

IR 538

Issues and Politics in Central Asia and Transcaucasia

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OR BY APPOINTMENT

This course will examine political, economic, social, and cultural issues in Central Asia and Azerbaijan from 1991 to the present. After the first two overview sessions, each meeting will be devoted to a different topic. (See tentative list of classes below.) 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, as well as translated primary source materials. I expect students to attend class regularly and participate actively in discussions.

ABSENCES: I urge you not to miss class. I realize, however, that absence due to sickness or another emergency is some times 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.

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Tentative Schedule of Sessions

Session 1:

Overview of Central Asia and Transition
(Reading: Gregory Gleason's *The Central Asian States* 1997)

Session 3 :

Azerbaijan during Soviet Rule
(Reading: Audrey L. Altstadt, *The Azerbaijani Turks: Power and Identity under Russian Rule*)

Session 2:

The Changing Relations with Russia and the CIS

Session 4:

Economic Issues

Sessions 5 and 6:

Political Development, Prospects for Democratization

Sessions 7, 8, and 9:

Identities (State, Ethnic, Religious and Others Types), Relation to Linguistic and Demographic Issues

Session 10:
Environmental Issues

Session 11:
Relations among Central Asian States, Border Issues, War in Tajikistan

Session 12:
Central Asia and the Far Abroad.

Session 13:
Peace and Security in the Transcaucasus

Session 13:
Hydrocarbon Resources: Conflict and Cooperation in Central Asia
and Transcaucasia

Readings on Political Change, Part I

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)

"Modes of Assistance: Support for a Market Economy" in Democratic Theory and Post-Communist Change (Robert Grey, ed.) (Upper Saddle, NJ: Prentice Hall: 1997), pp.256-257

Kubicek, Paul. "Authoritarianism in Central Asia: Curse or Cure?" Third World Quarterly, vol. 19, no 1 (1998) pp. 29-43.

Fierman, William "Political Development in Uzbekistan: Democratization?" in Conflict, Cleavage, and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus, pp. 360-408.

Critchlow, James. "Books: Uzbekistan on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century by Islam Karimov" Central Asia Monitor, no. 1 (1999), pp. 19-20.

Luong, Pauline Jones "The Future of Central Asian Statehood" Central Asia Monitor, no. 1 (1999) pp. 1-10.

Mutti, John H. "Economic Policy and Democratization in the Former Communist States," in Democratic Theory and Post-Communist Change (Robert Grey, ed.) , (Upper Saddle: NJ: Prentice Hall, 1997), pp. 217-247.

Readings on Political Change, Part II: Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan

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.)

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.

Readings on Tajikstan and Relations Among States of Central Asia

Atkin, Muriel. "Thwarted democratization in Tajikstan" 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.

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.

Environment

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.

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.

Readings on Central Asia and the "Far Abroad"

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

Craft, Cassidy and Suzette Grillo, 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.

Economic Readings, Part I

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.

Kaser, Michael. "Economic Transition in Six Central Asian Economies," *Central Asian Survey*, vol 16, no. 1 (1997), pp. 5-26.

Abazov, Rafis. "Formation of the Non-state Sector and Privatisation in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan," *Communist Economies and Economic Transformation*, vol. 9, no. 4 (1997) pp. 431-448.

Lerman, Zvi; Jorge Garcia-Garcia, and Dennis Wichelns, "Land and Water Policies in Uzbekistan," *Post-Soviet Geography*, vol. 37, no. 3 (1996), pp. 145-174.

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.

Spechler, Martin C. "Uzbekistan: The Silk Road to Nowhere?" *Contemporary Economic Policy*, vol. 18, no. 3 (July 2000), pp. 295-303

Economic Readings, Part II

Nelson, Joan M. "Social Costs, Social-Sector Reforms, and Politics in Post-Communist Transformations" in Nelson et al (eds.), *Transforming Post-Communist Political Economies* (Washington: National Academic Press, 1997), pp. 247-271.

- 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.
- Akanov, Aikan. "Kazakstan" in Brooks and Thant (eds.), *Social Sector Issues in Transition Economies of Asia* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1998) pp. 229-281.
- Falkingham, Jane. "Household Welfare in Central Asia: An Introduction to the Issues," *Household Welfare in Central Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp.1-18.
- 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.
- 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.

Readings on Islam and Policy towards Islam

- 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."
- Savin, Igor. "Ethnic and Confessional Situation in Southern Kazakhstan and Major Regional Challenges," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, No. 3, 2001, pp. 131-137.
- Simpson, Erica Sapper. "Islam in Uzbekistan: Why Freedom of Religion Is Fundamental for Peace and Stability in the Region," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* (2) 1998/99, pp. 110-150. ASSIGNMENT IS ONLY pp. 126-140.

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.

Readings on Political Change, Part II: Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan

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.

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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.

Readings on Azerbaijan and the Hydrocarbon Resources

Ronald G. Suny, *Transcaucasia: Nationalism and Social Change* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1983).

Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquajay, "Islam and Identity in Azerbaijan," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 3, No. 2(1984), 29-55.

Audrey L. Altstadt, "Nagorno-Karabagh: Apple of Discord in the Azerbaijani SSR," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (1988), 63-78.

Suha Bolukbasi, "Ankara's Baku-Centered Transcaucasia Policy: Has It Failed?" *The Middle East Journal*, 51, 1(Winter 1997), pp. 80-94.

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Robert V.Barylski, "Russia, The West, and the Caspian Energy Hub," *The Middle East Journal*, 49, 2 (Spring 1995).

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Robert V.Barylski, "Russia, the West, and the Caspian Energy Hub," *The Middle East Journal*, 49, 2 (Spring 1995), p.223.

"Caspian Pipeline Prospects Hinge on Transparent, Logical Regulatory Frameworks," *OGJ*, Vol. 98, No. 34 (August 21, 2000).

"Middle East Update: Iran Expands Middle East Influence into Caspian Sea," *OGJ*, Vol. 99, No. 10(March 5, 2001).