INTRODUCTION

The introduction of reforms under the fabric ‘Perestroika’ and ‘Glasnost’ by Gorbachev brought qualitative changes in the political processes in Soviet Union. First of all the reforms provided a democratic atmosphere in a totalitarian system. The reform of Gorbachev was initiated to restructure the economy. Then Gorbachev thought initially that greater participation in the political process would strengthen the political system. It was assumed that political participation would be guided by Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This assumption proved incorrect as the reforms unleashed autonomous, forces which were guided more by nationalist considerations, than by the CPSU. The claim of Soviet regime regarding successfully solving the nationalities question proved false after the reemergence of the nationalities problems throughout Soviet Union. Probably reforms created an atmosphere for bringing out the dormant nationalities discontents.

The USSR was constituted of fifteen ethno-nation based republics. Each republic was named after the titular nationality. The territoriality provided the nationalities more distinct historical, cultural and political identity. The right to self- determination and secession was guaranteed by the Soviet constitution. But in practice, even there was no
political autonomy to the union republics. The political power was monopolized by the communist party of Soviet Union. Article-6 of Soviet constitution confirmed the monopoly power of CPSU. There was no difference between party and government. The overcentralization and one party rule rendered the provision federation totally ineffective, in course of time. The aspirations of various nationalities were suppressed. The Soviet system with its command and control mechanism did not allow the articulation of nationalities interests.

The creation of nationality structures could not solve the nationalist aspirations. It was only in theory, nationalities were given the political units like union republics and autonomous republics. In practice, these republics were administrative units to carry out orders from Moscow. Even there was no democratic political processes within the communist party of Soviet Union. The republican leadership was representative and loyal to the central authority than it was to the people. They were not given independence in the functioning of republics. The identification on nationality lines was discouraged by Soviet authority. The new concept of 'Soviet Citizen' was promoted in the place of national identity. The socialist ideology was indoctrinized among the masses. The anti-religious policies particularly against Islam in Central Asia created nationalities discontents. Russification was promoted in place of cultural autonomy among non-
Russian nationalities. The Soviet authorities suppressed the nationalist opposition both in the party and outside opponents who were branded class enemies. The atheist propaganda was pursued to eradicate the influence of Islam, and other religions. The political dissidents in Central Asia were executed.

However, inspite of centralized control and the state sponsored indoctrination of Marxism-Leninism, nationalist aspiration and cultural and religious ethos could not be eradicated. The nationalities discontents remained dormant due to oppressive atmosphere. It would have been impossible for any leader to raise the nationality demands in such an oppressive atmosphere. The provisions of Soviet constitution provided legitimacy to the various nationalist demands after the introduction of radical reforms. The absence of fear created an atmosphere for free expression of ideas and values by the Soviet peoples. Many non-Russian nationalities questioned controversial provisions of Soviet constitution. They demanded restoration of the political autonomy at least to the republics. Rising trend of nationalism created nationalistic consciousness among people instead of the ideal of internationalism. People started to demand the political power to the respective republics. Inspite of change in the political process, Communist Party did not move in the new direction. Rather it tried to preserve its monopoly of exercising power even
after introduction of reforms. Even communist party didnot initiate any concrete measures to fulfill the nationalist aspirations. So many members left communist party and formed their own groups. The majority of these groups in central Asia were formed on nationalist lines. The formation of Birlik created a new trend in the political process of Central Asia. They started to raise various socio-cultural issues. But later they demanded the political autonomy in Central Asia.

The republican leaders in the communist parties became responsive to people rather than loyal to Moscow as in the past. The republican leadership in Central Asia tried to fulfill the nationalistic demands articulated by various informal groups. The republican elections put the political legitimacy of CPSU into question. The Baltic republics declared their independence. The defeat of many communist leaders in republican elections changed the relationship between union and republican leadership. Though, Central Asian communist leaders did not separate like Baltic republics, but they tried to be independent in their action within the republics. Whereas, other non-Russian republics wanted to separate from USSR, Central Asian republics did not want total separation. Even some republican leaders in Central Asia supported the August coup. It was probably due to the economic consideration, that Central Asian republics did not want complete separation from Soviet Union. So they supported
the new treaty, which would have guaranteed each republic political sovereignty. The new political structure would have been based on federation or confederation principle. However, sudden declaration of slavic common wealth formally dissolved the Soviet Union.

After the disintegration of the Soviet-Union, political process became more democratic in Central Asian republics. The formation of many groups and universal adult franchise through secret ballot, multi-member contest in a single constituency were the features which are different from the political process prevalent earlier. The role of opposition, free press, right to express opinion, and participate in the election were enshrined in the constitutions. But the political processes are not same in all the republics. In Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, political processes are democratic to a great extent inspite of many socio-economic constraints. But in other three republics political processes are controlled by the Presidents in their favour. So the political processes in those republics in Central Asia will be analysed in reference to various factors like formation of groups on nationality lines.

The emergence of nationalities question at last led to the disintegration of the Soviet Union. After the formation of independent republics in Central Asia, political system became democratic in nature.
The adoption of constitution by all the Central Asian republics heralded an era of a modern political system based on democratic principles. But how far these republics have been successful in implementing the tenets of modern constitution? The political development in these republics are not successful due to various constraints. But inspite of various constraints, these republics are trying to develop their own political model to cope with the various demands.

Before analysing the political processes and political development in Central Asia we consider it appropriate to have a clear understanding of the concepts 'political process', 'political development' and 'nationality'. In the past scholars in political science concentrated on the study of political institutions for understanding the nature of polity. They did not give due importance to the human nature in the operation of political system. The behavioural approach to analyse political processes developed as a reaction against viewing politics in terms of presumably static and depersonalized structures, such as "the state", individual nations, branches of government and political parties. Arthur F. Bentley laid emphasis in the study on relationship of various groups in society with a view to determine their impact on political activities. So he advocated this concept Charles Merriam and Lasswell also supported this approach to politics.
According to International Encyclopedia of the social sciences, the term 'political process' refers to the activities of the people in various groups as they struggle for and use power to achieve personal and group purposes. Its most carefully studied forms have been the efforts of conflicting political parties, factions, cliques, and leaders to attain the formal positions of legitimate authority in the Central Organs of public government- Unitary and federal, national and local. In all these forms of the political processes, actual power may be for different from formal authority. Any power wielder's objectives, whether manifest or latent may fall anywhere on the broad spectrum between good and evil. The means may include not only violence, bribery, and character assassination but also persuasion, mutual understanding, reciprocal adjustment, and slow building of consensus as well.¹

Brogan and Verney say "political process" means political life of the nation as it affects the people generally. People form various associations and organizations to influence the operation of government by bringing pressure to bear on the executive or the legislature. Some people take part in the political process by joining political parties. The ordinary people take part in the political process by casting their vote in the election. According

to Brogan and Verney, the important components of the political process are groups, parties and elections.

The political parties, various groups and periodic elections are most important component of political process. The political processes of totalitarian system differ from democratic system. In democratic political system, political parties and others groups play a vital role. Political parties do the work for the functioning of the political system. Political recruitment and socialization are functions of political parties. The various groups influence the selection of candidate and the campaigning. The propaganda is the basic norm of totalitarian system. But the in democratic system, persuasion and propaganda play the part in the mobilization of the mass for the political purposes. The elections are contested among many candidates on various issues. But nomination of candidates was done in totalitarian system.

The political processes of developing countries differ from developed countries. The socio-economic factors play a vital role moulding the political process. The lack of political communication and political apathy among the people are constraints in the functioning of political system. In theory, these countries are democratic political system. But in practice there is one dominant party which rules while there are some
ineffective opposition parties. Some time, that party is also dominated by a single leader. The opposition is too weak to challenge the dominant party. Due to illiteracy and economic backwardness, the role of press is very limited in creating public opinion. The Central Asian republics are newly democratic countries having characteristics of a developing economy. The political processes in these countries lack true democratic character and there is as yet only a facade of democratic process.

The term 'political development' lacks a precise and standard definition. Lucian Pye was among the earlier batch of writers to analyse the concept of political development in depth. He kept on analysing his ideas on that subject. In his earlier writings Pye thought of political development in terms of "cultural diffusion and adapting, fusing and adjusting old patterns of life to new demands". The first towards political development was the evolution of nation-state system, which he treated as a 'basic concept supporting the gradual diffusion throughout all societies of what we might call a world culture. There are other possible interpretations of political development. Political development is prerequisite for economic development. It is related to greater government and systemic capacity to carry out orders. It is mass mobilization and

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political participation. Political development is considered as a operation of nation state. Political development is linked with stability and orderly change.

Lucian Pye has abstracted from such a multitude of definitions and viewpoints, the following three dominant characteristics of political development: (I) Equality:- The political development suggests mass participation and popular involvement in political activities. Participation may be either democratic or in form of totalitarian mobilization, but the key consideration is that subjects should become active citizens. At least, the semblance of a popular rule is necessary. Law should be of universalistic nature. Political recruitment should reflect achievement standards of performance and not the ascriptive considerations of a traditional social system.³

(II) Capacity:- It refers to the capacity of a political system by which it can give 'outputs' and the extent to which it can affect the rest of society and economy. It is related to efficiency of government in the execution of policy. It emphasizes rationality in administration and secular orientation towards policy.⁴

⁴. Ibid., pp.46-47.
(III) **Differentiation:** It implies diffusion and specialization of structures. The offices and agencies tend to have their distinct and limited functions and there is an equivalent of a division of labour within the realm of government. It also involves the integration of complex structures and processes. Thus, differentiation "is not fragmentation and isolation of the different parts of the political system but specialization based on an ultimate integration. 5

Pye identified various problems and crises in the political development in the developing countries relating to identity, legitimacy, penetration, participation, integration and distribution. People should identify themselves with their political system instead of primordial localities. There should be agreement about the legitimate nature of authority and the proper responsibility of government. Then how much government is reaching down to the society in effecting basic policy is the penetration. Participation in political system should cover to all the people and groups without restriction. Integration should be between government and articulating citizens. Distribution crisis refers to the questions about how governmental powers are to be used to influence the distribution of goods, services, and values throughout society. Pye tries to show that the

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5. Ibid., p.47.
nature of these crises determines the sequence of political development in
different countries. Leonard Binder terms political development as 'changes
in the type and style of politics', He employs the three concepts of equality,
capacity, and differentiation as a shorthand description of syndrome of
"modernity and providing 'a statement of the heterogenous context within
which political development is to be understood.". He attributes following
five characteristics to political development: (1) change of identity from
religious to ethnic and from parochial to societal (2) change in legitimacy
from transcendental to immanent sources (3) change in political
participation from elite to mass and from family to group (4) change of
distribution from status and privilege to achievement (5) change in degree
of administrative and legal penetration into social structure and to remote
regions of country. Samuel P. Huntington considers political development
as "the institutionalization of political organization and procedures".

There are many possibility in adoption of different patterns of
political system by developing countries. Edward Shills talked of five
categories-political democracy, tutelary democracy, modernizing oligarchy,
totalitarian oligarchy and traditional oligarchy. In short, the political development view the operation of a political system in terms of its
increasing democratization.

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6. Leonard Binder, Crisis and Sequences in Political Development
The political decay does its regression and disintegration leading to the advent of some form of totalitarianism. No society in the world may be considered to be a model towards which others might be moving. So we cannot identify political development with a rigid patterns. It depends upon various social, cultural and economic factors in a particular country.

The concept of 'nationality' is not easy to define. Because there are many factors for its formation. Nationality is more a condition of mind; a way of feeling, thinking and living and provides a basis for political organizations. Nationality is a sentiment of unity, the resultant of many forces: community of race, language, geographic unity, religion, common political aspiration, and above all historical development. The unity among that group separates from others. They recognize their likeness and emphasize their difference from other men.

According to Maclver, "Nationality is the sense of community which, under the historical conditions of a particular social epoch, has possessed or still seeks expression through the unity of a state. 7 "Nationality may, therefore, be defined as a spiritual sentiment or principle arising among a number of people usually of same race, resident on the

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same territory, sharing common language, the same religion, similar history and traditions, common interests, with common political associations, and common ideals of political unity.8

The nationality has acquired a great importance since days of Congress of Vienna (1815). The one nationality and one state dominated the European politics in nineteenth century. So a nationality can attain self-determination. In Soviet Union constitution provides right to self-determination. That issue can be raised by proletariat class of the concerned nationality. But in practice political aspiration of the nationalities were not fulfilled by the totalitarian regime in Soviet-Union. So nationalities question reemerged after the introduction radical reforms by Gorbachev.

Scope of study

The scope of study in thesis covers both reemergence of nationalities question and then political process and developments in Central Asia since 1985. The thesis gives the historical background of the formation of the Soviet-union. The nationality policy in the Tsarist and Soviet period is discussed. Then reemergence of the nationalities question

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and its relationship with reforms has been analysed. How nationality factor influenced the political process and development in Central Asia since 1985 is the major area of discussion. Impact of the disintegration on political processes of Central Asia is analysed. Then nationality as a destabilising factor in some republic is discussed.

Methodology

The descriptive and analytical approach to the various issues in the study is followed. The data for the thesis is from primary and secondary sources. An approach of dynamic relationship between empirical data and theoretical perspective is adopted.

Chapterization

The first chapter is "historical background" of the topic. It discusses the formation of the Soviet-Union. It gives the ethnic composition of USSR. The Tzarist nationality policy is described in brief. Then Bolshevik nationality policy in theory and practice is analysed.

The second chapter is "reemergence of nationality question" It discusses the nationalities problem before the October revolution. Then reemergence of the nationalities problems in the Soviet Union after introduction of radical reforms are described. The reemergence of the
nationalities question and its relationship with 'glasnost' and 'perestroika' is analysed. The chapter also focuses on the nationalities problems in Central Asia.

The third chapter is "political processes". The chapter focuses on the Central Asia. The chapter discusses Gorbachev's measures to solve the nationality question in the beginning. The resolutions of 27th congress of CPSU, 19th All-Union conference of CPSU and 28th congress of CPSU are analysed.

The fourth chapter is "political Development in Central Asia". It discusses the responses of Central Asian leaders to the programmes of CPSU. The formation and activities of various groups since 1985 is analysed.

The fifth chapter is "disintegration of the Soviet Union". It discusses the impact of disintegration on Central Asian Political processes. Then the formation of new political parties and groups is discussed followed by an analysis of constitutional development in Central Asia.

The thesis concludes with a summary of major findings about the political processes and developments in Central Asia after the reemergence of nationality question since 1985.