CONCLUSION
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The introduction of reforms by Gorbachev brought radical changes in the political processes and developments in Soviet Union. Though it was claimed by Soviet regime that nationality question had been solved, it proved false after introduction of reforms. With every passing days, the various nationalities became assertive in demanding the political autonomy for their republics. Many ethnic groups started demanding separate political autonomous unit. Manifestation of nationalism became a common feature in almost all the republics.

The nationalities problems in the USSR had deep roots going back to the Tsarist period. After the conquest of Central Asia by Tsarist Russia, the independence of various nationalities was lost. Tsarist Russia was pursuing an imperialist policy in Central Asia, like British colonialist in India. Natives were suppressed under the strict rule of colonial regime. The economic exploitation of Central Asia was the purpose of Tsarist regime. The imperial administration was militarized in nature to perpetuate the servitude of the defeated people. Inspite of colonial policy, Tsarist regime was not interfering in the internal administration of Khanates in Central Asia. The people were enjoying the autonomy in cultural and religious spheres in Central Asia. But the settlement of
Russians was encouraged at the cost of natives' interest in Central Asia. It was a meant to check nationalistic threat by natives to Tsarist regime. The interaction of native people in Central Asia with Russian changed the attitude of people in cultural sphere. The reformers like Jadidist, tried to change the educational system on modern secular line. Then its effort to create cultural consciousness led to espousal of 'Pan-Islamism' and 'Pan-Turkism' in Central Asia.

With the outbreak of the October Revolution, non-Russian nationalities became assertive in their political goal. Bolshevik party tried to win away oppressed nationalities assuring them of self-determination after success of revolution. But after the revolution, the political aspiration of various nationalities were not fulfilled. In theory, political territorial units were established on nationality lines. Right to self-determination and secession was granted in constitution, but in practice it was not possible to exercise that right. The formation of republics was a ploy to satisfy the nationalities without any substantial political and economic freedom in practice. The Soviet Union was a federation in appearance, but in reality it was a centralized unitary power structure.

Bolshevik power consolidated its position in Central Asia inspite of native revolt of Basmachis. The Bolshevik revolution in Central Asia was
not a movement by native people. Bolshevik party followed the delimitation of Central Asia into five republics on nationality basis. That policy was criticised by many people as a policy of Soviet authority to divide the Central Asia into tribal states. Probably, United Turkestan could have been a potential threat to Soviet-Union. But Soviet regime was successful in creating nationalistic consciousness among the people of these republics. Now there are feelings and aspirations in many republics to create a single nation integrating their people from other republics in Central Asia. The slogan like "Greater Uzbekistan" and "Greater Tajikistan" is popular among political elites in those republics.

The Bolshevik nationality policy proved unsatisfactory and ineffective. The people in Central Asia were not given cultural and religious autonomy. The Russification was followed vigorously at the cost of native languages. The Soviets pursued an anti-religious policy which alienated the Central Asian Muslims. The Hujum (attack) was launched with revolutionary zeal to implement the atheist policy. The new Soviet identity was encouraged among the people instead of national identity. The double onslaught against the religious and secular elites of a largely illiterate society had a devastating effect. The forced settlement of deported ethnic groups and migration of 'Europeans particularly Russians due to collectivization and industrialization changed the demographic pattern in
Central Asia. reducing some titular nationality like Kazakhs into minority in their own republic. The cotton mono-culture without the diversity in agriculture, had a devastating effect on Central Asian economy converting the area into a raw material supplier to Russian industries and bearing the burden of environmental pollution. The drying of Aral sea and pollution in Balkhas lake was the consequence of mindless collectivization of agriculture and rapid industrialization in Central Asia. The economy of Central Asia was tied with Russia and other industrially developed European regions.

Inspite of continuous struggle against religion, Soviet regime was not successful in erasing the Islam from the social life of people in Central Asia. Because unofficial Islam in the form of "Sufism" survived, as it was not organized in nature. After the formation of five republics, a national identity gradually emerged based on the identification with person's primary nationality in Central Asia. But that identity had to co-exist with higher Soviet identity. Soviet identity was considered as ideal for the citizens of USSR. The communist party of Soviet Union monopolized political power. The single party dominated totalitarian state blocked the chances of any autonomy in political and economic sphere. The republican leaders were just to implement orders from Moscow. In the atmosphere of oppression, nationalities discontents could not have been expressed. So nationalities discontents was forced to remain dormant.
The calmness in Central Asia except the initial opposition by Basmachis in Soviet period was assumed as an indicator of successful implementation of the nationality policy. But real situation was very different, because nationalities problem could not surface in an oppressive atmosphere. The introduction of radical reforms proved that nationalities problems were not solved. Rather the nationalities discontents were suppressed in the Soviet Union by use of force and indoctrination of socialist ideology. Had there been no nationality problem, then widespread ethnic conflicts would not have started after the reforms. Many ethnic conflicts were spontaneous outburst.

The change in atmosphere after reforms created many informal groups in Central Asia. These groups articulated various interest regarding social and political issues in their republics. The open discussion on many issue was a democratic beginning in the totalitarian system. A new nationalist political party Birlik was the trend setter in Central Asian Republics in the formation new groups. Then many groups were formed in C.A. republics to raise the cultural, language, and environmental issues. Though certain groups with political motive were discouraged by local authorities. Environmental, and cultural groups were encouraged to create popular political consciousness against the Soviet policies.
The violent riots in Alma-Ata was interpreted as a nationalist outburst against the removal of a native leader by Moscow. The situation might have been normal, if Kunayev would have been replaced by a native Kazakh leader. There was not a single factor for the ethnic disturbance in Central Asia. It was due to combination of social, economic and ethnic factors. The accusation of special economic favour by authority to many forcibly settled ethnic groups was the implicit factor of ethnic riots against them in the days of economic stagnation. The Osh riots between Uzbeks and Kyrgyzs was due to special treatment by authorities in allotment of land to Uzbeks. The nationalities in Central Asia were for redressel of socio-economic demands in the beginning. But later they started demanding political autonomy of their republics.

Gorbachev was not serious in the solution of the nationalities question in the beginning. His effort initiating participation of more people in the political process created nationalist political development. His idea of democratization guided by CPSU was very confusing. The communist party did not change with the new political atmosphere creating by Gorbachov's policy democratization. The election to the Congress of Peoples' Deputies was the first partially democratic election. But the results of elections in some republics put the political legitimacy of communist party into question. Though Central Asian leaders were successful in the
election due to the absence of opposition political groups, but they changed their relationship with Central authority to a great extent. The Central Asian leaders tried to be independent in their action. The fear of political legitimacy forced the Central Asia leaders be responsive to towards people's demands.

The Central Asian leaders responded positively to various issues raised by informal groups. The native language was given official status in all republics. Inspite of maximum ethnic riots in Central Asia, the demand for separation from Soviet Union was not there even among the opposition leaders. Rather, the Asians were demanding political, and cultural autonomy. Probably, economic factor was most important in their consideration for not demanding total separation. There were few Islamic groups in the support of total separation in Tajikistan. The Central Asian leaders were not following the political developments in Baltic republics.

Gorbachev belatedly tried to formulate a new nationality policy. The 27th Congress of CPSU could not formulate the concrete measures. The 19th Ail Union Conference initiated some measures for the lessening of the nationalist discontents. But Gorbachev backtracked after Nagorny-karabakh issue. His reversal of decision by incorporating emergency measures to directly deal with the situation was a setback to the federal relations in the USSR.
However, by that time, the political atmosphere had changed to a great extent. The declaration of sovereignty by republics and independence by Baltic republics put the survival of Soviet Union into question. The republican leaders openly asked for the implementation of provision of constitution. The right to self determination and secession in constitution legitimized stand of Baltic leaders. The communist parties of Baltic republics delinked themselves from CPSU as an act of defiance.

In order to save the Soviet-Union, there was no other way out but to negotiate the new union treaty. The political leaders in Central Asia were firmly supporting the move on negotiating a new treaty. Unlike the past practice dominated by omnipotent communist party of Soviet Union. The 28th Congress negotiated the union treaty in an open discussion. The new union treaty would have made all republics sovereign states within a new federation or confederation. That political institution would not have been so much viable between multinational political structure in a free and democratic political process. It could have satisfied the political autonomy of the state. But abortive August 1991 coup sealed the chances of any new federal or confederal set-up.

The sudden disintegration of Soviet-Union was a shock for the Central Asian republics. The Central Asian leaders were not ready for
independence which was thrust on them. But situation forced the Central Asian republics to declare independence reluctantly. Still Central Asian States were for any political arrangement among republics of former Soviet Union. Because it could save them from immediate economic hardship. The commonwealth of independent states was a hope for Central Asian states. The immediate need of security was topmost priority in Central Asia states. It would have been virtually impossible for these states to raise regular armed force within short time.

The emergence of Kazakhstan as an independent state the nuclear weapons on its soil due to the disintegration of Soviet Union attracted attention of others USA and western states.

The worldwide pressure including providing financial aid by western states forced Kazakhstan to change the stance of keeping the nuclear weapons. Kazakhstan was insecure due to internal and external problems. The demographic composition can destabilise the society into fragmentation. There is a possibility of direct Russian involvement in the in case of ethnic conflicts between Russians.

The disintegration of Soviet-Union made Central Asian states unstable economically. Because no republic was economically independent.
The integrated economy of Soviet Union could not function after dissolution. So the Central Asian republics decided to remain in the "Rouble zone" for sometime. The economy of the Central Asia was hard hit. In order to stabilise economy, there was a need for political stability. Though Presidents of the republics were from old communist parties, they changed their stand to nationalistic line by dissolving the communist parties in their republics. They realised the importance of political stability for economic development in the time of confusion. So they did not allow any opposition to destabilise the political system in the name of democracy. The civil war in Tajikistan strengthened their position regarding the political stability.

Although there were distinct national identities among Central Asians after the reforms, nationalist impulses in the region remained weak at the time of dissolution of Soviet-Union. The national fronts were formed in some Central Asian republics before the disintegration Soviet Union. These groups lacked capacity for social mobilization like the popular fronts in Baltic republics. This was partly due to the tight political control by respective party chief in Central Asian republics after the reforms. It might have been also partly due to the uneven development of national consciousness among rural and urban people. Because rural people still were identifying in terms of religious affiliation. So before disintegration
of USSR, informal groups and various national fronts were not significant in the political process.

The dissolution of Soviet-Union has forced Central Asian republics to promote their distinct national identity. Before the dissolution, these republics were part of 'higher' form of Soviet identity. As in third world, Central Asian elites are competing to reshape the national symbols. Nationalism is a path to political development. So common identity is necessary for political obligation and political institution. The inclusive national identity is not possible due to presence of other nationalities in all republics. How can Central Asian states achieve the common national identity in the midst of ethnic, linguistic and religious differences? This question preoccupies the leaders of Central Asia.

In the absence of common political identity, parties represent sectarian interests. Though Central Asia states are evolving new identity and culture, the old identities have not disappeared completely. The language question may be an explosive issue in the republics. The situation in Kazakhstan on language may lead to the disintegration of the republic into two parts. The Central Asian leaders are not committed nationalist due to their past socialization. But they invoked the nationalist slogan to get the popular support.
Inspite of Soviet influence on society, Central Asians sought their identity after the disintegration. One alternative source of creation identity was provided by Islam. Since the introduction of reform, Islam acquired importance as an alternative source of legitimacy. Political elites started to take Islamic stance to get the support of masses. This trend of public affirmation of Islam has become more visible after independence. But all the republican leader are afraid of popular political mobilization along religious lines. The presence of Islamic political parties are potential threat to existing government. Because, they call for 'Islamic government'. The legitimacy of present governments are challenged by these Islamic groups. These Islamic groups can channelise the popular dissatisfaction due to economic hardships and social unrest against authorities. It is impossible for any authority to suppress the Islamic groups for ever without integrating them into political process.

Islam has filled the ideological vacuum after desovietization of Central Asian social system. Nationalism was there in that atmosphere to fill up the vacuum. Islam as a part of culture grew naturally. But objective of radical Islamic parties to establish they were not successful through armed struggle. Rather, the civil war is interpreted as a clash of interest between two regions. Because Islam in Central Asia does not occur in single and uniform ideological form. There are various groups like
traditionalist and modernist. The influence of Islam differs from Russified urban people to rural people. The secular issues like economic development, environmental protection and status of native language are given greater priority in the programmes of political parties than on the religious identity. Islam plays a minor role in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, though there are some groups which are trying to Islamize these republics. But Islamic parties are active in the political processes of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Even in these two republics there are only few pockets of Islamic influence.

At present, Islam and state authority are not on collision course. Because Central Asian states are secular states, unlike the atheist Soviet-Union. There is religious freedom. But all the Central Asian leaders are against politicization of Islam. So the republican authorities have imposed restriction against political Islamic groups. The peculiar traditions in Central Asia hinders the growth of fundamentalism. Though, Iranian and Saudi missionaries promote different philosophies with respect to Islam, but Central Asian states are attempting to create Islamic societies consistent with their own societal model. Iran would find it difficult to influence Sunni societies. Nobody is sure what role Islam will play in the political processes in the future. Unless republican governments creates democracy for other opposition groups, there will remain a threat of Islamic
fundamentalism. If all other avenues of political expression are shut off, Islam could become a channel for political opposition. The southerners in Tajikistan could not have adopted other channels than Islam against the authority, as it was an easy medium for uniting opposition groups. In reality it is a fight between two regions for political power.

After the independence, there was speculation regarding the Central Asian following either 'Iranian model' of Islamic fundamentalism or "Turkish model" of secular, western style democracy. The adoption of constitution declaring secularism as the basis ended the speculation about following Iranian model. Politically, Kemalist form of democracy in Turkey attracted Central Asian leaders attention. Because that democratic system was controlled and directed from above. It was suitable for Central Asian leaders who were from old Soviet system. The leaders of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan saw their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious closeness with Turkey. But the present leaders in Central Asia cannot follow the Turkish model due to various factors. The Central Asian leaders are not clearly distancing from Islamic rhetoric like secularism of Turkey.

The presence of Russian army on the Central Asian soil contradicts their full sovereignty. But the Russian soldiers are necessary for the
security of the Central Asian republics. So the is a dilemma regarding the sovereignty and security in the present situation.

So the Central Asian states were attracted towards later Kemalist Turkish model, which prefers economic liberalization, concession to Islam and multiparty system. The Central Asian leaders are aware of the situation that speedy transformation to market economy from socialistic economy is not possible. The initial ideal of ‘Pan-Turkism’ is not an viable for the Central Asian republics. Turkey is geographically separate. The Soviet influence in Central Asia has created the social and cultural difference between Central Asia and Turkey. Initial response of Turkey to help the Central Asian states bilaterally and through ECO was not realized. Turkey is not in a sound financial position to put huge-investment to their Turkish ethnic states. Rather, Iran can help economically to these countries. It can provide a route to the Gulf for Central Asian states. But Western countries are not in favour of growing of influence of Iran in the region.

U.S.A. wants the Central Asian states to follow Turkish model instead of Iranian model. The U.S.A. is committed to support leadership’s espousal of secular line in political system. The American put pressure on Nazarbayev to hold parliamentary election as a method of multiparty democracy. Russia also prefers Turkish model of political development. But
Central Asian leaders are supporting the Turkish model very cautiously, as they would of like to develop economic ties with Iran. Kazakhstan leadership declares, that Turkey cannot become foreign political partner. This objective is primarily due to demographic position in Kazakhstan.

So the idea of establishing a Pan-Turkish state is not feasible in the near future. The long spell of Soviet rule has destroyed this consciousness among the people. The idea of Turkish commonwealth will not only anger Russia, Iran and China but also push Farsi-speaking Tajikistan politically towards Iran to counterbalance the Turkish influence. Turkey is not in a sound financial position to realise that deal in the near future as it may have adverse impact on its relations with many countries. Rather, there is a chance of Central Asian states coming closer in a regional arrangement for their future developments. Even they may form some loose structure like commonwealth for the mutual help.

The Central Asian states are in the transition from totalitarianism to "softer" authoritarianism or more democratic political system. The process of reform in political system was slow in Central Asia. The people are now making frank discussion. The opposition were facing problems due to various restrictions from authority. But these groups are not silenced totally. The referendum as a means of political legitimacy are used by
Presidents. The constitutions of Central Asian republics also provides for strong President, a dependent judiciary and a weak legislature. The power of legislatures of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan were curbed through modification of constitution. This tendency to curb the powers of legislature is authoritarian in nature.

The new Central Asian states are not receptive to democratic. The democracy process in other CIS states are far ahead of Central Asian states. The political development in Central Asian states have been like those in the developing countries. The one party rule is norm, though there are some other groups. While some small groups are active and recognized as political parties, other active groups are denied any role in the political participation. So the political development can be termed in words of Edward Sills, as the "Tutelar Democracy" in these republics. The Kazakhstan are Kyrgyzstan one exceptions.

There is virtually no opposition in these republics which is essential component of democracy. The opposition parties in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are concerned with problems of respective ethnic groups. Each republic in Central Asia is multiethnic. So denying political power to any ethnic groups may create Tajikistan type civil war. In the name of political stability the authoritarian system cannot suppress the opposition on ethnic
In the future political processes in Central Asian republics will be marked by more demands for sharing of political power by different nationalist parties. It may create instability. The political authority may adopt more oppressive method to suppress the opposition.

In order to develop political system, the institutionalization of the political system is essential. The dependency on one man rather than a strong and stable political institution carries grave risk. The institution of political system will develop the mechanism for succession of leadership. The constitution has made many provisions for the democratic political development. But presidents of many republics, practiced it the way to suit themselves. Central Asian political process is in transition. The political development in Central Asian republic will follow different pattern due to difference in their internal composition and external influence. The stability of the political system in Central Asia depends on how these republics are institutionalizing political structures and integrating the opposition groups based on the nationality and religion in to the political system. The Central Asian republics are following the political development consistent with their social, economic and political factors. So political processes and developments in Central Asian republics may be influenced by nationalities question either in negative way like Tajikistan or positive way like maintaining peaceful relationship between two nationalities in Kazakhstan.