for **attendance**, term work, and examinations.

Note: no laptops will be allowed for use in class, except as needed during news or oral reports.

Class Schedule

(I reserve the right to make minor changes to the schedule/ readings over the course of the semester.)
(note: readings with * are REQUIRED readings)

Sep. 16 : Introduction

Sep. 23: Great Games, Old and New: Outside Powers and Central Eurasia (theory) and 19th Century

*Adeeb Khalid, *Islam after Communism* (2007), 8-11

*Jeff Sahadeo, "Tashkent before the Russians and the Dynamics of Conquest" *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent, 1865-1923* (2007), 22-31

*Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/ Postcolonialism*, 1-12

*Adeeb Khalid "Representations of Russia in Central Asian Jadid Discourse" Daniel R. Brower and Edward Lazzerini, *Russia's Orient: Imperial Peoples and Borderlands, 1700-1917*, 188-202

21st Century

- *Roy Allison, "Strategic Reassertion in Russia's Central Asia Policy" *International Affairs* 80, no. 2 (2004): 277-293
- *Kevin Sheives, "China Turns West: Beijing's Contemporary Strategy towards Central Asia" *Pacific Affairs* 79, no. 2 (2006): 205-224
- *A. Cooley, "Principles in the Pipeline: Managing Transatlantic Values and Interests in Central Asia" *International Affairs*, 84, no. 6 (2008): 1173-1188

- Adeeb Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (1997)
- M. A. Yapp, "British Perceptions of the Russian Threat to India," *Modern Asian Studies* 21, no 4 (1987): 647-65
- Lena Johnson, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia: The Shaping of Russian Foreign Policy* (2004)
- Shahram Akbarzadeh, *Uzbekistan and the United States: Authoritarianism, Islamism, and Washington's Security Agenda* (2005)
- S. Neil MacFarlane, "The United States and Regionalism in Central Asia" *International Affairs* 80, no. 3 (2004): 447-461
- Boris Mathieu Petric, "Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan or the Birth of a Globalized Protectorate" *Central Asian Survey*, 24, no. 3 (2005): 319-332
- Ilan Berman, "The New Battleground: Central Asia and the Caucasus" *Washington Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (2004-5): 59-69
- I. Torbakov, "The West, Russia, and China in Central Asia: What Kind of Game is Being Played in the Region?" *Transition Studies Review* 14, no. 1 (2007): 152-162
- Matteo Fumagalli, "Alignments and Realignments in Central Asia: The Rationale and Implications of Uzbekistan's Rapprochement with Russia" *International Political Science Review* 28, no. 3 (2007): 253-71
- John Heathershaw, "Worlds Apart: The Making and Remaking of Geopolitical Space in the US-Uzbekistani Strategic Partnership" *Central Asian Survey* 26, no. 1 (2007): 23-40
- Tomas Ambrosio, "Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia" *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 8 (2008):1321-1344
- Matthew Crosston, "Compromising Coalitions and Duplicitous Diplomacy: US Support for Tajikistan After 9/11 and Its Security Implications" *Central Asian Survey* 27, no. 2 (2008): 155-167
- Martin C. Spechler, "Crouching Dragon, Hungry Tigers: China and Central Asia" *Contemporary Economic Policy* 21, no. 2 (2003): 270-280

Sep. 30: The Soviet Legacy

- *"Introduction" *Everyday Life in Central Asia* ed. Sahadeo and Zanca (2007), 3-9
- *Douglas Northrop, "The Limits of Liberation: Gender, Revolution, and the Veil in Everyday Life in Soviet Uzbekistan" *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 89-102
- *Marianne Kamp, "The Wedding Feast: Living the New Uzbek Life in the 1930s" *Everyday Life in Central Asia*,103-114
- *Kate Brown, "Gridded Lives: Why Kazakhstan and Montana Are Nearly the Same Place" *American Historical Review* 106 no. 1 (2001): 17-48 (**READ 17-22, 30-37**)
- *Adeeb Khalid, *Islam after Communism*, 86-93
- *Boris Z. Rumer, "Central Asia's Cotton Economy and Its Costs" *Soviet Central Asia: The Failed Transformation* ed. William J. Fierman (1991), 62-89 (**READ 76-87**)
- *James Critchlow, "Corruption, Nationalism, and the Native Elites in Soviet Central Asia" *Journal of Communist Studies* (1988) 4(2): 142-161.

Gregory Gleason, "Saraf Rashidov and the Dilemmas of National Leadership" *Central Asian*

- Survey 5, no. 3-4 (1986): 133-60
- Shoshana Keller, *To Moscow, not Mecca: The Soviet Campaign against Islam, 1917-41* (2001)
- Adrienne Edgar, *Tribal Nation : the Making of Soviet Turkmenistan* (2004)
- Yaacov Roi, *Islam in the Soviet Union: From the Second World War to Gorbachev* (2000)
- Alexandre A. Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union: A revolutionary Strategy for the Colonial World* (1979)
- Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State promoted Ethnic Particularism," *Slavic Review*, 53:2 (1994), pp. 414-452.
- Douglas Northrop, "Languages of Loyalty: Gender, Politics, and Party Supervision in Uzbekistan, 1927-41," *Russian Review* 59:2 (2000), pp. 179-200
- Paula Michaels, *Curative Powers: Medicine and Empire in Stalin's Central Asia* (2003)
- Mark Saroyan, "The Reinterpretation and Adaptation of Soviet Islam," in Saroyan, *Minorities, Mullahs, and Modernity Reshaping Community in the Former Soviet Union* (1996), 57-87
- Alexei V. Malashenko. "Islam Versus Communism: The Experience of Coexistence" in Dale F. Eickelman, ed. *Russia's Muslim Frontiers* (1993)
- Yaacov Ro'i, (ed.) *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies*. (1995)
- Saulesh Esenova, "Soviet Nationality, Identity and Ethnicity in Central Asia: Historic Narratives and Kazakh Ethnic Identity" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (2002): 11-38
- Boris Rumer, *Soviet Central Asia: A Tragic Experiment* (1989)
- R. Grigor Suny , *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (1993)

Oct. 7: Identities and Politics in Central Asia

- *Kathleen Collins, "The Political Role of Clans in Central Asia" *Comparative Politics* 35, no. 2 (2003): 171-190
- *Lawrence P. Markowitz, "Local Elites, Procurators, and Extraction in Rural Uzbekistan" *Central Asian Survey*, 27, no. 1 (2008): 1-14
- *Edward Schatz, "Transitional Image Making and Soft Authoritarian Kazakhstan" *Slavic Review* 67, no. 1 (2008): 50-62
- *Kirill Nourzhanov, "Saviours of the Nation or Robber Barons? Warlord Politics in Tajikistan" *Central Asian Survey*, 24, no. 2 (2005): 109-30
- *Greta Uehling, "Dinner with Akhmet" *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 127-140
- *Madeleine Reeves, "Travels in the Margins of the State: Everyday Geography in the Ferghana Valley Borderlands" *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 279-293
- Nick Megoran, Framing Andijon, Narrating the Nation: Islam Karimov's Account of the Events of 13 May 2005" *Central Asian Survey* 27, no. 1 (2008): 15-31
- Daniel Stevens, "Political Society and Civil Society in Uzbekistan- Never the Twain Shall Meet?" *Central Asian Survey* 26, no. 1 (2007): 49-64
- Alisher Ilkhamov, "Neopatrimonialism, Interest Groups, and Patronage Networks: The Impasses of the Governance System in Uzbekistan" *Central Asian Survey* 26, no. 1 (2007): 65-84
- Edward Schatz, "Reconceptualizing Clans: Kinship Networks and Statehood in Kazakhstan" *Nationalities Papers* 33, no. 2 (2005): 231-254
- Willem van Schendel and E. Zürcher, eds. *Identity Politics in Central Asia and the Muslim World* (2001)
- Kathleen Collins, "The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories," *World Politics* 56, no. 2 (2004): 224-261.
- Cynthia Werner, "Gifts, Bribes & Development in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan" *Human Organization*, 59, no. 1 (2000): 11-22
- Marianne Kamp, "A Structuralist Argument Concerning the Consolidation of Uzbek Identity"

and Khalid, "Theories and Politics of Central Asian Identities" *Ab Imperio* no. 4 (2005)

Human Rights Watch, "Bullets Were Falling Like Rain: The Andijan Massacre, May 13, 2005,"

International Crisis Group, "Repression and Regression in Turkmenistan: A New International Strategy," November 4 2004, 45 pages.

International Crisis Group, "Kyrgyzstan: After the Revolution," May 4 2005, 30 pages.

International Crisis Group, "Tajikistan's Politics: Confrontation or Consolidation?," 24 pages.

Edward Schatz, "The Politics of Multiple Identities: Lineage and Ethnicity in Kazakhstan" *Europe-Asia Studies* 52, no. 3 (2000): 489-506

Christine Bichsel, *Conflict Transformation in Central Asia: Irrigation Disputes in the Ferghana Valley* (2009)

Oct. 14: Gender and Social Issues in Central Asia

- *Cynthia Werner, "Women, Marriage, and the Nation-State: The Rise of Nonconsensual Bride Kidnapping in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan," in Jones Luong, *The Transformation of Central Asia*, 59-89.
- *Paula A. Michaels "Kazakh Hospitality in Ethnohistorical Perspective," in Jeff Sahadeo and Russell Zanca, eds., *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 145-159
- *Morgan Liu, "A Central Asian Tale of Two Cities: Locating Lives and Aspirations in a Shifting Post-Soviet Cityscape" *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 66-84
- *Alisher Ilkhamov "Impoverishment of the Masses in a New Transition Period: Signs of an Emerging 'New Poor' Ideology in Uzbekistan" *Central Asian Survey* 20, no. 1(2001): 33-54.
- *Madeleine Reeves, "Going to Town: Exploring the Micro-Dynamics of Labour Migration from Southern Kyrgyzstan" draft article, 1-27.

Meghan Simpson, "Local Strategies in Globalizing Gender Politics: Women's Organizing in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 26, no. 1 (2006): 9-31

Colette Harris, *Muslim Youth: Tensions and Transitions in Tajikistan* (Westview, 2006)

Kelly McMann, "The Shrinking of the Welfare State: Central Asians' Assessments of Soviet and Post-Soviet Governance," *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 231-245

Marianne Kamp, "Between Women and the State: Mahalla Committees and Social Welfare in Uzbekistan," in Jones Luong, *The Transformation of Central Asia*, 29-58.

Nancy Lubin, "Who's Watching the Watchdogs?: Drug Trafficking in Central Asia," in Daniel L. Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf, eds., *In the Tracks of Tamerlane*, 361-376.

Saltanat Sulaimanova, "Migration Trends in Central Asia and the Case of Trafficking of Women," in Daniel L. Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf, eds., *In the Tracks of Tamerlane*, pp. 377-400.

Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh, "Between Lenin and Allah: Women and Ideology in Tajikistan," in Bodman and Tohidi, eds. *Women in Muslim Societies* (1998)

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

Kelly M. McMann, "The Civic Realm in Kyrgyzstan: Soviet Economic Legacies and Activists' Expectations" In Jones Luong, *Transformation of Central Asia*, 213-245

Alisher Ilkhamov, "The Thorny Path of Civil Society in Uzbekistan" *Central Asian Survey*, September 2005, 297-317

Oct 21: Islam and Central Asia

- *Adeeb Khalid, *Islam after Communism*, 98-139
- *Eric McGlinchey, "Competing Islams: The Everyday Struggle for Faith in Uzbekistan" *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 303-316
- *David Montgomery, *Namaz, Wishing Trees, and Vodka: The Diversity of Everyday Religious*

Life in Central Asia, *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 353-368

*David Abramson and Elyor Karimov, Sacred Sites, Profane Ideologies: Religious Pilgrimage and the Uzbek State, *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 317-336

Maria Louw, *Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia* (Routledge, 2008)

Sebastien Peyrouse, "The Partnership between Islam and Orthodox Christianity in Central Asia" *Religion, State, and Society* 36 no. 4 (2008): 393-405

Russell Zanca "'Explaining' Islam in Central Asia: An Anthropological Approach for Uzbekistan" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 24, no. 1 (2004): 99-107

Russell Zanca, "Believing in God at Your Own Risk: Religion and Terrorism in Uzbekistan" *Religion, State & Society*, 33, no. 1 (2005): 71-82.

Emmanuel Karagiannis, "Political Islam in Uzbekistan: Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami" *Europe-Asia Studies*, 58, no. 2 (2006): 261-80.

J. F. Fletcher and B. Sergeyev "Islam and Intolerance in Central Asia: the Case of Kyrgyzstan" *Europe-Asia Studies*, 54, no. 2, (2002): 251-275

A.A. Rorlich, "Islam, Identity, and Politics: Kazakhstan, 1990-2000" *Nationalities Papers*, 31, no.2 (2003): 157-176

Mohammad Karim, "Globalization and the Post-Soviet Revival of Islam in Central Asia and the Caucasus" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 25, no.3 (2005): 439-448

Emmanuel Karagiannis, The challenge of radical Islam in Tajikistan: Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami, *Nationalities Papers* 34, no. 1 (2006):

Emmanuel Karagiannis, "Political Islam and Social Movement Theory: The Case of Hizb ut-Tahrir in Kyrgyzstan" *Religion, State & Society*, 33, no. 2, (2005): 137-150

Dale F. Eickelman, James Piscatori, *Muslim Politics* (Princeton, 2004),

Hilary Pilkington, *Islam in Post-Soviet Russia* (2003)

International Crisis Group, "Radical Islam in Central Asia: Responding to Hizb ut-Tahrir." Central Asia Briefing (2003)

Olivier Roy, *Globalised Islam: The Search for a New Ummah* (2004)

Oct 28: The Political Economy and the Environment of Central Asia and the Caucasus

*Anje Franke, Andrea Gawrich, and Gurban Alakbarov, "Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan as Post-Soviet Rentier States: Resource Incomes and Autocracy as a Double 'Curse' in Post-Soviet Regimes" *Europe-Asia Studies* 61, no. 1 (2009): 109-140

*Theresa Sabonis-Helf, "Power and Influence: Russian Energy Behavior in Central Asia" *Competition and Change* 11, no. 2 (2007): 199-219

*International Crisis Group, "The Curse of Cotton: Central Asia's Destructive Monoculture," (February 28, 2005) (**READ 1-6, 12-14, 16-40**)

*Joseph MacKay, "Running Dry: International Law and the Management of Aral Sea Depletion" *Central Asian Survey*, 28, no. 1 (2009): 17-27

**Philip Micklin, "The Aral Sea Crisis and its Future: An Assessment in 2006" *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 47, no. 5 (2006): 546-567

International Crisis Group, "Central Asia's Energy Risks" Asia Report no. 133 (24 May 2007)

Gawdat Bahgat, "Prospects for Energy Cooperation in the Caspian Sea" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 40, no. 2 (2007): 157-68

Richard Pomfret, "Kazakhstan's Economy Since Independence: Does the Oil Boom Offer a Second Chance for Sustained Development?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 57 no. 6 (2005): 859-76

Malcolm Dowling, "Central Asia's Economy: Mapping Future Prospects to 2015" Silk Road Paper (2006): at <http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/>

- Daene C. McKinney “Cooperative Management of Transboundary Water Resources in Central Asia” Burghart and Sabonis-Helf, eds. *In the Tracks of Tamerlane*, 187-220
- Pauline Jones Luong and Erika Weinthal, “Prelude to the Resource Curse: Explaining Oil and Gas Development Strategies in the Soviet Successor States and Beyond,” *Comparative Political Studies* 34 no. 4 (2001): 367-395.
- David S. McCauley, “Environmental Management in Independent Central Asia” Burghart and Sabonis-Helf, eds. *In the Tracks of Tamerlane*, 275-304
- Rafael Kandiyoti, “What Price Access to the Open Seas? The Geopolitics of Oil and Gas from the Trans-Caspian Republics” *Central Asian Survey* 27, no. 1 (2008): 75-93
- Gawdat Bahgat, “Central Asia and Energy Security” *Asian Affairs* 37, no. 1 (2006): 1-16

Nov 4: Xinjiang: China’s Muslims

- *Clifton W. Pannell and Phillip Schmidt, “Structural Change and Regional Disparities in Xinjiang, China” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 47, no. 3 (2006): 329-352
- *Joanne Smith Finley, “Chinese Oppression in Xinjiang: Middle Eastern Conflicts and Global Islamic Solidarities among the Uighurs” *Journal of Contemporary China* 16, no. 53 (2007): 627-654
- *Kristian Peterson, “Cyber-leadership in the Uighur Nationalist Movement” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 26, no. 1 (2006): 63-73
- *Michael Clarke, “China’s Internal Security Dilemma and the ‘Great Western Development’: The Dynamics of Integration, Ethnic Nationalism, and Terrorism in Xinjiang” *Asian Studies Review* 31, no. 3 (2007): 323-342

- Dru Gladney, *Dislocating China: Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects* (2003)
- S. Frederick Starr, *Xinjiang: China’s Muslim Borderland* (2003)
- Michael Clarke, “The Problematic Progress of ‘Integration’ in the Chinese State’s Approach to Xinjiang, 1759-2005” *Asian Ethnicity* 8, no. 3 (2007): 261-89
- Brent Hierman, “The Pacification of Xinjiang: Uighur Protest and the Chinese State, 1988-2002” *Problems of Post-Communism* 54, no. 3 (2007): 48-62
- Eric Schluessel, “‘Bilingual’ Education and Discontent in Xinjiang” *Central Asian Survey* 26, no. 2 (2007): 251-277
- Edmund Waite, “The Impact of the State on Islam amongst the Uyghurs: Religious Knowledge and Authority in the Kashgar Oasis” *Central Asian Survey* 25, no. 3 (2006): 251-65
- Yuchao Zao, “China’s Fate as a Multinational State: A Preliminary Assessment” *Journal of Contemporary China* 15, no. 47 (2006): 329-348
- Martin Wayne, “Inside China’s War on Terrorism” *Journal of Contemporary China* 18, no. 59 (2009): 249-261
- Eric Hyer, “China’s Policy towards Uighur Nationalism” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 26, no. 1 (2006): 75-86

Nov. 11: Afghanistan: Legacies from Empire to the Taliban

- *Nazif M. Shahrani, “War, Factionalism, and the State in Afghanistan” *American Anthropologist* 2002 104(3): 715-722
- *Thomas Barfield, “Afghanistan is not the Balkans: Ethnicity and Its Political Consequences in Comparative Perspective” *Central Eurasian Studies Review* 4, no. 1 (2005): 2-8 (**READ 5-8**)
- *Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Fundamentalism, and Oil in Central Asia* (2000) 1-7, 17-30, 82-8, 128-40,
- *Valentine M. Moghadam, “Patriarchy, the Taleban, and the Politics of Public Space in Afghanistan” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 25, no. 1 (2002): 19-31
- *Jonathan Goodhand, “Corrupting or Consolidating the Peace: The Drugs Economy and Post-Conflict

Peacebuilding in Afghanistan” *International Peacekeeping* 15, no. 3 (2008): 405-423

H. Sidky, “Changing Patterns of War, State Collapse, and Transitional Violence in Afghanistan, 1978-2001” *Modern Asian Studies* 41 no. 4 (2007): 849-888

Robert Canfield,, “Afghan Women” *Iranian Studies* 2004 37(2): 323-333 (**includes bibliography)

Thomas J Barfield, “Problems in Establishing Legitimacy in Afghanistan” *Iranian Studies* 2004 37(2): 263-293

Gulshan Dietl, “War, Peace, and the Warlords: The Case of Ismail Khan of Herat and Afghanistan” *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 2005 28(3): 51-71.

Robert Canfield, “Trouble in Birglic” Sahadeo and Zanca, *Everyday Life in Central Asia* (2007)

Rosemarie Skaine, *The Women of Afghanistan Under the Taliban* (2000.-)

Cheryl Bernard, *Veiled Courage: Inside the Afghan Women's Resistance* (2002)

A. Z. Hilali, “The Soviet Penetration into Afghanistan and the Marxist Coup” *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 2005 18(4): 673-716

M. Nazif Shahrani, “King Aman-Allah of Afghanistan’s Failed Nation-Building Project and Its Aftermath” *Iranian Studies* 2005 38(4): 661-675.

David B. Edwards, *Before Taliban: Genealogies of the Afghan Jihad* (2002)

Barnett R. Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System* (2002)

Olivier Roy, *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan* (1990)

Lester W. Grau, “Breaking Contact without Leaving Chaos: The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan” *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 20, no. 2 (2007): 235-261

Nov 18: Debate: Canada, NATO, and Afghanistan

*Details to be announced

*Current news sources **PLUS Read 2-3 of:**

Barnett Rubin, “The Way Forward in Afghanistan: Three Views” *Survival* 51, no. 1 (2009): 83-96

Najibullah Lafraie, “NATO in Afghanistan: Perilous Mission, Dire Ramifications” *International Politics* 46, no. 5 (2009): 550-572

Najibullah Lafraie, “Resurgence of the Taliban Insurgency in Afghanistan: How and Why?” *International Politics* 46, no. 1 (2009): 102-113

Ahmad Shayeq Qassem, “Afghanistan: Imperatives of Stability Misperceived” *Iranian Studies* 42, no. 2 (2009): 247-74

Jonathan Goodhand and Mark Sedra, “Bribes or Bargains? Peace Conditionalities and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Afghanistan” *International Peacekeeping* 14, no. 1 (2007): 41-61

Antonio Giustozzi, “War and Peace Economies of Afghanistan’s Strongmen” *International Peacekeeping* 14, no. 1 (2007): 75-89

Antonio Giustozzi, “The Inverted Cycle: Kabul and the Strongmen’s Competition over Kandahar, 2001-2006” *Central Asian Survey* 26 no. 2 (2007): 167-184

Sean Maloney, “Blood on the Ground: Canada and the Southern Campaign in Afghanistan” *Defense and Security Analysis* 23, no. 4 (2007): 405-417

Astri Suhrke, “Democratizing a Dependent State: The Case of Afghanistan” *Democratization* 15, no. 3 (2008): 630-648

Marcus Skinner, “Counterinsurgency and State-Building: An Assessment of the Role of the Afghan National Police” *Democracy and Security* 4, no. 3 (2008): 290-311

Hayat Alvi-Aziz, “A Progress Report on Women’s Education in Post-Taliban Afghanistan” *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 27, no. 2 (2008): 169-178

Deniz Kandiyoti, “Old Dilemmas or New Challenges? The Politics of Gender and Reconstruction in Afghanistan” *Development and Change*, 38, no. 2 (2007): 169-199

- Stefan Schutte, "Informal (In)Security in Urban Afghanistan" *Iranian Studies* 42, no. 3 (2009): 465-491
- Juan Cole, "Pakistan and Afghanistan: Beyond the Taliban" *Political Science Quarterly* 124, no. 2 (2009): 221-249
- Khaled Hosseini, "Afghanistan Needs Teachers and Clean Water as Much as More Troops" *New Perspectives Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (2009): 35-36
- Arabinda Acharya, "Making Money in the Mayhem: Funding the Taliban Insurrection in Tribal Areas of Pakistan" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 32, no. 2 (2009): 95-108
- Olivier Roy, "End the 'War on Terror' and Talk to the Taliban" *New Perspectives Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (2009): 17-19
- Antonio Giustozzi and Dominique Orsini, "Centre-Periphery Relations in Afghanistan: Badakhshan between Patrimonialism and Institution Building" *Central Asian Survey* 28, no. 1 (2009): 1-16
- Sarah Lister, "Changing the Rules? State-Building and Local Government in Afghanistan" *Journal of Development Studies* 45, no. 6 (2009): 990-1009
- Pamela Constable, "A Wake up Call in Afghanistan" *Journal of Democracy* 18, no. 2 (2007): 84-98
- Andrea M. Lopez, "Engaging or Withdrawing, Winning or Losing? The Contradictions of Counterinsurgency Policy in Afghanistan and Iraq" *Third World Quarterly*, 28, no. 2 (2007): 245-260
- Derek Gregory. *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq* (2004)
- Nasreen Ghufuran, "Afghanistan in 2006: The Complications of Post-Conflict Transition" *Asian Survey* 47, no. 1 (2007): 87-98
- Ahmed Rashid, "Afghanistan: Progress since the Taliban" *Asian Affairs*, 37, no. 1(2006): 31-35
- Barnett R. Rubin "Peace Building and State-Building in Afghanistan: Constructing Sovereignty for Whose Security?" *Third World Quarterly* 2006 27(1): 175-185
- Amin Saikal, "Afghanistan's Transition: Isaf's Stabilisation Role?" *Third World Quarterly* 27, no. 3, (2006): 525-534
- A. Reynolds, "The Curious Case of Afghanistan" *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 2 (2006): 104-17.
- Katia Papagianni, "Transitional Politics in Afghanistan and Iraq: inclusion, consultation, and public participation" *Development in Practice*, 15, no. 6, (2005):747-759
- C.J. Rihpenburg, "Afghanistan: Out of the Globalisation Mainstream?" *Third World Quarterly* 27 no. 3 (2006): 507-24
- Nov. 25: The Transcaucasus**
- *Jonathan Wheatley, "Managing Ethnic Diversity in Georgia: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back" *Central Asian Survey*, 28, no. 2 (2009): 119-134
- *Lincoln A. Mitchell, "Compromising Democracy: State Building in Saakashvili's Georgia" *Central Asian Survey* 28, no. 2 (2009): 171-183
- *Vicken Cheterien, "The August 2008 War in Georgia: From Ethnic Conflict to Border Wars" *Central Asian Survey* 28, no. 2 (2009): 155-170
- *Alec Rasizade, "Azerbaijan Descending into the Third World After a Decade of Independence" *Journal of Third World Studies* 21, no. 1 (2004): 191-219
- *Babken Babajanian, "Local Governance in Post-Soviet Armenia: Leadership, Local Development, and Accountability" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 41, no. 3 (2008): 375-396
- Aviel Roshwald, *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of Empires: Central Europe, Russia, and the Middle East* (2001)
- Donald Bloxham, "The Armenian Genocide of 1915-1916: Cumulative Radicalization and the Development of a Destruction Policy" *Past & Present* 2003 181): 141-191
- Thomas DeWaal, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War* (2003).

Svante E. Cornell, *Small Nations and Great Powers: A Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict in the Caucasus*

Laurence Broers, "After the 'Revolution': Civil Society and the Challenges of Consolidating Democracy in Georgia" *Central Asia Survey*, 24, no. 3 (2005): 333-50.

Charles King, "Rose Among Thorns" *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2004): 13-18.

Bayram Balci, "Between Sunnism and Shiism: Islam in post-Soviet Azerbaijan," *Central Asian Survey*, 23, no. 2 (2004): 205-217

Alec Rasizade Azerbaijan after Heydar Aliev" *Nationalities Papers*, 32, no.1 (2004): 137-164

Thomas de Waal, "Reinventing the Caucasus" *World Policy Journal*, 19, no. 1 (2003)

Alec Rasizade, Azerbaijan in transition to the "New Age of Democracy", *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 36, no. 3 (2003): 345-372

B. Ozkan, "Who Gains from the 'No War, No Peace' Situation: A Critical Analysis of the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict" *Geopolitics* 13, no. 3 (2008): 572-599

Babken Babajanian, "Civic Participation in Post-Soviet Armenia" *Central Asian Survey*, 24, no. 3 (2005): 261-279

John Roberts, "Caspian Pipelines," *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 1996, 1-74.

Robert Ebel and Rajan Menon, eds., *Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus* (2000)

Ceylan Tokluoglu, "Definitions of national identity, nationalism and ethnicity in post-Soviet Azerbaijan in the 1990s" *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28, no. 4, (2005): 722-758

Richard Giragosian, The US Military Engagement in Central Asia and the Southern Caucasus: An Overview, *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 17, no. 1 (2004): 43-77

O. Bayulgen, "Facing the dilemma of global capitalism: the case of Azerbaijan" *Central Asian Survey*, 22, nos. 2-3 (2003): 209-220

Ronald Grigor Suny, ed., *Transcaucasia: Nationalism and Social Change; Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia*

Cameron S Brown, "Wanting to Have their Cake and their Neighbor's Too: Azerbaijani Attitudes towards Karabakh and Iranian Azerbaijan" *Middle East Journal* 2004 58(4): 576-596

Stuart J. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*, Cornell U. Pr., 2001

Bertil Dunér, "What can be done about historical atrocities? the Armenian case" *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 8, no. 2 (2004): 217-233

Dec 2: Chechnya and the North Caucasus

*Thomas M. Barrett, "The Remaking of the Lion of Dagestan: Shamil in Captivity" *Russian Review* (July 1994) 352-66

*Olga Vendina, "The Wars in Chechnya and their Neighbouring Regions" *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 48, no. 2 (2007): 178-201

*John Russell, "Ramzan Kadyrov: The Indigenous Key to Success in Putin's Indigenization Strategy?" *Nationalities Papers* 36, no. 4 (2008): 659-687

*John Russell, "The Geopolitics of Terrorism: Russia's Conflict with Islamic Extremism" *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 50, no. 2 (2009): 184-196

Moshe Gammer, "Unity, Diversity, and Conflict in the North Caucasus" *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies* ed. Yaacov Roi (1995), 163-186

John O'Loughlin, Vladimir Kolossov, and Jean Radvanyi, "The Caucasus in a Time of Conflict, Demographic Transition, and Economic Change" *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 48, no. 2 (2007): 135-56

Laurent Vinatier, "Islamist Trends in the Northern Caucasus" *Central Eurasian Studies Review*, 5, no 1 (2006): 2-5

Mark Kramer, "Guerilla Warfare, Counterinsurgency and Terrorism in the North Caucasus: The Military Dimension of the Russian-Chechen Conflict" *Europe-Asia Studies* 57, no. 2 (2005): 209-268

Moshe Gammer, "Between Mecca and Moscow: Islam, Politics, and Political Islam in Chechnya and

Daghestan” *Middle Eastern Studies* 41, no. 6 (2005): 833-848
Ekaterina Sokirianskaia, “Families and Clans in Ingushetia and Chechnya. A Fieldwork Report”
Central Asian Survey, 24, no. 4 (2005): 453-67
Firouzeh Mostashari, *On the Religious Frontier: Tsarist Russia and Islam in the Caucasus* (2006)
Carlotta Gall and Thomas de Waal, *Chechnya: Calamity in the Caucasus* (1998)
Susan Layton, “Nineteenth Century Russian Mythologies of Caucasian Savagery” *Russia’s Orient: Imperial Peoples and Borderlands* (1997), 80-99
Anna Politkovskaya, *A Dirty War: A Russian Reporter in Chechnya* (2001)
Anna Politkovskaya, *A Small Corner of Hell: Dispatches from Chechnya* (2003)
Richard Sakwa, ed. *Chechnya: From Past to Future* (2005)
Moshe Gammer, *Wolf and the Bear: Three Centuries of Chechen Resistance to Communist Rule* (2006)
Julie Wilhelmsen, “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Islamisation of the Chechen Separatist Movement” *Europe-Asia Studies* 57, no. 1 (2005): 35-59
Valery Tishkov, *Chechnya: Life in War-Torn Society* (2004)

Websites to Consult

Background

[Online Histories of Central Asia](#)

Excellent resource with units on migration, Islam, and the environment, past and present, with primary source materials and biographies

Current news sources

[Eurasianet:](#)

Sponsored by George Soros' Open Society Institute, Eurasianet publishes a broad range of news from the entire former Soviet Union, has special reporting and ongoing research projects on Central Asia, and covers some more unusual topics such as arts and culture in some depth.

[Ferghana.ru Information Agency](#)

A Moscow-based site publishing reporting by Central Asian correspondents. Articles are available in both English and Russian, but the Russian coverage is usually better (the English articles are sometimes awkwardly translated from the Russian).

[Institute for War and Peace Reporting - Central Asia](#)

IWPR is a non-profit international organization that publishes fairly in-depth reports by local journalists.

[Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty \(RFE/RL\) Central Asia in Focus](#)

Excellent reporting and in-depth coverage of Central Asia. US-funded organization uses local stringers in reporting.

[Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty \(RFE/RL\) Newline - Transcaucasia and Central Asia](#)

Brief wire stories on Central Asia

[Transitions Online - Central Asia and Mongolia](#)

An online news magazine covering the formerly communist world.

[Caucasian Knot:](#)

English version of Russian website with news from around the Caucasus: treat with caution!

[Afghanistan news.net](#)

Aggregates various news sources on Afghanistan

[IRIN news Asia](#)

United International Integrated Regional Information Network: some news on Afghanistan

Research and Analysis

[Asian Development Bank - Central and West Asia](#)

[Central Asia Caucasus Analyst](#)

Analytical reporting on Central Asia and the Caucasus, mostly from a security perspective.

[Human Rights Watch - Europe and Central Asia](#)

[International Crisis Group - Central Asia](#)

In-depth journalistic reporting on key regional issues, aimed at policy makers and the broader public

[International Organization for Migration - Central Asia](#)

[Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe - Central Asia](#)

[Shanghai Cooperation Organization](#)

[The World Bank - Europe and Central Asia](#)

[United Nations Development Program - Europe and the CIS](#)

Check out the publications, especially the 2005 Central Asia Human Development Report

[Human Rights Watch](#)

[Economist Intelligence Unit](#) See Individual Country Reports

[Institute for Public Policy](#) (Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan)

[Silk Road Studies Program: Central Asia-Caucasus Institute](#)

[Central Asian History](#) oral histories with Kyrgyz citizens

Caucasian Review for International Affairs: www.cria-online.org

Blogs

[Beyond the River](#)

Central Asian cultures from antiquity to the present day, reviews of recent books about Central Asia, and commentary on current political and social events in post-Soviet Central Asia and the surrounding regions.

[New Eurasia](#)

[Registan.net](#)

[The Roberts Report on Central Asia and Kazakhstan](#)

Roberts has excellent insights on the Uighurs

[Silk Road Society](#)

Journals

Ab Imperio

Caucasian Review for International Affairs (online only)

Central Asian Survey

Central Asia and the Caucasus (online only)

Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst (online only)

Central Eurasian Studies Review (online only)

Communist and Post-Communist Studies

Demokratizatsiia

Eurasian Geography and Economics

Europe-Asia Studies

Nationalities Papers

Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs

Slavic Review

China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly

Article Databases

Scopus

Historical Abstracts

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 16, 2009 for December examinations** and **March 12, 2010 for April examinations**.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the

corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Course Requirements: Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.