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**Course Syllabi for the Study of Central Eurasia**  
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**Neil Melvin**  
**The Politics of Contemporary Central Asia (PIED3550)**  
**Syllabus for the course offered in Spring 2001**  
**University of Leeds**  
**Institute for Politics and International Studies**

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[NOTE: In the CASWW printing of this syllabus, the references to library locations and call numbers at the University of Leeds have been omitted for the sake of conciseness.]



## The Politics of Contemporary Central Asia (PIED3550) (20 Credits)

**Taught by: Dr. Neil Melvin**

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**Aims of Course:** With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Central Asia has once again emerged as an important economic, political and cultural region in its own right. Located in a key geo-strategic position between Russia, China, Iran and Turkey and with extensive natural resources (notably oil and gas), in the last decade political developments in and around Central Asia have become particularly important. The main purpose of this course will be to introduce students to the key domestic and regional issues affecting the peoples of the area. The main topics covered in the course concern the historical legacy of the Russian and Soviet regimes, the broad effect of modernisation on the region, the politics and economics of nation and state building in the transition period, the role of traditional forms of politics, the rise of political Islam, and the prospects for democratisation in Central Asia.

**Teaching Arrangements:** 11 one-hour lectures and 11 one-hour seminars. Lecture 11 – 12 am and seminar 12 - 1pm on Tuesdays in Michael Sadler LG15. You should attend lectures and **one** seminar group. Your module leader will assign you to a seminar group. If you do not know which seminar group you are in you should ask the module leader.

### **Attendance:**

You are required to attend all seminars. Failure to attend at least two thirds of seminars without medical evidence or another acceptable excuse will result in exclusion from this module. Although there is no penalty for failure to attend lectures, you should note that they are intended to provide you with the basic concepts and definitions of each subject studied.

**Seminar presentations:**

Presentations should last around 10 minutes, and be given in the style of a talk - they should not be read word-for-word from a prepared text. Presenters should address the specific seminar question, rather than simply offering summaries of items for the reading list. Presenters are encouraged to prepare handouts and visual aids (including overheads) to accompany their presentations.

Students who are not presenting will be asked to provide their feedback on the quality of the presentation as a means of introducing and discussing the principal issues.

**Assessment Arrangements:** For completion of the module students will be required to undertake two assessments:

i) A two hour unseen written examination (50% of the final grade). The final examination paper will consist of up to twelve questions. Students will be required to answer two questions. The examination time will be published at a later date. Please let the Institute know (☎ 0113 233 4382) if you are ill and cannot attend the examination. You will need to produce a doctor's note if you miss the examination due to ill health. You should be aware that examinations may be scheduled for a Saturday. If you cannot take an examination on a Saturday for religious reasons, you must register this point with the Examinations Office.

ii) An essay of 3,000 words (50% of the final grade). The essay should be typed, using double spacing, a 12-point font (preferably Times Roman) and a single side of A4 paper only. The essay should be accompanied by a coversheet with the title of the essay, the student's number and a word count printed on it. **You may not answer a question in the examination that covers the same area as your assessed essay question.** The essay to be submitted to room 13.24, Economic and Social Studies Building before 5pm on the first day of the exam period. Word limits will be strictly enforced (students may be asked to produce disks in case of doubt about the length of the work). The list of assessed questions is attached to the back of this reading list.

The examination time will be published at a later date. Please let the Institute know (☎ 0113 233 4382) if you are ill and cannot attend the examination. You will need to produce a doctor's note if you miss the examination due to ill health. You should be aware that examinations may be scheduled for a Saturday. If you cannot take an examination on a Saturday for religious reasons, you must register this point with the Examinations Office.

**Submitting Essays:****The following points are very important:**

- Please note that it is **not** possible to hand in work **before** the published deadline.
- The office will be open from 9 - 5 on the first day of the examination period **only**.
- You are required to complete an academic integrity form. It is desirable from your point of view to obtain a receipt for work handed in.

- If you submit your work late without a good reason for the delay [see below], then you will lose 5 marks per working day. You should state the reason for lateness on the appropriate form.
- If you are handing in your work after the deadline, you should note that the "normal" office opening hours are 9.30 - 12.30 and 1.30 - 3.30. Failure to note this point may result in the loss of further marks because you have not been able to register your work.

### **Obtaining an Extension:**

Extensions of time can **only** be given with approval of the Director of Teaching and Learning, and requests should be submitted to the Institute Coordinator in the office - neither the office nor your tutor can give permission. You will only be given an extension where there are medical or severe personal problems that can account for the delay. The penalty for lateness is fixed at 5 marks per working day. If you deliver work late you must state the reason for lateness on the appropriate form from the departmental office and attach any relevant medical evidence.

At the first meeting, each student will also be allocated a seminar topic to be presented in the course of the module. In addition, every student will be required to provide a book review (200 words) by Tuesday 31st October 2000. A list of books for review will be distributed at the beginning of the course.

### **Unsatisfactory Performance/Plagiarism:**

There are procedures and penalties relating to unsatisfactory performance in a module, and strict regulations concerning plagiarism (presenting the work of other authors as your own), laid out in the Institute and University Handbooks. You are strongly advised to read this information.

### **Reading List:**

Each week's reading is divided into two sections; '**Required Reading**' and '**Recommended Reading**'. Every student is required to read at least two items from the 'Required Reading' each week. Further guidance is provided in form of a distinction between books and articles. Within these categories, the student is guided to the most appropriate reading:

\*\* = Highly recommended reading.

\* = Recommended reading.

### **Course Book:**

Anderson, John, *The International Politics of Central Asia* (Manchester: MUP, 1997).

### **General Reading:**

\*\* Akiner, Shirin, *Central Asia: Conflict or Stability and Development?* (London: Minority Rights Group, 1997). A concise introduction to many of the key issues of the module.

\* Adshead, Samuel. *Central Asia in World History*, (St. Martin's Press: 1993).

Atabaki, Touradj and John O'Kane, *Post-Soviet central Asia* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1998).

\*\* Dannreuther, Roland, *Creating New States in Central Asia: the Strategic Implications of the Collapse of Soviet Power in Central Asia*, (Adelphi Papers 288: 1994). Provides a good framework for approaching the post-independence challenges facing the Central Asian states.

\* Dawisha, Karen and Bruce Parrott, (ed.), *Conflict, Cleavage, and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997). An interesting collection of essays exploring many of the themes examined in the module.

\*\* Gleason, Gregory, *Central Asian States: Discovering Independence* (London: Westview, 1997). Useful, but basic introduction to the region.

\* Haghayeghi, Mehrdad, *Islam and Politics in Central Asia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995). Interesting study that concerns more than just Islam in Central Asia.

Hiro, Dilip, *Between Marx and Muhammad: the Changing Face of Central Asia*, (Harper Collins: 1994).

\* Kulchik, Yuriy, Andrey Fadin and Victor Sergeev, *Central Asia After the Empire*, (Pluto Press, 1996). A useful and brief introduction to some of the central themes of the course.

Lewis, R. (ed.), *Geographic Perspectives on Soviet Central Asia* (London: 1991).

Mesbahi, Mohiddin, (ed.), *Central Asia and the Caucasus after the Soviet Union* (University Press of Florida: 1994).

\*\* Soucek, Svat, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000).

Wheeler, Geoffery. *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia*, (New York: 1966).

### **Source Materials on Contemporary Events:**

Sources may be found in: *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*; *the Current Digest of the Post-soviet Press*; and the journal *Transitions*. Students may also use on-line resources including RFE-RL Daily Report and other sources that can be located through the WWW.

The best gateway for internet resources is the URL: <http://www.icarp.org/>

Try also <http://www.cpss.org/casianw/canews.htm>. Other good starting points include:

<http://www.eurasianet.org/>; <http://www.wisc.edu/creeca/links/regional.html>;

<http://eurasianews.com/>; <http://www.rferl.org> and for a very official Kazakh site try <http://www.president.kz> .

You should also subscribe to the daily information service provided by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty:

#### How To Subscribe

Send an email to [newsline-request@list.rferl.org](mailto:newsline-request@list.rferl.org) with the word **subscribe** as the subject of the message.

#### How To Unsubscribe

Send an email to [newsline-request@list.rferl.org](mailto:newsline-request@list.rferl.org) with the word **unsubscribe** as the subject of the message.

#### **Journals:**

Students should also consult the following journals for recent articles about the region:

*Central Asian Survey*

*Europe Asia Studies*

*Foreign Affairs*

*Journal of Democracy*

*Transitions*

#### **Structure of the Module:**

The module is divided into three sections. In part one students are introduced to the main themes of the module. The second part of the module is designed to provide students with a broad knowledge of the history of the Russian and Soviet regimes in Central Asia, and with an understanding of the processes that produced the collapse of the Eurasian imperial system and the emergence of the independent states of Central Asia. In part three students are introduced to the core themes of the module.

#### **Section One: Introduction**

Week One – Approaching the study of Central Asia

#### **Section Two: The Colonial Era in Central Asia**

Week Two – Russian colonisation of Central Asia

Week Three – The Soviet colonial regime in Central Asia

Week Four – Central Asia and the Collapse of the Soviet Order

#### **Section Three: Independence and State-Building**

Week Five – Islam I

Week Six – Islam II

Week Seven – Modern and traditional forms of politics in Central Asia

Week Eight – Ethnicity and nationalism I

Week Nine – Ethnicity and nationalism II

Week Ten – The political economy of change in post-independence Central Asia

Week Eleven – Regimes, elites and political development

## Reading List

### Week One: 3 October 2000

1st Hour - Introductions, overview of course and organisation of class

2nd Hour - Lecture: Approaching the study of Central Asia

#### **Required Reading:**

Bregel, Yuri, *Notes on the Study of Central Asia* (Indiana University, 1996), pp. 1-26.

Karpat, Kemal, "The Old and New Central Asia", *Central Asian Survey*, 12 (4), (1993), pp. 415-25.

Olcott, Martha Brill, "Central Asia: The Reformers Challenge a Traditional Society" in *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society*, Lubomyr Hajda and Mark Bessinger, eds. (Boulder, Col: Westview, 1990), pp. 253-80.

Panarin, Sergei, "Introduction: The Soviet East as a New Subject of Oriental Studies", in *State, Religion and Society in Central Asia*, Vitaly Naumkin, ed. (Ithaca Press, 1993), pp. 1-16.

#### **Recommended Reading:**

Adshead, Samuel, *Central Asia in World History* (St. Martin's Press: 1993).

\* Hyman, Anthony, *Political Change in Post-Soviet Central Asia* (RIIA: 1994).

Lewis, R., (ed.), *Geographic Perspectives on Soviet Central Asia* (London: 1991).

Mesbahi, Mohiddin, (ed.), *Central Asia and the Caucasuses after the Soviet Union* (University Press of Florida: 1994).

\* Rashid, Ahmed, "The Two Revolutions - 1917 and 1991" chap. 2 in *The Resurgence of Central Asia: Islam or Nationalism* (London: Zed Books, 1994), pp. 25-48. See also the later chapters on the former Soviet republics.

Sinor, D., (ed.), *Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, (CUP: 1990).

## **Part One: The Colonial Era in Central Asia**

### Week Two: 10 October 2000

Lecture: Russian colonisation of Central Asia.

Seminar:

- a) What were the principle aims of Russia's conquest of Central Asia?
- b) In which ways did the Russian approach to the colonisation of Central Asia shape the patterns of territorial administration that developed within the region?

**Issues:** Great Power competition, economic development, demographic pressures, weak Central Asian regimes, local resistance, colonial administration.

**Required Reading:**

Anderson, John, *The International Politics of Central Asia* (Manchester: MUP, 1997), chap. 1.

Becker, Seymour, "The Russian Conquest of Central Asia and Kazakhstan", in *Central Asia: Its Strategic Importance and Future Prospects*, Hafeez Malik, (ed.), (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 21-38.

Manz, Beatrice F., "Historical Background", in *Central Asia in Historical Perspective*, Beatrice F. Manz, (ed.), (Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 4-22.

Rywkin, Michael, *Moscow's Muslim Challenge: Central Asia* (M. E. Sharpe, 1990), pp. 3-18.

Rywkin, Michael, (ed.), *Russian Colonial Expansion to 1917* (London: Mansell, 1988). See especially David Mackenzie, "The Conquest and Administration of Turkestan, 1860-85", pp. 208-34 and Seymour Becker, "Russia's Central Asian Empire 1885-1917", pp. 235-56.

Soucek, Svat, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), chaps. 14 and 15.

**Recommended Reading:**

Allworth, E., *Central Asia: 130 Years of Russian Dominance* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 131-71.

Bacon, Elizabeth, *Central Asians under Russian Rule: A Study in Culture Change* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press: 1980).

Becker, Seymour, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924* (Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 3-238.

\* Clem, Ralph S., "The Frontier and Colonialisation of Soviet Central Asia: Integrating the Central Asian Frontier", in *Geographic Perspectives on Soviet Central Asia*, Robert Lewis, (ed.), (London: 1991), pp. 19-36.

\* Demko, George, *The Russian Colonization of Kazakhstan 1896-1916* (The Hague: Mouton, 1960), pp. 51-121.



Eisenstadt, S. N., *The Political Systems of Empires* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1993).

Geyer, D., *Russian Imperialism (1860-1914): The Interaction of Domestic and Foreign Policy* (Lemington Spa: Berg, 1987).

Lansdell, Henry, *Russian Central Asia* (N.Y.: 1970).

Marks, S. G., *The Road to Power: The Trans-Siberian Railway and the Colonization of Asian Russia, 1850-1927* (1991).

\* Pierce, R. A., *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960).

Sokol, E. D., *The Revolt of 1916 in Russian Central Asia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1953).

\* Wheeler, Geoffrey, *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia* (New York: 1966), pp. 31-96.

### **Week Three: 17 October 2000**

Lecture: The Soviet colonial regime in Central Asia

Seminar:

a) Soviet Asia was always more Asian than Soviet. Discuss

b) The benefits of Soviet colonisation in Central Asia significantly outweighed the costs. Discuss.

**Issues:** Continuation of Islam and local tradition, 'transformation' of Communist institutions to fit Central Asia, urbanisation, education, industrial development, position of women versus loss of traditions and religion, exploitation, environmental degradation, famine and the Terror.

### **Required Reading:**

Anderson, John, *The International Politics of Central Asia* (Manchester: MUP, 1997), chap. 2.

Critchlow, James, "Corruption, Nationalism, and the Native Elite in Soviet Central Asia", *The Journal of Communist Studies*, 4 (2), (June 1988), pp. 142-61.

Gleason, Gregory, *Central Asian States: Discovering Independence* (London: Westview, 1997), pp. 48-81.

Shahrani, M. Nazif, "Muslim Central Asia: Soviet Development Legacies and Future Challenges", *Central Asia and the Caucasus after the Soviet Union: domestic and international dynamics*, Mohiaddin Mesbahi, ed., (University of Florida Press, 1994), pp. 56-73.

Tolmacheva, M.A., "The Muslim Woman in Soviet Central Asia", *Central Asian Survey*, 12 (4), (1993), pp. 531-48.

Soucek, Svat, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), chaps. 16 and 17.

### **Recommended Reading:**

#### **Books:**

Bennigsen, A. and Quelquejay, Ch., *Mystics and Commissars* (Paris: 1986).

\* Black, Cyril Edwin et al., *The Modernization of Inner Asia* (M. E. Sharpe, 1991).

Conolly, Violet, *Beyond the Urals: Economic Developments in Soviet Asia* (London: 1967).

Edmondson, L., (ed.), *Women and Society in Russia and the Soviet Union* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992).

Nove, A. and Newth, J. A., *The Soviet Middle East: A Model for Development?* (New York: 1967).

Parks, Alexander G., *Bolshevism in Turkestan* (New York: Columbia University Press: 1957).

Pipes, R., *The Formation of the Soviet Union - Communism and Nationalism 1917-1923* (Cambridge, MA: 1964).

Rumer, Boris, *Soviet Central Asia: A Tragic Experiment* (Boston, MA: 1989).

Stewart, J. M., (ed.), *The Soviet Environment: Problems, Policies and Politics*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991).

\* Wheeler, G., *The Modern History of Central Asia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), pp. 97-225.

#### **Articles:**

Anderson, John, "Islam in Soviet Archives: A Research Note", *Central Asian Survey*, 13 (3), (1994), pp. 383-94.

Carley, Patricia M., "The Price of the Plan: Perceptions of Cotton and Health in Uzbekistan", *Central Asian Survey*, 8 (4), (1989), pp. 1-38.

Keller, Shoshana, "Islam in Soviet Central Asia 1917-1930: Soviet Policy and the Struggle for Control", *Central Asian Survey*, 11 (1), (1992), pp. 25-50.

Kostyukova, Irina, "The Towns of Kyrgyzstan Change Their Faces: Rural-urban Migrants in Bishkek", *Central Asian Survey*, 13 (3), (1994), pp. 425-34.

Lipovsky, Igor, "The Central Asian Cotton Epic", *Central Asian Survey*, 14 (4), (1995), pp. 529-42.

Nasar, Rusi, "Reflections on the Aral Sea Tragedy in the National Literature of Turkestan", *Central Asian Survey*, 8 (1), (1989), pp. 49-68.

\* Panarin, Sergei, "Muslims of the Former USSR: Dynamics of Survival", *Central Asian Survey*, 12 (2), (1993), pp. 137-49.

Patnaik, Ajay, "Agriculture and Rural Out-Migration in Central Asia", *Europe-Asia Studies*, 47 (1), (1995), pp. 147-69.

\* Shahrani, Nazif, "Central Asia and the Challenge of the Soviet Legacy", *Central Asian Survey*, 12 (2), (1993), pp. 123-35.

#### **Week Four: 24 October 2000**

Lecture: Central Asia and the Collapse of the Soviet Order

Seminar:

a) What does the lack of a powerful independence movement in the region during the *perestroika* period indicate about Central Asian attitudes to the Soviet system?

b) How did the elites of Central Asia react to Gorbachev's agenda of reform?

**Issues:** Gorbachev, Afghanistan, nationalist and Islamic movements, local political elites and reform, environmental opposition.

#### **Required reading:**

Anderson, John, *The International Politics of Central Asia* (Manchester: MUP, 1997), chap.3.

Brown, Bess, "The Public Role in Perestroika in Central Asia", *Central Asian Survey*, 9 (1), (1990), pp. 87-96.

Grant, Jonathan, "Decolonization by Default: Independence in Soviet Central Asia", *Central Asian Survey*, 13 (1), (1994), pp. 51-8.

Haghighyehi, Mehrdad, *Islam and Politics in Central Asia* (New York: St. Martin's, 1995), pp. 41-70.

Roi, Yaacov, "Central Asian Riots and Disturbances, 1989-1990: Causes and Context", *Central Asian Survey*, 10 (3), (1991), pp. 21-54.

### **Recommended reading:**

#### **Books:**

Brown, Bess A., "Political Developments in Soviet Central Asia: some aspects of the restructuring process in Turkmenistan, Kirgizia and Kazakhstan in the late 1980s", in *Political and Economic Trends in Central Asia* in Shirin Akiner, (ed.), (I. B. Tauris, 1994). pp. 62-74.

\* Carrere d'Encausse, H., *The End of the Soviet Empire: The Triumph of the Nations* (Basic Books, 1993), pp. 31-46.

Daly, Tad, *Afghanistan and Gorbachev's Global Foreign Policy* (1989).

Hauer, Milan and Canfield, Robert L., (eds.), *Afghanistan and the Soviet Union: Collision and Transformation* (Westview Press: 1989).

#### **Articles:**

Carlisle, Donald, "Uzbekistan and the Uzbeks", *Problems of Communism*, (September-October 1991), pp. 23-44.

Fierman, William, "Glasnost in Practice: the Uzbek Experience", *Central Asian Survey*, 8 (2), (1989), pp. 1-46.

\* Imart, Guy, "Kirgizia-Kazakhstan: A Hinge or a Fault-Line?", *Problems of Communism*, (September-October 1990), pp. 1-13.

\* Olcott, Martha Brill, "Perestroika in Kazakhstan", *Problems of Communism* (July-August 1990), pp. 65-

\* Olcott, Martha Brill, "Central Asia's Catapult to Independence", *Foreign Affairs*, 71 (3) (1992), pp. 108-30.

## **Part Two:**

### **Independence and State-building**

#### **Week Five: 31 October 2000**

Lecture: Challenges to the creation of new states in Central Asia - Islam

**General to Lecture:**

\* Akiner, Shirin, "Post-Soviet Central Asia: Past is Prologue", in Peter Ferdinand, ed., *The New Central Asia and Its Neighbours* (RIIA: 1994), pp. 4-35.

Akiner, Shirin, 'Social and Political Reorganisation in Central Asia: Transition from Pre-Colonial to Post-Colonial Society', in *Post-Soviet Central Asia*, Touraj Atabaki, Touradj Atabaki (ed), John O'Kane (editor) (I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 1998), pp. 1-34.

\*\* Anderson, John, *The International Politics of Central Asia* (Manchester: MUP, 1997), chap. 4.

\*\* Dannreuther, Roland, *Creating New States in Central Asia: the Strategic Implications of the Collapse of Soviet Power in Central Asia* (Adelphi Papers 288: 1994), pp. 3-48.

\*\* Gleason, Gregory, *Central Asian States: Discovering Independence* (London: Westview, 1997), pp. 1-24, 82-135, 168-86.

Hyman, Anthony, *Political Change in Post-Soviet Central Asia* (RIIA: 1994).

\*\* Kulchik, Yurii, 'Central Asia After the Empire: Ethnic Groups, Communities, and Problems', in Roald Z. Sagdeev, and Susan Eisenhower, eds., *Central Asia: Conflict, Revolution, and Change* (Chevy Chase, Maryland: CPSS Press, 1995), pp. 91-114

\* Olcott, Martha Brill, "Central Asia's Post-Empire Politics", *Orbis*, No. 32 (Spring 1992), pp. 253-68.

**Islam I:**

Seminar:

a) What role did Islam play in Soviet Central Asia?

b) Why did Islam experience a revival during the Gorbachev years?

**Issues:** Organisation of Islam, Islam and women, policies to eradicate Islam, relationship between political and religious authorities.

**Required reading:**

Keller, Shoshana, "Islam in Soviet Central Asia 1917-1930: Soviet Policy and the Struggle for Control", *Central Asian Survey*, 11 (1), (1992), pp. 25-50.

Panarin, Sergei, "Muslims of the Former USSR: Dynamics of Survival", *Central Asian Survey*, 12 (2), (1993), pp. 137-49.

Ro'i, Yaacov, "The Secularization of Islam and the USSR's Muslim Areas", in *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies*, Yaacov Roi, (ed.), (Frank Cass & Co., 1995), pp. 5-20.

Ro'i, Yaacov, *Islam in the Soviet Union : From the Second World War to Gorbachev* (New York: Columbia University Press.: 2000).

Saroyan, Mark and Edward W. Walker, (eds.), *Minorities, mullahs, and modernity: reshaping community in the former Soviet Union* (Berkeley, Calif.: International and Area Studies, University of California, 1997), pp. 43-56 and 57-87.

Tolmacheva, M.A., "The Muslim Woman in Soviet Central Asia", *Central Asian Survey*, 12 (4), (1993), pp. 531-48.

### **Recommended reading:**

#### **Books:**

Haghighayeghi, Mehrdad, *Islam and Politics in Central Asia* (New York: St. Martin's, 1995), pp. 1-40.

Gregory J. Massell, *The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919-1929* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974). MODERN HISTORY L-9.7 MAS

Poliakov, Sergei P., (ed.), *Everyday Islam: religion and tradition in rural Central Asia* (Armonk, N.Y.: Sharpe, 1992).

\* Rywkin, Michael, *Moscow's Muslim Challenge: Soviet Central Asia*, (M. E. Sharpe: 1982).

#### **Articles:**

Critchlow, James, "Islam in Soviet Central Asia: Renaissance or Revolution?" *Religion in Communist Lands*, 18 (3) (Autumn 1990), pp. 196-211.

### **Week Six: 7 November 2000**

#### **Islam II:**

#### Seminar:

a) Does Islam pose a political threat to the regimes of Central Asia?

b) How has political Islam affected the politics of Tajikistan since independence?

**Issues:** Radical versus secular Islam. Political uses of religion.

**Required reading:**

Bohr, Annette, *Uzbekistan: Politics and Foreign Policy* (RIIA, 1998), pp. 25-30.

Bonner, Arthur, "Islam and the State in Central Asia", *Central Asian Monitor*, No. 6 (1995), pp. 27-37.

Akiner, Shirin, 'Melting Pot, salad bowl, cauldron? Manipulation and mobilization of ethnic and religious identities in Central Asia', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 20 (2) (1997), pp. 362-98.

Haghighyehi, Mehrdad, "Islamic Revival in the Central Asian Republics", *Central Asian Survey*, 13 (2), (1994), pp. 249-66.

Olcott, Martha Brill, "Islam and Fundamentalism in Independent Central Asia", in *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies*, Yaacov Roi, ed. (Frank Cass & Co., 1995), pp. 21-39.

Roy, Olivier, *The Failure of Political Islam* (I. B. Tauris, 1994), pp. 1-34.

Saroyan, Mark and Edward W. Walker, (eds.), *Minorities, mullahs, and modernity: reshaping community in the former Soviet Union* (Berkeley, Calif.: International and Area Studies, University of California, 1997), pp. 88-103 and pp. 104-24.

*Transition*, "The Myth of Militant Islam", 1 (24) (29 December 1995), pp. 6-32.

**Recommended reading:**

**Books:**

\* Altoma, Reef, "The Influence of Islam in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan", in *Central Asia in Historical Perspective*, Beatrice Manz, ed. (Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 164-81.

Naumkin, Vitaly, (ed.), *State, Religion and Society in Central Asia: a Post-Soviet Critique* (Ithaca Press: 1993).

Rashid, Ahmed, *The Resurgence of Central Asia: Islam or Nationalism?* (Zed Books: 1994).

**Articles:**

Anderson, John 'Religion, State, and Society in the New Kyrgyzstan', *Journal of Church and State*, 41 (1) (Winter 1999), pp. 99-116.

Naby, Eden, "Ethnicity and Islam in Central Asia", *Central Asian Survey*, 12 (2), (1993), pp. 151-67.

Voll, O. John, "Central Asia as a Part of the Modern Islamic World", *Central Asia in Historical Perspective*, Beatrice Manz, ed., (Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 62-81.

Yavuz, Hakan, "The Patterns of Political Islamic Identity: Dynamics of National and Transnational Loyalties and Identities", *Central Asian Survey*, 14 (3), (1995), pp. 341-72.

### **Tajikistan:**

Akcali, Pinar, "Islam as a 'common bond' in Central Asia: Islamic Renaissance Party and the Afghan Mujahidin", *Central Asian Survey* 17 (2) (June 1998), pp. 267-84.

Atkin, Muriel, "The Politics of Polarization in Tajikistan", in *Central Asia: Its Strategic Importance and Future Prospects*, Hafeez Malik, (ed.), (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 211-32.

Brown, Bess, "Tajikistan: The Fall of Nabiev", *RFE/RL Research Report*, 1 (38), (25 September 1992), pp. 12-18.

Brown, Bess, "Tajikistan: The Conservatives Triumph", *RFE/RL Research Report*, 2 (7), (12 February 1993), pp. 9-12.

Brown, Bess, "Tajik Opposition to be Banned", *RFE/RL Research Report*, 2 (14), (2 April 1993), pp. 9-12.

\* Emadi, Hafizullah, "State Ideology and Islamic Resurgence in Tadjikistan", *Central Asian Survey*, 13 (4), (1994), pp. 565-73.

\* Hetmanek, Allen, "Islamic Revolution and Jihad Come to the Former Soviet Central Asia: The Case of Tajikistan", *Central Asian Survey*, 12 (3), (1993), pp. 365-78.

Kosach, Grigorii G., "Tadjikistan: Political Parties in an Inchoate National Space", in *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies*, Yaacov Ro'i, (ed.), (Frank Cass, 1995), pp. 123-42.

Makhamov, Mavlon, "Islam and Political Development of Tajikistan After 1985", in *Central Asia: Its Strategic Importance and Future Prospects*, Hafeez Malik, (ed.), (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 195-210.

Niyazi, Aziz, "The Year of Tumult: Tajikistan After February 1990", in *State, Religion and Society in Central Asia*, Vitaly Naumkin, (ed.), (Reading: Ithaca, 1993), pp. 262-89.

Rubin, Barnett, "Tajikistan: From Soviet Republic to Russian-Uzbek Protectorate", in *Central Asia and the World: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan*, Michael Mandelbaum, (ed.), (NY: Council of Foreign Relations, 1994), pp. 207-24.



Rubin, Barnett, 'Russian Hegemony and State Breakdown in the Periphery: Causes and Consequences of the Civil War in Tajikistan', in Barnett R. Rubin and Jack Snyder, ed., *Post-Soviet Political Order: Conflict and State Building* (London: Routledge, 1998), chap. 7.

Tadjbakhsh, Shahrbanou, 'National Reconciliation the Imperfect Whim', *Central Asian Survey*, 15 (3/4), (1996), pp. 325-48.

Turajonzoda, Akbar, "Tajikistan - Politics, Religion, and Peace: A View from the Opposition", *Problems of Post-Communism* (July-August 1995), pp. 24-8.

### **Week Seven: 14 November 2000**

Lecture: Modern and traditional forms of politics in Central Asia

Seminar:

- a) To what extent is politics in Kazakhstan the product of struggles between tribes and clans?
- b) What role did regionalism play in the collapse of the state in Tajikistan?

**Issues:** The influence of traditional forms of politics - family, clan, tribe, and regionalism. Consequences - corruption, elites, nepotism, state collapse

#### **Required reading:**

Gleason, Gregory, "Fealty and Loyalty: Informal Authority Structures in Central Asia", *Soviet Studies*, 43 (4), (1991), pp. 613-28.

Melvin, Neil J., 'Patterns of Centre-Regional Relations in Central Asia: The Cases of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic and Uzbekistan' *Federal and Regional Studies* (2000: forthcoming).

Vaisman, Demian, "Regionalism and Clan Loyalty in the Political Life of Uzbekistan", in *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies*, Yaacov Ro'i, (ed.), (London: Frank Cass, 1995), pp. 105-22.

#### **Recommended reading:**

##### **Books:**

Rumer, Boris, *Soviet Central Asia: A Tragic Experiment* (Boston: Unwin Hyman Inc. 1989).

##### **Articles:**

\* Critchlow, James, "'Corruption', Nationalism, and the Native Elites in Soviet Central Asia", *The Journal of Communist Studies*, 4 (2) (June 1988), pp. 142-61.

Geiss, Paul Georg, 'Turkman Tribalism', *Central Asian Survey* vol. 18, no. 3 (Sept. 1999), pp. 347-58.

Olcott, Martha Brill, "Emerging Political Elites", in *The New Geopolitics of Central Asia and its Borderlands*, Ali Banuazizi and Myron Weiner, (eds.), (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994), pp. 44-67.

### **Kazakhstan:**

Akiner, Shirin, *The Formation of Kazakh Identity: From Tribe to Nation-State* (RIIA: 1995), pp. 8-17, 60-9 & 75-7.

Cummings, Sally, *Centre-Periphery Relations in Kazakhstan* (RIIA: April 2000).

Esenova, Saulesh, "'Tribalism' and identity in contemporary circumstances: the case of Kazakhstan", *Central Asian Survey*, 17 (3), (1998), pp. 443-62.

Schatz, Edward, 'The politics of multiple identities: Lineage and ethnicity in Kazakhstan', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 52, no. 3 (2000), pp. 489-506.

Sarsembayev, Azamat, 'Imagined Communities: Kazak nationalism and Kazakification in the 1990s', *Central Asian Survey*, vol. 18, no. 3 (Sept. 1999), pp. 319-46.

### **Tajikistan:**

Chvyr, Ludmilla, "Central Asia's Tajiks: Self-Identification and Ethnic Identity", in *State, Religion and Society in Central Asia* Vitaly Naumkin, (ed.), (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1993), pp. 245-61.

\* Gretskey, Sergei, 'Civil War in Tajikistan: Causes, Developments, and Prospects for Peace' in *Central Asia: Conflict, Resolution, and Change*, Roald Z. Sagdeev, and Susan Eisenhower, (eds.), (Chevy Chase, Maryland: CPSS Press, 1995), pp. 217-47.

\* Kudonazar, Davlat, 'The Conflict in Tajikistan: Questions of Regionalism,' in *Central Asia: Conflict, Resolution, and Change*, Roald Z. Sagdeev, and Susan Eisenhower, (eds.), (Chevy Chase, Maryland: CPSS Press, 1995), pp. 249-63.

\*\* Rubin, Barnett R., 'Russian hegemony and state breakdown in the periphery: Causes and consequences of the civil war in Tajikistan', in *Post-Soviet Politics Order: Conflict and State Building* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 128-61.

### **Ethnicity and Nationalism I:**

Lecture: The development of ethnicity, nations and nationalism in Central Asia

Seminar:

a) To what extent did ethnic nations provide the basis for the creation of separate republics in Central Asia?

b) Did Soviet nationality policies in Central Asia achieve their goals?

**Issues:** Sources of ethnic and national identity in Central Asia. Soviet attempts to create nations. Impact of Modernization. Language policy.

**Required reading:**

Fragner, Bert G., "The Nationalization of the Uzbeks and Tajiks", in *Muslim Communities Re-emerge: Historical Perspectives on Nationality, Politics, and Opposition in the Former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia*, Andreas Kappeler, Gerhard Simon, and Georg Brunner, (eds.), (Duke University Press, 1989), pp. 13-32.

Glenn, John, *The Soviet Legacy in Central Asia* (Macmillan: 1999), chap. 3 and 4.

Kaiser, Robert J., "Nations and Homelands in Soviet Central Asia", in *Geographical Perspectives on Soviet Central Asia*, Robert Lewis, ed. (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 279-312.

Sabol, Steven, "The Creation of Soviet Central Asia: the 1924 National Delimitation", *Central Asian Survey*, 14 (2), (1995), pp. 225-41.

Smith, Anthony, *National Identity* (Penguin, 1991), pp. 1-42.

Suny, Ronald Grigor, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford University Press, 1993), chap. 3, pp. 84-126.

**Recommended reading:**

**Books:**

Allworth, Edward, *The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia* (Praeger: 1973).

Bremmer, Ian and Ray Taras, eds., *New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations* (CUP: 1997). See chapters on Central Asia.

Crisp, Simon, "Census and Sociology: Evaluating the Language Situation in Soviet Central Asia", in *Cultural Change and Continuity in Central Asia*, Shirin Akiner, ed. (London: Kegan Paul International, 1991), pp. 84-123.

Clem, Ralph Scott, "The Impact of Demographic and Socio-economic Forces Upon the Nationality Question in Central Asia", in *The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia*, Edward Allworth, (ed.), (Praeger, 1972), pp. 35-44.

Khazanov, A. M., "Underdevelopment and Ethnic Relations in Central Asia", in *Central Asia in Historical Perspective*, Beatrice Manz, (ed.), (Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 144-63.

\* Lubin, Nancy, *Labour and Nationality in Soviet Central Asia: An Uneasy Compromise* (Macmillan, 1984), pp. 14-71 & 200-42.

Rakowska-Harmstone, T., *Russia and Nationalism in Central Asia: the Case of Tadzhikistan* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1970).

Rywkin, Michael, "The National-Religious Symbiosis", in *Moscow's Muslim Challenge: Soviet Central Asia* (M. E. Sharpe, 1990), pp. 84-91.

Smith, G., *The Nationalities Question in the Soviet Union* (2nd edition), (London: Longman, 1996), chapters on Central Asian states.

Vaidanyath, R., *The Formation of the Soviet Central Asian Republics (A Study in Soviet Nationalities Policy 1917-1936)*, (New Delhi, 1967).

### **Articles:**

\* Bulag, Uradyn Erden, "Dark Quadrangle in Central Asia: Empires, Ethnogenesis, Scholars, and Nation-states", *Central Asian Survey*, 13 (4), (1994), pp. 459-78.

McAuley, A., "Economic Development and Political Nationalism in Uzbekistan", *Central Asian Survey*, 5 (3/4), (1986), pp. 161-82.

\* Onaran, Yalman, "Economics and Nationalism: The Case of Muslim Central Asia", *Central Asian Survey*, 13 (4), (1994), pp. 491-505.

## **Week Nine: 28 November 2000**

### **Ethnicity and Nationalism II:**

Lecture: Independence and nationalism

Seminar:

Why has nationalism become a central element of the new political regimes of Central Asia?

- a) Kazakhstan
- b) Uzbekistan

**Issues:** Nationalism as a political resource for state-building and development. Counteracting Islam, regionalism, clan/tribal loyalties. Problems of non-ethnic frontiers and minorities. Nationalism and elite formation.

**Required reading:**

Breuilly, John, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 269-80.

Glenn, John, *The Soviet Legacy in Central Asia* (Macmillan: 1999), chap. 5.

Ro'i, Yaacov, "Islamic Influence on Nationalism in Soviet Central Asia", *Problems of Communism* (July-August 1990), pp. 49-64.

Smith, Graham, Vivien Law, Andrew Wilson, Annette Bohr, Edward Allworth, *Nation-building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identities* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), "The Central Asia States as Nationalising Regimes", pp. 139-64.

**Recommended reading:****Books:**

Carrere d'Encausse, H., *The End of the Soviet Empire: The Triumph of the Nations* (Basic Books: 1992), chap. 3.

Chinn, Jeff and Robert Kaiser, *Russians as the New Minority* (Westview Press, 1996), chaps 8 and 9, pp. 185-242.

Gitelman, Z., (ed.), *The Politics of Nationality and the Erosion of the USSR* (Macmillan, 1992).

Kolstoe, Paul, "Fright and flight: former Soviet Asia", and "The quest for Eurasia: Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan", chapters 8 & 9 in *Russians in the Former Soviet Republics*, Pal Kolstoe and Andrei Edemsky, (eds.), (Hurst & Co.: 1995), pp. 209-58.

\* Lubin, Nancy, "Islam and Ethnic Identity in Central Asia: A View from Below", in *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies*, Yaacov Ro'i, (ed.), (Frank Cass, 1995), pp. 53-70.

Naumkin, Vitalii Viacheslavovich, (ed.), *Central Asia and Transcaucasia: Ethnicity and Conflict* (Greenwood Press: 1994).

**Articles:**

Naby, Eden, "Ethnicity and Islam in Central Asia", *Central Asian Survey*, 12 (2), (1993), pp. 151-67.

Rywkin, Michael, "Post-USSR Political Developments in former Soviet Central Asia", *Nationalities Papers (Special Issue)*, 20 (2), (Fall 1992), pp. 97-103.

**Kazakhstan:**

\* Akiner, Shirin, *The Formation of Kazakh Identity: From Tribe to Nation-State* (RIIA: 1995).

Dave, Bhavna, 'National Revival in Kazakhstan: Language Shift and Identity Change', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 12 (1), (1996), pp. 51-72.

Janabel, Jiger, 'When National Ambition Conflicts with Reality: Studies on Kazakhstan's Ethnic Relations', *Central Asian Survey*, 15 (1), (March 1996), pp. 5-21.

Kendirbaeva, Gulnar, 'Migrations in Kazakhstan: Past and Present', *Nationalities Papers*, 25 (4), (1997), pp. 741-51.

Khazanov, Anatoly, "The Ethnic Problems of Contemporary Kazakhstan", *Central Asian Survey*, 14 (2), (1995), pp. 243-64.

\* Melvin, Neil, "The formation of a Russian diaspora identity in Kazakhstan", chapter 6 in *Russians Beyond Russia: The Politics of National Identity* (Pinter: 1995), pp. 100-23.

Olcott, Martha Brill, "Post-Soviet Kazakstan: The Demographics of Ethnic Politics", *Problems of Post-Communism* (March/April 1995), pp. 24-8.

Olcott, Martha Brill, *The Kazakhs* (Hoover Press, 2nd edition, 1995).

### **Uzbekistan:**

Akbarzadeh, Shahram, 'Nation-building in Uzbekistan', *Central Asian Survey*, 15 (1), (March 1996), pp. 23-32.

Allworth, Edward E., *The Modern Uzbeks: From the Fourteenth Century to the Present: a Cultural History* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Press, 1990).

Carlisle, Donald S., "Soviet Uzbekistan: State and Nation in Historical Perspective", *Central Asia in Historical Perspective*, Beatrice Manz, (ed.), (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1994), pp. 103-26.

Carlisle, Donald S., "Uzbekistan and the Uzbeks", *Problems of Communism* (September-October 1991), pp. 23-44.

Fane, Daria, 'Ethnicity and Regionalism in Uzbekistan', chapter 15 in L. Drobizheva et al. (eds.), *Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Soviet World*, (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1996/8).

Foltz, Richard, 'The Tajiks of Uzbekistan', *Central Asian Survey*, 15 (2), (1996), pp. 213-16.

\* Hanks, Reuel, "The Islamic Factor in Nationalism and Nation-Building in Uzbekistan: Causative Agent or Inhibitor?", *Nationalities Papers*, 22 (2), (Fall 1994), pp. 309-23.

Hanks, Reul R., 'A separate space?: Karakalpak nationalism and devolution in post-Soviet Uzbekistan', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 52, no. 5 (2000), pp. 939-53.

Horsman, Stuart, 'Uzbekistan's involvement in the Tajik Civil War 1992-97: domestic considerations', *Central Asian Survey*, 18 (1), (1999), pp. 37-48.

Kangas, Roger D., *Uzbekistan in the Twentieth Century: Political Development and the Evolution of Power* (St. Martin's Press, 1995). ON ORDER

Malikov, Mukhammed-Babur M., "Uzbekistan: A View from the Opposition", *Problems of Post-Communism* (March/April 1995), pp. 19-23.

\*\* Melvin, Neil J., *Uzbekistan: Transition to Authoritarianism on the Silk Road* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 2000), chaps. 1, 2 and Conclusion.

Rubin, Barnett et al, *Calming the Ferghana Valley* (New York: The Century Foundation Press, 1999).

\*\* Smith, Graham, Vivien Law, Andrew Wilson, Annette Bohr, Edward Allworth, *Nation-building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identities* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), "Language policy and ethnic relations in Uzbekistan", pp. 197-223.

### **Week Ten: 5 December 2000**

Lecture: The political economy of change in post-independence Central Asia

Seminar: Society and economy:

- a) Are socio-economic developments the greatest challenge to stability in Central Asia?
- b) Why have the states of Central Asia pursued different policies economic development?

**Issues**: Environment, Social (Demographic and Gender), Drugs, Economic (Marketization and Agriculture).

### **Required reading:**

Apostolou, Andrew, "The Problems of Creating Economies in Central Asia", in *From the Gulf to Central Asia: Players in the New Great Game*, A. Ehteshami, (ed.), (University of Exeter Press, 1994), pp. 58-73.

Fridman, Leonid, "Economic Crisis as a Factor of Building up Socio-political and Ethnonational Tensions in the Countries of Central Asia and Transcaucasia", in *Central Asia and Transcaucasia: Ethnicity and Conflict*, Vitaly V. Naumkin, (ed.), (Greenwood, 1994), pp. 31-68.

Gleason, Gregory, "The Political Economy of Dependency under Socialism: The Asian Republics in the USSR", *Studies in Comparative Communism*, 24 (4), (December 1991), pp. 335-53.

Kaser, Michael, 'Economic Transition in Six Central Asian Economies', *Central Asian Survey*, 16 (1), (March 1997), pp. 5-26.

### **Recommended reading:**

#### **Books:**

\* Alexandrov, Yuri G., "Central Asia: Specific Case of Economic Underdevelopment", in *State, Religion and Society in Central Asia*, Vitaly Naumkin, (ed.), (Ithaca, 1993), pp. 106-23.

Akiner, Shirin, *Political and Economic Trends in Central Asia* (I. B. Tauris, 1994).

Dienes, Leslie, *Soviet Asia, Economic Development and National Policy Choices* (London: Westview, 1987).

\* Islam, Shafiqul, "Capitalism on the Silk Road", in *Central Asia and the World: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan*, Michael Mandelbaum, (ed.), (Council of Foreign Relations, 1994), pp. 147-76.

\* Kaser, Michael, *The Central Asian Economies After Independence* (RIIA), (1992), pp. 1-67.

Polyakov, Sergei P., "Modern Soviet Central Asian Countryside: Traditional Forms of Property in a Quasi-Industrial System", in *State, Religion and Society in Central Asia*, Vitaly Naumkin, (ed.), (Ithaca, 1993), pp. 124-43.

Lubin, Nancy. *Labour and Nationality in Soviet Central Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1984).

\* McAuley, Alistair, "The Economies of Central Asia: The Socialist Legacy", in *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies*, Yaacov Ro'i, (ed.), (Frank Cass, 1995), pp. 255-68.

\*\* Pomfret, Richard, *The Economies of Central Asia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

Rumer, Boris, *Soviet Central Asia: A Tragic Experiment* (Unwin: 1989).

Rumer, Boris, *Central Asia in Transition: Dilemmas of Political and Economic Development* (N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1996).

Sacks, Michael Paul, "Roots of Diversity and Conflict: Ethnic and Gender Differences in the Workforce of the Former Soviet Republics of Soviet Central Asia", in *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies*, Yaacov Ro'i, ed. (Frank Cass, 1995), pp. 269-87.

\* Tolts, Mark, "Modernization of Demographic Behaviour in the Muslim Republics of the former USSR", in *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies*, Yaacov Ro'i, (ed.), (Frank Cass, 1995), pp. 231-53.



**Articles:**

Abazov, Rafis, 'Policy of economic transition in Kyrgyzstan', *Central Asian Survey*, vol. 18, no. 2 (June 1999), pp. 197-224.

Cavanaugh, Cassandra, "Uzbekistan's Long Road to the Market", *RFE/RL Research Report*, 1 (29) (17 July 1992), pp. 33-8.

\* Gleason, Gregory, "Central Asia: Land Reform and the Ethnic Factor", *RFE/RL Research Report*, 2 (3), (15 January 1993), pp. 28-33.

Haghighyehi, Mehrdad, 'Politics of Privatization in Kazakstan', *Central Asian Survey*, 16 (3), (September 1997), pp. 321-38.

McAuley, Alistair, "Economic Development and Political Nationalism in Uzbekistan", *Central Asian Survey*, 5 (3/4), (1986), pp. 161-82.

Martin, Keith, "Central Asia's Forgotten Tragedy", *RFE/RL Research Report*, 1 (37), (1992), pp. 35-48.

\*\* Sheehy, Ann, "Social and Economic Background to Recent Events in Ferghana Valley", *RFE/RL Research Report*, 1 (7) (July 7 1989), pp. 21-3.

**Week Eleven: 12 December 2000**

Lecture: Regimes, elites and political development.

Seminar: What are the sources of authoritarian politics in Central Asia?

- a) The Kyrgyz Republic
- b) Turkmenistan

**Issues**: Democracy in the context of religious, nationalist revival. Presidential Rule. Elections. Constitutions. Corruption and family/clan ties. Soviet political legacy.

**Required reading:**

Anderson, John, 'Constitutional Development in Central Asia', *Central Asian Survey*, 16 (3), (September 1997), pp. 301-20.

Anderson, John, 'Elections and Political Development in Central Asia' *Journal of Communist and Transition Politics*, 13 (4), (December 1997), pp. 28-53.

Chehabi, H. E. and Juan J. Linz, 'A Theory of Sultanism 1: A Type of Nondemocratic Rule' and 'A Theory of Sultanism 2: Genesis and Demise of Sultanistic Regimes' in H. E. Chehabi and Juan J. Linz, ed., *Sultanistic Regimes* (London: The John's Hopkin's University Press, 1998), pp. 3-25 and 26-48.

Kubicek, P., 'Authoritarianism in Central Asia: Curse or cure?' *Third World Quarterly*, 19 (1), (1998), pp.29-43.

<http://freedomhouse.org/nit98/> (Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan) and also <http://freedomhouse.org/worst98/> (Turkmenistan).

Linz, J., "The Perils of Presidentialism", also the short commentaries on his thesis *Journal of Democracy*, 1 (1990), pp. 202-35.

Matveeva, Anna 'Democratization, legitimacy and political change in Central Asia' *International Affairs*, 75 (1), (January 1999), pp. 23- 44.

Melvin, Neil, 'New Authoritarianisms in Central Asia: A Comparative Analysis of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic and Uzbekistan' forthcoming in Yaacov Ro'i, ed., *The New Eurasia* (2000).

### **Recommended reading:**

#### **Books:**

Bohr, Annette, *Uzbekistan: Politics and Foreign Policy* (RIIA, 1998), pp. 1-39. ON ORDER

\* Carlisle, Donald S., "Islam Karimov and Uzbekistan: Back to the Future?" in Timothy J. Colton and Robert C. Tucker, (eds.), *Patterns in Post-Soviet Leadership* (Westview Press, 1995), pp. 191-216.

\* Dawisha, Karen and Bruce Parrott, "The Southern Newly Independent States", in *Russia and the New States of Eurasia: The Politics of Upheaval*, Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, (eds.), (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 147-57.

\* Huntington, Samuel, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1991).

Lubin, Nancy, "Leadership in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan: The Views of the Led", in *Patterns in Post-Soviet Leadership*, Timothy J. Colton and Robert C. Tucker, (eds.), (Westview Press, 1995), pp. 217-34.

Lubin, Nancy, *Central Asians Take Stock: Reform, Corruption, and Identity* (United States Institute of Peace, February 1995).

\* M. Holt Ruffin and Daniel Waugh, *Civil Society in Central Asia* (Washington, DC: Center for Civil Society International, 1999), pp. 27-33, 57-70, 135-157.

\*\* Melvin, Neil J., *Uzbekistan: Transition to Authoritarianism on the Silk Road* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1999), chap. 2 and Conclusion.

\* Olcott, Martha Brill, "Nursultan Nazarbaev and the Balancing Act of State Building in Kazakhstan," in *Patterns in Post-Soviet Leadership*, Timothy J. Colton and Robert C. Tucker, (eds.), (Westview Press, 1995), pp. 169-90.

### Articles:

Bremmer, Ian and Cory Welt, 'Kazakhstan's Quandary', *Journal of Democracy*, 6 (3) (July 1995), pp. 139-54.

\* Bremmer, Ian and Cory Welt, 'The Trouble with Democracy in Kazakhstan', *Central Asian Survey*, 15 (2) (1996), pp. 179-99.

Brown, Bess, "The Presidential Election in Uzbekistan", *RFE/RL Research Report*, (24 January 1992), pp. 23-5.

Brown, Bess, "Tajik Civil War Prompts Crackdown in Uzbekistan", *RFE/RL Research Report*, 2 (11), (12 March 1993), pp. 1-6.

Brown, Bess, "Tajik Opposition to be Banned", *RFE/RL Research Report*, 2 (14), (2 April 1993), pp. 9-12.

Cavanaugh, Cassandra, "Crackdown on the Opposition in Uzbekistan", *RFE/RL Research Report*, 1 (31), (31 July 1992), pp. 20-4.

\* Cummings, Sally, "Politics in Kazakhstan: The Constitutional Crisis of March 1995" (Russian and CIS Programme, RIIA: August 1995).

Dave, Bhavna, "Cracks Emerge in Kazakhstan's Government Monopoly", "Uzbek Media Remain Restricted and Devoid of Criticism", "On the Front Lines in Tajikistan", "Backsliding in Kyrgyzstan", "Tragicomic Repression in Turkmenistan", *Transition* (6 October 1995), pp. 73-83.

Dave, Bhavna, "A New Parliament Consolidates Presidential Authority", *Transition* (22 March 1996), pp. 33-7.

\* Kangas, R. D., "Uzbekistan - Evolving Authoritarianism", *Current History*, 93 (582), (1994), pp. 178-82.

Rieff, David, 'From Khan to Tsar to Comrade to Khan', *Transitions*, 4 (1), (June 1997).

\* Saltmarshe, Douglas, 'Civil Society and Sustainable Development in Central Asia', *Central Asian Survey*, 15 (3/4), (1996), pp. 387-98.

\*\* Scott, M., "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination" *Comparative Political Studies* (26 July 1993).

*Transition* "Cracks Emerge in Kazakhstan's Government", 1 (18), (6 October 1995), pp. 73-83. Section on Media.

Tokgozoglou, Yalcin, "Uzbek Government Continues to Stifle Dissent", *RFE/RL Research Report*, 2 (39), (1 October 1993), pp. 10-15.

### **The Kyrgyz Republic:**

Anderson, John, 'Creating a framework for civil society in Kyrgyzstan', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 52, no. 1 (2000), pp. 77-93.

Anderson, John, *Kyrgyzstan : Central Asia's island of democracy?* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Press, 1999).

Brown, Bess, "Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan on the Road to Democracy", *RFE/RL Research Report*, Vol. 1, No. 48 (4 December 1992), pp. 20-2.

Hiro, Dilip, "Kyrgyzstan: A Democratic Niche, an Islamist Void", *Between Marx and Muhammad: the Changing Face of Central Asia* (Harper Collins: 1994), pp. 130-41.

Huskey, Eugene, "Kyrgyzstan: the politics of demographic and economic frustration", in *New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations*, Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, (eds.), (CUP, 1997), pp. 655-80.

\* Huskey, Eugene, "The Rise of Contested Politics in Central Asia in Kyrgyzstan, 1989-90", *Europe-Asia Studies*, 47 (5), (1995), pp. 813-33.

Imart, Guy, "Kirgizia-Kazakhstan: A Hinge or a Fault-Line?" *Problems of Communism*, (September-October 1990), pp. 1-13.

Pryde, I., "Kyrgyzstan - Secularism vs Islam", *World Today*, 48 (11), (1992), pp. 208-11.

### **Turkmenistan:**

Anderson, John, "Authoritarian Political Development in Central Asia: The Case of Turkmenistan", *Central Asian Survey*, 14 (4), (1995), pp. 509-27.

Hiro, Dilip, "Turkmenistan: Secular Autocracy Intact", *Between Marx and Muhammad: the Changing Face of Central Asia* (Harper Collins: 1994), pp. 142-52.

Nissman, David, "Turkmenistan: searching for a national identity", in *New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations*, Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, (eds.), (CUP, 1997), pp. 635-53.

Nissman, D., "Turkmenistan (Un)Transformed", *Current History*, 93 (582), (1994), pp. 267-98.

Panico, Christopher J., "Turkmenistan Unaffected by Winds of Democratic Change", *RFE/RL Research Report*, 2 (4) (22 January 1993), pp. 6-10.