CHAPTER - V
DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET-UNION

I. Impact of Disintegration on Central Asian Political Processes

The Response of Central Asian Leaders to the Coup

The reaction in Central Asia to the 20 August, coup was different from other republics in Soviet-Union. The responses of the republican presidents varied according to their own political inclinations. The Presidents of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan expressed acceptance of the coup and said nothing, whereas in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia, the presidents denounced the coup. The President of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov openly declared his support for the coup makers, by saying that "We have always been supporters of firm order and discipline, leadership that abandons order and discipline can never return to the power". Among those arrested for protesting against coup attempt was Birlik leader Abdularahim Polatov who quipped, "We have the honour of being the only people in the USSR arrested for violating the first order of the coup".1 Even government tried to isolate the Uzbek population from information about the events in Moscow by jamming the electronic media.

The people in Uzbekistan were isolated from unfolding developments by the leadership of Yelstin in Moscow. So the effort was there not to garner support for the reformers.

The President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev did not react for thirty-six hours. Probably he was cautious towards the reaction of the local Russians, of which many were supporter of the coup. But he changed stance after listening the resistance to the coup by Yelstin. Then he supported Yelstin and condemned plotters. The president of Kazakhstan called for "the signing of the Union-treaty, which had been approved by the parliaments of the eight republics. Any changes to the ratified text of this document can only be made with the agreement of the supreme bodies of power in these republics".  

In wake of the coup, Nazarbayev called for the recognition of the independence of all republics. He said "In two or three years" necessities will force us to form a sound federation suiting everyone. But the need to form it should be realized by all".  

Nazarbayev was called opportunist due to his vacillating stand at the time of coup. But he was more realistic from

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the angle of the ethnic composition of his republic. Though he was for independence of the republic, but not for total separation due to the geopolitical factors of the republic. It would have been suicidal for the President to call for the total separation due to position of Kazakhs in own republic compared to non-Kazakh majority.

The President of Kyrgyzstan, Askar Akaev vehemently opposed the coup attempt and moved the troops into Bishkek to prevent local hardline communist from staging a coup of their own. On the first day of the coup, while other Central Asian leaders remained silent waiting to see the outcome, Akaev denounced the coup makers and threw his weight behind Boris Yeltsin. After the coup was crushed, he banned the communist party of Kyrgyzstan. The President of Tajikistan, Kakhar Makhamov supported the coup attempt against Gorbachev inspite of negative reaction from the people. The President of Turkmenistan, Saparmurad Niyazov also supported the August coup against Gorbachev. But he changed his position after the failure of the coup.

The responses of the Central Asian leaders were varied. Some supported the coup, while others opposed it. The stands taken by the Presidents of various republics in Central Asia were due to political, economic and ethnic factors in the respective areas. According to the
situation, leaders either opposed or supported the coup. Initially, there was no similar opinion of the coup. But after the failure of the coup, all the leaders supported Yeltsin. The Central Asian leaders were for independence after coup but not for total separation. They still advocated renewed form of federation or confederation to suit all the republics', economic and political needs. The republics in Central Asia did not leave Soviet-Union voluntarily. In referendum held on March 17, 1991, the Central Asians overwhelmingly voted to remain within the Union. Probably due to that factor, some leaders voiced support for August coup. Though some leaders supported Yeltsin, they did not support total separation from Soviet-Union.

Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan faced embarassment after the failure of the coup. In order to change his anti-democratic image due to his support to coup, he got the parliament to declare hastily Uzbekistan’s independence on 31 August 1991. Then he banned communist party of Uzbekistan on 11 September, 1991. The communist party was renamed National Democratic Party of Uzbekistan. The declaration of independence by President was to placate the rising nationalist forces inside the republic.

The President of Kyrgyzstan, Askar Akaev declared full independence on 31st August 1991 after opposing the coup makers. After
After the defeat of coup, he banned the communist party of Kyrgyzstan. He was the first non-communist leader to head Presidentship of the republic which was an exception. Tajikistan declared itself independent in 9 September 1991.

The President of Turkmenistan, Saparmurad Niyazov backed down after the coup was defeated. The republican government declared the sovereignty of Turkmenistan on 22 August 1990. Then Niyazov declared independence for Turkmenistan in 27 October 1991. The communist party of Turkmenistan broke with CPSU after the coup. Then all the property of party was nationalized. In mid-December 1991, the last Congress of the TCP announced its transformation in to Democratic Party of Turkmenistan (DPT) whose programme stressed its commitment to: strengthening the independence and sovereignty of Turkmenistan, raising the well-being of the people, the further democratization of Society, the strengthening of civil peace and concord, and the affirming of Social Justice.

The Kazakhstan was the last republic to declare independence. The dissolution of the Soviet-Union was declared informally after the

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announcement of the Slavic-Commonwealth by Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia. The President of Kazakhstan, Nazarbaev was not consulted for this Slavic-formation, though there were large chunk of Slavic Population in his republic. "We became independent by process of elimination. We were the only ones left. They left us independent", said a bitter vice-President Yerik Asanbaev. On 16 December 1991, Kazakhstan announced its independence, the last of the Central Asian republic to do so "The majority of the people are against disintegration of the Soviet-Union. It will be kept intact but perhaps not in the same way as before", Nazarbaev said. So Kazakhstan became independent reluctantly. It was the only republic to be forced by the political developments to declare independence at last.

Formation of CIS

After the failure of the coup in August 1991, new leaders of the Slavic republics decided an unilateral move which led to the dissolution of the USSR. The Central Asian leaders were not invited to the 8th December 1991 meeting at Minsk where the President of Russia and Ukraine, Boris Yelstin and Leonid Kravchuk and Chairman of the Byelorussian parliament took the decision to dissolve the Soviet-Union. The

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5. Rashid, n.1, p.119.
resolution which asserted that new formation, the Commonwealth the of Independent States would serve as a successor to the USSR. The formal dissolution of the Soviet-Union started after this meeting. Even at that time, there could have been serious negotiation among the republics of maintaining a co-operative institution which would have served the limited purpose of all the republics. But three Slavic republics unilaterally changed the political situation.

The Minsk document contained fourteen articles. The signatories pledged to recognize human, civil and cultural rights of all citizens: Co-operation in politics, economics, culture, education, health, environment, science, and trade; and honour all agreements, obligations and commitments with foreign governments concluded by the old union that had not already been assumed by separate states. The signatories agreed to "preserve and support a common-military and strategic space, under a single command, including common control over nuclear armaments which will be regulated by the special agreement." 6

The Minsk declaration had immediate political implication on other republics. Because membership of institution was very restricted to Slavic republics. So there was an effort for making it broadbased involving all the

former republics of Soviet Union. The Central Asian leaders expressed desire to join new institution on equal partnership. The idea of a commonwealth with a center was mooted by Gorbachev. All the republics except Baltic states and Georgia agreed for the new commonwealth of Independent states. The representatives of eleven republics gathered in Alma-Ata and signed a new agreement to form a broadbased commonwealth on 21 December 1991. The agreement was negotiated by eleven states. But it was not a treaty in nature for the implementation among the republics.

Parties pledged their commitment to the cooperation in the formation and development of a common economic space, all-European and Eurasian Markets. With the formation of the commonwealth of Independent states, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ceased to exit. Member states of the commonwealth guaranteed in accordance with their constitutional procedure, the fulfillment of international obligation stemming from the treaties and agreements of the former USSR. The Members states of the commonwealth pledged strictly to observe the principles of the declaration.7

7. Ibid., p.163.

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The declaration in Alma-Ata brought the Soviet Union to an end formally. The USSR President, Gorbachev resigned on 25 December 1991 and the Soviet flag ceased to fly over the Kremlin. Though the formation of the commonwealth was formalized, it was not the substitute for the USSR. It was neither a state nor a superstate structure. There was flaw in the formation of the CIS. It was neither the result of natural evolution of the political processes nor the outcome of any revolution. It is a structure without strong foundation. It was created by the political leaders due to the turn of the unexpected political developments. The main question of mutual distrust is still there on the various issues affecting the republics. The lack of clearcut stand on some problem like Nagorny-Karabakh conflict is a great hindrance for the functioning of the institution. The hegemony of Russia will be there due to its size and resources. The issue of Black sea fleet between Russia and Ukraine was not solved fully.

Security Issues

The sudden disintegration of a super power created various problems relating to security among the successor states and with neighbouring states. The most dangerous question of nuclear proliferation was there in the newly independent republics. It was the fallout of the disintegration. The issue of nuclear warhead outside Russia had not been solved. The issue of how and whether a collective security system linking
CIS members would be successfully erected was a prominent question and still is unresolved.

But the course of collective security has not been smooth. At Tashkent CIS Summit in May 1992, Turkmenistan refused to sign the security treaty, in which aggression against any one member would be regarded as aggression against all. The six signatories (Russia, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Armenia) promised not to join any alliance directed against other participating states and to seek the peaceful resolution of interstate disputes. When the formal signing of the CIS charter took place in January 1993, however, only four Central Asian republics participated. Turkmenistan still refuses to sign any collective security arrangement and prefers bilateral agreements and a more independent stance from Russia.⁸

The leaders of these republics felt the need of a union for solving the immediate economic, political, ethnic and security problems. The President of Kazakhstan was supporting any kind of institution which will act as a coordinating link between the republics. The immediate problem of maintaining the security and political stability compelled Central Asian states to join the Commonwealth of Independent States.

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From the beginning, the Central Asian republics sided with Russia, arguing first in favor of preserving the single armed forces and subsequently for close-military strategic co-operation and alliance between CIS member states. The military discussions at that time indicated that there was little divergence in their positions on crucial strategic military issues. The claims of Central Asian officials usually did not go beyond requesting changes in the role of their draftees, observing the human-conditions of the military service and guaranteeing that young Central Asians would not be sent to perform their duties in hot spots. The Central Asian leadership was in favor of collective-security in the immediate future. Because the absence of any stable regular forces would have destabilized the Central Asian regions political-system which would have put the region into turmoil like Afghanistan.

But the main question in disagreement between Russia and Central Asia concerned the question of financing the single armed forces. Initially, all the Central Asian republics with the exception of Kazakhstan, demanded that since they received subsidies, they should contribute little or nothing to military budget. For Central Asian republics, Russia remains the only forces capable of guaranteeing a certain degree of stability and order in their republics. More important, a belief still exists there is that Russia will eventually come to rescue current "pro-Russian" ruling
authorities if they were challenged by Islamist or nationalist opposition.⁹

Until the autumn of 1992, Russia showed no inclination to get involved in Tajikistan’s strife and the armed intervention on the Tajik-Afghan border. Though its 201st Division was already on Tajik’s soil, Moscow ordered these troops to be neutral. Its depleted units were not reinforced. In September, 1992 there appeared a significant change in the background of a forceful warning from Uzbek President Islam Karimov asserting that Russia had a continued obligation to be "guarantor of stability" in Central Asia. He said, if Russia continued to neglect its strategic interests in the region, its southern border could directly face Islamic countries. The threat of new Islamic fundamentalism was emphasized by Karimov. There had been already beginning of Islamic fundamentalism in Tajikistan.

When CIS came into being, a decision was taken in 1992 to put Red Army Units in Central Asia and other states of CIS under the overall command of CIS armed forces, and keep them deployed where they were. It is true that some serious question arose in connection with the decision which still remain unresolved. According to Marshall Shaposhnikov, CIS

⁹. Ibid., p.87.
forces were not to be drawn into settle armed conflicts on the territory of the Commonwealth. They would be used solely to guard the strategic sites in CIS. But the question is what will happen when Russia's vital interests are affected?

Initially, new states of Central Asia (with exception of Kyrgyzstan) announced their own defence. But immediate needs of security compelled to arrange something with CIS. The Central Asian states generally turned to Russia for help and advice in security matters. The agreements were generally made in form of relations between equal sovereign states. There was no question of sub-ordination to the Russian military-structure.

The CIS Unified Command affected primarily Kazakhstan which participated in the CIS control of strategic nuclear missiles. Kazakhstan was reluctant like Ukraine to hand over the missiles to Russia. Early in 1992, Kazakhstan saw the missiles would guarantee its own security, as the neighbouring countries were nuclear power state. But Kazakhstan signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty later.

The absence of political control over nuclear weapons was felt after the break up of the Soviet-Union. A distinction must be drawn between the
assumption of political responsibility for nuclear weapons (by B. Yelst in
the Russian Federation) and the actual exercising of an effective political
control over those weapon system. This was formerly guaranteed by the
varied network of interests and relations between the party and the armed
forces. After removal of the party institutions of the CPSU, the sub-
ordination of the KGB surveillance units to military for nuclear warheads
was made after the August putsch. However, formerly, "independent"
control channels of political leadership ceased to exist. Due to the
dissolution of the party-army - K.G.B. network of interests and without the
creation of anything comparable as a substitute, trust of military on
political leadership was questioned. Consequently, yelst in no longer had
effective means of enforcement, if the armed forces would refuse to obey
the order. So both the effective political control over the "strategic Armed
Forces" (including nuclear weapons) and a reliable political control over the
armed forces in general were missing. Furthermore, the process of the
disintegration has created a situation in which common-command structure
inside the former Soviet-Union no longer existed. The Ukraine for example
deliberately detached from the command channells of the general staff in
Moscow.\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{10} Frank Umbach, "Control and Security of Nuclear Weapons in the
Kazakhstan was the only Asian Country other than China to have declared nuclear weapons on its territory. It had a total of 1340 strategic-nuclear weapons and was said to have 650 tactical nuclear weapons on its territory. Initially President Nazarbayev had stated that it would keep its nuclear weapons for another 15 years. The Commonwealth of Independent States which replaced the Soviet-Union has fundamentally agreed that it is willing to handle the new situation responsibility; only Russia is to be allowed to continue to posses nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the USA and Russia wanted to reduce the former strategic weapons to 3000 warheads by the year 2003 and almost entirely scrap the tactical system. However, disputes between CIS member states over the nuclear inheritance, uncertainties regarding the Russian’s future, and a number of technical and political imponderables casts doubt upon this goal.

In December 1991, nuclear weapons were located apart from Russia, in Ukraine, Byelorussia and Kazakhstan. The four page declaration of Alma-Ata in December 1991 and Minsk Agreement of 2 January 1992 specified that the strategic operational forces of the former USSR were to be subordinated to a joint command and that decision on their use would be taken following the consultation with the presidents of the Commonwealth of Independent states members.
This arrangement was hardly compatible with the USSR's obligations resulting from the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. If the concept of Joint Command had been taken seriously and fully implemented, this would have clearly violated the Soviet-Commitments. The creation of an integrated multinational command would have exactly corresponded to what the Soviet-Union wanted to prevent when it signed the treaty: the formation of multinational armed forces which give states without nuclear weapons (especially Germany) a quasi-nuclear power status. The joint-command established in 1991/92, however, merely continued the strategic-missile command of the Soviet-armed forces under new name. It still consisted of exclusively by Russians: the Russian President Yelstin functioned as the only political body of authorization for the use of nuclear weapons.\footnote{Joachim Krause, "Risk of Nuclear Proliferation Following the Dissolution of the Soviet-Union". \textit{Aussen Politik}, vol.43, n.4, 1992, p.353.}

Russia received support from USA and other western powers to remain legal successor of the USSR and sole nuclear power. After much persuasion, Ukraine and Byelorussia declared their willingness to non-proliferation treaty as an non-nuclear states in Alma-Ata. Kazakhstan only indicated the willingness for non-proliferation in May -1992 after forming
an defense alliance with six other CIS-republics including Russia. All three
states already indicated in December 1991 that they were willing to
relocate the tactical nuclear weapon of the former Soviet-army from their
territory to Russia by July 1992. In the Minsk agreement, Ukraine even
accepted the time-table for the removal of strategic weapon system by the
end of 1994.

A further important document was the Lisbon START protocol of
23 May 1992. The four CIS states with nuclear capacities made commitment
to implement the START arrangement in such a way that all the strategic
offensive weapons would be removed from the Ukraine, Byelorussia and
Kazakhstan by the end of the century at the latest. What is more, since
spring 1992 the idea of joint armed forces and thus of a joint strategic
command proved no longer realisable. The creation of national armed
forces was carried out in Russia, Ukraine and other states. It would be
logically consistent for this to lead to a differentiation between Russia as
a nuclear power and other CIS members as non-nuclear powers. The USA
and Russia could then with the envisaged parallel reduction of their
nuclear weapon arsenals in accordance with the START presented a
positive review at 1995 extension conference, viz., compliance with Article-
1, which obliges nuclear powers not to pass on nuclear weapons to other,
and progress in the field of nuclear disarmament, as postulated in Article-
The three states, Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan pledged to
denuclearize their territories and to become members of Non proliferation
traty (NPT) as non nuclear weapon states. Further, in the May 1992 Lisbon
Protocol to the START agreement, which made these three states parties
to the START treaty (joining with Russia and United States), they reiterated
these pledges in formal and legally binding agreement with United States.
However, Kazakhstan was very slow to ratify the START/Lisbon Protocol
package.\footnote{Ibid., P.354.}

Initially Ukraine and Kazakhstan found it extremely difficult to
accept status of non-nuclear power and to agree to corresponding
commitments. Kazakhstan, even wanted to accede to the Nonproliferation
Treaty as nuclear power. It made its accession and consent to the
destruction of the nuclear weapons located within territory conditional on
the simultaneous destruction of all nuclear weapons on Russian territory.
In March 1992, the Ukraine temporarily opposed the withdrawal of tactical
nuclear weapons, but finally agreed. Then Ukraine, Kazakhstan and

\footnote{Steven E. Miller, "The former Soviet Union", in Mitchell Reiss and
Robert S. Litwak, ed., \textit{Nuclear Proliferation after the cold war}
(Washington DC, 1994), p.91.}
Byelorussia, however, were neither-nuclear power nor quasi-nuclear power, since they did not control the strategic nuclear weapons located on their territory. The operational control over these weapons was in the hands of the so-called joint-strategic-command under General Shaposhnikov. Due to various problems, Ukraine and Kazakhstan found in difficult to be normal nuclear power. At last all the nuclear power states agreed for transfer of the nuclear warheads into territory of Russia. The active help of USA and western powers reduced the tension. The bargain of Kazakhstan for western investment was accepted by many countries. Then in 1995, all the nuclear weapons were transferred to Russian territory. The fissionable materials were allowed to be taken by CIA from the territory of Kazakhstan with the permission by Russia secretly. The nuclear-proliferation issue was solved between Russia and other successor states of Soviet-Union.

**Economic System**

The economic consequence of the independence for the most of the Central Asian states was no worse than elsewhere in the former Soviet-Union. The former Soviet republics of Central Asia are now suffering from the effects of a disintegrating monolithic structure. The exploitation by the Centre of the periphery’s resources has resulted in systematic regional under development in the former Soviet Union. The area most adversely affected has been Central Asia.
The economic problem in the Central Asian Republics had its origin in a number of factors. The notable of which were the decline in national economic-output and trade as well as monetary developments in the region comprising the former Soviet-Union both prior and subsequent to the Soviet-Union’s dissolution. Decentralization and liberalization measures initiated in the Soviet-Union in the latter half of the 1980’s proceeded on several fronts: changes to improve the existing system, geographically limited reform experiments, and systemic reform. The acceleration programme in 1985 to stimulate technical change through increasing spending on investment was also unsuccessful generating repressed but not long-term growth. There were no geographically limited experiments in Central Asia.

The personal interests of many officials in the existing system helps to explain the absence of economic experiments in Central Asia. Also, Soviet appointees in the Central Asian republics were disproportionately Russians, who must have been acutely aware that they were operating in an alien cultural environment, as violent outbreaks recurred during the 1980s. In the setting they would be cautious about initiating any change

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that might loosen governmental control.15

At the inter republican level, trade was disrupted by the change in Russian payment system in July 1992. Under the new system, enterprises purchasing goods from other enterprises were required to pay these in advance prior to the receipt of the goods, contrasting with the earlier system under which goods were paid subsequent of delivery. This change consequently made it difficult for enterprises trading within Russia and within the framework of overall inter-republican trade, trade through the accumulation of inter-enterprise arrears.16 The Cessation of subsidies reduced national expenditure.

After the Soviet-Union's dissolution, newly-formed republics declared to remain within the rouble-zone. One reason why Central Asian republics were the firmest adherents to the rouble zone was Russia's willingness to continue extending credit to them through the monetary system. This softened the blow, but was at best only a fraction of the aid they had received up to 1990. Kazakhstan was the most favoured of the

Central Asian republics: according to World Bank estimates, interrepublic flows to Kazakhstan still amounted to 11 percent of GDP in 1992. Kyrgyzstan was the least satisfied with Russian credit availability, and credit disputes were the catalyst for the decision to leave the rouble zone in spring 1993.\textsuperscript{17}

According to president of Kazakhstan, after Bishkek Summit, 'Things didn't go too badly in Bishkek. But they could have given much better. Nazerbayev said, I understand perfectly well that the extent of integration and co-operative ties is now so great that it is impossible to ignore them. Unless the objective circumstances is taken into account, the stabilization of social production is simply unthinkable I have spoken about this before at the meeting of the CIS heads of state, and now I am convinced of the need for a common-customs and economic space based on the principles of free trade. This is my firm position.'\textsuperscript{18}

The freeing up of prices that began in Russia in January extended the process of "shock therapy" to the whole rouble zone; and, at first


glance, accelerated the changeover to a market economy. But in fact it was leading to the destruction of entire national-economic technological complex. There had been a drastic deterioration in people's well-being, and many strata of the population had fallen below the poverty line. But the changeover to a market economy was intended to improve people's lives.

Nazarbayev said, it is now becoming increasingly obvious that the entire previous economic mechanism was dismantled before market institutions and levels appeared and gained stability. "The democratization of society should not be accompanied by the impoverishment of the people. It is no secret that many people in our country too prefer to live with full stomach in a society with authoritarian features then to live hungry in a democratic one." So he pleaded for remaining within rouble-zone. He tried his best to persuade others to accept the proposals. But there was no consensus regarding the single-rouble zone. The other republics were interested in separate currency instead of rouble zone dictated primarily by Russian Federation. So the ambiguous stands were taken by the other republics regarding the rouble zone.

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19 Ibid., 1.

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Boris Yeltsin, the president of Russia proposed measures that were meant to ensure the establishment of a realistic exchange rates for rouble, not artificially low one. The list includes three points, the most significant of which was obviously the second: switch to the mandatory sale on the currency exchange all of enterprises, foreign currency income, not just part of it, as was prevailing trend. In addition there was proposal to strengthen guarantees of rights to the unrestricted purchase of foreign currency by Russian enterprises and citizens at the rate set in trading on the exchange, as well as to permit foreign currency to be sold on the exchange by foreign citizens and companies... Why was the rouble rate so low and continuing to fall and how could that be combated? The whole problem was rooted in the ills of economy. To forget that and try to "cure" the currency exchange rats separately is tantamount to treating the thermometer instead of the patient.20

Bishkek summit was one of the last attempt to create a rouble zone on terms more acceptable to other CIS countries. It was an attempt initiated by Nazarbayev (and reportedly, Gorashenko as well) and politically supported by Yelstin. But it was not accepted by Russian cabinet, which was worried that voluntary-observance of the rules by the

potential partners (with rare exceptions, such as Kazakhstan, for example) could not be achieved in any case. And while the politicians were discussing the problems of the "Rouble zone" Russia's ministers were already talking quite openly about the preferred status of the Russian rouble. The decline in inter republican trade, disruption in payment system, reduction in trade-subsidies, price-liberalization, unbridled monetary expansion, currency reform in Central Asia had devastating repercussions for the economics of the Central Asia States.

All the Central Asian States were in the hyperinflationary price spiral. The prices in Kazakhstan rose dramatically since 1991; estimates for 1992 suggest an eight and half fold (OECD) to fifteen fold increase (IMF). The real income fell 20% in real terms in 1991 with larger declines forecasted for 1992 and 1993. In Uzbekistan, inflation estimates for 1992 range from six fold (OECD) and seven fold (EBRD), lowest inflation rate amongst Soviet Republics. Inflation in Kyrgyzstan is estimated to have risen eleven fold in 1992, and fifteen fold on an annualized basis in the first half of a 1993. Turkmenistan's inflation rate increased ten folds in 1992 subsequent to the government's relaxation of price control on all except "socially-significant" goods. In Tajikistan, inflation in 1992 rose almost

21 No.18, p.3.
fifteen fold over its 1991 level while wages increase, as in other Central Asian Republics legged behind the inflation. (more current estimates are unavailable).\(^{22}\)

In 1992 pace of economic reform accelerated. The Central Asian republics were constrained to follow price reforms followed by Russia. Because all these republics were in rouble-zone. By 1993, the five republics were set on differing economic trajectories, and the adoption of national currencies put future macro-economic policy decisions more firmly in the individual government's hands. Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan entered 1993 with little commitment to economic or political reform. Turkmenistan's gas wealth permitted its government to buy popular support with such measures as free gas, oil and water for households. Uzbekistan is in a far weaker economic position and postponement of economic reform is likely to be unsustainable. In Tajikistan the civil war continued to smolder, and the government paid little attention to economic policy. The economic disruption was massive with huge refugee problem. The economic prospects are far brighter in Kazakhstan, which is the most diversified and richest of Central Asian republic. Kyrgyzstan was lest prepared economically as an independent economy. But it progressed farthest with

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\(^{22}\) Khan, n.16, p.100.
economic reforms.  

**Economic Cooperation Organization**

After disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Central Asian republics began to look South to establish new trade and other economic links. The potentially most important step was to join the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), which with Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Azerbaijan forms a natural block of contiguous non-Arab Islamic nations. Initially, Economic Co-operation Organization consisted of three members Iran, Turkey and Pakistan with the objective of promoting trade among member states, consolidating the cultural links, and spiritual interests of the members, facilitating the development of global trade and endeavouring to eliminate unjust trade policies that adversely affect developing countries.

The ECO received a major boost when at its first summit meeting in Teheran on February 16-17, 1992, the heads of state and government of three founding members were joined by the state leaders of four Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union - Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan as well as Azerbaijan. The Summit also gave observer status to Kazakhstan. The formal expansion of the ECO took place at the

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extraordinary session of ECO council of ministers. All the Central Asian republics joined. Then council of ministers of ECO met in Quetta, Pakistan, on February 6-7, 1993. Member states unanimously adopted 29 item Quetta plan.

The resources upon which the ECO can rely for attainment of its objectives includes economic and non-economic factors. The success of any economic group hinges upon its members commonalities. The historical, cultural and religious commonalities of the ECO members are worthy of consideration. In case of economic factors, the following points should be mentioned.

1) The Central Asia gain access to the global market through Iran, Pakistan and Turkey. Expansion of linking routes is a requisite for trade development.

2) The creating similar tariff barriers on the goods produced by ECO member countries and a different tariff for non-members to insure the free exchange of goods and services in the region without custom barrier.

3) The Central Asia faces serious limitation in the field of industry, but in some cases it has a surplus production that could be transferred to other ECO member states. Even in regard to similar products, enhanced co-operation can bring about qualitative and quantitative
improvement. In regard to mines and industries, the ECO states have rich resources of oil, gas, gold and copper. Expansion of regional trade is highly beneficial.

4) As for social resources, given the high level of culture and education in Iran, Turkey, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, the available resources could be used for the transfer of the educational necessities.

As put forward by Izmir Treaty, the ECO can promote relations between Central Asia with other countries. The plan to bring ECO closer to the ASEAN, the persian Gulf. Co-operation Council (GCC), ESCAP and other bodies which will be set for in the future. It will be a giant step. Inspite of the regular meetings by the leaders of all the five Central Asian Countries since independence, an organization structure in not developed. There has not been a substantial progress in regard to the economic development of the region by the ECO. But still there is hope for the success of the effort in the future.25

Is the ECO supposed to radically cut back the dependency of Central Asian republics on Russia? No, but it can offer potential alternatives, that, in their turn, can make the Central Asian republics

economically less dependent on their huge northern neighbour. At the same time, it offers the new republics far more advantageous trade routes to warm seas, and a diplomatic trump towards the Russian Federation. And this is actually what motivated the Central Asian republics to apply for ECO membership, despite their reluctance towards the major role of Iran.26

In January 1993, the leader of Central Asian states agreed to establish a regional market in Tashkent meeting with common customs regulations, a common-tax system and a common-price-policy. More importantly, these states took measures to improve the supply of essential raw materials such as crude oils and foodgrains. Kazakhstan agreed to provide a large amount of its crude oil to refineries in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. But how for the co-operation will prove successful in the long run is an open question. Because the Central Asian states have different economies. Again, these republics had no trained work force for the speedy transformation in to a viable independent economy in a short period.

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The Central Asian states produces largely agricultural raw materials. An international market doesn’t readily exist for this. These states also rely heavily on the import of capital goods and other machinery not only from Russia but also from Belarus and the Ukraine. So, these states may be politically sovereign, but economically they are still tied to Russia. To achieve economic sovereignty these states have started reform programmes to strengthen their economy. The privatization and encouragement of foreign investment form the main plank of this reform programme. However, these programmes are being implemented at rates that are acceptable to the socio-ethnic conditions of the countries concerned.

Economic development was extremely uneven. Thus when effects of collapse were felt more harshly in the region which aggravated the situation in social fronts. 27

Given the new assertiveness of Russia, what are its implications for Central Asia? The economic potential of Central Asia is immense and any country exerting strong influence here will definitely benefit. Uzbekistan is the world’s fourth largest producer in cotton. Kazakhstan’s assets are in oil and gas but also has large deposits of coal, copper, lead, zinc, gold, mercury and uranium. Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan are themselves as

potential leaders of the Central Asian States. All five states are encouraging the flow of foreign investment particularly from the West. However, poor communication, weak infrastructure, bureaucratic hassles and political uncertainties etc, coupled with geographic remoteness make Central Asia a difficult place to work in. The reforms in Central Asia has not attracted sufficient foreign investment till now. The western multinational companies are interested mostly in oil sector. Nobody is interested in investment of infrastructure sector which is most important to pick up the economy.

Russians expert believe that foreign assistance alone cannot solve the Central Asia’s economic problems. So Russians are putting immense pressure on Central Asian states to provide the economic assistance by demanding dual citizenship for Russians. They are using strong arm tactics for the Kazakhstan. Furthermore, Russia apparently intends for the West to continue to see area through Russian eyes and accept this situation. Foreign participation in oil ventures, and in general to foster Central Asia’s economic independence from any one dominant economy or polity is essential to counter Russian imperial drives. That is seen by Moscow as a

28. Ibid., pp.117-118.
fundamental threat to its interest. The campaign against of Azerbaijan's contract with British led consortium is evidence enough of that pressure tactics. Thus, Moscow will make major efforts to use its control over Central Asia as shaping tool of its foreign policy.

II. The political processes and developments in Central Asia since disintegration

The disintegration of Soviet Union marked an end of history. Many Sovietologist assumed that Soviet policies in Central Asia failed. They warned that Muslims of Central Asia posed the most serious challenge to the communist system of USSR. But Central Asian Muslims were not responsible for the collapse of communist order. After disintegration, national Communist Party continued to rule in all republics of Central Asia in different name. The opposition movement was very weak and ineffective in political process. In Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, opposition against the old communist regime was able to develop to a great extent. The formation of opposition groups were earlier in those republics. Here too, however, an effective and countervailing power to the bureaucracy, which asserted its position unchallenged in the parliamentary election in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in 1990, did not emerge from informal groups and parties. But in both cases, a certain political renewal of the old ruling elite did occur.
Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan established reputation as a reformer. He was forthcoming in supporting the ousted leader Gorbachev in August coup. He got elected by parliament in 1990. Then he converted his position to a presidency. He was elected president in 1991 by popular mandate. Unlike all other Central Asian leaders, Askar Akaev was not closely connected with communist party ruling elite, although he was a member of Central Committee in Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan. He started the political reforms since 1990 which were against communist power apparatus.

Turkmenistan

Saparmurad Niyazov was appointed First secretary of Turkmenistan Communist Party in 1985. After the failure of coup, Turkmenistan Communist Party (TCP) left CPSU. Then Turkmenistan declared independence following a referendum in October 1991 in which 94.1% of the population gave Niyazov their support. The president Niyazov proclaimed the departyization of all state and legislative organs. The Communist Party of Turkmenistan was transformed into Democratic Party of Turkmenistan (DPT).

On 22 June 1992, after short election campaign Saparmurad Niyazov was elected president with 99.5% of the vote. He ran unopposed in the
election. Then the personality cult of Niyazov grew rapidly. He was seen as the symbol of statehood and power. Niyazov told journalist that, "I do not need this, but our state does. In transition period in our state, there must be one leader. Multipower centers would engender anarchy". In late 1993, there was proposal to make him president for life. In January 1994, a referendum was held on granting him a second term of office without facing the election in 1997, as the constitution required. The tenure of president was extended to 2002. According to official resulted only 212 people voted against proposal. Similar turnout was reported for parliamentary election held in December 1994, when 50 candidates stood unopposed for 50 seat mejlis, though unofficial report was considerable votes against official candidate.29

Turkmen nation state formations was not marked by interethnic divisions and was established in a way which more successfully satisfied the demands of the intertribal political structures. Turkmen society is dominated by approximately 100 tribes which form seven larger tribal grouping.30 The absence of strong Ismailist movement and weakness of the


national democratic opposition helps to contain the inter-tribal contradiction. Niyazov had tried to project himself leader of all the Turkmen people. But still it is alleged that he advised his fellow official not to reveal their tribal identity. Probably Niyazov felt the danger of tribal competition as a threat to Turkmenistan’s nationhood in future. He curbed the freedom of information and political activity for stable Turkmenistan.

(Then Turkmenistan adopted new constitution in May 1992. It is democratic, and secular state following presidential form of government. There is separation of power. But in practice, president has enormous power. The parliament elected in 1994 is nominally a permanent body to rubberstamp decisions already taken. The Halk Maslakhaty ratifies treaties, adopts constitutional amendments can make recommendations on economic, political, and social matters, declares war, and can vote no confidence in the president, if he has violated the constitution or law. According to Turkmen officials, the Halk Maslakhaty has no analogue anywhere in the world. The idea came to president, Niyazov drawing on his own experience. It must meet at least once a year. Niyazov heads many institutions including National Revival movement. It was founded in January 1994 to promote cultural revitalization of Turkmen culture.)


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So the overtly political movements have been limited in scope and ability to organize often facing considerable problems with authority. Some joined unregistered political parties like Democratic Party to express concern about the authoritarian rule of president. The Agzybirlik (Unity) was wellknown party in Turkmenistan. (The freedom of the press was curbed. The opposition to the authority was suppressed. He stressed on the social peace than on the democratic role of opposition. For him, strong harmony is necessary for transition period. In theory there is no restriction on the formation of political parties in the constitution. But in practice of Turkmenistan, authority was to develop various groups under the umbrella of Democratic party of Turkmenistan President was very strict towards Islamic party. Islamic institutions are under his control. He has kept reins on religion and channelled its activity to service of state. So Turkmenistan is the farthest away from all the political changes.) Niyazov managed successfully to combine slogans of "stability" and the preservation of "inner-peace" above all against the inter-ethnic conflicts with the retention of the communist system of rule. The status of president is mixture of first party secretary of republican communist party without any link with CPSU. (The same old method and style of communist party were there. Nothing has changed after the collapse of Soviet-Union. Only the name has changed. The same elite has changed the objectives according to circumstances. The authoritarian system has started with personality cult.)
The basic tenets of democracy is lacking in the political system. The absence of pluralism due to suppression by authority is not a good symptom for the growth of democratic political processes in a peaceful way. The ruling party is the only registered party. Turkmenistan is a unique case of arrested development. A single individual is dominating totally the visible political process without any apparent rivals.

Uzbekistan

Islam Karimov had not achieved an unchallenged position in Supreme Soviet. Vice-President Shukrulla Mirasaidov was dissatisfied with the dictatorial position of Islam Karimov. Indeed, according to Karimov's press service, the Moscow media reported a distorted version of the expression of dissatisfaction even before the fact on September 26 and then repeated in October 2. At the same time, the president's press service admitted that Karimov was criticised at the Supreme Soviet session; however, it claimed that this was nothing "unnatural," and that no attempt had been made to suppress criticism.32 Karimov accused Moscow press interfering in the affairs of Uzbekistan.

Before presidential election, he was libeal towards Birlik and IRP.

Over the year Birlik created the "Uzbekistan Democratic Party"; in October 1991, Birlik called another meeting at which it renamed its older party which one called "Birlik,". The registration chance of Birlik was seen by Abdularahim Polatov as the first of true democratic reform. However, the Birlik Party's application for registration was rejected on the ground that parties could not be registered with the same name as popular movements. The only alternative to contest presidential election for Birlik was to collect 60,000 signatures in one day. Though Erk's candidate was there in the presidential election, he was not a match to Islam Karimov. Because Karimov was the candidate of a large political organization, the People's Democratic Party (PDP). It had 351,000 members. In contrast, Erk had 3,000 members, while Birlik claimed 500,000 supporters. Erk alleged violation in election procedure. The election was not impartial. Other registered public association and parties came late. They could not not play a role in the presidential election.

(Islam Karimov succeeded legitimating his position in general election in early December 1991. He was elected by an absolute majority of 87.15 percent. He further reinforced his position by adopting a new

constitution on 8 December 1992. In this constitution, the president is recognized as the head of state and of the executive, as the chairman of the cabinet of ministers.

The new constitution dissolved the regional soviets and replaced them with Khokims who are president's appointees to regions, districts and cities. The Council of People's Deputies still exist, but under the new constitution, their heads are appointed by the president.

The President also appoints and fires the republic's chief prosecutor and his deputies, and names candidates to the post of chairman and members of the constitutional court to be approved by the parliament; he is also empowered to sack Judges at all levels. The constitution stressed that "Oily Majlis (parliament and higher legislative body of Uzbekistan) and the President of the republic elected in a popular vote have the right to speak on behalf of the people of Uzbekistan. No part of society, no political party, public association, movement or a separate person may speak on behalf of the people of Uzbekistan." During 1992 and early 1993, there was full-scale change in personnel in five of the eleven oblasts.

But Karimov reasserted the authoritarian control early months of 1992. His regime suppressed even Erk to such an extent that M. Salih

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withdrew from official political process. Then Salih fled the country. The student demonstration in Tashkent for economic grievance was suppressed in January 16, 1992. But situation in Tajikstan probably created fear. So he introduced the institution of "hakim" (governor) which are appointed by president. Against the background of these changes, the new party Progress of the Homeland (PH) was created to replace Erk. Not coincidentally, its founding on 26 May 1992, preceeded by only one month of Abdularahim Polatov beating and Muhammad Salih's departure from the supreme Soviet. 36 A few other small parties appeared in 1992 and 1993, but it became increasingly clear that the only politically significant ones were Karimov's People's Democratif Party and pocket Party Progress of the Homeland. 37

With all his authoritarian, centralized power structure, he has undermined all sources of opposition to him. (Initially, various national democratic groups were given freedom. But majority of them were urban-based. These groups were not mass-based in character. The leaders of political party were given freedom to contest election. But after the election as president, the main political opposition groups Birlik and ERK were

suppressed even physically) Forces in favour of strengthening democratic principles in the government began to group around Erk and the Forum of Democratic Forces of Uzbekistan was formed. Birlik also joined the forum. Birlik cochairman and activist Bek Toshmuhamedov, Gulchehra Narullayeva Dadakhon Hassan and other demonstrated that Erk was firmly on the road. Not only did the government activity of the forum but also Polatov, whose goals and struggle was unknown. An attempt was made by Babur Shakirov to create an alternative parliament (Milliy Majlis) in May 1992. Its intention was to co-ordinate, the broad group of opposition organization.

Despite the fact that the present elite in Uzbekistan is a direct successor of the former one, the conservative authoritarian presidential regime which has taken in Uzbekistan differs substantially from the partocratic oligarchic regime of the soviet-period. Although formally the NDPU is a governing party, it does not fully control either political or economic power. Its influence is but a pale shadow of the former omnipotence enjoyed by the communist party of Uzbekistan. For karimov, the NDPU was just one of the instruments he used for forming a regime of strong presidential power in the republic. Karimov naturally continues

38 FBIS-USR, 8 June 1994, p.106.
to draw support from the party structures of NDPU, but does not let the party - monopolies its position as the president's only backing force.\textsuperscript{39}

The Uzbek President used the mix of cautious timing, skillful manipulation and brutal suppression to undermine the various sources of opposition. In October, 1991, his vice-president Shukrullo-Mirsaidov, who was closely connected to the Tashkent clan, attempted to instigate a constitutional coup to oust Karimov. Although Mirasaidov gained the support of 200 supreme soviet delegates, Karimov managed to survive a vote of no-confidence intact. Later Karimov stripped all the power of Mirasaidov.

In September 1994 elections were announced for December and a law adopted "on the Aliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan," Although Art 77 of the constitution provided for 150 seats in the legislature, the September 1994 Law changed this to 250.\textsuperscript{40} But due to peculiar government structure and election laws, legislature cannot be independent. The selection of Hakim to run administration is an indicators of centralized administration. According to official statistics, 93.4 percent of the eligible

\textsuperscript{39} Kulchik, Fadin, Sergeev, n.35, pp.32-33.  
\textsuperscript{40} FBIS-SOV 24 February 1995, p.66.  

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electorate took part in Uzbekistan's December 1994 parliamentary elections. After subsequent runoffs were held early in the new year, 69 seats (28 percent) of the Ali Majlis had been won by PDP, nominated candidates, 167 (67 percent) by candidates nominated by oblast councils, 14 (6 percent) nominated by Progress of Homeland (PH). The PDP nominees were more successful at oblast level, where they won 37 percent of seats, and still were better at rayon and city levels, where they got 54.5 percent. Then the referendum in March 1995 for extension of president's tenure was approved by 99.4 percent vote. Islam Karimov firmly suppressed the political organization with peasantry as its social base. So the Free Dekhan Party was refused of registration. This party raised the various problems of peasant class.

In Uzbekistan, there are two main political groups on ideology. The NDPU, Birlik, Erk have same ideology while some organizations are politically oriented towards Islam. The triumph of Islamism will change entire structure of political system. In the present situation, it is not possible to replace the ruling political elite in a peaceful process. It might create a social upheaval and bloodshed in the future for the change of the structure in political system.

41. FBIS-SOV, 6 March 1995, p.90.
The Islamic Rebirth Party (IRP) was founded in January 1992. It probably aims at Islamisation of Uzbekistan. The membership of IRP is not known. Because its influence stems not from the party's own structures but from the social structure of the traditional Uzbek countryside and mahalla. Adolat (justice) group was formed in Ferghana valley. These groups brought together young people at the mahalla level. They were well disciplined and skilled in martial arts. They were part of the Muslim self-government structure. These groups included numerous war veterans. They were controlled by the councils made of esteemed elders (aksakals) and members of local clergy. An average group brought together between 100 and 200 people. At the beginning of 1992, some 60 such groups were active in Uzbekistan. The functions included the struggle against offenders, the self resolution of small household conflict, and material assistance of the community members. Zakiat has already been introduced in many parts of the Ferghana valley as a parallel non state-tax. The objective of these groups are Islamic rule in Uzbekistan. It is very difficult to challenge the modus-operandi of these groups. The actions of these groups are linked with the tradition in such a way that it can pose a serious challenge to the political authority creating resentment among the mass who are traditional in character. IRP succeeded in getting communist

42 Kulchik, Fadin, Sergeev, n.35, p.35.
party city building on Namangan to serve as the Islamic self-government. However, IRP and Adolat activists were suppressed by the authority later.

In early 1995, former vice-president organized a party named 'Adalat' with himself co-chairman.43 The creation of the Adalat Social Democratic party has been followed by still another party, the National Democratic Party. This is clearly not an opposition party; in fact, some of its leaders also head committees in parliament chosen in recent election.44

Inspite of suppression, it is not possible to destroy these groups. These groups are not like formal structures of the political parties. They function in a secret manner. They are representative of the traditional countryside. Support base lies in mosque and mahalla which are the institutions of traditionalism. The agrarian problems are properly articulated and presented by these groups. Due to the growing problem in agriculture, there will be unrest in countryside. The rural mass can rely ideologically on these groups because of the interlining of the culture in of the countryside with the traditional Islam. The authority cannot solve these problems by just repressing these groups. In the long-term policy, political

system will have to adjust the interests of these groups for political stability.

So Karimov tried for political legitimacy from the people. He took away the major issues of the informal groups to his party’s policies. He did not want the growth of co-alition of opponent on common platform. He faced the IRP by accepting many religious demands. He identified Islam as the major component of Uzbek culture. He did not give scope for exploitation of opposition group in the name of “Islam” against government. The Uzbeks were given special attention in the republic. Then fear of disorder and economic crisis might have prompted Uzbekistan’s people not to press for more political powers. The situation in Tajikistan was a great factor for giving priority on political stability.

Inspite of authoritarian rule, Karimov has gained the widespread support. His slogan of stability at all cost has appealed to the masses. The appeal off democracy by the various groups was discredited due to anarchy and bloody confrontation in neighboring Tajikistan. Islam Karimov has taken many issues of the Birlik and Erk by strengthening Uzbek nationalism and making the Uzbek as official language. The argument for strong and powerful central authority for new republic has been accepted.
by the people. The slogan of stability after disintegration of Soviet Union has overshadowed autocratic rule. This should be short-term objective. This system may create problems in the future.

**Kazakhstan**

Nursultan Nazarbayev assumed the power in Kazakhstan. He was supporter of Gorbachev. He did not advocate for the total disintegration of the Soviet-Union. The ethnic situation in Kazakhstan probably was a factor for his call new federation in place of USSR. In Kazakhstan, the process of concentration of power in the hands of the Kazakhs gained momentum after independence. But he was supported by Russians in the presidential election. In first post-Soviet parliament of Kazakhstan in 1994, Kazakhs occupied more than 60 percent of all seats. The Kazakh ethnic domination of the state apparatus rose to a new-level. The all five state councillor are kazakhs. One of the seven vice-premiers is non-indigenous. The Kazakh elites is seeking to consolidate its position in the state using both ideological and legislative means. It is creating discontents among the other ethnic groups particularly Russians.

The parliament was elected on 1994. But growing assertiveness of parliament was curbed by its dissolution on 6 March, 1995. After
dissolving the parliament, he prepared a referendum and managed to push through all the political decisions he wanted. He created the 'People's Assembly' of his own which was not mentioned in 1993 constitutions. He made another referendum for new constitution which was supported by 89.1 percent vote. The unique features of constitution made him more powerful in getting the legislation passed. However he was the sole source of decision making in Kazakhstan. So he became just like a republican monarch. He won the referendum by 91.3 percent vote in April 29, 1995.

The democratization in Kazakhstan was slow even after independence. Though some independent political groups were organized, they did not influence the political process much. The ethnic situation in Kazakhstan is complex. The political groups were organized on ethnic lines. Democracy in Kazakhstan was synonymous with ethnic empowerment. The present political elite are from the old communist party. The old invisible clan network is still working. But presence of Russians in republic in large number particularly in north can destabilise Kazakhstan. It is the only republic in which eponymous nationality was a minority. Kazakhs constituted 39.7 percent population in 1989. But in 1994,
Kazakhs constituted 44.3 of the population\textsuperscript{45}. It was due to migration Kazakhs from outside.

Demographic factor played an important role in political processes. Many Kazakhstan's Russians joined an informal group, "organization for the Autonomy of Eastern Kazakhstan" which sponsored candidates for various election. Edinstov’s programme was similar. The programme of Kazakh groups like Zheltoksan and Azat was nationalist. Kozhahmetov, leader of Zheltoksan campaigned against nuclear disarmament. The Kazakh group, Alash even threatened to start jihad. But informal groups were also propagating language, economic and ecological issues Nazarbayev attempted to encourage the formation of the political parties. The Socialist Party was not successful. Then People's Congress became critical of president. But People's Unity party supported Nazarbayev.

Nazarbayev have managed to avoid the consequence of its potentially divisive ethnic diversity. Russians discontents have been checked from demanding separation. Ethnicity is becoming more political. Both Kazakh and Russian groups are rejecting the multi-ethnic structure. While Azat (freedom) is demanding mono-ethnic state of Kazakhstan, Lad

\textsuperscript{45} FBIS-USR 94-082M 1 August 1994, p.98.
(Harmony) is demanding autonomy for Russians. The language issue is now partially solved. The issue of double citizenship is not solved. The building of a new national state in a poly-ethnic society sets the problem of choice of priorities in the development of national culture, education and assurance of equal opportunities for the representatives of different nations in the realization of their political, social and economic rights. The stability in interethnic relations will depend on the resolutions of this problem to large extent.46

Tajikistan

Tajikistan's lack of clear national center, which Bukhara or Samarkand might have provided, was a major obstacle to the development of a cohesive Tajik national identity. Instead of nationalist consolidation, discrete regional identities were strengthened and reinforced. The mountainous terrain of Tajikistan added to this process. At one, Leninabad (Khujand) oblast in the north, geographically part of Ferghana valley, is separated by a mountain range from the rest of the country, thus necessitating all the major communication links to pass through the Uzbek territory. All the eastern extremes of the country, in the Gorno-Badakshan autonomous oblast, the sparsely populated territory includes a majority of

46. FBIS-USR 94-110, 11 October 1994, p.76.
Pamirs, who not only speak a different eastern Persian dialect, but also adherents of the Ismaili sect, viewed heterodox by Sunni and Shia alike. Although Soviet ethnographers called these people 'Mountain Tajiks' some of the Pamir intelligentsia see themselves as a separate and distinct ethnos.  

These distinct regional allegiances were incorporated into the Soviet structures of power. The communist party apparatus, the real Soviet locus of power, was dominated by Leninabad clan. From 1930 onwards, every first secretary of Tajikistan not only came from Leninabad city, the capital of Leninabad oblast, but also from the same clan. Leninabad's ally in the south of the country was Kulyab oblast, whose delegates were given the greatest representation in the Supreme Soviet. The Kulyabis had the responsibility, which they had also held for the Bukharan Khanates, of suppressing other southern claimants to power. This Leninabad and Kulyab co-alliance effectively ensured the exclusion of the Garm Tajiks (those who live or have their origins in the Garm valley) and Pamirs from the most important power structure in Dushanbe. Economic power followed the same pattern as political power during the Soviet period. Leninabad received far greater share of investment capital than southern

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47. Adelphi Papers, No. 288, p.27.
Rahmon Nabiev became first president of independent Tajikistan. He was communist first-secretary in Tajikistan from 1982 to 1985. The influence of reform was minimum in Tajikistan. The leadership adopted pro-nationalist policy in the changing times. The improvement in status of the Tajik language acquired top priority on the opposition agenda. Two opposition parties emerged following the February 1990 elections to the republican legislature. There were Democratic Party of Tajikistan (DPT), Rastokhez ("resurrection"), the Islamic Rebirth Party (IRP) and La "Li Badakhson (ruby of Badakhson). These groups led the opposition in the beginning. All these parties remained officially illegal until 1991. The opportunity of presidential election in November 1991 gave the opposition DPT, IRP and Rastokhez, as well as Qadi Turajonzoda to endorse Davlat Khudonazarov for the post. He was seen as someone who was not too closely associated with any political groups in Tajikistan, which made him acceptable to a broader range of people, and who would support democratization and reform. But election gave opposition new grievance instead of victory. The election was not free and fair.

\[48\] Ibid., p.27.
In a country where there were still major obstacles to bringing word of political alternatives to the general public, demonstrations were not only about confrontation but also about the attempt to create a new attitude towards political process. The focus of demonstrations was the capital, Dushanbe, but there were rallies also in all the main regions of the country from January to May. The demonstrations were peaceful till the spring of 1992. In the beginning of May, 1992 violence between authority and opposition started. The political crisis forced Nabiev to create new coalition government. That government fell within sort time. Then civil war started. Rakhmon Nabiev resigned under pressure on 7 September 1992. The speaker, Emamali Rakhmonov assumed the functions of president. The opposition did not participate in 6 November 1994 election of president, Emamali Rakhmonov was elected. The post-Soviet constitution of Tajikistan was adopted on the same day.

Though in surface, the fight was between communists and opposing co-alition of national democrat, Rastokhaz, Tajik Democratic Party and Islamist (IRP) on ideological front, but in reality it was between two groups representing different regions. The Democrat-Islamist co-alition

banned all the opposition parties, only communist party was legally functioning.

Despite all efforts by the warring sections, the political stability is suspect. The civil war cannot solve problem. The political reconciliation is the most important factor in getting the stability. Already five lakhs people have become refugees. In order to stop the second Afghanistan, all group should be accommodated in political processes.

In July 1995, Rakhmonov met the Islamic opposition leader, Mr. Said Abdullah Nuri in Teheran. They agreed to settle the crisis by peaceful means. Fighting diminished after the 1994 ceasefire agreement, but skirmishes continued and fighting intensified during 1996. Most of the fighting took place along Tajik-Afgan border in south, and in the central area around Gharam and Tavildara. On 23 December 1996, following four days talk, Government and opposition leaders signed two accords, agreeing that Tajikistan should be ruled by a national reconciliation for a transitional period of 12-18 months.54 Talks began in Teheran on 6 January 1997, to implement the accord. But early signs were not encouraging. On 28 June 1997, government and opposition leaders signed

54. Ibid., p.1.
a peace treaty in Moscow ending five years of bloody civil war. The accord, brokered by the United Nations, was signed by Tajik President and Abdullah Nuri, (opposition leader) in the presence of Boris Yeltsin, U.N. mission head for Tajikistan and foreign ministers of observer countries. The treaty provides for establishment of a 26-member for national reconciliation government divided evenly between government and opposition representatives which will govern Tajikistan during transitional period and prepare for multiparty election next year.55

Kyrgyzstan

Kyrgyzstan followed democratic political system after independence under leadership of Askar Akaev. Though political power remain concentrated, but state laid the foundations for a civil society promoting a free press, private and political associations. The language issue was prominent in the republic. The language issues posed serious threat to ethnic harmony of the republic. Akaev decided to suspend the decree on Kyrgyz language in spring 1993. Akaev grew disillusioned with the democratic constraints on executive power. Akaev started the authoritarian offensive in the middle of 1994. He sanctioned the formation of a committee to defend the Honour and Dignity of the president. This

55 The Hindu, New Delhi, 28 June, 1997.
committee will intimidate those who criticise the president. He restricted the freedom of press. The country’s second parliamentary elections 1995 were less open and fair. The May 1993 constitution reduced the number of 350 members in unicameral Kyrgyz assembly to 105. It decreased the representation of ethnic minorities.

Akayev tried to extend the tenure of president by holding a referendum in 1995. But in September 1995, Parliament refused to sanction the referendum. Akaev won the December 24 elections with 71.5 percent of votes. There were many prominent leaders including former communist first secretary, Absamat Masaliev. The elections have shown that transition from communist system to democratic polity is not easy. The political system, is still dominated by clan, tribe, regional and ethnic loyalties.

Why these leaders are for legalizing the authoritarian rule? It is probably due to lack of strong state structures, political tradition, and culture which is necessary for the functioning of a democratic set-up. The sudden change in political system didn’t assign new democratic values in a system. The other political elites tried to enter new political system through mechanism of elections. But the old elites were not in favour of relinquishing the position. They seized the slogan of political stability as the main plank for keeping the power. Actually people were not for the
instability in the society. So the old leader ensured this by taking recourse to authoritarian rule. They took away all the nationalist platform from the opposition the change in their tactics made the opposition helpless for a sometime.

A common feature of all Central Asian republics is the continuity of the "old regime" in the administrative bodies, even there where the higher political echelons were replaced. The political upheaval mainly led to the transformation of the communist parotcracy into authoritarian presidential regimes with the corresponding ideological shift from the leninist to the national legitimization of the of rule. The justification given for authoritarian character of political rule, even by "enlightened rulers" such as Nazarbayev and Akaev, is that strong political leadership is needed during a phase of problematic state and nation-formation and economic transformation. A further common feature is the traditional recruitment of elites, which is oriented to tribal connections in the formerly nomadic societies and to connection based on local and regional patriotism.

The Central Asian "Party Princedoms" of the Brezhnev era were based on traditional loyalty patterns. In order to survive the power struggles which characterize communist party hierarchies, the party leaders of a particular region surrounded themselves with members of his own
clan, tribe, horde, since the traditional kinship and tribal relations are more reliable than the comradeship of the party. What may seem today to be the conflict between the communist "old-regime" and democratic or Islamic opposition is often connected to a greater extent with the attempt by previously disadvantaged tribal and regional forces to oust old ruling cliques or force them to share power.  

There are five existing elite groups in Central Asia today. These are: the nomenklatura, former functionaries of communist party; functionaries of the military-industrial complex and the Russian elite more generally; members of the arts and intellectual communities; the religious establishment; and the participants in the "shadow economy", or black and grey market. Although these groups have distinct identities and agendas, both membership and their interests can and do overlap, often within single republic and not infrequently from republic to republic. None of the groups is tightly disciplined or closely controlled; nor are the subgroups monolithic, there are distinctions which must be made for the generation and nationality of each group's members and for the function they fulfil. Moscow remains an important crutch to the senior members of the Central Asian elites. Each of the Central Asia's president is from the nomenklatura

of the communist party of Soviet Union. Even Askar Akaev was a member of the Central Committee CPSU.57

Central Asia and Russia

The Central Asian republics reluctantly accepted independence. But later, these republics tried to mould their identity as sovereign states. The Central Asian republic were not for reintegration of the post-Soviet area within some new political institution. But Russia remains central to the policy making of the Central Asian states. The Central Asian republics maintain a close co-operation with Russia both bilateraly and through CIS. Still Central Asia is economically connected with Russia. The cotton from Central Asia is now main raw materials to Russia. Russia is also providing technology. The fundamentalist threat forced Central Asian leaders to take help from Russia.

Russia reoriented its foreign and security policy from the "Euro-Atlanticist" direction to the "Near Abroad". Russia was seen by Central Asian republics capable of maintaining the existing degree of stability after the civil war in Tajikistan. The demographic composition of Kazakhstan compelled it for close relationship with Russia. Uzbekistan's minority

Tajiks and common border with Tajikistan and war torn Afghanistan are threat to its security. So Uzbekistan seeks the help of Russia for its stability. The new Russian military considers the southern border as strategic. It also asserts that can intervene militarily to protect the ethnic Russians. A new geo-politics of oil might have prompted Russia to assert Russia itself in near abroad. Russian oil companies managed to enter into many oil deals. Inspite of accusation of Russian new-imperialism, Central Asian republics are maintaining close-cooperation with Russia. The Central Asian Republics are worried about stability. Only Russia can play a vital role in this region. The U.S.A can not change the hegemony of Russia in Central Asia in the near future. Russia is a active member in bringing the warring faction in Tajikistan into negotiation. It has put pressure on Government in Tajikistan to make coalition government with opposition.

**Eurasian Union**

The leaders of some republics wanted to strengthen the CIS for solution of various internal problems. In this background, the president of Kazakhstan put forward the idea of new state structure on the basis of the CIS in the Eurasian Union (EU). That institution was a suprenational one. It implies a unified parliament, a multinational body elected by open ballot, whose decisions would be discussed in representative structure of the union states. There will be a council of defence ministers and a unified
defense complex and a secretariat. The unified citizenship for mooted. A common economic policy, and a suprnational currency be special feature. The idea of Eurasian Union might have been influenced by the European Union. The concept of Eurasian Union did not get much support in Central Asia. The political elites in the republics saw it as the substitution for neo-Soviet Union.

Role of Legislatures

Just like the old ruling elite in the new form, role of legislature has not changed much after the creation of the independent states. The role of legislatures in Central Asia have not been like that of legislature in democratic political system. The only change has been the representation of various interest in the legislature. The election to the parliament has been free and fair to a great extent unlike that of old system of communist rule. The formation of various group have changed the structures of the legislature. The various political parties and groups in Kazakhstan have been represented in the election held in 7 March 1994. In that election independents have secured the highest number of seats. The Deputies of the 12th Supreme Soviet got 40 seats. Then Union people's Unity of Kazakhstan became third, securing 33 seats. But the supreme council was disbanded by President in 12 March 1995 following a constitutional court ruling that the March 1994 election was invalid.
In Tajikstan, election was held in 26 February 1994 to Supreme Soviet. Out of 181 seats, communist party and affiliates secured 100 seats. The Popular Party secured 10. The party of Popular Unit got 6 seats. But others got 64 seats. The legislature in Kyrgyzstan is bicameral. The election of assembly of representatives was held on 5 February 1995 in 70 member house to which 60 members were elected so far; next round of runoffs held 19 April 1995.

Under Turkmenistan constitution of 1992, there are two parliamentary bodies, a unicameral People's Council (Halk Maslakhaty-having more than 100 members and meeting infrequently and a 50-member unicameral Assembly (Majlis). The election was last held on 11 December 1994. The total 50 seats were preapproved by President Niyazov. Out of 50, Democratic Party got 45 and other got 5. The election to the supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan was last held on 25 December 1995. The legislature is unicameral.

The formation of legislature by the free and fare election is new one.

- In theory, the constitution has provided the great role for the legislature. Now the free discussion is conducted unlike the communist period. But due to preponderant role of presidents and lack of an effective role of any opposition groups, functioning of the legislatures are not democratic in the
true sense. Inspite of all the discussion, it performs the ratifying function without effective veto power for a legislation. Still, the formation of legislature on democratic line is a welcome step. The political culture was not democratic. So the political process will take more time to adjust, after in the fall of communist regime. In the communist time it was reduced to rubber stamp. But now at least presidents are trying to win over the legislators to get political legitimacy. The legislature is reflecting the various issues of the state. Many legislation have been passed having wide discussions. So the role of the legislatures in these republics will be effective with the active participation of the various groups from the different stratas of society.

III The New Political Parties and Groups Since 1991

The formation of new political parties and groups started after the introduction of reforms by Gorbachev. But the numbers of parties and groups increased only after the independence by the republics. The first appearance of new democratic elements in the political system of Central Asian republics were the alternative groups and movements from the middle of 1988. In Kazakhstan almost hundred groups have appeared in the political scene. The majority of the groupings are small in membership. The have very attractive slogans inorder to collect funds and register membership. The aim of these informal and formal alternative native groups is to establish multi-party political system.
There are many political parties and informal groups in Kazakhstan. The People’s Congress of Kazakhstan (NKK), formed before August coup as a opposition to Socialist Party (the former communist). It is headed by Olzhas Suleimenov and Mukhtar Shakhanov. The former Communist Party of Kazakhstan (CPK) renamed itself the Socialist Party in September 1991. In 1992, the SPK was reported to have 47,000 members and has factions in councils of different levels.

Nazarbaev created in February 1993 a party called Union of People’s Party of Kazakhstan (SNEK). Its name was changed to People’s Unity party. The Union of People’s Unity was headed by Kuan ysh Sultanov. There are three most important nationalist parties, Azat, Jeltokhasan and Alash. Among the three, Azat, a civic movement, organized in the summer of 1990. It was accepted by Kazakh communities when it championed the cause internationalism. It was the most popular movement. It became channel of communication between the government and general mass. It opposed a violent approach to inter-ethnic relations. After getting popular support among mass it opened party’s regional branches in most of the oblasts in Kazakhstan. It even recruited members from Ukrainians, Germans, Tatars, and Cheehens.
Jeltokhsan party is officially registered with Kazakh government on 29 March 1990 and headed by former anti-communist activist Hasen Akhmedov. It is a radical and highly controversial organization. It arms Kazakhs with anti-Russian ideologies. Although the party initially aimed at an official rehabilitation for the victims of the December demonstration in 1986. It was credited by the public for insistently pushing the government to respond to public demand for an investigation commission. Its actions provoked fierce protests from the Slavic communities. Following their hasty removal of Zhirzinsky’s statute from the centre of Alma-Ata the Party began to aim at the Russians with such naked slogans as "Kazakhstan for Kazakhs and Russia for Russians". As the party went further in confronting and challenging Nazarbaev’s government, it was doomed to suffer a serious set-back. It was denied registration afterwards due to its approach to the inter-ethnic-relations.

The Kazakh nationalist party ‘Alash’ was formed in April 1990 by Aron Atabek and Bolatbek Akhmet Ali. It recruited member mostly from the participants of the December riots. Its extreme views were totally different from the original Alash party of (1905-1920). Waving a flag

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proclaiming: 'Islam, Turkism, Democracy', Alash believed that violence was the only effective way to gain the final goal, which is to restore the independent Islamic state of Alas-Orda (1917-1991), which will include all the Turkic peoples living in CIS.\(^5^9\) In January, 1992, Alash was indicted for violence against Mufti of Kazakhstan Ratbek Nysanbaev. The members of the Alash were political detainees after the independence. They were accused of holding unauthorized rallies. The members of Azat Zheltogsan were arrested while they were campaigning in front of the president building in May 1992 to demand government's resignation. Alash accused Nazarbaev of dis-respecting the Kazakh nationalism.

Initial support to the Azat by Kazakh community did not last long. At the same time, people were not enthused by the irrational approach of the Alash and Jeltokhsan. Due to slow growth in economic-field, people suffered severely. So initial enthusiasm for these nationalist parties was lost after somedays. The president Nazarbaev took the opportunity in taking strong action against them on 24 June 1992, and crushed the movements.

There were pro-Russian groups in Kazakhstan. Edinstvo (unity) was established to promote Russian culture. But its registration was rejected.

\(^{59}\) Ibid., pp.16-17.
due to its nationalist stance. The Union of Popular Unity of Kazakhstan (UPUK) was founded in February 1993. It held its first congress only on 12 October 1993. The open harassment by the government of the ultra-Russian organizations did not provoke mass resentment from Slavic-population. These Russian organizations, the Edinstvo, the Congress of Russian Communities (VRC) Russian Community of North Kazakhstan and Kazachesvo, have not got support from Russian masses like the Kazakh nationalist groups. These groups were not able to spread their ideologies among Russian in North Kazakhstan. So these Russian groups are not successful in mobilizing the people. In the present circumstances neither Russians nor Kazakhs are in favour of destabilizing the present government. The social movement LAD (Slavic Rebirth Society), was headed by V. Mikhaylov. Even these groups were not accepted by the Slavik people. Within Slavic population the support developed among ethnic lines. Ukrainian prefers Kazakh groups then Russian. But Byelorussian are loyal to their elder brother Russians.

After the liquidation of communist party in Kyrgyzstan, the ‘Kyrgyzstan Democratic Movement’ became the country’s leading political force. Its chairman was Kazat Akhmatov. The aims of ‘Kyrgyzstan Democratic Movement were the sovereignty, economic independence, general presidential election and the introduction of multi-party systems.
The groups formed after the bloody clashes in the Osh region are "Askar", the student's movement 'Aqiqat,' Osh Aimagi and the "Kyrgyzstan Democratic" Wing "which primarily calls for religions intolerance. These groups are organized under umbrella organization, "Kyrgyzstan Democratic movement".

The Uzbek minority in Kyrgyzstan has mainly been organized in the group "Usbek Adalat "which claims to have approximate 400,000 members. Usbek Adalat calls first and foremost for the introduction of Uzbek as the official language of state in Osh, the preservation of Uzbeki culture, and the creation of an autonomous Uzbek region inside Kyrgyzstan. The slavic association was formed to promote their culture. But some-radical members of this association are determined to counter the increase of Kirgizian ethno-nationalism. There are minor political parties like National Unity chaired by German Kuznetsov, Republic Popular Party of Kyrgyzstan and Agrarian party of Kyrgyzstan, headed by A. Aliyev. Apart from a host of social and political groupings, there are currently two important parties in Kyrgyzstan "Democratic Kyrgyzstan" and the "Party of Democratic Movement" which is exclusively backed by national-democratic Kirgizians and the multi-ethnic democratic movement "People's

In Turkmenistan, situation is not conducive for the organization of various parties and groups. The Communist Party of Turkmenistan which was renamed Democratic Party of Turkmenistan headed by president Saparmurad Niyazov. The other parties were Party for Democratic Development, (Durdymurat Haja-Mukhammed-chairman), Agzybirlik (Nurberdy Nurmamedov co-chairman, Hybayberdi Halliyev, co-chairman). But the formal opposition parties are outlawed; unofficial, small opposition movements exist underground or in foreign countries.

The pattern of political development in Uzbekistan was almost identical to that of other Central Asian states. The two opposition-parties "Erk" and Birlik were essentially socio-cultural organizations. Later they assumed the opposition role to ruling Communist Party. The Islamic Rebirth party was headed by Abdullah Utayev. The Adolat of 94 was formed by former vice president Shukhrat Mirasaidov and Ibragim Buriev. Among Islamist, a vigilante groups have emerged. These groups were with the title of Adolat (Justice). They acted as a religious police, protecting local neighborhood from crime and ensuring that Islamic codes of moral conducts are followed. The followers of Erk and Birlik were suppressed like Adolat and IRP by Uzbek authorities. So there was no chance of new
group in Uzbekistan at least coming into open. Abdulrahim Pulatov of Birlik exile in west. The leader of IRP, Abdullah Utaev is either in prison or in exile. So the opposition groups are suppressed by authority.

The possibility of Islamic revolution in Tajikistan was ignored by many people in the beginning. The fundamentalist Islamic Revival Party or underground Islamic Revival movement dates back to 1970. The series of demonstrations in the republic staged by Islamic activists as in Kurgan Tyube in October 1986, Kulyab in October 1989, a number of locations in Kurgan Tyube province throughout 1989, and in Dushanbe on February 24 1989, and February 1990. It was maintained by Sovietologist that Central Asia was immune to Islamic revolution. So the indications of an Islamic resurgence in Tajikistan were ignored or underplayed by most area specialist. Islamic revolution in the sense of their overthrow of communist or quasi-communist rule by fundamentalist or other Islamic forces have taken place in that republic.

While it is true, strictly speaking, that the anti-regime demonstrations in the republic in the autumn of 1991 and spring of 1992 were led by the co-alation of Islamic and more secular democratic elements, Careful
analysis reveals that Islamic component dominated. IRP was able to mobilize the rural people for demonstrations. The Rastokhez popular-front could stage 200 demonstrations. In October, 1991, Islamic activists staged anti-regime demonstrations for two-weeks. As a result Nabiev was forced to resign from presidency. But Nabiev was elected president in November 1991 defeating Islamic-democratic co-alation candidate Davlat Khudonazarov, a Tajik former deputy in Soviet Congress of People's Deputies and a strong supporter Yelstin in August, coup.

The most important factor in Nabiev's victory was the regional factor in Tajikistan politics. Both Khujand and Kulyab region voted for him. The votes of Khudonazarov were significantly higher for a opposition leader in anywhere in Central Asian Republics. At the same time, Nabiev resumed old communist style of functioning. Even the name of the party was not changed. Rather party spokesman in the party conference proclaimed that with this action, the process of restoring the USSR had begun. Dictatorial rule was the order of day. The legislation was enacted limiting the freedom of press and assembly.

Allen Hetmanek, "Islamic Revolution and Jihad Come to the former Soviet Central Asia": the Case of Tajikistan, Central Asian Survey vol.12, No.30, p.367.
Then mass protest began in Dushanbe. At the beginning, demonstrators were mostly from Navzhuwanov's home region of Badakshan. Then the Islamic Revival Party exerted greatest influence on the movement. The participation in the rallies of Islamic Revival party provided an excuse for spreading rumours about the activity of "Islamic-fundamentalists" in republic. Rakhmon Nabiyev did not come out even once before the people who rallied for 52 days against the activity of supreme council. Already in the first month of armed clashes, which started in Kulyab oblast at the beginning of April 1992, hundreds of people were killed and became refugees. At the height of the war in kurgan-Tyube Oblast, the mountaineers massacred whole-villages. In contrast, in Kulyab-oblast, no one was attacked. In just two days of the escapade, which was undertaken by Safarali Kendzhayev, the former chairman of the supreme council, more then 300 persons died in Dushanbe on 24 and 25 October 1992. Therefore, number of victims during the war announced by leaders of Tajikistan was 20000. It was nothing more than an attempt to conceal the real scale of the tragedy. This is also associated with the fact that the militants of the People's Front who support President Nabiyev widely used weapons and armoured equipment of the Russian 201st Division. Hardly anyone knows the scope of the Tajik emigration: only now information is appearing about the hundreds of Tajiks who live in Yekaterinburg Novosibersk, Omsk, Irkutsk, Ufa, Astrakhan, St. petersburg.
Hostilities ended on May 11 after the conclusion of the accord between President Nabiev and opposition, granting latter half of seats in parliament. Eight government posts including the a vice-premiership went to the Islamic Renaissance party’s vice chairman, Davlat Usmon. The coalition government composed of religious leader of Tajikistan’s Sunni Muslims, Akbar Turadzhonzoda and head of the Democratic Party, Shadmon Yasupov was overthrown in December 1992 by the supporters of the former president Nabiev led by the leader of Kulyab militia, Sangah Safarov. The new government, led by a former communist, Imamali Rakhmanov and backed by Uzbekistan and Russia banned activities of opposition groups.

The Role of Islam in Political System

Although some attributed Islamic fundamentalism to spillover effect from Afghanistan and Iran, it has its own root in Tajikistan. In 1985, it was reported that in Tajikistan alone, Islamic fundamentalism was referred by the designation, Wahhabism. The movement tried to purify the Tajik Islam

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62. FBIS - USSR - 93 129, 6-October 1993, pp.99-100.
through the elimination of various un-Islamic beliefs and practices which profane it. In regard to theocratic state structure, Islamic Revival party varied depending upon the circumstances. It can be decided even through referendum. Its specific roots and flavour not withstanding Tajik fundamentalism had been influenced from abroad since 1970. Kazi Turazhonzada has written about the influx into the republic of such fundamentalist classics of the Muslim Brotherhood ideologist Sayyid and Mohammed Qutband and Pakistan's Maulana A'la Maududi in that period, associating their appearance in Central Asia with the establishment of closer Soviet-Mid-Eastern relations.63

One of the constituents of the present day religious membership of movement is represented by the supporter of the Suffism in the form of brotherhood nakshbandiya. In 1993, the 675th anniversary of B.Nakshbandi was celebrated. The main centre was Bukhara where he was born. The movement is more moderate in its programme and purposes in comparison with the Wahabites of Ferghana valley. The membership of movement is small in number but one can expect that the celebration will give it more dynamics and increase the number of followers.

63 Halbach, n.56, pp.369-72.
Returning to the hypothesis about the possible repetition of the Iranian-experience in its Central Asian version, it should be said that process of religious revival in the Central Asian Republics should be linked with various social, cultural, historical and economic factors. The facts show that there is no absolute similarity between Central Asian conditions and those of Iran in the nineties. There may be certain kind of analogy between the religious movement in Iran and the movement of the Wahabites in Ferghana valley. But despite some common factors, there is some essential differences. Firstly, the Wahabites of Ferghana valley do not strive for political power. Their purposes are mainly to change the spiritual and social characters in such spheres as education, culture, and everyday life and to inculcate Islamic norms to them. Despite some radical actions they do not oppose present authorities. Within the limits of current legislation they are active in economic development. They are different in faith like sunni (Ferghana valley) and shia in Iran. The experience of theocratic states, including Islamic ones in present day world does not promote the rise of an the fundamentalist aspiration for the attainment of political power in these country.\(^\text{64}\)

\(^{64}\) Z.I. Munavvarov, "Uzbekistan and process of changes taking places in what used to be Soviet-Union": Iranian Journal of International Affairs, vol.VI, No.1, Spring-1992, pp.178-79.
Wahhabism had grown in Garm region. The money of Garm’s tradesman (controlled by Palayev) was spent not only on the construction of new mosques (their number had in matter of years grown fourthfold) but also on the building of political structures, initially clandestine, then semi-clandestine, and in the final years of the communist regime, alternative virtually. It was in Garm region that the position of party and leadership of the oblast were squeezed out in planned fashion to the greatest extent by the Mullahas (frequently not appointed by Qadiate) It was in Garm that the plan oriented growth of wahhabi trends proceeded, it was there that IPVT became increasingly active. Non of this could have occurred without cover at the top".65

It had become clear in Ozodi who the leaders of the Kulyabi would be. One of them-the mullah Khaydar Sharifzoda, who opposed the Chief qadi and accused him of a wahhabism alien to the people and Islam of Tajikistan. He said that chief qadi was defiling the traditional customs of the Tajik Sunnis and saying that the communist could be true believer and opposing the idea of "Kafirism," Mullah Khaydar counterposed his Hanifism to Turadzhonzoda’s Hanibalism.66 So the political elites were

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65. FBIS-USSR, 93-117, 8 September, 1993, p.75.
66. Ibid., p.78.
not opposed to popular Islam in Garm but to the Saudi version of wahhabism. There was no pious objective the that movement. The popular Mullah Khaydar cursed the qadi and transferred the political power to popular politician as a real clergyman. Sangak Safarov was natural choice. Though he did not like Nabiyev, but defended Russians and communist and called for the repulse of the forces of political terror in the republic.

Of the four Central Asian republics, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are only two where Islam has become a distinctive way of life for a significant portion of the population. Among nomads, which is what both the Kyrgyz and Turkmen were in the past, religiousness is more prevalent at the level of daily life and perceived as the need to observe rituals. When the May (1992) revolution in Tajikistan is called Islamic, there is undoubtedly some truth in that. But all the same, can one talk about Islam's defining role in the May events?

During the spring troubles, a surprising features of the present day Tajikistan was manifested: Along with the "Islamists," the Pamir people showed themselves to be the most active and energetic opponents of the existing system. It is rather strange alliance. Unlike "Sunni" Tajikistan, most of the Pamir people profess Ismailism (an offshoot of the Shiite branch of Islam). Many Tajik peasants do not consider the pamir people to be
Muslims. Nevertheless, in Tajikistan regional solidarity has proved to be stronger than differences in religious views. The peasants Sunnis from the southern region of the republic and the Pamir people united without hesitation against the common-enemy”, the Leninabad clan. The struggle between northerners and southerners required a stronger grounding than trivial tribalism. The "red idea" had been monopolized by the northerner a long ago. The Islamist successfully availed themselves of the opportunity to occupy ideological vaccum. Davlat Khudonazarov was probably right when he characterized Islam in Tajikistan as "a philosophy of the down trodden".67

The situation in Tajikistan was result of regional factors combined with economic deprivation of the southerners. The political power of the republic was with the northerners since October revolution. There was no alternative with the southerners but to fight against the northern domination. After the dissolution of the Soviet-Union, communism was not a popular slogan among the deprived southerners. Again communism as an ideology could not have been used against the so-called communist regime of Nabiye. Islam-provided the strong binding factor for uniting the southern people divided on the tribal lines against the common enemy.

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The communist system had not improved their standard of living. So the communism as an ideology has been discredited among the masses in the south which became apparent after the disintegration of the Soviet-union. So the ideology chosen by the people in the south was due to the vacuum in that sphere.

After the supreme court verdict, four parties, IRP, the Democratic Party, the Rastokhez-Public movement and the Pamir Party of Tajikstan remained legal. Though opposition parties members are either in underground or driven out of republic, the situation cannot be normal without the participation of the southern leaders in the political processes. After the disintegration of the soviet-union, political solution by co-erosion will invite the more problems from southerners in the republic. President E. Rakhmonov has created problems for himself in driving tens of thousand Tajikis into Afganistan and Pamirs.

After Tajikistan, Uzbekistan was most vulnerable to Islamist's attack. Islam Karimov supported Nabiye in sending the forces to fight against Islamic groups. He hoped that victory of co-alition of 'democratic' and Islamic forces would embolden their counterparts in the Uzbekistan. After 1994, Islam Karimov advocated for negotiated settlement, because continuation of war has added new risks to the region. The fighting has
posed growing threat to the stability of Kyrgyzstan as well. The Kyrgyzstan also had an irredentist population in most of which has moved to Osh region. The drugs, arms, and religious missionaries have made their way from Afghanistan, through Pamirs into Tajikistan, and then up through the mountains of Kyrgyzstan’s Osh oblast on to main transportation grid of the former Soviet-Union.

All the region’s leaders are frightened of popular mobilization along ethnic or religious lines. While nationalist oriented political movement have organized throughout the region, their political power has been exaggerated. They are most active in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, but this is as much a product of the less restrictive political climate in to both countries, as it is the politicization of ethnic identity. With the conspicuous exception of Tajikistan, most nationalist leaders in Central Asia have chosen to make peace if only a wary one, with the current political incumbents.  

Another key determinant will be whether the secular leaders of Central Asia offer meaningful political participation to Islamic moderates or inadvertently push moderates towards militancy by excluding them

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from the political process and forcing them to go underground.\textsuperscript{69}

While national identity has certainly become more politicized in general in post-Soviet Central Asia, the sense of who is "ours" and who is not, shifts according to circumstances. All the new states are evolving new identities and culture. At the same time old identities have not completely disappeared. Now leaders of Central Asia felt the need for the rule of law above the ethnic groups. Because only it can safeguard the interest of all ethnic groups. The present leaders are product of communist ideology. So they are not nationalist in heart. They have invoked the nationalist propagands for their political and economic advantages when they feel it as a convenient way out.

However, their Soviet background creates serious liabilities, for Central Asia's leaders when it comes to question of Islam. Seven decades of indoctrination that religion is intrinsically evil has not disappeared overnight. Throughout the former Soviet-Union religion has been readmitted into society only grudgingly and then largely to the degree that it serves as a social or cultural palliative rather than a prescription for

living. At the movement religion and state are not in a firm collision course. All the five countries are secular societies in which size of the religious sphere remains largely determined by the state. Most believers are grateful for greater degree of freedom accorded to them. It is still uncertain what lies in the future for five republics.

IV. Constitutional Development in Central Asia

In order to analyse the new constitutions of republics in Central Asia, we have to describe the constitutional system of USSR and its constituent union republics before the disintegration of Soviet Union. We can make a comparative study of the past constitutions with the present constitutions of republics. There are many opinions regarding constitutional system of the Soviet Union. According to western scholar, there was a large gap between theory and practice of constitution in Soviet Union. Merle Fainsod opines, "in the west constitution exists to impose limits on the government which they create whether embodied in formal document or in a customary usage, they attempt to confine each branch of government to its prescribed role to safeguard citizens against abuse of power by officialdom and to enforce continuing responsibility of the governing authorities to the electorate... This concept of constitutionalism

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70 Olcott, n.68, p.341.
is alien to the Soviet Union. Its ruling party is self-perpetuating and it cannot be dislodged save by revolution. Its power are all embracing and without limit. He however, concedes well-defined function for a Soviet constitution: "No dictatorship can escape the problem of devising a system of central and local authorities which will be responsive to its will. By incorporating these arrangements in pseudo-constitutional form, the ruling group gives them an air of legitimacy and stability which no series of administrative usages can ever communicate". Lenin was of different opinion on the conception of constitution. In 1906, Lenin stated, "A constitution is fictitious when Law and reality diverge, it is not when they coincide". According to him, constitution is the fundamental law of state and law governing election and powers to the representative institutions which expresses the actual relation of the forces in class-struggle.

The 1918 constitution put an end to provisional character of Soviet-State "The Russian Soviet Republic is established on the principle of a free union of free nations, as a federation of national Soviet Republics." Article 4,5, and 6 deal with the free self determination of nations.

72. Ibid., p.350.
73. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol.15, p.336
The principal object of the constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, a constitution for the present period of transition, consists in the establishment (in the format a strong Soviet Government) of the dictatorship of the urban and rural workers, combined with the poorer peasantry, to secure the complete suppression of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and establishment of socialism under which neither class division nor state co-erosion arising therefrom will any longer exists.\textsuperscript{75} Again only workers and peasants of each nation and no other section, of classes can decide the issue relating to self-determination. It is a qualified statement favouring a particular class. The 1924 constitution of USSR was the first which institutionalized the federal structure after conclusion of the 1922 Union treaty. It was the first constitution to demarcate the role and function of the union and union republics. The congress of soviets consisted of Council of Union and Council of Nationalities. Each republic shall exercise its state power independently and Union republic shall retain the right to secession from the union.

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., p.15.
The 1936 constitution was adopted by Stalin. The significant innovation of the 1936 constitution was that role of communist party was mentioned. The 1936 constitution made clear about the constitutions of union republic. But the very repressive Stalin rule in late thirties had made Soviet constitution and its provision irrelevant. In such a condition, there was no scope for the constituent units to function even in limited sphere by the stipulated acts of the constitution. Fainsod rightly comments, "Soviet federalism was revealing itself as an increasingly transparent fiction"76. Khrushchev tried to improve the federal structure by giving the autonomy to republic in 1954. He emphasized to resist the temptation of overtaking the functions of state organs by Communist Party and to observe the designated norms of party-state relations. But it was not successful due to his removal from the party post. Then Supreme Soviet of USSR adopted the new constitution on October 7, 1977. The tone of the 1977 statute, one might add, plainly conservative. The emphasis is on internal succession and stability or, as the preamble takes care to explain, the preservation of "the continuity of the ideas and principles of the first Soviet constitution of 1918, the constitution of the USSR of 1924, and the constitution of the USSR of 1936."77

76. N. 71, p.370.
The political monopoly of leadership by the party is finally and authoritatively broadcast in Article-6, para one and two hastens to justify this exclusive arrangement on the grounds of the party's preemption of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, and jointly, the preamble and Article-6 provide ideological legitimation for the party's investiture with supermen political power. The change between the 1936 and 1977 charters in that respect dramatic. Indeed, the old statute relegated the communist party to the chapter on the rights and duties of citizens and spoke of the party only in connection with the right of the more active and conscious elements of the working population voluntarily to band in its ranks.

The role of party was mentioned in 1936 constitution in very general terms. But 1977 constitution legalized the monopoly and dominating role of party in Soviet society and left no scope for pluralism in a multinational state.

Reading the preamble along with Article-6 gives one the impression that the constitution establishes a state religion practiced under the auspices of the CPSU, the only organization privy to all the mysteries of the creed. In a manner of speaking, Article-6 is an "establishment clause," it ratifies a state religion as well as a kind of theocratic state in which party plays the role of the ruling church armed with infallible knowledge of
Marxism - Leninism, the CPSU steers the Soviet people toward the millennium, that is, "full-communism".\textsuperscript{78}

According to Article 39 of the 1977 constitution, citizens of the USSR enjoys in full the social, economic, political and personal rights and freedoms proclaimed and guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR and by the Soviet Laws. The socialist system ensures the enlargement of the rights and freedoms of citizens and continuous improvement of their living standard as social, economic and cultural development programmes are fulfilled. Enjoyment by citizens of their rights and freedoms must not be to the detriment of the interests of society or the state, or infringe the rights of other citizens.\textsuperscript{79} It is conditional in nature in the enjoyment of freedom, when the final authority to decide what amounts to injury to the interests of society, state and rights of other citizens, is the official monopoly of governing apparatus. Again Soviet socialist traditions put first priority on social and economic rights than on the social and political rights.\textsuperscript{80}

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid, p.11.


\textsuperscript{80} N. 77. p.46.
In guaranteeing the equality of citizens of USSR, constitution mentions the provisions for this in Article 36. Article 36 ensures that citizens of the USSR of different races and nationalities have equal rights. Exercise of these rights is ensured by a policy of all-round development and drawing together of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, by educating citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and by the possibility to use their native language and languages of other peoples of the USSR. These provision was not implemented in the USSR. The language of natives was not promoted even though there was a provision for that. Probably language issue became prominent after the introduction of reforms by Gorbachev. Russification was forced on various nationalities. There were provisions for the personal liberties in the Article 54 to 58 in the constitution. But there was no judicial safeguard for the personal liberties as in democratic countries. The right to speech and press was formally put in the constitution. It was very difficult on the part of citizen to critisise the policy and programmes of the Communist Party. There was no other groups to share power in the political system. Right to press was practically impossible in that atmosphere.

\[81\] N.79, p.256.

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The political participation by the mass through electoral process started since 1936. The USSR was able to show the world of direct and secret election for the institutions of democracy. But one party system cannot be compared with democracy in the western parlance. If there is no other political parties in the competition, where is the question of choice for the voters? It must be admitted that there are parts of world that are accepted as democratically governed and in which there is only one effective party because competing party is traditionally too weak to make slightest challenge to its rule. It is possible, there force, for a system to merit attribution of the democratic label if there be only one effective party, but, in such cases there is choice of candidates within that party. In many places this choice is provided through a party primary, in which the citizen can select the candidate he prefers. If he belong to traditional minority party, he may even declare membership in the perpetual majority party, so as to have an opportunity to vote in its primary and thus share in the selection of the candidates. Opportunity for such choice of candidate is denied. The Communist Party holds no primaries, nor does permit the placing of more than one name per office on ballot paper.\textsuperscript{82}

The Soviet model of democracy is different from the western model. The Marxist model denounce the western model as the bourgeoisie

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., pp. 57-58.
democracy. It interprets the political system as the superstructure of the economic sub-structure. So the Soviet constitution advocates for the socialist democracy. The democracy in Soviet Union is based on the socialist law, democratic centralism, monopolist role of the communist party of the Soviet Union. But one party rule with the controversial concept of "Democratic Centralism" made the democratic institution farce in the Soviet-Union. People had no opportunity to express their will in that atmosphere. What do we mean by Democratic Centralism in a one party ruled political system? Every one can interpret according to its own choice. The voice of dissent either in political or in cultural field had been suppressed by the authorities. There was hardly any differences between policy decisions party and the state bodies. In the name of socialist democracy, the communist party became autocratic in nature Article-6 put the communist party in the prime-position in the determining the general perspective of home and foreign policy.

Federal State

The federal structure of the Soviet-State was legally embodied in the Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People, signed by Lenin and adopted at the Third-All-Russia Congress of Soviets in January 1918. The Declaration said that the "Russian Soviet Republic is established on the principle of free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet
national republics." It thus formulated the principle of the federal structure of the Soviet State - a free union of free nations - and Soviet republics.\textsuperscript{83} It should be noted that the 1924 constitution did not specify the Soviet-state as a federal state; rather it has used the term "union of State". The second All-Union Congress of Soviets (held in January, 1924) approved the constitution of USSR, which incorporated. Lenin's principles of building the world's first multinational socialist union state on the basis of dictatorship of proletariat Lenin began to lay down the basic principles of a soviet type federation which to him meant, "association of equals' an association that demands common agreements".\textsuperscript{84} The 1924 constitution was the first to demarcate the jurisdiction of union and constituent union republics.

**Union Republics in 1924 Constitution**

The chapter 2 deals with sovereign rights of the Union-republic and federal citizenship. Article-3 declares, "Each Union Republic shall exercise its state power independently Article-4 declares, "Union republic shall retain the right to free secession from the Union". The congress of Soviets was consisted of two chamber; one was Council of Union and other was Council of Nationalities.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{83} V.S. Shevtsov, \textit{National Sovereignty and Soviet State} (Moscow, 1979), pp. 48-49.
\item \textsuperscript{84} V.I. Lenin, \textit{Collected Works}, vol.22. p.325.
\end{itemize}
Union Republics under 1936 Constitution

The 1936 constitution was very clear in defining the role and function of the Union-republics. Even 1936 constitution under amendments of 1944 empowered the Union republics to maintain their own military formation and right of Union republics to enter in to diplomatic relations with other states.

In March 1937, Union republics adopted their constitutions. But Stalinist repression in the late thirties had made Soviet constitution irrelevant. In that atmosphere, it was impossible for Union republics to enjoy the sovereignty even in limited sphere. The dominating role of communist party in the Soviet Union made federation as a irrelevant. It was very difficult to enjoy sovereignty in the practice. The 1936 constitution of the USSR developed Lenin’s principle of equality of nations, and declared it to be the inviolable law.

Union Republics after 1977 Constitution

The supreme Soviet adopted the draft as the new constitution of the USSR on October, 1977. It has 174 articles in 21 chapters. The Communist Party was mentioned in both preamble and first chapter in 1977 constitution. It legalized the monopoly of the Communist Party in Soviet Society. Article 76 declares, ‘A Union Republic is a sovereign soviet
socialist state that has united with other Soviet-Republics in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Outside the spheres listed in Article - 73 of the constitution of the USSR, a Union Republic exercises independent authority on its territory. A Union Republic shall have its own constitution conforming to the constitution of the USSR, with the specific features of the Republic being taken into.\textsuperscript{85}

Article - 72 declares, Each Union Republic shall retain the right freely to seeds from USSR. Not only republican leaders but ordinary individuals as well have had their way blocked when they have wanted to exercise their right of free speech, guaranteed by the constitution, to urge secession. This has been the conclusion of specialist on Soviet criminal law who note that the definition of "treason" includes "as act intentionally committed by the citizen of the USSR, to the detriment of state independence, the territorial inviolability or the military might of the USSR."\textsuperscript{86} So the right to secession was impracticable due to the various clauses attached to it.

\textsuperscript{85} N. 79, p.264.

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., p.107.
1978 Constitutions of Central Asian Republics

1) Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic was formed on October 27, 1924 (joined the union on same day), Uzbekistan adopted first constitution on February 28, 1931 on the pattern of 1924 USSR constitution. The Second constitution was adopted in 1937 on the pattern of 1936 USSR constitution. The third constitution was adopted on April 29, 1978 on the pattern of 1977 USSR constitution. The 1978 constitution has 183 articles grouped in eleven parts and further subdivided into 21 chapters.

2) Turken Soviet Socialist Republic was formed on 27 October, 1927. (joined the USSR on the same day). Its first constitution was adopted on 30 March, 1927 on the pattern of 1924 USSR constitution. Its second constitution was adopted in 1937 on the pattern 1936 USSR constitution of USSR. It third constitution was adopted 13 April, 1978. The 1978 constitution has 173 Articles in nine chapters.

3) Tajik SSR was formed on 16 October, 1929 and (joined USSR on 5 December, 1929). Its first constitution was adopted on 23 March 1937 on the pattern of 1936 USSR constitution. Its second constitution was adopted on 14 April, 1978. It has 174 Articles in 19 chapters.
4) Kirghiz SSR was formed on 5 December, 1936 (joined USSR on the Someday). Its first constitution was adopted on 23 March, 1937. The second constitution was adopted on 2 April, 1978 on the pattern of 1977 USSR constitution. The constitution has 172 Articles in 19 chapters.

5) Kazakh Soviet Socialist republic was formed on 5 December, 1936. Its first constitution was adopted in 1937. The second constitution was adopted on 20 April, 1978. The 1978 constitution has 173 Articles in 19 chapters.

The provisions of the constitution deal with foundations of the social system, policies of state and individual, national, state and administrative territorial structure, Soviet of people's Deputies, local state power, financial and judicial system, flag, anthem and capital of the republic.

The Central Asian republican constitutions also accord a place of honour to CPSU. The Supremacy of CPSU is acknowledged like other republican constitutions. The constitutions of Central Asian republics sets the programmatic policies and goals for the future development of their respective societies. It is for the first time that constitutions of Central Asian republics state that all state organs including the party must function within the framework of the constitutions of the USSR. The constitutions
give stress on the legal safeguards to the individuals against excessive interference from state while giving importance to socialist system. The constitutions put emphasis on the equality between man and woman. Inspite of similarity, there are some specific articles which stress promotion of native language for education and preserving the cultural heritage of various nationalities. The format of the republican constitutions are similar with Union Constitution. In the substances, there are very few differences specific to the requirement of Union republics.

But there was total disregard for the constitutions in union republics. The dominating role of CPSU in the affairs of the republics changed the status of the republics in to just like a administrative unit of the USSR. The comment from M.S. Gorbachev on report to Central Committee of CPSU in 1989 was appropriate regarding the status of union republics in USSR. Gorbachev said, "The Union had the right to take up and decide any issue, making the competence and sovereignty of republican authorities in many ways a more formality." So the gap between theory and practice has always in the past worked against the constitutional functioning of the Union republics.

According to the Soviet view, state power and sovereignty are interlinked. The sovereignty of a state depends upon the socio-economic structure of the society. The political and class importance of sovereignty changes radically under socialism. In a federation, every republic by consent has limited its power. But it very strange to put provision for secession of Union republics from the Soviet Union.

Constitutions of Independent Central Asian Republics

The constitutions of independent republics of Central Asia were adopted after the disintegration of Soviet Union. We shall examine how the present constitutions are different from constitutions of those Union republics in the USSR. What are different provisions in present constitutions compared to old union republic constitution. We have to examine whether the provisions in these constitutions are democratic? Before going to that study, we should describe the constitutional development in various republics in Central Asia.

Adoption of the Constitutions:

The constitution of the independent Republic of Uzbekistan was adopted on December 8, 1992. The constitution of Kyrgyz Republic was adopted on 5 May 1993. The constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan was adopted on 28 January, 1993. The constitution of Tajikistan was
adopted on 6 November 1994. These constitutions were adopted after preparation by constitution making authority. In some republics, acts passed before the adoption of new constitution will remain unless these acts do not oppose the constitution. So they tried to maintain some continuity in that sphere where old laws are essential for the present circumstances. Even old state bodies will function until the new bodies are elected.

State Sovereignty:

Article 1 of Uzbekistan constitution declares it sovereign democratic republic. Both names of the state the Republic of Uzbekistan and Uzbekistan shall be equivalent. Article (1) of Kyrgyzstan constitution declares Kyrgyz Republic is a sovereign, unitary, democratic republic built on the principles of a law based state. The sovereignty of the Kyrgyz Republic is not qualified and extends throughout its territory. The people of Kyrgyzstan are exponent of the sovereignty and sole source of state power of the kyrgyz. Republic. Article 1 of Tajikistan constitution says, Tajikistan is a sovereign, democratic secular united republic based on the

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rule of law. According to Article 6, on Tajikistan the exponent of sovereignty and sole source of state power is the people who exercise it within the limits established by the constitution, directly or via their representatives. Kazakhstan constitution mention about declarations of sovereignty.

The Central Asian republics are now both de-facto and de-jure sovereign states unlike the earlier soviet republics. The sovereignty of union republics was never practised in the Soviet-Union. The sovereignty was qualified in nature. It was virtually impossible to work as a sovereign state in the totalitarian system. The communist party of Soviet-Union was sole source of power for the Soviet state. The status of union republics was like the administrative units to implement the ordes from centre. The union republican leaders had virtually no independent power in the policy decisions of the republics. The Union-republics had no diplomatic relations with outside countries. The trade and commerce was conducted through the agencies of Soviet state. The Central Asian republics had no representative either in United Nations or in its other organizations. The union republic could not seek secession, though in theory there was

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91. Ibid., p.61.
provision. Many republican leaders with independent opinion were executed on the various pretext by central authority. The right to speech for secession was termed as treason against the Soviet Union which was very grave crime. So the constitutional provisions for the sovereignty was there in Soviet constitution to show outside world.

The independent Central Asian republics are sovereign state. They are pursuing the independent course of action in the decision making. They are now fullfledged member of United Nations. They are making diplomatic contacts with other states as independent state. The international trade is conducted with other state as equal partner. There is no question of "limited sovereignty" of Soviet period. They are now enjoying unlimited sovereign power within the country and dealing with other states. The constitution have made the adequate provision for the working of sovereign power. The actions of these republic in recent years proved that they are really dejure and defacto sovereign. The soveignty of these republics are recognized by the community of nations. In the Soviet system, the sovereignty of the republics were not recognized because it was not defacto. The Soviet constitution makers made some strange provisions like right to secession. How can a state be sovereign in federal system? The various conditions of sovereignty was theoratically unacceptable. If there is restriction, how can be a state supreme power? So
sovereignty in the Soviet system was not practised. While these republics are now sovereign and independent states.

**Democracy ✓**

Democracy in the western sense is the rule of people. It is the rule of people, by the people and for the people. Whereas the democracy is a class-conception in Marxism. According to Marxist theory, it is the dictatorship of proletariat. But it was changed to rule of Communist Party. The system of election was very strange in the communist system. The one candidate for a constituency is the mockery of democracy. Where is the choice of the people? So people were the just like rubber stamp in the hands of all powerful communist party. There was no political pluralism in the system. The election system was farce. Even inside the functioning of communist party, there was no democracy. The role of opposition parties and free press are for democracy. These two institutions were absent. Even right to speech was very restricted to interpretation of communist party regarding its sphere. There was no strong safeguard in the constitutions for the protection of political rights. So the democratic institution were not there before the introduction of reforms.

The Soviet system was totalitarian in nature. But now people are the source of power in the independent republics. Though the democratic
institution are in formative stage, there has been a right move in that direction. The constitutions make the provision for the success of the democracy. Article 7 of the Uzbekistan constitution says people are the source of state power. State power in the Republic of Uzbekistan shall be exercised in the interests of the people and solely by the bodies empowered therefore by the constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan and laws passed on its basis. Article 9 put the referendum and nationwide discussion for matters of state life. The supreme assembly and president shall be elected by the people. Article 11 of Uzbekistan constitution mentions the separation of powers. According to Article 12, in the Republic of Uzbekistan public like shall develop on the basis of diversity of political institutions, ideologies and opinions. No ideology shall be granted the status of state ideology. Article 13 says, Democracy in the Republic of Uzbekistan shall rest on the principles common to all mankind, according to which the ultimate value is the human being, life, freedom, honour dignity and other inalienable rights. Democratic rights and freedoms shall be protected by the constitution and laws.\textsuperscript{92}

Article 1 of Kyrgyz Republic constitution enunciates that Kyrgyzstan is a sovereign, unitary, democratic republic built on the principles of a law

\textsuperscript{92} N.88, pp.9-10.
based on secular state. The people are sole source of state power. They exercise it directly through referendum and via state authority. Article says political parties, trade unions and other non-government association may be created in Kyrgyz Republic on the basis of free expression and community of interests. The Kyrgyz Republic does not permit: the merger of state and party institutions or subordination of state activity to party programmes and decisions.

The constitution of Kazakhstan says that the people are only source of power. The power of state is exercised either directly or indirectly through the Supreme Soviet and President within the limit of their constitutional authority. The separation of power are in the constitution. The constitution guarantees equal, legal possibilities to public associations operating within the framework of the constitution and laws of the republic. The ideology of public associations may not be established as the state ideology. So Kazakh constitution has the essential provisions for the functioning of the democratic political system. Article 1 described Turkmenistan as 'ademocratic, Law based secular state" taking the form of "presidential republic".

93. No.89, pp.88-89.

The constitutions of independent republics guarantee some basic rights and freedoms. At the sametime, citizens of these republics are required to perform some duties. According to Article 18 to the Uzbekistan constitution, all citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan shall have equal rights and freedoms, and shall be equal before law, without discrimination by sex, race, nationality, language, religion, social origin, convictions, individual and social status. Any privileges may be granted solely by the law and shall conform to the principles of social justice. Article - 19 says no one shall have the power to deny a citizen his rights and freedoms, or to infringe on them except by the sentence of a court.  

Article 15 of the Tajikistan constitution declares, man and his natural rights-life, honour, dignity, and freedom are sacrosant. Human rights and liberties are guaranteed, regulated and protected by the constitution and laws and international instruments recognized by Tajikistan. Article - 18 ensures all are equal before law and the courts. The state guarantees the rights and liberties of each, regardless of nationality, race, sex, language, religious faith, political and religious beliefs, education,

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95. No.88, pp.11-12.
and social and property position.96

Article 1 of Kazakhstan constitution guarantees equality of rights and freedoms, regardless of race, nationality, sex, language, social property, or job position, social origin, place of residence, attitude towards religion, convictions, membership in a public associations and also previous criminal punishment. Any forms of discrimination against citizens are forbidden.97

Article 15 in constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic ensures human rights and liberties. It says that all in the Kyrgyz Republic are equal before law and courts. No one maybe subjected to any discrimination or infringement of rights and liberties on the grounds of origin, sex, race, nationality, language, creed, political and religious beliefs or some of other conditions and circumstances of a personal or social nature.98

Uzbekistan constitution guarantees the personal rights and freedoms in articles 24 to Article 31. It ensures right to life, right to freedom, right to privacy, freedom of thought, speech and expression and freedom of

96. No. 90, p.94.

97. "Republic Constitution (Kazakhstan)" FBIS-USR - 93-048 19 April, 1993, p.68.

98. No. 89, p.91.
conscience. It gives constitutional safeguards for the personal rights and freedoms. The articles 16 to 44 of the Turkmenistan constitution deal with rights and duties of citizens.

Political rights are guaranteed by the constitutions of all the republics which were not implemented in democratic manner in the Soviet system. Now the provision of political rights are enumerated for the functioning of a democratic system. Article 32 to 35 of Uzbekistan constitution elaborates political rights. Article 32 ensures the right to participation in the management and administration of public and state affairs, both directly and through representation. They may exercise the right by way of self-government, referendum and democratic formation of state bodies. The holding of rallies, meeting and demonstrations are allowed. Article 34 allows citizen to form trade unions, political parties and any other public associations and to participate in mass movements. It ensures dignity of the individuals constituting the minority opposition in political parties and any other public associations and to participate in mass movements.\(^9\) The constitution elaborates the political rights in detail to proper observance by the citizen. It ensures the role of opposition in the political system unlike the communist regime. The formation of political parties are guaranteed by constitutional provision.

The constitution of Kazakhstan guarantees political rights. Article-14 says, citizens of the republic have the right to participate both directly and through their representatives in the administration of state affairs and the discussion and adoption of laws and decisions of state and local government. Article-15 guarantees freedom of peaceful assembly, rallies, processions, pickets and demonstrations. Article-16 ensures citizen the right to create public associations on the basis of free expression of will and community of interests in order to exercise their rights and freedoms.\textsuperscript{100}

According to Article 23, citizens of the Kyrgyz Republic participate in the administration of the state directly and via their representatives in the discussion and adoption of laws and decisions of republic and local significance and have equal right to access to public service.\textsuperscript{101} Article-8 also says that political parties, trade unions, and other nongovernment associations may be created in the Kyrgyz Republic on the basis of free expression and community of interests. The state ensures observance of the rights and legitimate interests of nongovernment associations.\textsuperscript{102}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{100} No. 97, p.69.
\bibitem{101} No.89, p.92.
\bibitem{102} Ibid., p.89.
\end{thebibliography}
The article -32 of Draft constitution of Tajikistan provides that a citizen is entitled to take part in political life and the administration of state directly or via his representatives. Citizens have an equal right to public service. Elections and referendum are conducted on the basis general, equal and direct suffrage by a ballot. Article 33 says the creation of public associations and membership thereof and withdrawal therefrom are voluntary. Article-34 provides right to assembly in peaceful way, mass meetings and demonstrations. Article-35 ensures freedom of speech and press. 103

The political rights were farce in communist regime. There was no implementation of the political freedoms. The new republics have already conducted elections on universal adult suffrage through secret ballot after independence. There are many political groupings in Central Asian republics. The rallies and demonstration as a way of democratic protest has been normal in these republics. Many issues have been raised by concerned groups for the redressal. The press has started to assume its role as watchdog of society. Then right to free speech is most important rights after independence. But there are some reasonable restriction on these rights for the society. The constitution of these republics provide economic and social rights.

103 Ibid., p.95.
Right to property was conditional in soviet system. Because in the communist system, the economic rights was very restricted. But now the citizen of a republic have the right to own property. A property owner at his own discretion possesses, uses, and disposes of property belonging to him. In the previous communist regime a citizen had personal property not private property. The private property was banned in the Marxist system of government. Because private property is the cause of economic exploitation. But other social rights like social security was there in the communist system. But the right to private property is enshrined in the constitutions of the independent republics. So private property cannot be taken exception by the law of the land. The private entrepreneurship has been encouraged by the right to private property. All these republics are following path of mixed economy. The right to property is protected by the provisions of the constitutions. Right to work was there in the soviet-Union. But now everyone is free to pursue his career. So the right to private property is new after the independence.Every constitution provides some safeguards for the protection of rights and freedoms proclaimed by the constitution. Everyone can defend his rights and freedoms by the right to appeal any unlawful actions of state-bodies, officials and public associations. Any citizen can take recourse to judicial measure for the redressal of the violation of the rights. Nobody shall be prosecuted more than once for the same crime.

The constitutional
safeguards were not effective in the Soviet-Union. But now, sufficient measures are provided for the realization of rights and freedoms.

All citizens shall perform some duties assigned by the constitutions of these republics. The constitutions of these republics make the obligation for the citizen to pay taxes. Protection of republic is the sacred duty of every citizen. Uzbekistan and Tajikistan constitutions call for the protection of natural environment, historical and cultural heritage of the republics. Article -48 of Uzbekistan provides that all citizens shall be obliged to observe the constitution and laws, and to respect the rights, freedoms, honour and dignity of others. Tajikistan constitution also provides this provision. The provisions of right and duties are comprehensive in these constitutions. The judicial system is separated from executive on the basis of separation of power. The court is the protector of rights in case of violation by state or any individual.

In the Soviet-system, political rights were not implemented due to the peculiar nature of the democracy. The Communist Party was to decide which political rights should be given. The election was a farce in the single member constituency. Then there was no freedom to speech and

\[104\] No.88, p.16.

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expression in practice. The communist party was the representative of people according to Leninist principle. The free press was absent in the Soviet-Union. The polical rights of today's constitutions were not there in the Soviet system. The social and economic rights were there. But right to private property was banned in the communist system. Socialist ownership of means of production was the only way out. But now a citizen can acquire private property the private enterpreneurship is now guaranted.

Secularism

The newly independent republics of central Asia have adhered to secularism directly or indirectly in their constitutions. The non-interference in the religious affairs by the state has been strengthened by the clearly mentioning the "secular-state" in the constitutions by some republics. While these republics are secular, they were atheist in the Soviet period by the constitution. The state was against the religion as per the tenets of Marxism. Marxism considers religion is the "opium of masses". It is the superstructure of economic substracture. It was the duty of state to abolish the vestige of religion. So state was anti-religious. In Central Asis, state authority was anti-Islamic. The communist party memebers were revolutionary in the implementation of the anti-religious policy. Marxist ideology was taught in the place of religion. But now, the states is not
against the religion. State is neutral in the affairs of the religious life of citizen. State neither promotes nor interferes in the religious affairs. So now state is secular not atheist. An individual is free to profess any religion. State shall not discriminate on the basis of religious beliefs. So all these republics are secular and democratic in their constitution.

Legislatures of the republics

Every republic has legislative body. The name differs from republic to republic. These bodies exercise legislative powers of the republic. Article-76 of Uzbekistan constitution says that the highest state representative body is the Oliy Majlis (Supreme Assembly) of the republic of Uzbekistan. This body exercises legislative power.\(^{105}\) The Oliy Majlis consists of 150 deputies, elected by territorial constituencies on a multi-party basis for a term of five years. It will pass all the laws. It ratifies all the decrees of the president. It passes the budget and directs the overall guidance of the administration.

Article-54 of Kyrgyz constitution declares the Zhogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic is the standing supreme representative body. The Zhogorku Kenesh exercises legislative authority and also control functions.

\(^{105}\) Ibid., p.20.
The Zhogorku Kenesh consists of 105 deputies, who are elected for a five year term.\textsuperscript{106} Election of deputies is by territorial constituency in general, secret, and direct suffrage. It enacts and ratifies various laws. It can amend the constitution. According to Article-68, a referendum is held at the demand of no fewer than 300,000 of the electorate or one third of the deputies of Zhogorku Kenesh.\textsuperscript{107}

The Kazakhstan constitution in Article-62 enumerates that the supreme Soviet is the only legislative and the highest representative organ of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Its composition and organization are determined by constitutional law. Its tenure is five years. It adopts laws and provides interpretation of the laws of the republic. It approves the state budget and determines the monetary system of Kazakhstan. It also makes decision to hold a referendum. It also amends the constitution.\textsuperscript{108}

Article-49 of the Tajikistan constitution says, the National Assembly is the highest representative and legislative body of the Republic of Tajikistan. The National Assembly is elected for five year term. The procedure of the formation and activity of the National Assembly is

\textsuperscript{106} No.89, p.96.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., p.97.
\textsuperscript{108} No.97, p.72.
determined by law.\textsuperscript{109} The powers of the national assembly is same as the powers of supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan.

The legislatures of these republics were supreme legislative authority unlike the supreme Soviet of Soviet Union. The supreme Soviet of USSR were not independent in decision making. They were ratifying tools in the hands of respective communist leadership. But now they are democratic and sovereign bodies. Article 63 of the Turkmenistan constitution says: the Mejlis (parliament) is a legislative body made of 50 elected deputies, elected from roughly equal constituencies for five year period. Article - 67 says official function of Mejlis include the approval of electoral laws, confirming candidates to leading state posts, accepting or rejecting the policies put forwarded by the Cabinet of ministers, accepting the state budget, debating and adopting the legislation.\textsuperscript{110}

The legislatures of these republics were supreme authority unlike the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Union. The Supreme Soviet of USSR were not independent in decision making. They were ratifying tools in the hands of respective communist leadership. But now they are democratic and sovereign bodies.

\textsuperscript{109} N.19, p.96.

Head of the Republics

Presidential system are followed in Central Asian republics. Presidents are the heads of states and executive authority. Presidents are elected by citizens of the republics on the basis of equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. Presidents are elected for five years. The constitutions of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan don't allow a person to be president for more than two consecutive terms. Presidents of the republics presides over the general administration. They represent the concerned republics in domestic matters and international relations. They conduct negotiations, sign treaties, appoint and recall diplomats, present annual reports to legislatures, appoint prime ministers, appoint judges, and sign the laws of the republics. They have the right to impose emergency subject to the confirmation of legislatures of the republics. They are the commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces. They can proclaim war in case of attack. The presidents directs the council of ministers in the general administration. The council of ministers are responsible near the presidents. In the Soviet-system republican chiefs were not powerful. They were implementing the orders from Centre. Now they are leaders of independent republics.

Judicial system

The independent republics of Central Asia adopted secular, western
model of judicial system. The Soviet judicial system was abolished after judiciary. The new open and neutral system of indiciary was adopted. Independence of judiciary was protected by the provision of the constitution. Article 106 of Uzbekistan constitution ensures the independence of Judiciary from the legislature, executive branch, political parties and public organizations. The extraordinary courts are prohibited

Judicial structures consists of constitutional courts, Supreme Courts and local courts. There are some more courts like Higher Economic Courts and Courts of autonomous areas and oblasts. The constitutional Courts judge the constitutionality of the laws of the republics and legislatures, the decrees issued by the presidents enactment of government and ordinance of local authorities and interpret constitution. Its verdict shall be final. The organization and procedure of the constitutional court shall be specified by law. The Supreme Courts of the Republics are highest judicial body of civil, criminal and administrative law.

The Supreme Court of the Republic of Uzbekistan shall have the right to supervise the administration of justice by the Supreme Court of the Republic of Karakalpakstan, as well as by regional, city town and district
Courts.\textsuperscript{111} Arbitration Courts settle disputes arising in the economic sphere and in the process of management of between economic transactions based on various form. The judges shall be independent and subject to law. The immunity of judges shall be guaranteed by law. The judges are elected by the legislatures and appointed by President for 10 years. The legal proceedings are open to public. So the judicial system of Central Asian Republics are free, independent and neutral in constitution. But in practice, there is still many problems in establishing a independent judiciary.

\textbf{State of Emergency.}

The emergency provision is in every constitution to meet contingency like outside threat, mass disturbances, major catastrophies, natural calamities or epidemics. The emergency is issued by Presidents subject to confirmation of the legislative bodies. The terms and procedures for the imposition of emergency shall be specified by law. The area of emergency may vary according to the requirement.

\textbf{Republic of Karakalpakstan}

Article-70 of Uzbekistan constitution says the sovereign Republic of
Karakalpakstan is part of the Republic of Uzbekistan. The sovereignty of the Republic of Karakalpakstan shall have its own constitution which must be in accordance with the constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Article-72 makes the laws of Uzbekistan binding on the of the Republic of Karakalpakstan. The Republic of Karakalpakstan shall be independent in determining its administrative and territorial structure. Article-71 says the Republic of Karakalpakstan shall have the right to secede from the Republic of Uzbekistan on the basis of nation-wide referendum held by the people of karakalpakstan. According of Article-75, relationship between the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of karakalpakstan, within the framework of the constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, shall be regulated by treaties and agreements concluded by the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Karakalpakstan. Any disputes between the Republic of Uzbekistan and Republic of Karakalpakstan shall be settled by the way of reconciliation.\footnote{Ibid., pp.19-20.} This system of sovereign republic within a sovereign republic is very strange. It is legacy of Soviet system of administration. It is not federalism. This type of system is not seen in other countries.