

Full Course Title: Open Society Foundation: U.S. Military Contracting in Central Asia

Course Title for Registration System: OSF US Mil Contracts Cent Asia

Course Number: SIPAU9000.003

Faculty Advisor: Kimberly Marten

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Meeting Date/s Times: Thursdays 4:10P – 6:00P

Location: IAB 501

Office Hours: Wednesdays 2:00 – 4:00P, Lehman 402 (Barnard campus)

Credits: 3

Description of client: The Open Society Foundations work to build vibrant and tolerant democracies whose governments are accountable to their citizens. To achieve this mission, the Foundations seek to shape public policies that assure greater fairness in political, legal, and economic systems and safeguard fundamental rights. On a local level, the Open Society Foundations implement a range of initiatives to advance justice, education, public health, and independent media. At the same time, they build alliances across borders and continents on issues such as corruption and freedom of information. The Foundations place a high priority on protecting and improving the lives of people in marginalized communities. The Central Eurasia Project (CEP) is one of the regional programs within the Open Society Foundations (OSF). Its geographic area of responsibility is Central Asia, the Southern Caucasus, and Mongolia. Utilizing strategic grant-making, advocacy and operations CEP seeks to advance broader OSF goals in the areas of human rights, labor migration, transparency and consumer protection, and the monitoring of western military and security cooperation in Central Asia.

Summary of project: The objective of this project is to develop feasible recommendations that can be used by policy makers to advance transparency and accountability and minimize the potential distortions to economic, political and social development caused by U.S. military contracting in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Today almost 75% of U.S. and NATO supplies for the war in landlocked Afghanistan are transported through the Northern Distribution Network (NDN), the only real alternative to the dangerous and unreliable supply routes through Pakistan. Key NDN hubs include the Transit Center Manas airbase in Kyrgyzstan, and the Termez-Hairaton rail node in Uzbekistan, where all land-transported NDN supplies enter Afghanistan. Both Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan have a history and a continuing reputation of being states where graft, corruption and bad governance flourish. Investments and contracts related to the NDN represent some of the most significant sources of foreign capital flows into these countries, and the U.S. military has been accused of inadvertently contributing to authoritarian corruption as a result. Yet these supply hubs are crucial for U.S. and NATO activities and security in Afghanistan. The overarching goal of this workshop is to think creatively about resolving these conundrums, after gathering as much information as possible about the political economy of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, and about the processes and effects of current U.S. military contracting in Central Asia.

Deliverables to client: A written project report (including a pre-submission draft) and a presentation of project results at the Open Society Foundations in New York City.

Special skills/knowledge needed by team members: This project seeks a mix of students, including (1) those who have lived, worked, or otherwise have an interest in the Central Asia region; (2) those with U.S. or NATO military experience, especially Afghanistan veterans and/or those with a background in supply, logistics, or military contracting; and (3) those with a background or interest in development, transparency and accountability initiatives.

Initial meeting with student team: to be arranged in late November or early December at a mutually agreeable time.

Date for initial meeting with client: January 26 during our normal class time, subject to the client's travel schedule.

Field component: one class trip to Washington, DC or CENTCOM headquarters in Tampa, FL to meet with policy experts; numerous interviews in New York City and by telephone/Skype with relevant experts.

Grading: The faculty advisor recognizes that each student brings a unique mix of skills and abilities to the project. What matters the most is the quality of the project that results, and the enthusiastic effort made by each project member to ensure project success. Students will be responsible for dividing up tasks among themselves. They will be evaluated as individuals by their peers as well as by the faculty advisor, and as a group by the quality of the final product.

Advisor's assessment of the individual's class participation and professionalism (including reliability, timeliness, enthusiasm, and ability to work with the team): 20%

Peer review of the individual's contributions to project: 20%

Advisor's assessment of the quality of the final written project (shared group grade), including thoroughness of research, depth and creativity of the analysis, and organization and clarity of the writing: 30%

Advisor's assessment of the quality of the final presentation to client (shared group grade), including organization and clarity of the briefing, and professionalism in response to questions or criticisms raised: 10%

Client feedback (shared group grade): 20%

Preliminary class schedule (subject to change as needed)

Jan. 19. Base dilemmas. Guest lecturer: Alexander Cooley [confirmed].

Background readings on the U.S. military base and contracting presence in Central Asia (all available either on the open internet or through Columbia Electronic Library). Obviously you will not have all of these read by the class time, but please read the three Cooley pieces and the Kuchins & Sanderson piece

in advance. The other reports will be crucial for you to take into account in your research, and should be read as soon as possible at the start of the semester.

--Alexander Cooley, "Base Politics," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 2005.

--Alexander Cooley, "Kyrgyzstan: The Five Lessons of the Great American Air Base Debate," *Eurasianet.org*, Feb. 11, 2009.

--Alexander Cooley, "Manas Matters: The Changing Politics of the U.S. Military Base in Kyrgyzstan," *PONARS Policy Memo 423*, Dec. 2006.

--Joshua Kucera, "Uzbekistan: Military Aid to Tashkent Would Help Protect NDN - State Department," *Eurasianet.org*, Sept. 28, 2011.

--Andrew S. Kuchins and Thomas M. Sanderson, *The Northern Distribution Network and Afghanistan: Geopolitical Challenges and Opportunities*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Jan. 2010.

--Jim Nichol, "Central Asia: Regional Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests," *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress*, Jan. 12, 2011.

--John F. Tierney (chair), Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs, U.S. House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Mystery at Manas: Strategic Blind Spots in the Department of Defense's Fuel Contracts in Kyrgyzstan*, Dec. 2010.

--Deirdre Tynan, "Does Tashkent Use an Afghan Supply Route to Tweak Russia?" *Eurasianet.org*, Sept. 8, 2011.

--U.S. House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Crisis in Kyrgyzstan: Fuel, Contracts, and Revolution Along the Afghan Supply Chain*, Hearing, April 22, 2010.

Jan. 26. Meeting with Client Project Director Cornelius Graubner, at the Open Society Foundations, 400 West 59th Street, New York, NY [subject to his travel schedule].

Background Reading (available directly on the web). Please be sure to read this piece before our class visit to OSF.

--Lora Lumpe, *U.S. Military Aid to Central Asia, 1999-2009: Security Priorities Trump Human Rights and Diplomacy*, Open Society Foundations Central Asia Project Occasional Paper Series 1, Oct. 2010.

Feb. 2. Class discussion on the political economy of Central Asia.

Background Readings (all available via Columbia Library Online):

--Kathleen Collins, "The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories," *World Politics* 56, no. 2 (2004) 176-190.

--Fiona Hill and Kevin Jones, "Fear of Democracy or Revolution: The Reaction to Andijon," *Washington Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (Summer 2006): 111-25.

--Eric McGlinchey, "Exploring Regime Instability and Ethnic Violence in Kyrgyzstan," *Asia Policy* 12 (July 2011).

--Eric McGlinchey, "Running in Circles in Kyrgyzstan," *New York Times*, April 10, 2010.

Feb. 9. Class discussion on the procedures and criticisms of general U.S. military contracting policy.

Background Reading (available via Columbia Library Online):

--James P. Terry, "Privatizing Defense Support Operations: The Need to Improve DOD's Oversight and Management," *Armed Forces and Society* 36, no. 4 (2010): 660-70.

Background Readings (available directly on the web):

--Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan, Transforming Wartime Contracting: Controlling Costs, Reducing Risks, Final Report to the U.S. Congress, Aug. 2011; and the related Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Hearings, Sept. 21, 2011.

--Office of the Secretary of Defense, "Defense Procurement and Acquisition Policy: Contract Policy and International Contracting," website, <http://www.acq.osd.mil/dpap/cpic/index.html>. This links to a wide variety of legal documents that specify limits on U.S. military contracting abroad.

After these initial class meetings, most of our weekly class sessions will focus on discussing issues that arise in the research and writing process, and will be student-directed. Students are encouraged to plan in advance for these sessions by recommending readings for discussion, or by making drafts of their outlines, bibliographies, and sections available for criticism. To encourage students to take this process seriously, performance here will be included in the instructor's individual participation and professionalism grade.

At least one SIPA-funded overnight trip to Washington DC/and or CENTCOM HQ in Tampa, FL is tentatively planned, and will be scheduled once the final class list is in place.

Wednesday [note day change] March 7: Midterm "practice" presentation to the SIPA capstone audience, sometime between the hours of 9am and 4pm, or on the morning of Thursday March 8 [instructor is attending a conference in Chicago that afternoon].

March 22: Midterm briefing to Client Project Director Cornelius Graubner, at the Open Society Foundations, 400 West 59th Street, New York, NY [subject to his travel schedule].

Week of April 14: written draft report/initial findings submitted to Client.

Week of April 27: Final Report and briefing presented to the Client, most likely at a session open to the public, at the Open Society Foundations, 400 West 59th Street, New York, NY

First week of May: a copy of the Final Report is due electronically to the SIPA Office of Academic Affairs; Client provides feedback to group; students complete Peer Assessment Form; SIPA Capstone Projects Reception.

***Academic Integrity Statement*:**

The School of International & Public Affairs does not tolerate cheating and/or plagiarism in any form. Those students who violate the Code of Academic & Professional Conduct will be subject to the Dean's Disciplinary Procedures. Cut and paste the following link into your browser to view the Code of Academic & Professional Conduct online.

http://sipa.columbia.edu/resources_services/student_affairs/academic_policies/deans_discipline_policy.html

Please familiarize yourself with the proper methods of citation and attribution. The School provides some useful resources online; we strongly encourage you to familiarize yourself with these various styles before conducting your research:

http://sipa.columbia.edu/resources_services/student_affairs/academic_policies/code_of_conduct.html

Violations of the Code of Academic & Professional Conduct should be reported to the Associate Dean for Student Affairs.