CENTRAL ASIA UNDER RUSSIAN RULE: COURSE OUTLINE

Central Asia and Russia: Outline of Their Relations to the 18th C.

1. Early contacts with Turkic nomads:
   Pecheneg, Oghuz (Torki), Qipchaq (Polovtsy)

2. Early contacts with sedentary Turks:
   Khazar, Bulghar
   Semi-Legendary conversion narrative
   Role in trade and as intermediaries.

3. The Mongol Invasion and the “Tatar Yoke”

4. Disintegration of the Golden Horde into 4 khanates:
   Astrakhan, Kazan, Crimea, the Great Khanate (Noghay)

5. Political consolidation of Russia and Expansion to the Volga basin
   Rule of Ivan III (1462-1505) and Ivan IV “the Terrible” (r. 1533-84)

6. Russian Expansion eastward beyond the Urals and into Siberia
   Ermak (Yermak) and the defeat of the khanate of Sibir.

7. Early diplomacy with Bukhara and Khiva, 16th-18th C.:
   Matters of Trade and Freeing Russian Slaves

8. Russian Trade with Central Asia.
   Division of Russian Goods into General merchandize, Goods needing special authorization, Prohibited goods
   Russians allow only barter trade.
   8.2. Trade Routes.
   3 main routes from Volga, 1 main route from Siberia
Changes in the late 17th, early 18th c.

1. Early Russian Interests in Central Asia
   1.1. Until late 17th c. Russia’s immediate concerns in the European sphere.
   1.2. Diplomacy begins to turn into intelligence gathering.
   1.3. Khivan request to build forts in Manghishlaq.

2. Route to Central Asia begins in Siberia.
   2.2. Russian Expansion southwards follows needs of settlements in W. Siberia.
   2.3. Emergence of two Siberian Centers: Tobolsk and Tomsk and peasant migration southwards. Changes in Siberian Economy.
   2.4. First encounters with the nomads: Qazaqs, Bashkirs, Qalmuqs.
   2.5. Lines of fortresses on the Ishim.

3. Qazaq – Russian relations to the 18th c.
   3.1. Steppes politically unstable.
   3.2. Qazaq-Russian Relations under Khan Tauke.

4. Changes under Peter the Great (r. 1690-1725)
   4.1. Peter’s policy of modernization and emphasis on maritime trade.
   4.2. Correspondence with Khiva.
   4.3. Rumors on India route and gold deposits.
   4.4. Failed Bekovich-Cherkasskii expedition to Khiva.
   4.5. Failed expedition of Ivan Bukhhdoltz. Omsk founded.
   4.6. Russians fortify hold on the steppes: Foundation of Semipalatinsk and Ust-Kamenogorsk, and the Irtysh line of fortifications.
Qazaq – Russian Relations, 18\textsuperscript{th} - 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries

1. The Qazaqs between Junghars, Qalmuqs and Bashkirs.
   1.1. Great Calamity of the Qazaqs (1723).
   1.2. Qazaq polity fragmented and threatened.

2. Qazaq-Russian Negotiations during Abu’l-Khayr Khan’s Rule (1720s – 1740s).
   2.1. Tevkelev’s mission (1731-32).
   2.2. Qazaq-Russian Agreements.
   2.3. Kirillov and the Orenburg Expedition.

3. Russian Policy under Catherine II (r. 1762-1796).
   3.1. Attempts to influence Qazaq elite.
   3.2. Rift among Chinggisids and rest of Qazaq society.
   3.3. Continued Russian expansion (Cossack settlements) & fortifications.

4. Qazaq rebellions and their consequences.
   4.1. Alleged Qazaq involvement in Pugachev rebellion (1773-75).
   4.2. Rebellions of the 1780s.
   4.3. Abolition of khans in the Junior Horde.
   4.4. Restoration of Khans following the French Revolution.

5. “Jut” Natural Disaster in the Steppes.


7. Increased Russian Involvement and Pressure on the Qazaqs.
   7.1. “Statute on Siberian Kirghiz” (1822)
   7.2. “Statute on Orenburg Kirghiz” (1824)

8. The Kenesary Rebellion (1837-47); Effective Russian Rule over the Steppes.
The Russian Conquest of the Central Asian Khanates

1. Khivan – Russian Relations in the 1st half of 19th c.
   1.1. Negative perception of Khiva in Russia.
   1.2. Muraviev’s mission to Khiva (1819-20).
   1.3. Khivan-Qazaq relations.
   1.4. Arrest of Khivan Merchants in Russia (1836).
   1.5. Perovskii’s Expedition (1839).

2. Continued Russian Expansion towards the Khanate of Qoqand.
   2.1. The Emerging Khanate of Qoqand.
   2.2. Russian Colonization of Semireche (1840s).
   2.3. First Confrontations with Qoqand and the Establishment of the Russian Syr-Darya Fortification Line (1850s).

3. The Economic Motive for Expansion.
   3.1. Serfdom limits Russian industrial development and Russian markets.
   3.2. Russia unable to compete with European markets, Central Asia becomes the obvious choice.
   3.3. Russia needs a strong foothold in Central Asia before the British arrive.
   3.4. Increasing demand for cotton since 1842 (British lift ban on export of textile machinery). Russian textile industry grows fast.
   3.5. Less trade with China because of the Opium wars that opened Chinese ports for European ships.
   3.6. Civil War in America compels Russia to switch to Central Asian cotton.
   3.7. Desire to reverse the passive trade balance with Central Asia.

4. Internal Opposition in Russia vs. “economic expansion.”
   4.1. Poor roads in Central Asia.
4.2. “Barbaric” administration in Central Asia.

4.3. Local Central Asian population has little money.

4.4. Suggestions to increase trade with China.

5. Counter-arguments to the Economic Motive.

5.1. Until 1861 (abolition of serfdom in Russia) Russian industrialists and merchants have very limited political influence.

5.2. Stress on fear from British competition exaggerated.

5.3. Russian authorities considered trade as the means to achieve a political goal, not as the goal itself.

5.4. Expansion and conquest dictated by global interests, not by the economy: Russian Conquest in the “Great Game” Context.


6.3. Russian decision about conquest delayed (Crimean War, Reforms in Russia, Polish Rebellion, War in the Caucasus, etc.).

7. Actual Conquest by the Generals in the Field.

7.1. Course of the Conquest in Qoqand

7.2. Course of the Conflict with Bukhara.

7.3. The Campaign against Khiva.

7.4. The Conquest of Turkmenia and Massacres of the Turkmens.

7.5. Conflicts with the Afghans.

7.6. The Conquest of the Pamirs.
Russian Colonial Rule in Turkestan

1. Military and civil administration until 1887
   1.1. *Voenno-narodnoe upravlenie* (“military-popular administration”).
   1.2. Terms: *krai*, *oblast*, *uyezd*, *volost*, *qishlaq*.
   1.3. The “human factor” in the 1870s & 80s.
   1.4. The new system of elections.
   1.5. Control over irrigation.

2. Changes in local economy.
   2.1. Land Tenure and Taxation.
   2.2. 1886 Statute for Administration in Turkestan.
   2.3. Development of market economy.
   2.4. Railroad and industry.
   2.5. Development of Central Asian cities.

3. Russian colonization and its consequences
   3.1. Education.
   3.2. Jadidism.
The Khanates of Bukhara & Khiva under Russian protectorate

1. The 1868 and 1873 Peace Treaties and their implementation.

Economic development and modernization under Russian Rule

1. “Modernization” and its effect
   1.1. Modernization theory, its uses and misuses
   1.2. Cultural aspects of education, Press, print, translations from Russian literature, emergence of bookshops etc.
   1.3. Jadids as agents of modernization

National Movements and Uprisings in Central Asia

1. No anti-Russian movement in Central Asia for a long time.
   1.1. Sporadic revolts of the mid-1880s.
   1.2. 1892 Cholera riot in Tashkent

2. 1898 Andijan rebellion and Russian contradictory measures.
   2.1. Tightened administration
   2.2. Powering Russian garrisons
   2.3. Arming Russian settlers
   2.4. The Impact on Islam

3. Russia’s defeat to Japan and its impact on Central Asian resistance and national consciousness.
   3.1. Growth of Central Asian resentment
   3.2. Increased Russian colonization
4. 1905 Revolution

4.1. Activity of revolutionary groups in Central Asia before 1905

4.2. Revolutionary events in Central Asia with little Central Asian involvement

4.3. Increased feeling of that the Russian government was weakening.

4.4. New political conditions in Russia: parliaments; general liberalization of life.

4.5. Portrayal of the events of the revolution in Soviet literature

5. Consequences of the Revolution:

5.1. Disturbances in the countryside, esp. Ferghana.

5.2. Participation of Central Asians in the parliament(s)

5.3. The Press Momentum; emergence of press in local languages

5.4. Muslim and “National” Organizations in Russia

5.5. Central Asian “indifference” to the revolution?

5.6. Jadid activities in Bukhara & Bukharan Reaction


6.1. Peasant riots in European Russia

6.2. Events in Turkey and Iran

7. World War I and its effects on Central Asia:

7.1. Deteriorating economic conditions, raised taxes, requisitions of food and animals, natural disasters.

7.2. Weakening position of Russians

7.3. The 1916 Decree (mobilization of the local population) and its consequences
1917 Revolutions and Civil War in Central Asia


2. Emergence of Institutions and the duality of power structure.
   2.1. Institutions affiliated with the provisional government
   2.2. The Soviets

3. Attitude of the Provisional Government towards the Nationalities question.

4. The Muslims’ positions towards the Nationalities question.
   4.1. The Muslim assembly in April and its positions on Russian colonization and return of confiscated Central Asian lands.
   4.2. The May Pan-Russian Muslim Congress: “Unitarianists” vs. “Federalists.”
   4.4. Tashkent Municipal Elections: Rift between the Jadids and the ulamma.

5. Separate Organizations of Qazaqs: The Alash Orda and the Pan-Qazaq Congress.


7. Split between Russians and Central Asians deepening.

8. The October Revolution: Congress of Soviets in Tashkent proclaimed Soviet power in Turkestan.
   8.2. Muslim Reaction in Qoqand: The Turkestan autonomous region.
   8.3. Tashkent Soviet disconnected from European Russia.
   8.4 The Fall of Qoqand and the beginning of the Basmach.
The Civil War: Bukhara and Khiva

1. Attention turned to Bukhara and Khiva.
   1.1. The Kolesov – Khojaev Alliance.
   1.2. The Failed Military Conquest of Bukhara.

2. The Amir’s Policy and Conditions in Bukhara in 1919.
   2.1. Bukhara: Neutral, Independent, allied with outside forces?
   2.2. Worsening Economic conditions in the khanate.

   3.1. Political conditions in Khiva under Junayd’s power.
   3.2. The Soviet position.
   3.3. The Khivan Invasion and Defeat.
   3.4. Establishment of the Khorezmian Peoples Soviet Republic.

4. Russian advance and conquest of Bukhara.
   4.2. Russian Decision to Attack.
   4.3. Young Bukharans and the Bukharan Communist Party reluctantly merge.
   4.4. Russian conquest and Establishment of the Bukharan Peoples Soviet Republic.

National Delimitation” of 1924 and the developments of the 1920s

1. The purges of 1921-23

2. Organization of the Central Asian Economic Council and the attempts at political and economic unification

3. Creation of a Turkmen region (1921)
4. Creation of a Kirgiz region (1922)

5. The Situation in Bukhara

6. Vote (1924) on the establishment of two socialist republics: Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, and the question of boundaries.

7. Vote (1924) on the establishment of two autonomous republics: Tajikistan and Kazakhstan and the question of boundaries.

8. Creation of two autonomous regions: the Qara Qirkhiz (later the Kirgiz Autonomous Oblast, and in 1926 the Kirgiz autonomous republic), and the Karaqalpaq Autonomous oblast (since 1932 the Karakalpaq Soviet Socialist Republic)

9. The question of alphabet and script

10. Measures against Islam

11. Resettlement of nomads, and continued influx of Russian and Ukrainian farmers.

12. The Opposition and its fate.

Modern Historiography of Central Asia under Russian Rule