

IR 444

Issues and Politics in Central Asia and Transcaucasia

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OR BY APPOINTMENT

This course is designed for students interested in the contemporary problems of Central Asia and Azerbaijan. Although there are no prerequisites, it is expected that the students have had some exposure to the 20th century developments in the region. The course will essentially be conducted as a seminar, with students discussing the weekly assignments in class. All students are expected to read as extensively as possible to join in the discussions.

This course will examine political, economic, social, and cultural issues in Central Asia and Azerbaijan from 1991 to the present. After the first overview session, each meeting will be devoted to a different topic. As we examine each topic we will consider which aspects of transition Central Asia and Azerbaijan shares with other countries of the former Soviet Union, and which are specific to the region.

Most of the readings in this course will be chapters of books and scholarly articles from journals. I expect students to attend class regularly and participate actively in discussions.

Requirements:

Each student is expected to discuss and critically examine the articles assigned to him/her. Students are required to write a total of three 5-page review essays at 4-week intervals. These essays will be based on the previous month's readings.

Grading:

40% of the grade will be determined by article presentations and participation in discussion, and 60 % by review reports.

ABSENCES: I urge you not to miss class. I realize, however, that absence due to sickness or another emergency is sometimes unavoidable. In such cases, when possible, please notify me by phone or e-mail to let me know that you will not be in class.

Sessions 1: Introduction, Overview and History Until the National Delimitation

Rywkin, Michael Moscow's Muslim Challenge (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1982), pp. 3-33.

Anderson, John. The International Politics of Central Asia (Manchester: Manchester U. Press, 1997), pp. 7-30 (Russia in C. Asia, 1865-1924).

Fierman, William "The Soviet 'Transformation'..." The Failed Transformation, ed. William Fierman (Boulder, CO: 1991) pp. 11-35.

Critchlow, James "Prelude to Perestroika: Signs of Emerging Nationalism," from James Critchlow, Nationalism in Uzbekistan (1991), pp. 17-38

Kreindler, Isabelle "Forging a Soviet People," in Fierman (ed.) pp. 219-31.

Economic Development: The Soviet Experience:

Rumer, Boris "Central Asia's Cotton Economy and Its Costs," from Fierman (ed.), pp. 62-89.

Green, David J. and Armin Bauer "The Costs of Transition in Central Asia" Journal of Asian Economics IX, no. 2 (summer 1998); for this session read Sections I and II.

Critchlow, James "Prelude to 'Independence,'" from Fierman (ed.) pp. 131-156.

Fierman, William "Glasnost in Practice," Central Asian Survey vol 8, no 2 (1989). pp. 1-39.

Session 2: Transition in Central Asia

- Anderson, John. The International Politics of Central Asia (Manchester: Manchester U. Press, 1997), pp. 78-113.
- Beissinger, Mark R. "State Building in the Shadow of an Empire-State," in The End of Empire? : the Transformation of the USSR in Comparative Perspective (Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, eds.) (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 157-185.
- Parrott, Bruce "Perspectives on postcommunist democratization," in Conflict, Cleavage, and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus (Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, eds.) (Cambridge, Cambridge U. Press, 1997), p. 1-39.
- Dahl, Robert. "Development and Democratic Culture," in Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies (Larry Diamond et al., eds) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins: 1997), pp. 34-39)
- Kubicek, Paul. "Authoritarianism in Central Asia: Curse or Cure?" Third World Quarterly, vol. 19, no 1 (1998) pp. 29-43.
- Luong, Pauline Jones "The Future of Central Asian Statehood" Central Asia Monitor, no. 1 (1999) pp. 1-10.

Regional, Republic, and Sub-Republic Identities:

- Atkin, Muriel, "Religious, National, and Other Identities in Central Asia," Muslims in Central Asia, ed. Jo-Ann Gross (Durham: Duke, 1992), pp. 46-72.
- Akiner, Shirin The Formation of Kazakh Identity (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1995), pp. 60-72.

Session 3: Islam and Policy Toward Islam

- Akiner, Shirin, "Religion's Gap: Islam and Central Asia in the 1990s. Harvard International Review, Winter/Spring 2000, XXII, no. 1.
- Mamytova, Elvira. "Islamic Fundamentalism and Extremism in Central Asia," Central Asia and the Caucasus, No. 5, 2000.
- Fierman, William "Policy Toward Islam in Uzbekistan in the Gorbachev Era," Nationalities Papers XXII, no. 1 (1994), pp. 225-46.
- Akiner, Shirin. "Melting pot, salad bowl - cauldron? . . ." Ethnic and Racial Studies Vol. 20, no. 2, April 1997. pp. 362-398.
- Anderson, John. The International Politics of Central Asia (Manchester: Manchester U. Press, 1997), Ch. VI (pp. 138-164), "The Search for Identity: Nation-Building and the Islamic Factor."

Session 4: The Soviet Legacy

- Carlisle, Donald S. "Modernization, Generations, and the Uzbek Soviet Intelligentsia," Paul Cocks et al. (eds.) The Dynamics of Soviet Politics (Harvard, 1976), pp. 239-64 + notes
- Carlisle, Donald S. "Geopolitics and Ethnic Problems of Uzbekistan and Its Neighbors," Muslim Eurasia. Conflicting Legacies ed. Yaacov R'oi (London: Frank Cass), pp. 71-103.
- Weisbrode, Kenneth "Uzbekistan: In the Shadow of Tamerlane," World Policy Journal Spring 1997, no. 1, p. 53-
- Fierman, William "Conclusion" from Fierman (ed.), pp. 290-308.
- Rakowska-Harmstone, Teresa "Soviet Legacies," Central Asia Monitor No. 3, 1994, pp. 23-34.
- Olcott, Martha Central Asia's Catapult to Independence. Foreign Affairs, Summer92, vol. 71 no. 3, (summer 1992) (23pp.)
- Shahrani, Nazif "Central Asia and the Challenge of the Soviet Legacy," Central Asian Survey vol. 12, no. 2 (1993), pp. 123-35.
- Rubinstein, Alvin Z., "The Geopolitical Pull on Russia," Orbis, Vol. 38 (Fall 1994), No. 4, pp. 567-584.
- Olcott, Martha Brill, "The Myth of Tseltral'naia Azia," Orbis, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Fall 1994), pp. 549-566.
- Parrott, Bruce "Perspectives on Postcommunist Democratization," in Conflict, Cleavage, and Change in Asia and the Caucasus (Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, eds.) (Cambridge, Cambridge U. Press, 1997), p. 1-39.

Session 5: Political Change and Continuity: Uzbekistan

- Fierman, William "Political Development in Uzbekistan: Democratization?" in Conflict, Cleavage and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus (Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, eds.) (Cambridge, Cambridge U. Press, 1997), pp. 360-408.

Critchlow, James "Books: Uzbekistan on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century by Islam Karimov" Central Asian Monitor no. 1 (1999) pp. 19-20
Aripov, Eldor T. "Central Asia in the Post-Soviet Period: Myths and Realities" Central Asia Monitor no. 3 (1999) pp. 14-19.
Carlisle, Donald S. "Islam Karimov and Uzbekistan: Back to the Future?" in Patterns in Post-Soviet Leadership (Timothy Colton and Robert Tucker, eds.) (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995), pp. 191-216.
Fierman, William "Political Development in Uzbekistan: Democratization?" in Conflict, Cleavage, and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus, pp. 360-408.

Session 6: Political Change and Continuity: Tajikistan

Atkin, Muriel "Tajikistan: reform, reaction, and civil war," New States New Politics—Building the Post-Soviet Nations, ed. Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras (Cambridge U. Press), pp. 602-627.
US Department of State, Selection from "Tajikistan Report on Human Rights Practices for 1998." (3 pp.)
Smith, R. Grant "Tajikistan: the Rocky Road to Peace" Central Asian Survey vol. 18., no. 2 (1999) pp. 243-51.
Roy, Olivier "The Future of Tajikistan" Eurasia Insight 19 June 2000.
Atkin, Muriel. "Thwarted democratization in Tajikistan" in Dawisha and Parrott (eds.), Conflict, Cleavage, and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Cambridge University Press: 1997. Pp. 277-311.
Niyazi, Aziz. "Tajikistan I: The Regional Dimension of Conflict," in M. Walker, B. Coppieters, and A. Malashenko (eds.), Conflicting Loyalties and the State in Post-Soviet Russia and Eurasia, (London: Frank Cass), 1998, pp. 144-170.
Akhmedov, Said. "Tajikistan II: The Regional Conflict in Confessional and International Context," in M. Walker, B. Coppieters, and A. Malashenko (eds.), Conflicting Loyalties and the State in Post-Soviet Russia and Eurasia, (London: Frank Cass), 1998, pp. 171-186.
Rubin, Barnett. "Russian Hegemony and State Breakdown in the Periphery" in Rubin and Snyder (eds), Post-Soviet Political Order: Conflict and State Building (New York: Routledge, 1998) pp. 128-161.
Nourzhanov, Kirill. "Seeking Peace in Tajikistan: Who is the Odd Man Out?" Central Asia Monitor, no. 6 (1998) 15-24.
Abdukholikov, Yokubjon, "Problems and Prospects for Democracy in Post-Conflict Tajikistan," Central Asia Monitor, No. 5, 2000, pp. 1-4.

Session 7: Turkmenistan

Ochs, Michael "Turkmenistan: The Quest for Stability and Control" in Conflict, Cleavage, and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus (Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrot, eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 312-359.

Session 8: Politics of Reform: Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan

Olcott, Martha "Kazakhstan: A Republic of Minorities," Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States (Cambridge U, 1993), ed. Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras (Cambridge U. Press), pp. 313-327.
Brauer, Birgit and Beate Eschment "Presidential Elections in Kazakhstan: A Step Forward, a Step Backwards or Moving on the Wrong Track?" Central Asia Monitor no. 2 (1999) pp. 8-14.
Huskey, Gene "Kyrgyzstan: The Politics of Demographic and Economic Frustration," New States New Politics—Building the Post-Soviet Nations, ed. Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras (Cambridge U. Press), pp. 654-677.
Democratization and Human Rights in Kazakhstan (Washington, DC. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 6 May 1999) pp. 27-35, 42-62.
Anderson, John "Creating a Framework for Civil Society in Kyrgyzstan" Europe-Asia Studies vol. 52, no. 1 (2000) pp. 77-93.
Olcott, Martha Brill "Democratization and the Growth of Political Participation," in Conflict, Cleavage, and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus (Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrot, eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 201-241.
Kadyrzhanov, Rustem. "The Ruling Elite of Kazakhstan in the Transition Period." In The New Elite in Post-Communist Eastern Europe (College Station, TX: Texas A&M, 1999), pp. 144-161.
Huskey, Eugene. "An Economy of Authoritarianism? Askar Akaev and Presidential Leadership in Kyrgyzstan" in Power and Change in Central Asia (Sally Cummings, ed.)
Kaser, Michael. "Economic Transition in Six Central Asian Economies," Central Asian Survey, vol 16, no. 1 (1997), pp. 5-26.

Abazov, Rafis Fanisovich. "The Balkanization of the Economy of the Central Asian Republics and its Impact on the Non-state Sector," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 20, no. 4 (1996) pp. 744-753.

Problems of Economic Reform

Economic Reforms in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, Emine Gürgen et al, eds. (Washington, DC : International Monetary Fund, 1999), Chs. 2, 3, 4, 8, and 9.

Pomfret, Richard. *The Economies of Central Asia*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton U. Press, 1995), pp. 29-40.

"Invest in Kazakhstan (But Leave some Cash for Bail)," *Central Asia Monitor*, no. 2, 1998.

Green, David J. and Armin Bauer "The Costs of Transition in Central Asia" *Journal of Asian Economics* IX, no. 2 (summer 1998); for this session read Sections III, IV and V.

Spechler, Martin "Uzbekistan: The Silk Road to Nowhere?" *Contemporary Economic Policy* XVII, no. 3 (July 2000), pp. 295-303

Anderson, John, *The International Politics of Central Asia* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 114-137 (Ch. 5, "Laying the Economic Basis for Independence."

Apostolou, Andrew, "The Mistake of the Uzbek Economic Model," *Central Asia Monitor*, no. 2, 1998, pp. 1-5.

Auty, Richard M. "Sustainable Mineral-Driven Development in Turkmenistan" in *Sustainable Development in Central Asia*, eds. Shirin Akiner, Sander Tideman, and John Hay (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998) pp. 167-85

McCray, Tom. "Complicating Agricultural Reforms in Uzbekistan: Observations on the Lower Zaravshan Basin," *Central Asia Monitor*, No. 1, 1997, pp. 7-14.

McCray, Tom. "Complicating Agricultural Reforms in Uzbekistan: Observations on the Lower Zaravshan Basin (Conclusion)," *Central Asia Monitor*, No. 2, 1997, pp. 19-26.

Session 9 : Social Problems, Poverty, Demography, Employment, Labor, Migration

Howell, Jude "Poverty and Transition in Kyrgyzstan: How Some Households Cope," *Central Asian Survey* Vol. 15, No. 1, 1996, pp. 599-73.

Olcott, Martha and Udalova, Natalia "Drug Trafficking on the Great Silk Road: The Security Environment in Central Asia," Carnegie Endowment Working Papers, No. 11, March 2000, 6-17. Philip S. Gillette

"Ethnic Balance and Imbalance in Kazakhstan's Regions" *Central Asia Monitor*, No. 3, 1993, pp. 17-23.

Olcott, Martha "Demographic Upheavals in Central Asia," *Orbis*, Fall 1996 (XL, No. 4), pp. 537-555.

Green, David Jay and Armin Bauer. "The Costs of Transition in Central Asia" *Journal of Asian Economics*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Summer 1998) pp. 345-364.

Falkingham, Jane. "Household Welfare in Central Asia: An Introduction to the Issues," *Household Welfare in Central Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp.1-18.

Session 10: Language, Culture

Beeman, William O. "The Struggle for Identity in Post-Soviet Tajikistan." *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (MERIA) Journal, vol. 3, no. 4 (December 1999).

Fierman, William "Independence and the Declining Priority of Language Law Implementation in Uzbekistan," in Yaacov R'oi (ed.) *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies* (London: Frank Cass, 1995), pp. 205-230.

Hegarty, Stephen "The Rehabilitation of Temur: Reconstructing National History in Contemporary Uzbekistan," *Central Asia Monitor*, No. 1, 1995, pp. 28-35.

Liu, Morgan. "The Perils of Nationalism in Independent Uzbekistan." *The Journal of the International Institute*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Winter 1997). "Law of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic on Languages--22 August 1989," from *Kazakhstanskaya pravda*, 28 Aug 1989, repr. Furtado and Chandler (eds.) *Perestroika in the Soviet Republics* (Westview, 1992), pp. 479-81.

Dave, Bhavna "National Revival in Kazakhstan: Language Shift and Identity Change," *Post-Soviet Affairs* (1996) XII, No. 1, pp. 51-72.

Session 11: Identity and Nation Building

Eriksen, Thomas. "Ethnic Identity and Ideology" in *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1993) pp. 59-77.

Nodia, Ghia. "Nationalism and Democracy" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 3, no. 4, October 1992. pp. 3-21.

- Fukuyama, Francis. "Comments on Nationalism and Democracy" Journal of Democracy, Vol. 3, no. 4, October 1992. pp. 23-31.
- Chinn, Jeff and Robert Kaiser. Russians as the New Minority (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996), Ch. 9 (Central Asia), pp. 207-242.
- Bohr, Annette. "The Central Asian States as Nationalising Regimes" in Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands, Graham Smith, et al, eds., (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998) pp. 139-164.
- Schatz, Edward. "The Politics of Multiple Identities: Lineage and Ethnicity in Kazakhstan," Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 52, no. 3, beginning p. 489 (18pp).
- Fuller, Liz. "Trial of 'Separatists' Highlights Plight of Kazakhstan's Russians," Central Asia Monitor No. 4, 2000, pp. 29-30.
- Mesamed, Vladimir. "Interethnic Relations in the Republic of Uzbekistan" Central Asia Monitor, no. 6 (1996) pp. 20-26.
- Roy, Olivier. The New Central Asia. The Creation of Nations (NY: Taurus, 2000), pp. 161-189.
- Chinn, Jeff and Robert Kaiser. Russians as the New Minority (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996), Ch. 8 (Kazakhstan), pp. 185-205.
- Akiner, Shirin. "Independent Kazakhstan" The Formation of Kazakh Identity: From Tribe to Nation-State. (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs) 1995, pp. 60-82.

Session 12: Readings on Language and Culture

- Fierman, William Language Planning and National Development. The Uzbek Experience (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter: 1991), pp. 11-35.
- Kreindler, Isabelle "Multilingualism in the Successor States of the Soviet Union," Annual Review of Applied Linguistics (1997), pp. 91-102.
- Fierman, William "Introduction: The Division of Linguistic Space," Nationalities Papers vol. XXIII, no. 3, pp. 507-513.
- Fierman, William "Problems of Language Law Implementation in Uzbekistan," Nationalities Papers vol. XXIII, no. 3, pp. 573-595.
- Bohr, Annette. "Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Uzbekistan" in Graham Smith et al, eds., Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998) pp. 197-223.
- Arenov, M. M. and S. K. Kalmykov "The Present Language Situation in Kazakhstan," from Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia no. 12, 1995, pp. 76-81, rep. Russian Social Science Review, vol. XXXVIII, no. 3 (May-June 1997), pp. 56-64.
- Fierman, William. "Language and Identity in Kazakhstan: Formulations in Policy Documents 1987-1997" Communist and Post-Communist Studies, vol. 31, no. 2 (1998), pp. 171-186.
- Brubaker, Rogers. "Aftermaths of Empire and the Unmixing of Peoples: Historical and Comparative Perspectives," Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol. 18, no. 2 (April 1995), pp. 189-218.
- Fierman, William. "Changing Urban Demography and the Prospects of Nationalism in Kazakhstan," Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism, XXVII (2000), pp. 7-19.

Session 13: Ecological Issues, Health, Social Problems, Women

- Lipovsky, Igor "The Deterioration of the Ecological Situation in Central Asia: Causes and Possible Consequences," Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 47, no. 7 (Nov. 1995).
- Spoor, Max "The Aral Sea Basin Crisis: Transition and Environment in Former Soviet Central Asia," Development and Change Vol. 29 (1998), pp. 409-435.
- Moldogazieva, Nurbubu "The Barskoon Tragedy: Shall We Come to the Wisdom of the Mountains," Central Asia Monitor, No. 5, 1998, pp. 10-14.
- Bauer, Armin; Nina Boschmann, David Green Women and Gender Relations in Kazakstan (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 1997), pp. 49-79.
- Khodjibaeva, Moukhabbat. "Between Paris and the Taliban." Central Asia Monitor, no. 4, 1999. 18-22.
- Feshbach, Murray and Alfred Friendly, Jr., "A Sea of Troubles," from Ecocide in the USSR(NY: Basic Books, 1992), pp. 73-88
- Bauer, Armin and David Green, Kathleen Kuehnast. Women And Gender Relations: The Kyrgyz Republic in Transition. (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 1997), pp. 29-71.
- Werner, Cynthia Ann. "Marketing gifts: Economic Change in a Kazakh Village," Central Asia Monitor, No. 6, 1997, pp. 1-7.

Session 14: Relations with Russia, and Relations among Central Asian Countries

Kubicek, Paul "Regionalism, Nationalism, and Realpolitik in Central Asia," Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 49, No. 4, 1997, pp. 637-655.

Kortunov, Andrei and Andrei Shumikhin, "Russian Policies toward Central Asia," in Central Asia: Conflict, Resolution and Change, R. Sagdeev and S. Eisenhower, eds. (Chevy Chase: CPSS Press, 1995), pp. 293-310, pp. 37-46.

Alexandrov, Mikhail. "Military relations Between Russia and Kazakhstan in Post-Soviet Era (1992-1997) (Part I)," Central Asia Monitor

n. 2(1998): 10-15.

_____. "Military relations Between Russia and Kazakhstan in Post-Soviet Era (1992-1997) (Conclusion)," Central Asia Monitor n. 3(1998): 18-25.

Sirrs, Julie R. "Mixed Messages: The Contrasting Reactions of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan to the War in Afghanistan," Central Asia Monitor, No. 2, 2000, pp. 1-5.

Session 15: Central Asian States and the World Beyond the CIS

Hunter, Shireen Central Asia Since Independence (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996), pp. 124-50.

Winrow, Gareth M. "Turkish Policy in Central Asia," in Touraj Atabaki and John O'Kane, eds. *Post-Soviet Central Asia* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1998), pp. 91-108.

Freij, Hanna Yousif. "State Interests vs. The Umma: Iranian Policy in Central Asia," *The Middle East Journal*, Winter 1996, vol. 50, no. 1, p. 71 (13).

Pahlevan, Tchangiz. "Iran and Central Asia," in Touraj Atabaki and John O'Kane, eds. *Post-Soviet Central Asia* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1998), pp. 73-90.

Dillon, M. "Central Asia: The View from Beijing, Urumqi and Kashgar" in Mehdi Mozaffari, ed., *Security in the Commonwealth of Independent States: The Southern Belt* (Macmillan, 1997), pp. 133-45.

Craft, Cassidy and Suzette Grillot, Liam Anderson. "The Dangerous Ground: Nonproliferation Export-Control Development in the Southern Tier of the Former Soviet Union," Problems of Post-Communism Nov.-Dec. 2000, pp. 39-51.

Melvin, Neil J. Uzbekistan. Transition to Authoritarianism on the Silk Road (Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000), pp. 98-117.

Craft, Cassidy and Suzette Grillot, Liam Anderson. "The Dangerous Ground: Nonproliferation Export-Control Development in the Southern Tier of the Former Soviet Union," Problems of Post-Communism Nov.-Dec. 2000, pp. 39-51.