

Russia in Central Asia: Immigration, Self-Determination, and the Impacts of Soviet Rule

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Central Asia's cities share a number of common traits: dilapidated *Khrushchevkas*, a type of 1950s-style apartment block, Cyrillic signs, and empty streets. During centuries of Russian rule, Central Asia has transformed from a nomadic, religious region to five modern nation-states. For this year's topic, "Turning Points in History," I focus on the transformation of this region brought about by Russian and specifically Soviet rule.

When conducting research on this topic, I discovered the reason that Central Asia's similarity in appearance to Russian cities was due to the impacts of Soviet policies. Cyrillic signs are a product of the USSR's imposition of the Russian language, while *Khrushchevkas* were built as part of an urbanization campaign under Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev. I wondered: why did the Soviets pursue the policies that they did? Were they successful in implementing their goals? How did locals respond to the USSR's policies, and how did their reaction change Soviet policy? Ultimately, I came to the conclusion that Russian, and, more specifically, Soviet rule over Central Asia was a turning point in the region's history because it permanently altered the region's politics, language, and demographics.

I decided to write an essay because I felt that it would give me an opportunity to explore the process by which Central Asia was transformed. I conducted research for this paper using a variety of primary and secondary sources. I began my research by reading several books and dissertations by well-known scholars to develop a rudimentary outline for my essay. An important source was the CIA's *Freedom of Information Act Reading Room*, which contained previously classified English sources about Central Asia. Heavy censorship by the USSR resulted in few memoirs about the region from being published and few primary sources being available. in Russian (a language I do not speak.) Thus, an English collection of primary sources was incredibly helpful. I also used a variety of secondary sources from scholars of Central Asia.

Finally, I used contemporary articles from Central Asian and Russian newspapers to learn more about the modern implications of Russian rule.

Feedback from judges in the State round was extremely helpful, particularly for suggesting a clearer separation of Russian and Soviet impacts as well as a further analysis of the significance of Soviet rule. I've implemented changes on those suggestions.

The theme of a “turning point” is linked with every part of Soviet rule over Central Asia. The contradiction between the desire of ethnic Russian Soviets to transform Central Asia and local desires for autonomy shaped both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. Since 1991, Central Asia has been trying to move beyond Soviet rule and is looking out to the rest of the world. While some states have attempted to challenge Russian dominance (through actions like language reform), progress is slow and difficult. Central Asia's experience shows the extent to which one country can influence others and how that influence can linger for many, many years.

Essay

In his travelog *Fallen Satellites: A Central Asian Journey*, Chinese author Liu Zichao describes a conversation in Russian with an Uzbek woman who lived near the border of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.¹ The woman lamented that the imposition of border controls after the fall of the Soviet Union took away her ability to visit the hills of Kyrgyzstan, where her family once picnicked. Liu's interaction with this woman illustrated how the past and present of Central Asia— Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan (see Map 1 below)—have been shaped by Russia over the past century, whether in the form of the region's borders or its languages. This paper will argue that the Soviet Union's ethnic policies in Central Asia were a turning point in the region's history because they transformed the countries' political systems, economies, languages, and demographics.

From Imperial Conquest to Soviet Rule

Central Asia was primarily ruled by foreign powers over the past two millennia. Between the first century BCE and the seventh century CE, the region came under the sway of China, as Central Asia was a critical part of trade routes that connected ancient Chinese dynasties to Europe. The people of this region were divided into nomads in the north and tribal clans in the mountainous south.² During the eighth century, Muslims from the Middle East conquered the

¹ Liu Zichao 刘子超, *Shiluo de weixing shenru Zhongya dalu de lucheng* 失落的卫星：深入中亚大陆的旅程 [Among the Stans: A Central Asian Journey], (Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 2021)

² Aziza Khasanovna Aripova, "Ancient Uzbek Tribes And Clans Inhabiting In Central Asia," *The American Journal of Social Science and Education Innovations* 2, no. 09 (September 29, 2020): 388, <https://doi.org/10.37547/tajssei/Volume02Issue09-59>.

region and converted its people to Islam.³ Beginning in 1552, Imperial Russia expanded into Central Asia, and, by the late nineteenth century, ruled over all of Central Asia.

Russian rule over Central Asia shifted over time from passive to highly interventionist. Imperial Russia sought to control, rather than transform Central Asia, viewing the region as a buffer against other powers.⁴ Thus, they allowed the locals to preserve their Muslim languages, customs, and political structures. However, the Russian Empire created a hierarchy in Central Asia with ethnic Russians dominating locals.⁵ The situation changed following the 1917 Revolution and the ascension of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

The CPSU's policies in Central Asia were highly interventionist and motivated by Marxist ideology, which held that nations and national identity hindered the success of the communist revolution.⁶ Although the CPSU sought absolute equality, the party was primarily constituted by ethnic Russians. As a result, the CPSU often ignored longstanding tensions between Russians and locals in Central Asia.⁷ The CPSU elevated "advanced" Russian culture, which set the stage for a clash between the Communist Party and locals.⁸ Because Russian and "communist" culture were equivalent, locals often viewed the actions of the CPSU as little different from Imperial

³ Mark Dickens, "Soviet Language Policy in Central Asia," 1988, 2.

⁴ Catherine II, "Catherine II's Decree to the Governor-General of Simbirsk and Ufa About the Maintenance of Order on the Kazakh Steppe, the Safety of Borders, the Khan's Powers, the Appointment of Mullahs to Kazakh Clans, And So On, 1784," in *Modern Central Asia: A Primary Source Reader*, by Yuriy Malikov, Contemporary Central Asia (Lanham, Md.) (1784; repr., Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2020), 45.

⁵ Dickens, 3.

⁶ Arne Haugen, "The Establishment of National Republics in Soviet Central Asia," *International Library of Central Asian Studies* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 234.

⁷ Steven Sabol, "The Creation of Soviet Central Asia: The 1924 National Delimitation," *Society for Central Asian Studies*, Central Asian Survey, 14, no. 2 (1995): 227.

⁸ Haugen, 9.

Russian colonization. Early ethnic tensions caused a series of revolts, all of which were suppressed by the CPSU.⁹

In response to the revolts, the CPSU implemented a “National Delimitation” that aimed to decrease local resistance to Russian rule in 1924.¹⁰ The CPSU split Central Asia into Soviet Socialist Republics (SSRs) that would, in theory, serve as homelands for Central Asia’s various ethnic groups.¹¹ Though the SSRs provided nominal autonomy, their actual goal was to facilitate Russian hegemony in the region¹² by putting ethnic Central Asians in government positions.¹³ Since Central Asian officials were subordinate to Moscow, the SSRs gained little actual autonomy.¹⁴ Even so, a combination of brutal repression and marginally greater equality for local people was enough to break resistance to Soviet rule and set the stage for the transformation of Central Asia.¹⁵

The Economic and Political Impacts of Soviet Policy

Soviet economic policies in Central Asia reshaped the region by encouraging mass migration of ethnic Russians and by changing the structure of the region’s economies.¹⁶ In 1928, the CPSU launched an industrialization drive aimed at achieving rapid development with a Central Asian

⁹ Sabol, “The Creation of Soviet Central Asia: The 1924 National Delimitation,” 230.

¹⁰ Sabol, 1.

¹¹ Soviet Socialist Republics.

¹² Sabol, 237.

¹³ “Translation of an Article Regarding the Delimitation of Central Asia into the National Republics (Newspaper Ak-Zhol June 23, 1924, Number 450),” in *Modern Central Asia: A Primary Source Reader*, by Yuriy Malikov, Contemporary Central Asia (Lanham, Md.) (1924; repr., Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2020), 236.

¹⁴ Sabol, “The Creation of Soviet Central Asia: The 1924 National Delimitation,” 236; Adeeb Khalid, “Backwardness and the Quest for Civilization: Early Soviet Central Asia in Comparative Perspective” (Slavic Review, 2006).

¹⁵ Sabol, “The Creation of Soviet Central Asia: The 1924 National Delimitation,” 236.

¹⁶ Blitstein, 5.

workforce.¹⁷ However, the Central Asian SSRs consisted of many low-skilled laborers and a few highly-educated elites. Central Asians lacked the skills necessary to staff lucrative mid-level positions, such as skilled factory workers and technicians. One scholar termed the phenomenon as a “hole in the middle” for Central Asia’s workforce, which prevented economic growth without the importation of ethnic Russians.¹⁸

When the USSR’s industrial base relocated to Central Asia during WWII as a result of the German invasion, the lack of skilled native manpower required that the CPSU import ethnic Russian workers. As a result, locals could not take advantage of the new employment opportunities created by industrialization. In the Uzbek SSR, for example, native workers in industrial enterprises *decreased* from 17.1 percent in 1940 to 12.9 after the war, as skilled ethnic Russians were introduced Uzbek factories. In the Kyrgyz SSR, 13.2 percent of officials and specialists employed by the government were locals. The same figure for skilled workers was less than 1 percent.¹⁹

The CPSU also altered the structure of Central Asia’s economies, viewing them as the producers of raw materials for the rest of the USSR. After the collectivization of land by the CPSU, central planners in Moscow laid out plans of production for each republic.²⁰ For example, Uzbek crops were changed from wheat to cotton, while traditionally pastoral Kazakhs were required to grow wheat, leading to local opposition in both republics.²¹ The difficulty for locals to make

¹⁷ Boris Z Rumer, "Soviet Central Asia: 'A Tragic Experiment,'" 1st ed. (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 53.

¹⁸ Blitstein, 221.

¹⁹ The information in this paragraph is drawn from Blitstein, 222–26.

²⁰ Rumer, *Soviet Central Asia: "A Tragic Experiment"*, 53.

²¹ Francis Newton, "Soviet Central Asia: Economic Progress and Problems," *Middle Eastern Studies* 12, no. 3 (1976): 88.

production transitions and food shortages caused by inadequate planning during industrialization in the Uzbek SSR led to protests in 1930.²² Despite resistance, Soviet plans were carried through and local economies were transformed.²³ Beginning in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev sought to solve food shortages in Central Asia by expanding the agricultural output of the region through the “Virgin Lands Campaign,” which was designed to fully utilize available agricultural space in Central Asia.²⁴

The USSR’s economic policies in Central Asia had two long-lasting effects on the region. First, the economic and agricultural planning by Moscow—which saw Central Asia as part of a larger USSR economy—led to the region’s economies being tightly connected to Russia, due to the historical role of Central Asia to provide raw materials to Russia.²⁵ Second, Soviet policies resulted in the mass immigration of ethnic Russians into Central Asia.²⁶ By 1970, ethnic Russians comprised 42.8 percent of the population of the Kazakh SSR alone.²⁷ Russian immigrants who emigrated to Central Asia did not assimilate to local cultures due to the high social position of ethnic Russians. Thus, they often neglected to learn local languages and cultures, even actively opposing and looking down upon locals.²⁸ A large, unassimilated Russian

²² “Politico-Economic Conditions of Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (Top Secret),” in *Modern Central Asia: A Primary Source Reader*, by Yuriy Malikov, Contemporary Central Asia (Lanham, Md.) (1930; repr., Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2020), 256.

²³ G. E. Wheeler, “Soviet Policy in Central Asia,” *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 31, no. 3 (1955): 320, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2607258>.

²⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, “Outlook for Agricultural Production in the Sino-Soviet Bloc,” July 15, 1955, 9, https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000497771.pdf.

²⁵ Oleksandr Lytvynenko, “Historical Politics as a Tool of the Ideological Justification of Russian Neo-Imperialism,” *Journal of Geography, Politics and Society* 12, no. S1 (2022): 27.

²⁶ Zharmukhamed Zardykan, “Russians in Kazakhstan and Demographic Change: Imperial Legacy and the Kazakh Way of Nation Building,” *Asian Ethnicity* 5, no. 1 (February 2004): 61–79, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1463136032000168907>.

²⁷ “All-Union population census of 1970. National composition of the population by republics of the USSR,” Census Reports, Demoscope Weekly, accessed February 18, 2024, https://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/sng_nac_70.php.

²⁸ Rumer, *Soviet Central Asia: “A Tragic Experiment”*, 104.

population exists in Central Asia to this day²⁹ and continues to create challenges for governments attempting to navigate a post-Soviet era.

The Linguistic Impacts of Soviet Policy

The CPSU's language policy was manifested primarily upon two forms— first, Moscow implemented Russian as the language for “state consolidation” in a linguistically diverse country.³⁰ Furthermore, the USSR sought to increase literacy throughout the country to end “backwardness” and move the country further toward a socialist future.³¹

The Russian language came to dominate the linguistic landscape of the region, causing tensions with locals. The elevated status of Russian caused a mixed response from Central Asians: while certain individuals were successful in the Russian-dominated economy, many felt resentment toward the policy, believing that the forced central status of the language was an indicator of Russian chauvinism.³² The unwillingness of Russian settlers to learn Central Asian languages also hindered the linguistic goals of the Soviet Union.³³

The CPSU's quest to “erase language differences” led to substantial changes in Central Asian linguistics. In 1940, alphabets and words were modified from traditional Arab scripts to Cyrillic, a Russian script.³⁴ The Cyrillization of Central Asian languages expedited the instruction of

²⁹ Michele E. Commercio, “The ‘Pugachev Rebellion’ in the Context of Post-Soviet Kazakh Nationalization*,” *Nationalities Papers* 32, no. 1 (2004): 88–89, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0090599042000186205>.

³⁰ Aneta Pavlenko, “Russian as a Lingua Franca,” *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 43 (October 25, 2006): 80.

³¹ Dickens, 9.

³² Blitstein, 124.

³³ Blitstein, 230.

³⁴ Dickens, 11.

Russian and cut original ties between local languages and Arabic ones. Cyrilization was implemented through the 1930s despite limited resistance from the Muslim clergy, who used Arabic script for religious purposes.³⁵

Another goal of Soviet language policy was to increase literacy in Central Asia. The 1897 Census in the Russian Empire demonstrated strikingly low rates of literacy in Central Asia, with the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Tajiks, Turkmen, and Uzbek ethnicities registering literacy rates of 1.0, 0.6, 3.9, 0.7, and 1.9 percent respectively.³⁶ The Soviets believed that linguistic education was necessary not only to advance the socialist revolution but also to spread ideological propaganda.³⁷ As a result, the USSR reformed schools and created new educational facilities. In addition, traditional Islamic education was replaced with a state-sponsored curriculum.³⁸ In addition, mass literacy campaigns were conducted in Russian or in newly standardized local languages. By 1939, literacy rates were 83.6 percent in the Kazakh SSR, 79.8 in the Kyrgyz SSR, 62.8 in the Tajik SSR, 77.7 in the Turkmen SSR, and 78.7 in the Uzbek SSR.³⁹

The widespread implementation of Russian fundamentally changed the usage of Central Asian languages. The reason author Liu Zichao was able to speak to a woman in Uzbekistan in Russian was due to the imposition of Russian during Soviet rule. As of 2024, all former Central Asian SSRs use Russian as a state language. In Kazakhstan, which utilizes both Kazakh and Russian,

³⁵ Dickens, 13.

³⁶ Dickens, 20.

³⁷ Naureen Durrani and Hélène Thibault, eds., *The Political Economy of Education in Central Asia: Evidence from the Field*, *The Steppe and Beyond: Studies on Central Asia* (Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2023), 26, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-8517-3>.

³⁸ "Report of the Extraordinary Commission of the Central Executive Committee of People's Education of Turkestan Republic, December 4, 1919," in *Modern Central Asia: A Primary Source Reader*, by Yuriy Malikov, *Contemporary Central Asia* (Lanham, Md.) (1919; repr., Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2020), 190.

³⁹ Dickens, 20.

94.4 percent of the population is fluent in Russian while 83.1 percent are fluent in Kazakh.⁴⁰ The situation is similar in Kyrgyzstan.⁴¹ Tajikistan, too, holds Russian as “the language of communication between the nationalities.”⁴²

A Case Study of Russian and Soviet Influence in Kazakhstan (1924-1991)

Kazakhstan’s modern history exemplifies the USSR’s influence in Central Asia. Through seven decades of Soviet rule, Kazakhstan was transformed from a nomadic society to an agricultural one. The CPSU’s policies were often implemented through force, and any form of local resistance (whether overt or covert) was ineffective in stopping the implementation of decrees.

Russia’s influence in Kazakhstan began when Imperial Russia took control of the area, but allowed people to maintain their way of life.⁴³ Imperial Russia ruled Kazakhstan through local elites, as well as Muslims Tatars from other parts of its empire.⁴⁴ In 1924, Kazakhstan was delimited as one of five Central Asian SSRs.⁴⁵

The transformation of Kazakhstan from a nomadic pastoral society to a settled agricultural and industrial one was the first major Soviet policy. According to the 1926 Census, only 2.1 percent

⁴⁰ “Kazakhstan,” in *The World Factbook* (Central Intelligence Agency, February 13, 2024), <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/kazakhstan/>.

⁴¹ “Kyrgyzstan’s Constitution of 2010 with Amendments through 2016” (Kyrgyzstan, 2016).

⁴² Patricie H. Ward, trans., “Tajikistan 1994 (Rev. 2016) Constitution - Constitute,” accessed February 21, 2024, https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Tajikistan_2016.

⁴³ Gulmira Yelubayeva Otepova, “The History of Kazakhstan in the Legislative Sources of the Russian Empire in the 18th-the Early 20th Century,” *Life Science Journal* 11, no. 9 (2014): 97.

⁴⁴ Catherine II, “Catherine II’s Decree to the Governor-General of Simbirsk and Ufa About the Maintenance of Order on the Kazakh Steppe, the Safety of Borders, the Khan’s Powers, the Appointment of Mullahs to Kazakh Clans, And So On, 1784,” 45; Otepova, “The History of Kazakhstan in the Legislative Sources of the Russian Empire in the 18th-the Early 20th Century,” 98.

⁴⁵ Mirzohid Rahimov and Galina Urazaeva, *Central Asian Nations and Border Issues*, Central Asian Series / Conflict Studies Research Centre 05/10 (Camberley, Surrey: Conflict Studies Research Centre, 2005), 17.

of Kazakhs lived in urban areas.⁴⁶ In 1925, Moscow decreed that privately owned land be redistributed to all Kazakhs, which created incentives for a small number of pastoralists to settle down.⁴⁷ In 1929, the CPSU decided to collectivize all land and required all pastoralists to sedentarize. Kazakh pastoralists and landowners fiercely resisted collectivization, but to no avail.⁴⁸ A combination of inefficiency, lack of knowledge and incentives, and government requisition of crops led to a famine in 1930, which resulted in 1.03 million Kazakhs fleeing the country (mostly to other SSRs or China), 41.2 percent of the total population.⁴⁹ Mukhamet Shaiakhmetov, a survivor of the Kazakh famine, noted the ineffective methods that the USSR government implemented to decrease the impacts of the famine.⁵⁰ Most ethnic Kazakhs never returned, causing a “curious” phenomenon where Kazakhs became a minority in their titular SSR, as ethnic Russians were brought in to fill their positions.⁵¹

In the years following WWII, Moscow declared a “Virgin Lands Campaign” to increase agricultural output in Kazakhstan to resolve food shortages and match the agricultural production of the US. However, as a result, two million ethnic Russians immigrated to Kazakstan,⁵² further

⁴⁶ Ubiria Grigol, *Soviet Nation Building in Central Asia: The Creation of the Kazakh and Uzbek Nations*, 1st ed., Central Asian Studies Series 30 (New York: Routledge, 2016), 200.

⁴⁷ Rahimov, 201.

⁴⁸ “Kazakhstan Profile - Timeline,” *BBC News*, April 9, 2019, sec. Asia, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15483497>.

⁴⁹ Grigol, 202.

⁵⁰ Mukhamet Shaiakhmetov, *The Silent Steppe: The Memoir of a Kazakh Nomad Under Stalin*, trans. Jan Butler (New York: The Rookery Press, Tracy Carns Ltd., 2006), 138, <https://archive.org/details/silentsteppememo00mukh/page/126/mode/1up?view=theater>.

⁵¹ Sarah Cameron, *The Hungry Steppe: Famine, Violence, and the Making of Soviet Kazakhstan*, 1st ed. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2018), 2.

⁵² “Kazakhstan Profile - Timeline,” *BBC News*, April 9, 2019, sec. Asia, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15483497>.

skewing the demographic makeup of the country.⁵³ Ethnic Russians—unlike ethnic Kazakhs—met and even exceeded their quotas for grain production.⁵⁴

The Kazakh demographic situation has significantly changed as a result of Soviet rule. In the 1897 Census, Russians were 10.95 percent of Kazakhstan's population.⁵⁵ Ethnic proportions of Russian, nonetheless, would increase through three waves: (1) the introduction Russians to staff factories before and during WWII,⁵⁶ (2) the relocation of refugees from the German invasion during WWII,⁵⁷ and (3) those who came with the "Virgin Lands Campaign" in the 1950s.⁵⁸ By 1959, the Russian to Kazakh proportion was 47.2 percent to 30 percent.⁵⁹ By the dissolution of the USSR, the figures were 37.8 percent to 39.7 percent.⁶⁰

Linguistic changes were also imposed on Kazakhstan.⁶¹ Between the 1920s and 1940s, the Kazakh language changed scripts twice, first from Arabic to Latin, and then from Latin to Russian Cyrillic.⁶² At the same time, a campaign of literacy and education was introduced, as well as the imposition of bilingualism.⁶³ Ultimately, the CPSU's education and literacy program increased ethnic Kazakh literacy from 25.0 percent in 1926 to 97.0 percent in 1959.⁶⁴ Although

⁵³ Alexander V Prishchepov et al., "Sixty Years of the Virgin Lands Campaign in Russia and Kazakhstan: An Assessment from an Economic, Ecological and Political Perspective," n.d., 42.

⁵⁴ "Agricultural Situation in Northeast Kazakhstan" (Central Intelligence Agency, May 4, 1955), Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room, <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79T01049A001200070005-6.pdf>.

⁵⁵ Fariza A Tolesh, "The Population History of Kazakhstan," April 2012, 3.

⁵⁶ Blitstein, *Stalin's Nations: Soviet Nationality Policy between Planning and Primordialism, 1936-1953*, 221.

⁵⁷ Grigol, 208.

⁵⁸ Prishchepov et al., 42.

⁵⁹ Zardykhon, "Russians in Kazakhstan and Demographic Change," 65.

⁶⁰ "All-Union Population Census of 1989. National Composition of the Population by Republics of the USSR,," accessed April 22, 2024, https://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/sng_nac_89.php.

⁶¹ Khalid, 250.

⁶² Dickens, "Soviet Language Policy in Central Asia," 11.

⁶³ Dickens, 15.

⁶⁴ Dickens, 20.

the campaign was successful in its goals, it encountered major resistance, especially from Kazakh officials in their opposition to the implementation of “Russian culture.”⁶⁵

Conclusion

Soviet rule was the most transformative event in Central Asia’s history since its conquest by Muslims in the eighth century and changed the course of the modern history of the region. Although Soviet hegemony failed to create a communist society, it did succeed in pushing Central Asia forward on the road of “socialist development,” which resulted in changes to the region’s economy, politics, demographics, language, and culture. The CPSU sought to liberate the people of the Russian empire, but CPSU policy in Central Asia was not dissimilar to Western colonialism. Non-ethnic Russians were forced to change their language, culture, and way of life. The USSR would deny being a colonial power, but the people of Central Asia experienced CPSU rule as such, leading to their eagerness for independence in 1991.

Although Soviet rule ended in 1991, Russian influence remains. When the SSRs achieved independence, they sought to remedy longstanding inequalities by enacting ethnic quotas that favored locals. However, ethnic Russians in these countries, having been introduced to the region through Soviet political policies, resent these preferences and, in some cases, have attempted to seize power in regions with high Russian populations.⁶⁶ Ethnic Russian diasporas still consider themselves “Russian” rather than citizens of the countries in which they reside, which causes Russia to use its “historical relationships” with Central Asia as a justification for political and

⁶⁵ Durrani and Thibault, *The Political Economy of Education in Central Asia*, 26.

⁶⁶ Commercio, “The ‘Pugachev Rebellion’ in the Context of Post-Soviet Kazakh Nationalization*.”

military intervention.⁶⁷ Russia also operates military bases in Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan, which bolsters its influence in the region. The Russian Federation also continues to maintain close economic relations with Central Asia, thereby keeping the region in its orbit.⁶⁸

Soviet influence remains, too, in the region's languages. Some republics, such as Uzbekistan, have attempted to Latinize their scripts, hoping to build a new national identity from the Russian past. However, the teaching of Cyrillic script and Russian have effectively divided nations on generational lines. The younger generations, born after the collapse of the USSR prefer Latin scripts, while the older, pre-collapse generations still prefer Cyrillic script.⁶⁹

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Central Asia exists in a liminal space between dwindling Russian influence and increasing autonomy. Independence has resulted in the countries of Central Asia expanding their ties to China.⁷⁰ Similarly, the region's abundance of natural resources has opened up new commercial opportunities with Western countries.⁷¹

Liu Zichao's journey to Central Asia showed lingering Russian influence from seven decades of Soviet rule. In fifteen or twenty years, however, a new visit by Liu could demonstrate a

⁶⁷ Trofimov, Yaroslav. "Kazakhstan Unrest and Russia's Intervention Transform Ties With Mosco...." *Wall Street Journal*, January 6, 2022. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/kazakhstan-unrest-and-russias-intervention-transform-ties-with-moscow-11641498408>.

⁶⁸ Catherine Putz, "Russia Voices Aim to Increase Combat Readiness at Bases in Central Asia," *The Diplomat*, accessed February 22, 2024, <https://thediplomat.com/2022/08/russia-voices-aim-to-increase-combat-readiness-at-bases-in-central-asia/>.

⁶⁹ Ryan Michael Schweitzer, "Alphabet Transition in Uzbekistan: Political Implications and Influences on Uzbek Identity," *Central Asia Program*, no. 231 (n.d.): 4.

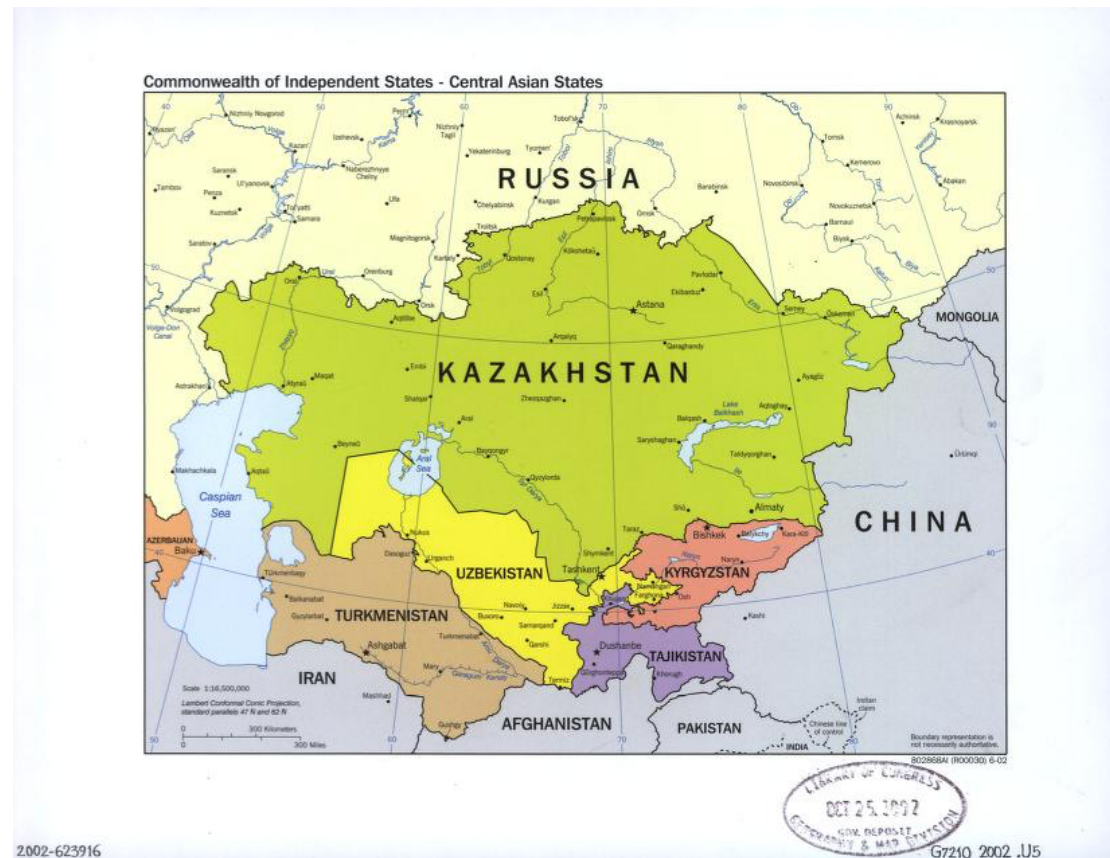
⁷⁰ James McBride, Noah Berman, and Andrew Chatzky, "China's Massive Belt and Road Initiative," Council on Foreign Relations, accessed March 26, 2024, <https://www.cfr.org/background/chinas-massive-belt-and-road-initiative>.

⁷¹ Anna Matveeva, "A New Opening for EU–Central Asia Relations?," Carnegie Europe, accessed March 26, 2024, <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2023/04/13/new-opening-for-eu-central-asia-relations-pub-89454>.

drastically different scene: growing influence from China and the West may prove to be another turning point in the region's history.

Appendix:

Map 1: Central Asia, 2002*



* United States Central Intelligence Agency, *Commonwealth of Independent States--Central Asian States* (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 2002).

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

“Agricultural Situation in Northeast Kazakhstan.” Central Intelligence Agency, May 4, 1955. Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room.
<https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79T01049A001200070005-6.pdf>.

The file, disclosed through the CIA’s FOIA movement, was written about Russian successes in Kazakhstan during Khrushchev’s “Virgin Lands Campaign.” While historically pastoral Kazakhs had trouble farming the steppes, Russian immigrants were able to complete the task. This source helped me in corroborating the argument of Russian influence in Kazakhstan in my case analysis.

“All-Union Population Census of 1989. National Composition of the Population by Republics of the USSR.” Accessed April 22, 2024.
https://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/sng_nac_89.php.

Similar to the 1970 Census, I used this source to support the argument of Russian immigration into Central Asia.

Catherine II. “Catherine II’s Decree to the Governor-General of Simbirsk and Ufa About the Maintenance of Order on the Kazakh Steppe, the Safety of Borders, the Khan’s Powers, the Appointment of Mullahs to Kazakh Clans, And So On, 1784.” In *Modern Central Asia: A Primary Source Reader*, by Yuriy Malikov, 45–47. Contemporary Central Asia (Lanham, Md.). 1784. Reprint, Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2020.

This source aided my understanding of Imperial Russian rule in Kazakhstan. During the rule of Catherine II, Muslim Central Russians were inducted into Kazakhstan to maintain law and order. I used this source to fully understand how Imperial Russia was largely passive in fundamentally changing Central Asian societies.

Central Intelligence Agency. “Outlook for Agricultural Production in the Sino-Soviet Bloc,” July 15, 1955. https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000497771.pdf.

This CIA intelligence document describes the specific propositions in the “Virgin Lands Campaign.” At the same time, it lists the CIA’s suspicions of the plan’s failure. This document was incredibly useful in providing an English language primary source about the Virgin Lands campaign from the American perspective.

Central Intelligence Agency. n.d. “Commonwealth of Independent States--Central Asian States.” Image. Washington DC. Library of Congress. Accessed May 14, 2024.
<https://www.loc.gov/item/2002623916/>.

This map was used as part of the Appendix to prove the impacts of the 1924 National Delimitation of the Soviet Union on modern geopolitics of the region.

Demoscope Weekly. “All-Union population census of 1970. National composition of the population by republics of the USSR.” Census Reports. Accessed February 18, 2024.
https://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/sng_nac_70.php.

This was a primary source that contained the USSR 1970 Census. This source was incredibly helpful in understanding the ethnic proportions of Russians, locals, and other minorities in Central Asia. I utilized the Census in a variety of places, mainly to prove the existence of prolonged Russian influence in several countries in Central Asia, especially Kazakhstan.

“Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov’s Statement and Answer to a Media Question at a Joint News Conference Following Talks with Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan Sirojiddin Muhriddin, Moscow, February 24, 2020 - The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.” Accessed March 19, 2024.
https://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1427977/.

This newspaper article described a Russian minister’s statements about Russian military bases on Tajikistan. In his statement, Sergey Lavrov describes the tactical importance of a Russian military presence in Central Asia. This source was important for my understanding of Russia’s “historical justification” in creating closer ties with Central Asia.

“Kazakhstan.” In *The World Factbook*. Central Intelligence Agency, February 13, 2024.
<https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/kazakhstan/>.

This source was very helpful for my preliminary knowledge of Kazakhstan. More specifically, the description of Kazakhstan’s territorial makeup helped me understand many of the Soviet Union’s intents in northern Kazakhstan. Due to the steppe landscape of the region, northern Kazakhstan has seen increased Russian interest in agriculture.

“Kyrgyzstan’s Constitution of 2010 with Amendments through 2016.” Kyrgyzstan, 2016.

The Kyrgyzstan Constitution outlines Russian as an official language in the country, setting testament to the impact of the Russian language in the region. I used this

constitution to prove that Russian has impacted Central Asian languages in a way that it permeates the constitutions of independent nations.

Liu, Zichao 刘子超. *Shiluo de weixing shenru zhonya dalu de lücheng* 失落的卫星：深入中亚大陆的旅程 [Among the Stans: A Central Asian Journey]. 1st ed. Wen Hui Publishing Co.,LTD, 2020.

This book piqued my interest in the topic of Central Asia. Written in Chinese, Liu describes his journey of traveling through Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan by foot and car. I used this book as a hook for this essay, using the scene where Liu has a conversation with an Uzbek woman in Russian.

Matveeva, Anna. “A New Opening for EU–Central Asia Relations?” Carnegie Europe. Accessed March 26, 2024. <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2023/04/13/new-opening-for-eu-central-asia-relations-pub-89454>.

In this newspaper article, Matveeva outlines the possibility of strengthened economic relations between Europe and Central Asia following the dissolution of the USSR. While this source provided me with critical information about the present and future of Central Asia, it also gave me potential issues in the region that could block significant economic trade between Europe and Central Asia.

Mcbride, James, Noah Berman, and Andrew Chatzky. “China’s Massive Belt and Road Initiative.” Council on Foreign Relations. Accessed March 26, 2024. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chinas-massive-belt-and-road-initiative>.

This article provides an explanation of China’s interest in increasing cooperation with Central Asia through the Belt and Road initiative. Due to the increased freedom of trade after the region’s independence from the USSR, global superpowers like China have been seeking greater economic influence in the region. This source was beneficial in my conclusion, where I speculate the possible futures for Central Asia.

“Politico-Economic Conditions of Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (Top Secret).” In *Modern Central Asia: A Primary Source Reader*, 255–57. Contemporary Central Asia (Lanham, Md.). 1930. Reprint, Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2020.

This historical document outlines the violent and hostile reaction to the implementation of collectivization in Central Asian Republics in the late 1920s. In Turkmenistan, widespread protests have broken out after the implementation of collectivization. This source helped me understand the average Central Asian’s reaction to laws made by the Soviet Union.

Putz, Catherine. "Russia Voices Aim to Increase Combat Readiness at Bases in Central Asia." *The Diplomat*. Accessed February 22, 2024. <https://thediplomat.com/2022/08/russia-voices-aim-to-increase-combat-readiness-at-bases-in-central-asia/>.

Putz describes the direct military power that Russia holds in Central Asia, even having the ability to increase the size of its camps to deter the USA. Nonetheless, I used this source to show that Soviet and Russian control has given the country advantages, such as military bases.

"Report of the Extraordinary Commission of the Central Executive Committee of People's Education of Turkestan Republic, December 4, 1919." In *Modern Central Asia: A Primary Source Reader*, 188–91. Contemporary Central Asia (Lanham, Md.). 1919. Reprint, Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2020.

This source provided a primary perspective on the implementation of Soviet education in Central Asia. In this document, the Commission of People's Education of the Turkestan Republic draws clear boundaries between the bounds to which Islamic culture could exist under the Soviet education system. I used this source primarily to explain the education system in the USSR.

Shaiakhmetov, Mukhamet. 2006. *The Silent Steppe: The Memoir of a Kazakh Nomad Under Stalin*. Translated by Jan Butler. New York: The Rookery Press, Tracy Carns Ltd. <https://archive.org/details/silentsteppememo00mukh/page/126/mode/1up?view=theater>.

This source was helpful in my research as it allowed me to have a first person perspective of the events that took place under the notorious Kazakh famine between 1932-1933, in which roughly 40% of the Kazakh population died due to starvation. This source was especially helpful, nonetheless, in providing specific interactions with Soviet policy enforcers at the time, which is rare in most circumstances due to Soviet governmental oppression during the 1930s. I used this source in my case study to illustrate how the Sedentarization of the Kazakh people came only with heavy suffering.

thetruthofkazakhstan. "Is It Worth Renaming Streets and Cities in Kazakhstan?," October 3, 2023. <https://en.orda.kz/is-it-worth-renaming-streets-and-cities-in-kazakhstan-3097/>.

This newspaper article discusses the renaming of roads in Kazakhstan after its independence from the USSR. Indeed, many Central Asian countries have attempted to steer away from Russian influence, pursuing a form of ethnic-based nationalism. I primarily used this source to gain a better understanding of nationalism in Central Asian republics post-independence.

“Translation of an Article Regarding the Delimitation of Central Asia into the National Republics (Newspaper Ak-Zhol June 23, 1924, Number 450).” In *Modern Central Asia: A Primary Source Reader*, 236–37. Contemporary Central Asia (Lanham, Md.). 1924. Reprint, Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2020.

This primary source was especially helpful for me because it gave me an English language, Russian perspective primary source about the reasons behind the 1924 Delimitation. The document discusses various possibilities for governing Central Asia, much of which I had never previously known. I mainly used this document in the section about the 1924 Delimitation.

Ward, Patricie H., trans. “Tajikistan 1994 (Rev. 2016) Constitution - Constitute.” Accessed February 21, 2024. https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Tajikistan_2016.

The constitution of Tajikistan outlines that Russian is an interethnic language to be “between the ethnicities.” This change is a critical indicator of ex-Soviet linguistic movements and their relative success in creating linguistic superiority in Russian.

Secondary Sources

Alexandrov, Mikhail. *Uneasy Alliance: Relations Between Russia and Kazakhstan in the Post-Soviet Era, 1992-1997*. 1st ed. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999.

Alexandrov discusses the influence of the Soviet Union on Kazakhstan in terms of both ethnic separatism and Russian interventionism. This journal article explains the re-nationalization programs conducted by Kazakh officials and the subsequent stance of Russia on this issue. I used this article to learn more about Russian separatism in Kazakhstan.

Aripova, Aziza Khasanovna. 2020. “Ancient Uzbek Tribes And Clans Inhabiting In Central Asia.” *The American Journal of Social Science and Education Innovations* 2 (09): 384–94. <https://doi.org/10.37547/tajssei/Volume02Issue09-59>.

This source was important in my research as it gave me a better understanding of the ancient Uzbek tribal structure. While Northern Central Asia was mainly constituted of plains, southern Central Asia was primarily made up of tribes before the introduction of Islam into the area. I used this source in my introduction section in order to build more context around the eventual events that took place in the region.

Batyrbekkyzy, Gaukhar, Tursun Khazretali Mahanuly, Murat Meirbekovich Tastanbekov, Lazat Sarsenbekovna Dinasheva, Barshagul Kashkynovna Issabek, and Gulzhan Dauletbekovna Sugirbayeva. "LATINISATION OF KAZAKH ALPHABET HISTORY AND PROSPECTS." *European Journal of Science and Theology*, 2018.

Batyrbekkyzy et al. discuss the three transitions of language for the Kazakh nation – first, the transcription to Latin script, the establishment of the Cyrillic script, and finally the re-implementation of the Latin script after the foundation of the Republic of Kazakhstan. I used this source to describe Russian influence post-dissolution of the USSR.

BBC News. "Kazakhstan Profile - Timeline." April 9, 2019, sec. Asia.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15483497>.

This source was incredibly helpful for my preliminary understanding of Kazakh history, from antiquity to the status quo. This timeline gives specific information on the immigration of Russians into Central Asia, which can be difficult to find elsewhere. I used this article to further my understanding of the history of Kazakhstan before writing my Case Study.

Blitstein, Peter A. *Stalin's Nations: Soviet Nationality Policy between Planning and Primordialism, 1936-1953*. Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company, 1999.

Blitstein describes the fundamental contradiction between communist policy and Russian supremacy in Central Asia. I used this source to find and elaborate upon the decisions made by Soviet leaders during the 1920s, as well as conflicts between Central Asians and Russians due to mass Slavic migration.

Cameron, David, and Mitchell Orenstein. "Post-Soviet Authoritarianism: The Influence of Russia in Its 'Near Abroad.'" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28 (May 16, 2013): 1–44.
<https://doi.org/10.2747/1060-586X.28.1.1>.

This article fully explains the causes and effects of Russian governmental intervention in Central Asian politics since the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. Due to the relative economic and geopolitical importance of Central Asia to the new Russian Federation, closer ties have been held between the regions. I utilized this source in my conclusion, where I used it to analyze the lingering influence of Russia in Central Asia.

Cameron, Sarah. *The Hungry Steppe: Famine, Violence, and the Making of Soviet Kazakhstan*. 1st ed. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2018.

The Hungry Steppe is an instrumental source that I used to discover more about Kazakhstan's famines from 1930-1933, caused primarily by failures in collectivization. This was especially helpful considering that there had been little systematic research conducted about Soviet famines before the publishing of this book. I mainly used this source in my Case Study and "The Economic and Political Impacts of Soviet Policy" section.

Commercio, Michele E. "The 'Pugachev Rebellion' in the Context of Post-Soviet Kazakh Nationalization*." *Nationalities Papers* 32, no. 1 (2004): 26.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0090599042000186205>.

This source discussed the "Pugachev Rebellion" that took place in 1999 when a group of Russians sought independence from Kazakhstan. This article discusses the background of Russians in Kazakhstan in the first decade of its independence. I used this source to further expand on the lingering influence of Russians in Kazakhstan.

Dickens, Mark. "Soviet Language Policy in Central Asia," 1988.

This source discussed the history of language in Central Asia before the conquest of the Russians. It also covered the changes that took place to language during the Soviet period through both transition in scripts and literacy rates. This article aided my process in writing a cohesive argument for Soviet impacts on Central Asian languages.

Di Cosmo, Nicola. "Ancient Xinjiang Between Central Asia and China; The Nomadic Factor." *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia* 34 (April 1, 1996): 87-101.
<https://doi.org/10.2753/AAE1061-1959340487>.

This source was helpful for me as it allowed me to understand some of the intricacies between Central Asia and China during the 6th and 7th centuries. In this time, Central Asia was largely influenced by China due to its relative importance on the then silk road, which linked the ancient dynasties of China to Europe through Central Asia and the Middle East. I used this source primarily in the beginning to explain the broader context of Russian rule in Central Asia.

Khalid's article aimed to differentiate between Soviet hegemony in Central Asia and imperialist colonization in other areas of the world. I used this article to contend that Soviet rule in Central Asia was caused by a genuine wish for Marxism-Communism instead of an indirect approach to imperialism.

Lytvynenko, Oleksandr. "Historical Politics as a Tool of the Ideological Justification of Russian Neo-Imperialism." *Journal of Geography, Politics and Society* 12, no. S1 (2022): 23–33.

In this book, Oleksandr Lytvynenko describes the impacts of Soviet rule on the relationship between Russia and Central Asia today. Different from other sources, however, this source provides an economic analysis of the situation and concludes that Soviet economic policies have led to closer relations between Russia and Central Asia. I used this source as part of the Political-economic section of my paper.

Malikov, Yuriy. *Modern Central Asia: A Primary Source Reader*. Contemporary Central Asia (Lanham, Md.). Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2020.

This book contains tens of primary sources written during and after the Russian occupation of Central Asia, from Imperial Russian rule to the present day. At the same time, the book also contains valuable information about the pretenses under which the primary sources were written. I used the introductory information in this book to further my understanding of several primary sources that I used in this paper.

Mirzageldiyev, Beibit, Kerim Shamshadin, and Aliy Almukhametov. "Aspects of Management of The Institute of Muslim Clergy in Kazakhstan: Overview of The Russian Empire And The Soviet Union." *European Journal of Science and Theology*, 2019.

This source helped me to better understand the relationship between Russia and Islam in Central Asia. While Imperial Russia cared little about Muslims, the Soviet Union acted to destroy all Islamic influences in Central Asia. I used this source primarily in the linguistics section when the Soviet Union changed the Central Asian script in an act to decrease Muslim influence in the region.

Newton, Francis. "Soviet Central Asia: Economic Progress and Problems." *Middle Eastern Studies* 12, no. 3 (1976): 87–104.

This journal article was important in my research as it provided more information about the USSR's economic policy in Central Asia. More specifically, it gives specific examples of

Central Asian countries and their transformations. I used this article in the “Economic and Political Impacts of Soviet Policy” section of my paper.

Otepova, Gulfira Yelubayevna. “The History of Kazakhstan in the Legislative Sources of the Russian Empire in the 18th-the Early 20th Century.” *Life Science Journal* 11, no. 9 (2014): 96–101.

In this journal article, Gulfira Yelubayevna Otepova uses translations of Russian-Empire sources to explain the motives behind Imperial Russian rule in Kazakhstan. Paired with the decree of Catherine II, I gained a much better understanding of pre-Soviet Kazakhstan. I primarily used this source in my case study.

Pavlenko, Aneta. “Russian as a Lingua Franca.” *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 43 (October 25, 2006): 78–99.

Soviet rule in Central Asia saw an interesting relationship between the Russian language and Central Asian languages. Pavlenko describes the causes and effects of deciding to use Russian as a *lingua franca* for Central Asia (and other Soviet republics) in this journal article. I used this source to increase my knowledge on the linguistics scheme in Central Asia during Soviet rule.

Peyrouse, Sébastien. “Nationhood and the Minority Question in Central Asia. The Russians in Kazakhstan.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 59, no. 3 (2007): 481–501.

Peyrouse provides important statistics about Russians in Kazakhstan, especially regarding the seemingly high percentage of ethnic Slavs inhabiting Northern Kazakhstan. I used this source to understand the nepotist and authoritarian principles that Kazakhstan has had after its independence to establish a sense of nationalism in the country.

Pierce, Richard A. *Russian Central Asia 1867-1917 - A Study in Colonial Rule.Pdf*. Russian and East European Studies. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1960.

Pierce explains the perspective of Imperial Russian rule in Central Asia, which is different from Soviet rule. I used this book to understand differences between Russian hegemony (which was based on ethnic primordialism and Russian chauvinism) to that of Soviet rule, as outlined in my introduction and background.

Prishchepov, Alexander V, Martin Petrick, Daniel Müller, Florian Schierhorn, Roland Kraemer, Irina Kurganova, and Michael Kopsidis. "Sixty Years of the Virgin Lands Campaign in Russia and Kazakhstan: An Assessment from an Economic, Ecological and Political Perspective," n.d.

This source was important to my research as it outlined the specific results of the Virgin Lands Campaign (c.1950s) with agricultural data to support the argument. More specifically, it also focuses on the reasoning behind choosing Kazakhstan as an area of focus for this movement. I used this source while writing my case study and political-economic section of my paper.

Rahimov, Mirzohid, and Galina Urazaeva. *Central Asian Nations and Border Issues*. Central Asian Series / Conflict Studies Research Centre 05/10. Camberley, Surrey: Conflict Studies Research Centre, 2005.

In this paper, Mirzohid Rahimov and Urazaeva Galina describe the situation around the National Delimitation in Kazakhstan. Different from other sources, however, this source gave insight into the immediate aftermath of the Delimitation, thus allowing me to better understand Kazakh politics in the 1920s. I used this source while researching for my Case Study.

Rumer, Boris Z. *Soviet Central Asia: "A Tragic Experiment"*. 1st ed. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Rumer's book was incredibly helpful for my research as it provided a thorough analysis of Central Asia's worth to the CPSU. Additionally, it also provided information for resistance movements in Central Asia against the provisions of Soviet rule. I used this source in my political and economic section to provide evidence for planned economies in Central Asia.

Sabol, Steven. "The Creation of Soviet Central Asia: The 1924 National Delimitation." *Society for Central Asian Studies*, Central Asian Survey, 14, no. 2 (1995): 16.

Sabol's article was extremely helpful in the process of understanding the 1924 Delimitation. This article outlined the causes and effects behind Soviet command in the 1920s, including their tactics, visualizations, and concessions in the making of five distinct Soviet republics.

Sakwa, Richard, and Mark Webber. "The Commonwealth of Independent States, 1991-1998: Stagnation and Survival." *Europe-Asia Studies* 51, no. 3 (May 1999): 379-415. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668139998912>.

The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is an organization between states of the former USSR that was largely formed due to the planned economies under Soviet rule. Since each SSR was allocated to produce one specific item, regional economies of the status quo are forced to trade with each other for necessities. I used this source to support the claim that Soviet economic transformations in Central Asia have forced close Russo-Central Asian relationships since 1991.

Schweitzer, Ryan Michael. "Alphabet Transition in Uzbekistan: Political Implications and Influences on Uzbek Identity." *Central Asia Program*, no. 231 (n.d.): 16.

This article focuses on the generational issues regarding the alphabet change in Uzbekistan from the Cyrillic script to the Latin script. This process was difficult as it resulted in a split between Cyrillic supporters, who were usually older, and proposers of Latin script, who were usually younger. This divide was illustrated in my implications of language.

Slagle, James H. "New Russian Military Doctrine: Sign of the Times." *Parameters* 24, no. 1 (1994): 11.

In 1993, Russia signed into military draft doctrine a proposition to protect ethnic Russians living in former Soviet territories. I used this source to prove that Soviet influence had caused Russian governmental aggression in Central Asia today.

Tolesh, Fariza A. "The Population History Of Kazakhstan," April 2012.

This journal article gave me significant insight into the ethnic makeup of Kazakhstan since the 1897 Census. This source was particularly helpful for me as it provided specific census details that I used in my Case Study.

Wheeler, G. E. "Soviet Policy in Central Asia." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 31, no. 3 (1955): 317-26. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2607258>.

This source was important during my research as it gave me a general overview of the topic I was writing a paper about. In this article, Wheeler discusses the various policies implemented during the Soviet Union's rule and the menial forms of resistance provided by Central Asians during this period. I used this source to support my arguments in the Political-economic and linguistic sections.

Zardykhan, Zharmukhamed. "Russians in Kazakhstan and Demographic Change: Imperial Legacy and the Kazakh Way of Nation Building." *Asian Ethnicity* 5, no. 1 (February 2004): 18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1463136032000168907>.

This source was very important in understanding the fundamentals of Kazakh nation building, which is separated into two parts: First was to get rid of previous Russian influences, which was followed by the institution of a Kazakh nationalistic identity. However, such a process was often difficult as it resulted in ethnic Russian anger. I used this source to attest to the effects of a high Russian population in Kazakhstan, which resulted due to Soviet policies.