

CENTRAL ASIAN AMERICAN- RELATIONS SINCE 1991

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fulfilment of the requirements of the award of the degree of MASTERS OF
PHILOSOPHY of the university is to the best of my knowledge, his own work and
has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other
university.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners
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Dated 15th July 98

Md. Quaisar Alam

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

With the collapse of the Soviet Empire and the end of cold war, Central Asia has assumed great strategic significance. The centrality of Central¹ Asia lies in geo-strategic location, the breakup of the erst while Soviet Union in 1991 had led to give independent states in the region namely, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkemenistan, Kyrghystan and Uzbekistan. Here as an introductory part it has been made an endeavour to focus light briefly on historical and economical aspects of different Republic's, as being the new emerging states.

There is a great vacuum to fill in Central² Asia due to the sudden collapse³ not only of the highly integrated and interdependent Soviet social and economy and centrally directed market system but also due to the disabandment of their larger regional organization, the COMECON. In the wake of this situation several countries, singly and jointly are jocking for position of pre-eminence to help them build what is called a "market friendly" economy, taking advantage of the manifest ambiguity society and conditions in the economic programme and perspective of the new leadership in these sovereign republics.

¹ Central Asia news profile, No-10, Aug, 1993, P-11.

² Borris. Z. Rumer, the gathering storm in Central Asia orbis winter 1993, PP-89-90.

³ Ahmed Rashid, Central Asia, 1992, the year in Review

Powerful global economic interests represented by governmental agencies not only of the advanced metropolitan countries like US, France Britain, Germany and Japan, but also of the new economic dragons of Asia The Republic of Korea, Singapore and China, ever Israel, together with several trans national corporations (TNCs) are probing the prospects of obtaining specific projects investment areas and possible trade concessions. Close on the heels are the efforts of neighboring Muslim⁴ regional Gulf States - to win favours. The close ethnic affinity of Turkey, and Islamic religious affiliations all of them is a primordial factors in their favour in seeking economic co-operations. Central Asia's⁵ economic problems are too vast for any single country to handle or help. Hence one notices that there is an eager competition between states, neighbours and others' favourable conditions for be lateral trade and transactions. As a new distinct region of the world, there is an evidence of a great convergence of buyers and sellers, groping for prospects of long term economic - co-operation subsidies had come from several sources.

In 1991, Russia provide 24 billion roubles, Turkey gave a credit and aid of \$1 billion, Iran promised more than \$ 600 million per annum , apart from offering to build transit facility to its ports rail connection Turkey offered and pipe lines to Turkmenistan gas to the Persian gulf. Pakistan⁶ gave soft loan in credit to the

⁴ Element O, Oger, Islamic revival in Central Asia News Times (Hydrabad), 3 APR 1993.

⁵ Dr. Banerjee, "Economic Instability in Central Asia". The Times of India (New Delhi) 27 JUN 1994.

⁶ Asian Islamic bloc alarms west, Patriot 30 NOV 1992

tune of \$30 million to Uzbekistan. Pakistan also offered wide range of cheap products, worth about \$ 4 billion.

In Feb, 1992, Iran organized conference of the Economic Co-operation organization (ECO), supported by Turkey and Pakistan. Though differences exist in the approach and perspective of the three founder members - Turkey, Iran and Pakistan - 've agreed to work jointly in promoting constructive cooperation. Four states of Central Asia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia and Kirgizstan together with Azerbaijan in the Caucasus and Afghanistan in the south joined the ECO⁷.

Kazakhstan - which is the largest of the states in the north part of the Central Asian region stretching from the borders of the 80% Muslim dominated Chinese province of Sinkiang (Xin-jians) in the east to the Ural mountain and the northern fronting with the underbelly of Russian Siberia and in its southern boundary with Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and Khirghizstan, has now wished to join the European community with its greater potential for growth and a large market of 300 million people spread over 600 59 km of land. Even otherwise, it should be noted that Kazakhstan as an integral part of Eurasian landmass, doesn't consider itself ethnically, culturally and historically a part of Central Asia. Islam⁸ has Common borders alone and have ECO given its aspects of affinity with Central

⁷ Sherada zulfqar, ECO Quetta, Action plan to boost relationships" The Nation (Lahore)

⁸ Maratha B. Olcott "Central Asias" Islamic awakening and shafiqal Islam, Current History VOL 93, NO-582 APRIL 1994.

Asian today. That seeks to become a formidable force in about a decade. There is a shared feeling of neglect and discrimination due to variety of factors with joint effort they aspire to catch up fast with the world currents. In 1991, the combined GNP of the Central Asian states was about \$ 160 billion. In 1992, the GNP percapita income was as follow : Kazakhstan \$ 3,803, Turkmenistan \$2,682, Kirghistan 2,436, Uzbekistan \$ 2,321 and Tajikistan \$ 1,613. Incidentally Iran has also started the Caspian sea co-operation organization (CSCO) as another regional body for joint economic development. It includes members of the literal states, namely, Iran. Azerbaijan, Turkey Kazakhstan and Russia.

On the political front, the Central Asian states convened the Tashkent summit in December 1992 attended by heads of all the five Republics. For the first time they articulated jointly the need for an independent⁹ union of about 55 million¹⁰ people of the Central Asian Republics, with affinity or ethnicity religion, region and culture. They proposed a closer political and military alliance, different and more compact from the still quite loose and ill defined common wealth (CIS) that had been established on the dismantling of the Soviet Union.

The Russia Press alarmed by this development has expressed “serious concern” for the prospects of an eventual formation of a new Turkistan Union as a

⁹ Karimev, I.A. Uzbekistan : The road of Independence and progress (Taskent 1992)

¹⁰ Md. Saleem, “sharing economic potential for peace and progress.

counter weight to the unity of the Slavonic republics of Russia, however it has played down the role of such a union against the dominations of Russia, but emphasized its role in jointly warding off the spread of Islamic fundamentalism in the region, which would weaken on going programme of liberal democracy and economic development. One of the concern expressed at the summit meeting was to check the credit of Tajikistan towards a religion-dominated politics.

The Republic agreed to participate in joint economic projects like refining and reprocessing of Kazakh oil in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan and construct transit railway lines in Iran, a Central Asian Television Company with its head quarter in Alma - Ata.

However, the Central Asian states have shown pragmatic intelligence in consolidating there new equations in the CIS¹¹, 54 building necessary bridges of mutually beneficial co-operations. Indeed they've been a more stable component of the CIS¹², this was also event when in May 1992, at Tashkent six of the ten members of CIS signed a collective part of security, these included four Central Asian CIS summit at Bishkek at the end of 1992, to constitute a collective peace keeping force.

¹¹ MARK FRANKLAND, "Asians to rule Gorbachev's new union" The observer (London) 18 Aug. 1991.

¹² M. K. Dhav, "Russias' warning to Pakistan, Iran", The Hindustan Times, 14 APR 1993.

All over the Muslim world from Algeria, Morocco Libya and Egypt, to Iran, Pakistan and Indonesia, these in a prospect under current of religious revival taking the force of a political ideology. Immediate and among the academics, this has been referred to as Islamic fundamentalism, the world fundamentalism, however has been rather loosely used, 60th philosophically and in realistic terms. This a needlessly positive term given to the otherwise malevolent and archaic intrusion of obsolete religious assumption and symbols in contemporary politics that distorts the values of liberal democracy and secular state.

Of course in the process of building a new national identity, when you go back to the roots to discover your heritage, the pervasive presence of religion is all too apparent especially in traditional festivals, marriage and death rites, inheritance laws inter personal either primordial outlook on life and world etc. But this aspect of religion as a substrative of culture, social life and primordial ethics differ from religious fundamentalism. It should be remembered specifically the Central Asian Islam has been a great civilisational force marked by rationalist traditions and secular learning for centuries and for almost seven decades have tried to reconcile values of Islam in a socialist social settings.

The Central¹³ Asian republic, due to the difficulties in managing their economies and the new liberal democratic identity are faced today with the

¹³ Dr. MAHATHIR, "Global relations Key to prosperity", NEW STRAIT TIMES, (KUALALUNPUR) 5 OCT 1994.

terrifying prospect of a counter political movement using Islam as a safe come to promote populist obscurantism in politics. Already in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, are Islamic¹⁴ Renaissance (IRP) has surfaced. It was established in June 1990 and has expanded its sphere to all the five Republics. Adilat and Altash parties have been formed in Kazakhstan. A wahabi group is active in the Farghana Valley. .

The strategy pursued by incumbent leadership in Central Asia to resent the spread of religion dominated polities is to promote positive awareness of Islam emphasizing its social ethics, humanist norms and values of justice and knowledge for the reconstruction of society. They are aware that it would be difficult to unsympathetic to general religious awakening, which has become a focus of identity today as a protest against earlier communist dogmatism against religion and past heritage.

The leaders are conscious that the assertion of religious roots is an unavoidable phase of building a new socio-cultural identity. President Karimov of Uzbekistan, Nurguttar N of Kazakhstan and Askar Akev of Kirghistan have uniformly adopted the same line of defusing Islamic revival by conceding certain valid demands of freedom of conscience and observance of religious practices.

¹⁴ Asian Survey, "Elthnicity and Islamic in Central Asia", 12(2) - 1993, Ist - 67 (ISN - 13219).

Saudi Arabia¹⁵ is reported to have given donation for the construction of mosques madarsas as and for the distributions of Quran and other religious literature. In the wake of this factor it is reported, that the no. of mosques have increased from 160 in 1989 to about 5,000¹⁶. In Turkmenistan about 200 mosques have come up in just two years. This certainly manifest a type of Islamic resurgence but how far it could become a distant and separate political force will have to be seen. The dominant leadership today appraise to be confident of its capacity to contain this phenomenon within manageable limits. We are not a religious states, though most of our people are Muslims; Said the Foreign Minister of Uzbekistan, Guleimanou, to our Indian delegation in Tashkent in January 1992¹⁷. Fundamentalism has no place in Kazakhstan”, affirmed President - Nuregultan Nazarbejen he added, there is no state religion in Kazakhstan Every religion is equal and separated from the state Kazakhstan which is multinationality state”. “During his visit to New Delhi in March 1992, President Askar Akarv of Kirgizstan said that his govt. and people were decisively opposed to religious extremism.”

¹⁵ Abha Dixit - A role in Central Asia , HINDUSTAN TIMES, 11 NOV 1991.

¹⁶ Central asia's news PROFILE, no - 10, Aug 1993 p-11.

¹⁷ Devendra Chistan, “The Fundamentalist threat to Central Asia,” National HERALD, (NEW DELHI), 31 JAN 1994.

Hence, religion¹⁸ based political parties have been banned. It is generally observed in Central Asia that while renewal of interest in religion is evident, the people have inherited a tradition of tolerance and co-operation in their social interaction. President Akaev summed up the situation when he said 'Islam for us is first of all and mainly a religion of high moral principles, good wills and good deed for peace and welfare'. Responding to the allegation made by us media and senators that central Asian states were about to form an "Islamic bloc". President Nazgbaev Categorically denied this or any proposal to this effect during his visit to new Delhi in Feb 1992. Linked with the process of Islamisation, two worrisome problems have crept up a mode of xenophobia in the region and the menace of drug trafficking (Xenophobia is mainly focused on the Russian immigrants, but also on other ethnic minorities. From June 1989, violent conflicts have taken a heavy toll of life and property. This has been especially marked in Tajikistan, whose interaction between the communists and liberals and the Islamic reaction has been quite force.

Since early December 1992, thousands of Tajiks refugees are seeking shelter across the river Oxus dividing Tajikistan from Afghanistan¹⁹. These are refugees who are supporters of an Islamic govt. that was over thrown by the old

¹⁸ Iyan Pride, "Kyrgyzstan, Secularism VS Islam. The world, Today, NOV. 1992, p-208.

¹⁹ Shireen. M. Mazari, "Pakmove towards Consensus with neighbour Muslims ," "THE FRONTIER POST" (Peshawar), 20 DEC, 1992.

communists. In official estimate their is about 5,000. It is also reported that about 40,000 refugees are desirous of migration because today Tajikistan is effectively a lawless area, run by opposing militant gangs. Even now millions of - Tajiks live in Afghanistan.

On the other hand due to historical background, political factors and economy, over a million Uzbeks live in northern Tajikistan²⁰. While the Tajike like Uzbeks, Kazaks, Turkmans and Kergiz are for the world that witnessed the dramatic events of the late 1980s in Europe and the dynamics of the eventual collapse of the Soviet union. there were names, people, place and territorial miniseries that evoked familiarity, excitement and moss of all a sense of anticipation for positive and liberating charge. The images of the fall of the Berlin wall and the velvet revolution in Eastern Europe, brought home specially to its western audience, powerful symbol images of a familier historic in justice being done, the captive nations of Europe being liberated and the post world was II historical aberration of Soviet domination being erased.

However, totally a different attitude was displayed with regard to Moscow's policy towards the independent movements in central Russia. When in January 1990, Soviet special forces brutally put down demonstration in Baker and declared an indefinite state of emergency, the reaction of the western world, the

²⁰ Tajikistan in Centre of New Domino game. Newstrait Times. (KAUALALUNPUR), 22 DEC 1992.

media, Public, policy makers and even scholars was uniformly subdued, often neutral and at times sympathetic to Moscow's plight Moscow's²¹ concern over the disintegration of the state (The USSR) and Soviet military action in maintaining law and order was given considerable weight and legitimacy while the same had been denied in the case of the Baltic's.

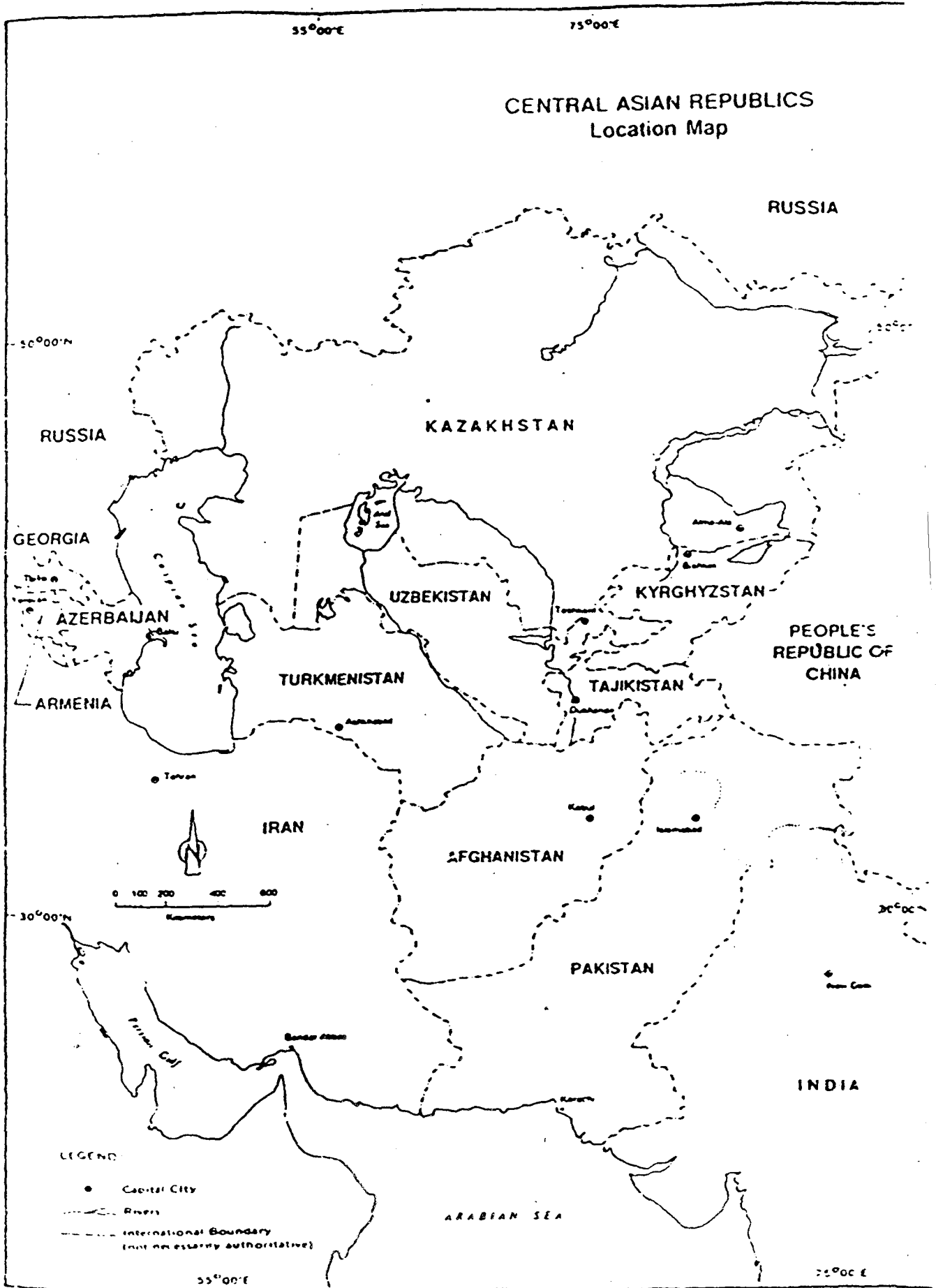
However, perceptions of and attitudes towards the new Muslim states of the former USSR²² carry all the ingredients of attitudes towards the Islamic world in general. The immediate - characterization of the Islamic threat which emanate from Central Asia and the Caucasus, have become the undercurrent under which policy and opinion makers, as well as the academic have been operating. The collapse of the Soviet union and the demise of the communist as a competing ideology have given rise to the potential emergence of Islam and the Islamic world as a replacement and a new challenge facing the western world in the post cold war era.

The emergence of independent states in Central²³ Asia and the Caucasus has led to the significant enlargement of this perceived threat. Geopolitically, the black hole of central Asia now constitutes an expanded part of the new Middle

²¹ Mohinddin Misbahi, "Russian Foreign policy and security in Central Asia and Caucasus". Central Asian Survey 1993, p-181-183.

²² Ibid - 22.

²³ Mutahir Ahmed, "prospects of Islamic Fundamentalism in post cold war period". Pakistan Horizon, Vol 48(2), APRIL 1995, P.H.H.



East. Geo culturally, few other regions entail a nation state's border system of such potential transparency where common and gross order religious ethnic. Linguistic and collectivist memories could act individually or jointly as destabilizing and or integrating factors. From Kazakhstan to Egypt, a dynamic of anti colonial feeling (old or new), economic under development, uneven development religious revivalism, arms proliferation, artificial borders, a new Russia, China, and above all, has been the focus of intense western security and economic in self and concerns.

The Muslim states of the former USSR thus present a considerable challenge and opportunity for observation and analysis of some of the most prating ingredients of the post Soviet international relations, ranging from political and security issues to new eras, such as post communist transition. The²⁴ emerging Central Asia is a goldmine of issues and questions that course policy makers, scholars and students of international relations.

However, before proceeding further it would be worth while to have the view of actual positions of the CARs (Central Asian Republics)

²⁴ Vinod Sharma, "Afghanistan stalemate may turn republic hostile to pakistan", THE HINDUSTAN TIMES.

ACTUAL POSITION OF THE CAR

The Republic of Kazakhstan²⁵ (untill December 1991) the Kazakh Soviet Republics is the Second²⁶ largest of the former Soviet Republic, extending some, 1,900 km (1,200 miles) from the Volga river in the west to the Altai mountains in the east and 1,300 km (800 miles) from the siberian plan in the north to the Central Asian deserts in the south. To the south its borders Turkministan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. To the east the border is with the peoples Republics of China. There is a long border in the north with the Russian Federation and a coastline of 2,320 km (1,440 miles) on the Caspian sea, in the south west. The climate is of a strongly continental type, but there are wide variation throughout the territory. Usual temperatures in Jan rang from - 18⁰ C (0⁰F) in the north to 3⁰C (66⁰F) in the north²⁷ and 28⁰-30⁰ (82⁰-86⁰ F) in the south.

Average annual rainfall in mountainous regions reaches 1,600 km. Kazakh a member of the Central Turkic group of language replaced the Russia as the official language in Sept. 1989. Since 1940, it has been written in the Cyrillic script. A Latin script that was used untill 1940. the traditional Arabic script having been replaced. The predominant religion is Islam, most ethnic Kazakhs are Sunni Muslims of the Hazafi school other ethnic groups have their own religious

²⁵ Central Asia News profile, "NO-4, FEB 1993, P-4".

²⁶ Central Asia News profile, NO-10. Aug. 1993, P-11.

²⁷ EUROPA YEAR BOOK 1997 KAZAKHSTAN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS.

Communities, notably the (Christian) Eastern orthodox church, which is attended mainly by slavs. The national flag consists of - a (proportions 2 by 1) a blue field at the Centre of which is a yellow sun (a disk surrounded by 32 rays) framed by the wings of a flying eagle, also in yellow near the host. The capital is Alma-Ata.

Coming to the second Republic, Kyrgyzstan²⁸ (which was also a member of the erst while USSR) is a small land locked state situated in eastern Central Asia. The country has also been known as Kyrgyzia. It borders Kazakhstan to the north Uzbekistan to the west, Tajikistan to the south and west and the peoples republic and china to the east there are district variations in climate between low lying and high attitude. It is a member of the south Turkey group of languages and is written in the Cyrillic script. The majority of ethnic Kargyz²⁹ are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school as are some groups living in Kyrgyzstan, including Uzbeks and Tajiks. The national flag (proportions 5 by 3) consists of a red field, at the centre of which is a yellow sun, with 40 country clock wise rays surrounding, a red - bordered yellow disc on which are super imposed two intersecting sets of three- red, curved, narrow bands. The Capital is Binshek.

Turning to third Republic of the disintegrated Soviet Union Tajikistan is situated in the south east of Central Asia. To the north and west it borders

²⁸ Ibid - 26.

²⁹ Ibid - 27.

Uzbekistan, to the north³⁰ east Kyrgyzstan, to the east the peoples republic of China and to the south Afghanistan. The climate varies according to the attitude. In the southern low lands the temperature variation is somewhat more extreme. Precipitation is low in the valleys - 14 the range of 150-250 mm per year. Levels³¹ of rainfall are very low in mountain regions and seldom exceed 60-80 m per year. In 1989 Tajik replaced Russia as the official language of the Republic. Tajik belongs to the south-west Iranian group of languages and is closely related to Israel. Since 1940 the Cyrillic script has been used. The major religion is Islam. Most Tajiks and ethnic Uzbeks residents follow the Sunni tradition, but the Panirise are mostly of the Islami sect. There are also representatives of the Russian orthodox church. These is a small Jewish community. The national flag consists of four unequal horizontal stripes from top to bottom of red, white, green and red, with on the observe only a crossed golden hammer and sickle below a gold bordered red five pointed star on the top red strike set near the hoist. The capital is Dushmabe.

Now the fourth one is Turkmenistan³² located in the south west of Central Asia. It is bordered to the north by Uzbekistan, to the north west by Kazakhstan, to the west by Caspian sea, to the south by Iran and to the south east by

³⁰ Ibid -26.

³¹ News Profile Vol., NO-5 (19), MAY 1994

³² EUROPA YEAR BOOK 1997, ECONOMIC Affairs TURKMENISTAN Chapter.

Afghanistan. The climate is severely continental, with extremely hot summers and cold winters. The summer temperature often reaches in the south east Karakeem desert. The average temperature in July is 28⁰C. Precipitation is slight throughout the country. A usage annual rainfall ranges from only Soviet regions. in 1990³³ Turkman was declared the official language of the Republic. Turkman is a member of the southern Turkic group. In 1929 the traditional Arabic script was replaced by a Latin script, which was 14 turn replaced by the Cyrillic script in 1940. In 1993 it was announced that the Republic would change to a Latin based Turkish script by early 1996. Most of the populations are Sunni Muslims. Islamic Turkeministan has traditionally featured elements of Sunni Mysticism and Shamanism and programmes to local religious sites are reported to be common. The national flag consists of three unequal vertical strips, of green maroon and green, the maroon strip bears a vertical design of five different carpet patterns, while the green strip nearest the fly was in its upper deserter corner five white pointed stars framed by a narrow white crescent moon. The Capital in Ashakabad.

Now the final³⁴ and last Republic of the USSR is Uzbekistan, which is bordered by Kazakhstan to the north, Turkmenistan to the south, Kyrgyzstan to the east, Tajikistan to the south east and Afghanistan to the south. The climate is

³³ Changing Tapestry of - Central Asia. Pranchopra, The HINDUSTAN TIMES, 21 APR 1993.

³⁴ Islam and Gorbachev's Policy in the Middle East, Journal of. International Affairs Vol. 42. NO.2, Spring 1989, P441.

marked by the extreme temperatures and low levels of precipitation. Summers are long and hot with average temperatures (low of) in July 32⁰C. During the day time temperatures often exceed 40⁰C. During the short winter. There are frequent severe frosts and temperatures can fall as low as 38⁰C. The official language is Uzbek, a member of the eastern Turkic language in Uzbek, member of the eastern³⁵ Turkic language group. Since 1940 it has been written in Cyrillic, although it was due to revert to the Latin script during the early 1990. Islam is the predominant religion. Most Uzbeks are Sunni Muslims, but there are small communities of wahabis, whose influence is reported to be growing. Sufism is relatively well established in southern Uzbekistan. There are also orthodox Christians among the Slavic communities and some 65,000 European Jews and 28,000 Central³⁶ Asia Jews. The national flag consists of five unequal horizontal strips of light, blue, red white and light green with a white crescent and 12 white stars near the hoist on the top stripe. The capital is Tashkent. However, just to have a look, where all these Central Asian Republics stand in the world map after the breakdown and separation from the erstwhile Soviet union, the map of these states are being attached here. Just for the sake of convenience.

³⁵ J.B. DUNLOP, Language, Culture, religion and National awareness. The last Empire, Nationality and Societ future (stafvford; Hoover Institution press 1986) PP 265-289.

³⁶ Central Asia News profile. No-10, Aug 1993, P-11.

CHAPTER 2

ISLAMIC RESURGENCE

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 created conducive environment for the newly independent states of the former USSR to have first thought for the¹ revival of Islam with different perceptions in their psyche as to what model would be best guided for their regimes to follow at the centre, obviously within the domain of Islamic parametre based on Iran, Pakistani - Barailvi or to follow Turkish model.

As Islam is the Predominant religion² of almost all the peoples of the southern region of the old Soviet Empire i.e. Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. Atleast one of them could become a strong fundamentalist country, and this could hold a wave of pan Islamism a cross the region. Russian Islamic specialist Mikhail A Radionor in out that for 70 years religion in these areas suffered persecution.

Under Stalin, places of worship were turned into bars, stables and offices for communist officials. Going through the reality of events as they are folding, it is observed that several international conferences are taking place to discuss the

¹ The resurgence of Central Asia, Islam or nationalism, Ahmed Rashid. Karahi, Oxford University Press, 1994.

² The Times, 17 Feb. 1992, Observed that the fear of fundamentalism spreading in the Central Asia.

revival of Islam and its role in the development of the Central Asian republics. One was attended by Russian Khazbullahtov, Speaker of the Russian Parliament and the Major of St. Petersburg. Anatoly Sobchak.

Iran, Pakistan and Turkey³ are jockeying for influence in shaping the new republics. The best actor on the scene is Iran. Events in Afghanistan and the turmoil in Tajikistan seem to be increasing the fundamentalist pressures. The Iranian P.M. visited some of the Republics last year and offers of aid in times of economic hardships. Although the Iranian govt. says its aims to merely seek trade relations it is said to be angling for access to nuclear technology and materials. Articles in official Russian dailies claim Iran is trying to establish anti-Russian and anti-western govt. in the region.

Turkey is carrying on its own operations extending trade credits and supplying primers in the Roman alphabet. Television broadcasts to the region have started. Turkey's ability to mix Muslim traditions with tolerance and parliamentary pluralism with democratic institutions, is seen as the role model by some Muslims in the region.

Only Turkey⁴ wants to set itself as a regional power that will act as a mediator between Europe and Asia in any future conflict. Whether all this

³ Ian Cuthbertson - "The New Great Game", World Policy Journal winter 1995/95, p. 31-43.

⁴ Ibid.

maneuvering is for economic fair or simply a kind of Muslim brotherhood, no one is quite sure, because survival, rather than a desire to revitalize Islam, is the driving force behind the politics of Central Asia.

The Muslims in the region⁵ bearing in mind that most leaders of the oil exporting countries, are brothers in faith, know that only to get their help is to proclaim their steadfastness to Islam. So they have begun a massive survival of Islam on the ruins of communism.

Many mosques are being built and more respect is being paid to the Haj or pilgrimage and the observation of prayers. If one republic gets attention from Iran, Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan then it helps the others to attract similar attention. Without adequate aid coming from the west the republics are resorting to Islamic militancy as a last means of salvaging their belligerent societies and disenchanted citizenry.

Yet the threat of fundamentalism may be overblown. Ordinary people in Central Asia believe their salvation lies in those countries with which they share natural or spiritual links. Akbat, Muslim leaders of Tajikistan says "we are not planning to build an Islamic society but a mundane system of government."

⁵ Ibid of 1.

After the breakup of Soviet Union⁶, Russia slackened its political activities in the region because of its political activities in and economic problems, so Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and other moved into the vacuum. President Boris Yeltsin had told the People's Deputies of Russia that internal difficulties have prevented Moscow from doing more in the region. Another reason may just be that Russia believes it is better to leave Asia's problems to Asian's and Europe's to Europeans. But Russian politicians are worried about fundamentalism. Another fundamentalists have not attained real power anywhere in the former Soviet south events in Tajikistan show they are not far from achieving it. The fundamentalist Islamic Renaissance party, the political vehicle for those seeking an Islamic republic has its strongest base in Tajikistan.

An understanding of Islamic⁷ orthodox conflict seems to be gathering. At a conference in St.petersburg on Islam a bomb exploded just before delegates arrived at the soborny mosque. No one was hurt, but the mosque was badly damaged. Feeling is strong that the formation of two unions, Slavic and Islamic on the territory of the ex-Soviet union could detonate a major conflict and some people for a revival of traditional Turkish- Russian animosity.

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⁶ Mohiaddin Misbahi, Russian Foreign Policy and Security in Central Asia and Caucasus, Central Asian survey 1993, p. 181-183.

⁷ Ibid.

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In other words, with the end of the conflict between socialism and capitalism, the centuries old divide between Christianity and Islam may heat up. The war between Azerbaijan and Armenia is assumed by some to have religious undertones. Radionor sums it up thus : “what is characteristics of Muslims today, is their tendency to look back in history and understand when they made mistakes, understand why their brilliant success and advanced culture in the middle ages, which was envied by less developed Europe, arrived at a situation like this today. They have a deep feeling of offense, of historical injustices.

Most ordinary people on the other hand are more concerned with improving their⁸ living standards by any means. Since communism failed woefully and the future under a market economy is uncertain millions believe that if any system is to work there must be sanity in their societies. To achieve this, they believe in turning to god. If Islam becomes, the rallying force for economic and political freedom rather than democracy, then pan Islamism could take root in the region. Apart from mentioning above lot of things, question arises what infact fundamentalist is ? Can one be a Christian and not fundamentalist, or hindu or for that matter can one be a Muslim and not fundamentalist? Given the background Muslims have it sounds quite impracticable the religion which always has been in the lapse of adherence to the religion or attached with the holy Quran can't talk of

⁸ Michael Kasev and Santosh Malhotra (ed.) The Central Asian economies after independence, London, 1992. pp. 26-27.

religion as an opinion, that too of a country of which credentials intense of potentiality being starved of economy, and it is generally perceived that in that case as Maz says “religion is the opium of the masses” so is the case of Central Asian.

Given the closed⁹ society as they had faced in the former Soviet Union, and now suddenly they are independent entity (ies), then in that case definitely, it becomes but natural to move and get attracted towards the opium of religion. Moreover apart from their own perceptions of religious ethos they are also being infused by other Muslim countries to align themselves with the Islamic culture and thus, they also want to get and extract political mileage out of it. For example besides other countries alluring these republics, the role of Pakistan’s desperate effort to bring these countries into the offing of its clutches, so that it can also play Islamic card and in the name of Islam get things done as they as pire of even if necessary at their cost, and therefore, for this reason the Pakistani think tank did a workshop on the unity and integrity over this issue. This took place in the last week of Nov. 1991 in Islamabad. On the one hand the rest. while think tank with Ex COAS, General Mirza Aslam Beg, with his thinking cap on was holding a seminar were workshop on Regional co-operation for peace and development in

⁹ Charles E. Ziegler, Environmental politics and policy under Prestroika in Judith, B-Sedaitis and Jim Butterfield (eds.) Prestroika from below, Boulder, 1991, pp.118-19.

which a galaxy of intellectuals from Pakistan and the Central Asian Republic participated.

While on Govt., Level the Economic Co-operation Organization¹⁰ (ECO) council of Minister met to induct six Central Asian states as members of the organization. From three, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, the ECO has multiplied to 10, including Afghanistan. The emphasis on both was an historical ties that existed centuries ago between the then countries of the Central Asian region. It is to be common interest that the think tank in these three Islamic Republics mentioned above Iran, Pakistan and Turkey had always in their mind that any how these should be contacted with these all central Asian Republics. Its different thing they could not manage to do so because of USSR's colonial grip.

However, as history¹¹ in their weakness, grandiose, dreams, myths and past glories are their only treasure that the Muslims keep on relishing. They say we read grandeur in our history and go into hallucination. Md. Abid-al-Jabire a Moroccan modern writer says about the Arabs, and infact what he says is pertinent for all Muslims, "(we) turn to past in order to darw from it the strength that the present denies (US), we read there (our) hopes over desires, knowledge, rationality, progress etc. that in (we) look there for everything we lack in present."

¹⁰ P. Stobadan, 'Introduction : Aspects of The Conflict situation in Central Asia' Strategic Analysis, June 1993, pp. 265-287.

¹¹ Victor Winston - One of Year after the collapse of the USSR : A panel of Specialists", Post Soviet Affairs. 8,4 : 303-330 October - December 1992.

Now question arises, why there is desire to turn over attention to the dead past, whether the only battle that is important to us at this movement is that of the future? The societies that threaten us in our identity are single mindedly focused on the future and make it of a science or a weapon of domination and control. While we can't sight the Id moon, specially in Pakistan, enemies of Islam have landed on moon, decades ago and are now travelling towards Mars.

History¹² does repeat itself, has its repetation and is useful when it is used as a developing thing and not as a sedative. We are like the man, who could not recall who he was, in Marshal Mcduhan's "The medium is the message" and who are you? Hardly know sir, just at present at least I know who I was when I got up this morning, but I think, I must have been changed several times since then."

In the 'Muslim' of 26 Nov. 1991 conclusion of the Friends seminar reportage, the thought for the day. why did the guests from central Asia remain so quiet through the days of proceeding is reflective of the mental anxiety their delegates must be feeling. They must be perturbed about the happenings in our country. What impression they must've got of a Muslim country, where sharia is about to rule supreme, and will enter the 21st century with an economic bang. The staff reporter of the Muslim also concluded "all these use fine but somehow the

¹² Ibid. 9.

discussion failed to scrap beneath the surface. People indulged in a arguments and encounter arguments but at the end of the hours, did not have any thing to show.”

Now question arises, based on aforesaid statement as stated and concluded in the workshop one thing is clear, the so-called stalwarts of these Islamic Republics are seen that how desperately they are the Central Asian Republics as part of their natural heritage by fair or foul means to take into account if necessary. They ever resort to take and indulge into hundreds of galaxies to form the group or blocks. It's interesting these Central Asian Republics look they need less help of Iran, Pakistan or Turkey than vice-verse holds water.¹³

Let us go back for a while to view the geo-graphical proximity as these central Asian states have themselves, with the dismemberment?? of the Soviet Union, six new central Asian states adjoining are engaged, to name of them. Tajikistan has common borders, and Afghanistan, Kyrgyzistan has common border with Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, Turkistan has common border with Iran and Uzbekistan Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzistan. Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzistan declared independence on 30th August 1991. Tajikistan on 9th Sept. 91 and Turkistan on 27th Oct. 1991.

¹³ Ibid. 1.

Since the declarations of their independence¹⁴, Pakistanis are showing an extra ordinary keenness and up surge to build religion cum trade relationship with these countries. Official and non official missions, trade delegations and individual entrepreneurs are sharing the capitalists of these states. Much emphasis is being laid on their Islamic character, least realizing that for the last about seventy years, all these states are the part of the ex-Soviet Union and communism had replaced religion for all interest and purposes.

Ofcourse all these states (Central Asian) are Islamic in character before the setting of Red dawn over them. However except for ISTAN part of their name there is neither commonality of language, nor customs and traditions between them and Pakistani. even with regard to religion their perception are mixed. In any case they will confused and have difficulty in choosing. The type of Islam, they should accept Saudi Malaysian, Irani, Pakistan, Barelavi, Deboaddi, Nairane, Fundamentalist or non fundamentalist etc. Prime Minister of Pakistan has already announced to allay the fears of western Countries that” - The enlarged ECO¹⁵ will not become an Islamic Fundamentalist and Consequently will not pose a threat to the world peace.

¹⁴ Pakistan's Central Asia Strategy - Nation, The pioneer New Delhi 5 Mar, 1993.

¹⁵ Central Asia hot beds of war : G.L. Bandarevsky National Herald, New Delhi 20, July 1993.

Now we can examine how in the name of block the non Central Asian states with ? like ECO or RCD not only try to bring there back in the offing and in the domain of the trap but also as far as possible propagating the cause of religion sought to impress the Central Asian States. However it would not be out of place to go a little bit inside the history of ECO and its role in and around it. Therefore coming to ECO, let us examine achievements the three nations of ECO have made, There parent organization of ECO was RCD, which was established in 1964. However , in this context we would also like to see whether this organization has really become effective in spreading the ideas to the extent they required or simply proved to be a talking shop so far the composition and establishment is concerned not established in 1964. Since then except for holding the summit meetings every two years till 1970 nothing substantial resulted for the next six years. Then RCD went in hybernation and in 1976 treaty of Izmir was finalized. Then for the next years till 1985, nothing happened. In 1985 RCD became ECO, followed by 1990 ECO Council of Minister session in which it agreed to amend the treaty of Izmir, in 1991 the amended Treaty of Izmir was ratified. The 1992 saw not only the admission of new seven members but reiteration for need of every establishment of the ECO Trade and Development Bank the ECO shipping Company and the ECO Re-insurance Company and agreement or the protocol of preferential Tariff Arrangement.

The latest round in Islamabad¹⁶ formally brings in the new members to the ECO as full members. The above brief history of RCD/ECO indicates that except for paper work, lengthy formalities and speeches nothing tangible has happened so far. These are indications that ECO week may be Celebrated wherein film festival Photo-Exhibition, T.V Projections, Essay Competition, Calendars and Diaries Carrying ECO Themes special newspaper supplements and a moment dedicating to ECO may be arranged . So far so good, but the question is whether these ideas really indicate a will to create a realistic ECO¹⁷ or a Common Market of ECO Countries.

U.S.A. STAND POINT OF VIEW

In the given melieu of predominant religion, Islam, the U.S.A. perceives a threat Perception from her stand point of view and obviously along with west. They have misgivings at the possible Islamisation of Central Asia, especially of Iran filling the vaccum in the post Soviet space. The implications of the strategic shift in Central Asia were seen as significant, but the west was ill-equipped to deal with the situation in the region. However to deal with the situation in the region. However it tried to push Turkey as a major actor in the whole episode.

¹⁶ Ibid. 13.

¹⁷ Satobdan (P) - Islamic awakening in Central Asia towards stability or conflicts, strategic analysis 15 (b), Sep - 92, 503-18 (ISN - 6187)

The US's¹⁸ immediate concern in Central Asia remained over curbing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and fuels and their possible leakage to other Islamic countries. In this respect Washington has co-operated with Central Asian states to dismantle and transport fissile material to the US. So far the west has not made full economic and political penetration into Central Asia, even though there is total absence of any western strategy; it continues to be focused on issues such as human rights, the probability of their getting disillusioned with the west.

Russia will inevitably remain a dominant force in Central Asia for a long time to come. Both history and geography dictate such an outcome. So far, Russia with the help of Iran effectively kept the Americans out of Central Asian affairs. The failure of the UN to bring about the settlement in Tajik Civil War shows the limited influence of the West in the region.

Moreover, Iran has launched an ambitious diplomatic initiative to strengthen its cultural, political and economic linkages with the newly independent Central Asian states. Iran's ideological influence has even spread to Tajikistan which shares its languages and culture with the country. There has been reports about the involvements of Afghan Mujahideen in propagating the militant ideology of Islam in Tajikistan. Islamic revolutionary literature in the form of pamphlets and books have been circulated widely in Tajikistan. Islamic activities held

¹⁸ U.S., Turkey and Iran charge power in Central Asia, from Bruce Clark in Moscow and National Lieven Baku, Times (London) 17 Feb. 1992.

demonstrations in the Tajik Capital demanding the establishment of Islamic state in Tajikistan. Various political parties have been in the forefront of this movement.¹⁹

The Islamic resurgence is the most outstanding development in recent years. The new players are relying on ethnic, linguistic and religious ties to pull Central Asian entities into their respective folds. The fundamentalist Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP) established in June 1990 has expanded its sphere of influence in five republics and has been given official recognition in some republics.²⁰

Pan-Islamism has been spreading its influences and sphere and numerous mosques have been newly built or rebuilt. Total number of mosques have increased from 160 in 1990 to 5000 at present. Turkey and Iran are the most serious contenders while Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are also trying to influence this region. In short Muslim fundamentalism has been gaining momentum and this is going to be a major challenge for establishing peace and reunity in this region.

¹⁹ Fundamentalist threat to Central Asia by Devendra Chistan National Herald, New Delhi, 31, Jan 1994.

²⁰ Mehرداد Maghayeghi - Islamic Revival In Central Asian Republics, Central Asian Survey Vol. 13, No.2 1994, p.257.

Besides above mentioned facts, it is to be noted that, fundamentalism in Central Asia writes Malashenko is attractive especially to those sections of the people and population unconnected to the modern industrial sector workers, engineers and technician have seldom taken part in fundamentalist demonstrations. At the same time there is a high percentage of service sector. People from the bazaar among the adherents of fundamentalism, is the most popular. He further says that among university students especially those in humanities, young people as a whole especially young men who have recently moved to the cities and are trying to grip with their adherence to Islam. Members of intelligentsia with a traditionalist bent and middle and low level religious officials, who are trying to distance themselves from the higher echelons of state recognized religion functionaries.²¹

However the situation is for more complex, there are historic differences in the way the Central Asians responded to Islam. The settled communities of south (Uzbeks and Tajiks) were more traditional and orthodox in their beliefs, where as for the nomads, Turkmen and Kirghiz. Islam was a loose cultural affiliation rather than a way of life governed by a set of teaching and concepts. Within each Central Asian States there are social differences which create difference in perception towards the role of religion. The affluent, Russified Urban-dweller may

²¹ Changing Tapestry of Central Asian Pran Chopra, The Hindustan Times 21 APR. 1993.

be sympathetic to Islam but the great majority are unwilling to abandon the secularism to which they have become accustomed, points out Shirin Akiner. They are strongly opposed to the participation of Islam which will threaten their way of life as well as shift the balance of power. Nevertheless, according to Akiner there is a general difference that cuts across both the historic and societal distinctions. Members of the younger generations from different backgrounds are being attracted to religion.

Within the broad Muslim identity, differentiation exists chiefly along regional lines, a factor only partially erased after seven decades²² of Soviet system. First the oases identities are of primary importance. These are the major locations with which people identified even if they lived or their ancestors lived in villages outside the immediate towns. Those who don't identify with major oases towns, identify with large villages or river valleys, than with smaller villages. Traditional clan and regional loyalties held in check to some extent under the Soviet rule have now reappeared to become potentially serious sources of destabilization. In Uzbekistan the major power bases have traditionally been located in Samarkand, Tashkent and Farghana. No single region has been able to establish sole hegemony for long and this has meant that there has begun a

²² St. Thomas and M.A. Kaplan (eds). *The Soviet and challenges of future*, vol.3, - *Ideology culture and antionality* (new york, Paragon House, 1989) pp. 139-160.

constant need for political alliance. Separate coalitions represent the Farghana valley, Bukhara, Samarkant Gamarkaa Dzhiak and Jashkent oblates.

However, if we tend to move a little bit away from the present discussion there is however little sign of Islam becoming a common denominator to unify Central Asia into a cohesive organic whole. Firstly contrary to the commonly perceived fear, Iran has acted with a remarkable sense of pragmatism while dealing with Central Asian States far from being destabilizing, Tehran has shown its willingness to Co-operate with Russia and India in Central Asia. Instead of Islamic ideology Iran made several gestures to promote economic and culture linked in Central Asian.

Despite its cultural affinity,²³ Iran has carefully avoided its support to Tajik opposition. Infact Tehran has been trying hard for a national reconciliation in Tajikistan. It has hosted an inter Tajik talk and also supported Russia's initiative state. Similarly Iran's approach to bring peace in the caucuses has been equally pragmatic compared to the one Turkey followed.

There is however a limit to the point Iran itself can push in Central Asia Expect in Tajikistan²⁴. Iranian effort has been hampered by linguistic and ethnic problem. Iran's own economic problems as well as its international isolation its

²³ The dynamics of the New great game in Muslim Central Asia M.E. Ahrai, Central Asian Survey, Vol. 13, No. 41, 1994 pp. 525-539.

²⁴ Ibid of - 22.

help to become the patron for Central Asian states are also commonly perceived that calendistingly in Central Asia will fule secessionism amonst its on national minorities as Aserriis Tarknen and Kurds.

On the other hand the Central Asian states have not been able to ignore the economic necessity of dealing with Iran because Iran is in a better position to help the landlocked Central Asian States by providing access to the sea as compared²⁵ to Turkey. Turkmenistan was the first to realise the non-political importance of Iran. Kazaghstan and Uzbekistan too viewed Iran as a better conduct through which their oil could be exported towards the west. Despite its initial fear, Iran has become gradually accepted as a more stable economic partner by all central Asian States. Countries like Russia and India are also not opposed to engagements of Iran in this context of wider political stability in Central Asia.

The Threat of Islamic fundamentalism is highly exaggerated. The rise of Islam can neither can be a single nor a simple phenomena. Islam has gone through a divergent path of historical developments. In fact, much of central Asian nationals characteristics are nothing but products of dynamic inter actions and tension between religion and geography.

²⁵ Ibid. 8.

It would not be appropriate to compare Central Asia with the prevailing situation in other Islamic²⁶ Countries where the attraction of fundamentalism is attributed to protests by the economically deprived segment of urbanization and the growing moral and political bankruptcy. There is also no apparent cause for anti western rhetoric and impulses. Complexes about the west like those harboured by the Arabs are lacking among Central Asian West Asia , therefore is in no way a model for Central Asia like Europe is for the East Europeans. Neither do the economies standards of Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan hold much attraction for Central Asia.

The strong rivalry among Islamic states to introduce their brand of Islam in Central Asia will itself prevent them from turning into a cohesive Islamic society. Even otherwise the relationships among Central Asian Islamic sects are complicated by different cultural and tribal backgrounds. For example underlying the ongoing confrontation between Islamic fundamentalism and communism in Tajikistan is Tribalism. Clans and subclans are more important than politics or even region. Such factors proved divisive even in Afghanistan where the fundamentalism Mujahedeen finally became divided into Tajik and Afghan Camps.

²⁶ ROI (Uacov) - Islamic influence on nationalism in Soviet Central Asia, strategic Digest 21(1), Jan 91, 30-47. (ISN - 13228)

It is also important to note that it is the Wahabism a Saudi Arabian brand of Islam rather than Iranian ideology which is assuming an extremist from Central Asia. Particularly in Uzbekistan. It is hostile not only towards the Shias but also rejects Sufism as being a Turkish Conspiracy to undermine Islam. Whereas other including the Hanafi sect accuse the wahabis of introducing the²⁷ sectarianism of the Arab world. The Ismaeli Muslims are being victimized by both fundamentalists and communists.

Islam is also not homogeneously strong in all parts of Central Asia For example in Kazakhstan, Islamisation has been a late starter. The majority nomadic population still hold pre Islamic beliefs. Almost half of Kazakhstan's population is non Kazakh and this is the greatest impediment to Islamic fundamentalism. Its' only non secular party confines itself to the advocacy of pan Turkistan with Islam and democracy. Similarly Khirghizstans' attachment to Islam is not strong. The easy going nomadic Khirgiz are inclined to economic progress and are looking towards the Asian dragons as development models.

FACTORS LEADING TO ISLAMIC RESURGENCE

The dissolution and disintegration of the Soviet union and subsequently jubilation and euphoria celebrated by west and U.S.A. on there demise of the

²⁷ J. N. Dunlop, Language, culture, religion and national awareness in , the last Empire and Soviet future (stanfard, Hoover institution Press, 1986), pp. 265-284.

aforesaid empire, is something which was ephemeral and definitely not to be contented for prolongivity. However the present topic makes an endeavour; the essential factors leading to the Islamic resurgence as presumed.

DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS

The process of Islamic resurgence was inadvertently set in motion by the last President of the Soviet Union²⁸ Mikhail Gorbachev, and his well publicized policy of glasnost in the late 1980s. Intended to remedy an entirely different set of political in the country, glasnost provided the Central Asian Republics (CAR) with an officially sanctioned vehicle for expression of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, environmental and religious grievances that has not been addressed openly in recent decades. Although the immediate reaction to glasnost varied from republic to republic, the overall pattern reflected more heavily the ethnic and nationalistic sentiments than religious aspirations.

Rapidly however, religious concerns over the lack of public prayer accommodations and Islamic education began to be heard frequently in all Muslim republics. Such demands were of course considered legitimate given the coercive Soviet treatment of Islam and Muslims in past. Yet in some republics, demands began to assume hostile characteristics. Muslims leaders in Tajikistan,

²⁸ Islam and Gorbachev's policy in the Middle East, *Journal of international Affairs* Vol., 42. No. 2. Spring 1989, p. 44.

for instance called for a holy war against the Central authority, vowing to fight the oppressive rule of the Kremlinian master till victory. Consequently in 1986-87 Tajik Muslim leaders and followers were arrested by the KGB and tried.²⁹

Another major development occurred in 1989 when Muslim of Uzbekistan launched a campaign to depose Shamsidin Babakharov ibn zeyanddin the head Mufti of the Muslim religion our Board of Central Asia. Its responsibilities included, the appointment of Muft of Uzbekistan, Kyrgystan and Karakhstan as well as are of Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. Events of this nature were certainly bound to strengthen the Islamic resurgence.

ISLAMIC PROCLIVITY

With an estimated population of a little over 50 million, the Central Asian inhabitants are predominantly Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi School, noted for its theological emphasis on both moderation in action and orthodox interpretation of sunnah the tradition of the prophet Mohd. There are Sunni as Muslims who adhere to sufism (most Turkmens). However Islam, without a doubt is an integrate part of the CAR cultural identity therefore, they are bound to adhere to their customs, trends, styles and maintain traditions for example observance of Islamic dress code for women which had been banned under communist regime now is

²⁹ Ibid. 28.
Ibid. 13.

creeping again on the surface. However they are not strictly adhering to it. But as a nascent process, most conclusion must be drawn on the basis of longitudinal studies not yet available. Anyway every indication seems to point to the emergence of a moderate Islamic trend.³⁰

ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONAL MANIFESTATIONS

Over the past few years, the CAR has become the birth place of a multiplicity of political parties with a wide range of ideological predilections and strategic objectives. Two types of Islamic parties have become active on the political scene since the late 1980s. The first are the republican parties which vary in their ideological orientation command a relatively small following by pressing for the renovation and construction of mosques and madrasas in Kyrgyzstan. Uzbekistan's Islamic.³¹ Democratic party, which seems to have evolved from the Islam and Democracy organization founded in 1988 as a fundamentalist party.

The second type of Islamic parties are the inter republican parties which enjoy a relatively larger following. Islamic Revival party (IRP-hereafter) also referred to as the Islamic Rebirth or Renaissance party, has branches in all republics except Kyrgyzstan. Founded in the mid 1990s, in the city of Astrakhan. The IRP's objective was the revival of the ideals of Islam.

³⁰ Central Asian form economic bloc. Financial Express (New Delhi) 29 Nov. 1992.

³¹ Soviet Geography, 29, 10 - 881-908, December 1988.

Apart from the above Islamic³² parties a number of smaller Islamic groups with militant tendencies have been operating in the CAR. In Tajikistan for instance some fundamentalist have refused to join the IRP because they don't believe that the party is Islamic enough. They have also been exposed to contemporary Islamic literature from abroad. Similar attitudes have been reported with respect to some Muslim fundamentalist factions in Uzbekistan. As a whole, however, these groups have not been able to gather enough support to influence the process of Islamic revival to any significant degree.

WEST ASIAN INFLUENCE³³

As stated at the outset the internal political dynamic in Central Asia are conditioned by the presumes exerted from the Middle East. Thus far, three Middle Eastern actors have been directly involved in the religious and cultural affairs of the CAR. Turkey., Iran and Saudi Arabia, each projecting a rather distinct image of Islam. From an ideological point of view, however, only two forces are at work. First the force of radical Islam, which has combined elements of fundamentalism and anti western imperialism in its approach to politics and society. This has been synonymous with the name of Iran, through to a lesser degree since the departure of Ayatollah Khomeine.

³² Soviet Geography 27, 3, : 205-206, March 1986.

³³ Changing Tapestry of Central Asia, Pran Chopra, The Hindustan Apr. 1993.

Second, the force of conservative Islam with no anti-western tenets, which is represented by the Saudi Arabian style fundamentalism on one hand and the Turkish secular version on the other. In addition to their common religious or cultural heritage with the CAR, both countries have been active at the urging of the united states, impresenting alternative Islamic Paradigms so as to counter act the destabilizing effect of Iran. Turkey which is being marked as a political and economic model, is in essence a secular state.

As such³⁴ Turkey has been preaching the familiar principle of separation of church and state seen in this light Islam is not considered a way of life dictating the terms and norms of public behaviour but a private endearour with permissible expressions..

Turkey was the first country to recognize the independence of the CAR and to express willingness for active Co-operation. Negotiations for the establishments of political and economic and cultural ties with the republics began as early as September 1991 under President Turgut Ozal and intensified under Turkeys' cultural and religions efforts have been concentrated in Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, though ties have been extended to other republics. Apart from other Republics engagement, Turkey has also been engaged in similar activities in Turkmenistan. Only February 1992, a Turkish delegation from the ministry of

³⁴ Ibid. 16.

Education signed a Protocol whereby Turkey would provide two million dollars educational assistants towards the purchase of printing and laboratory equipment. In addition delegation discussed the establishment of a language centre in Ashqabad and plans were made for a group of Turkmen high school students to continue their education in ³⁵ Turkey in 1993. Latest was announced that a total of 2000 graduate and post graduate Turkmen will be sent over to Turkey to major areas in medicine, English, agriculture, Law, Banking, sports and culture, A group of 140 students have also been dispatched to receive Islamic training in Turkey to become clerks Further more Turkey has expressed interest in helping Turkmenistan to convert to the Latin alphabet.

Apart from Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan Turkey has extended its service to Kyrgyzstan Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. For instance Turkey has reportedly agreed to meet all Kyrghiztans needs in its efforts to adopt the Latin alphabet and supply the necessary equipment.

A Turkish training centre has also been promised to be established in Bihkek. Similar offer to satisfy Uzbekistan's cultural and educational needs for equipment and training have been a made in early March 1992. Turkey's involvement in Tajikistan, however has been rather limited, since the two

³⁵ Ibid. 20.

countries don't share a common cultural heritage, never the less Tajikistan has expressed interest in co-operation with Turkey in education science and cultural.

Although less involved than Turkey, Saudi Arabia³⁶ has been active in the CAR since Feb 1992 when Prince Saus-Al-Fasal visited Uzbekistan. Tajikistan and Turkmenistan in order to make a Preliminary assessment of the republics religious political and economic situation. Saudi Arabiceas' religious services have so far been limited to the promotion of the Arabic language, Pilgrimage and renovation of historic mosques in the region. Plans have been made to dispatch Saudi teachers to the region as part of an effort to enhance the understanding of the tenets of Islam and Koran. A million copies of the holy Quoran have been sent to the CAR as a gesture of goodwill by the Saudi King. Furthermore, the Saudi Govt. has extended a two years invitation to those Uzbek people who wish to participate in the hai ceremony to be paid for by the Saudi Ministry of waqt and Hai. It has also raised the CAR's quota of pilgrims to 15,409 for the 1993 Hai Ceremony. Funding for religions education has been promised.³⁷

Judged entirely by the range and scope of activities undertaken Turkey and Saudi Arabia seem to have had a far more persuasive presence than Iran. This is Primarily due to the fact that Turkey and Saudi Arabia possess the necessary

³⁶ Changing Tapestry of Central Asia Pran Chopra THE HINDUSTAN TIMES 21 APR 1993.

³⁷ Central Asia need for innovative opp - by Salim Kidwai, STATESMAN, 22 MAR, 1996

financial means as well as western support the two most significant ingredients for effective diplomacy to produce positive sculptural and religious results. Equally important is the ethnic and cultural influence Turkey naturally enjoys in four out of the five republics, which can be utilized to help shape the future course by events. Unfortunately Turkey itself is walling a light rope when it comes to the fundamentalist movement within its borders. In a recent study of Turkey's internal condition and international aspirations Philip Robin has accurately acceded to the shifting balance of forces in favour of Islam as the Communist politics of the past are gradually being eroded. so far the CAR has been quite receptive to Turkey's initiatives in all fields of activities One can only hope that Turkey will be able to continue its constructive role in the foreseeable future.

However moving away for a while; from Present aforesaid discussion, one prognosticates that although modern secularism developed and strengthened in Central Asia during the Soviet regime is quite capable of tackling on this fundamentalist threat, its task is being made difficult by the economic problems, it is having to face following the Soviet break up and collapse Economic distress undoubtedly has immense destabilizing potential anywhere.

Modern³⁸ secular forces everywhere, therefore owe it to themselves to lend a helping hand to their counterparts in central Asia: for Islamic fundamentalism

³⁸ Rahul Ram, Central Asia, Major Perspective, New Delhi Vikas Publication - 1993.

though wearing a low profile and aligned with ethnic nationalist forces as of now can pose a great threat to the modern³⁹ democratic world if it sets a foothold in Central Asia just because the west could not manage the fall out of the Soviet collapse.

³⁹ Secularism Vs. Islam, The World Today, Novemeber, 1992, p-208.

CHAPTER 3

ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

Given the viability in terms of economy, as Central Asian Republics have and supposedly one of the most promising unexplored oil region in the world and reservoirs of a variety of different minerals, the entire belt, which earlier was denominated a black hole has now turned out to be a golden spot and a second new middle east. Therefore the US wants to control the Central Asian region, and this perception is substantiated with the highlight of Mr. Talbott's formulation as he says every one can win in a co-operative regime for Central Asia.

However, aforesaid paragraph is just the interest of USA¹ in the CARs (Central Asian Republics) but this chapter emphatically emphasizes if at all any contracts, agreements have taken place to promote economic relations between Central Asia and the USA.

ECONOMIC ACCORDS BETWEEN US AND C.A. REPUBLICS

USA² : aid and grain for Kyrgystan - US aid to Kyrgyzstan was discussed by President Akayev with the visiting US secy. of state James Baker. The USA discussed the possibility of granting Kyrgyzstan most - favoured nation (MFN)

¹ Central Asia now open for business Elif Kaban, Bangkok Post Feb, 1/1992.

² Summary of World Broad Casts, B.B.S. Weekly ECO Report 3rd Jan. 1992.

states as it is a democratic state. It will supply the republic with 240,000 ton of grain, as well as medicines.

With Pakistan, the move followed a breakthrough in relations between Turkmenistan and the Taliban the Radical Islamic Afghan faction which controlled much of the route of the proposed pipeline through Afghanistan. Although Turkmenistan did not recognize the Taliban reported on Oct. 25 that Turkman President Saparmuad Niyazov had said that the security of the pipeline had been guaranteed by the Taliban militia and that agreement on the issue had also been co-ordinated with representatives of the anti Taliban coalition.

NEW DIGEST FOR MAY 1992³

The U.S. Company Chevron reached an agreement with the Kazakh authority to develop the Tengiz and Korolev field and 4,000 sq.km. exploration area under discussions the chevron deal had stated from previous year and renewed when the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991 allowed control over natural resources to pass to individual republics. Deals were said to give Khazakh upto 80% of expected profits.

³ New Digest for May 1992.

Kirgistan - NATO visit - Formation of republican armed forces

On July 16 a delegation of North Atlantic Treaty organization (N.A.T.O) officers began a four day visit to study Kirgistan's national security policy and its defence agreements.

Feb 1993⁴

Turkamenistan - Official talks with a business delegation opened in Ashikabad. on Feb 21. Economic co-operation agreements were signed during a visit by Ukrainian P.M.

April 1993⁵

Kazakhstan - Joint oil venture with US company to develop and exploit the Tengiz and Korelov oil fields in Kazakhstan was signed in Alma Ata by President. Nurusultan Nazerbyev and Kenneth Derr, chief executive of the U.S. based Chevron Corporation, on April 16. The 40 yrs. deal expected to be worth US \$20,000 million was the biggest of its kind between a major multinational and a member of the Common wealth of Independent states.

⁴ News Digest - Feb 1993.

⁵ News Digest - Apr 1993.

March - 1993⁶

The U.S.A. on March 2 agreement granted Kazakhstan, the most favoured Nation (M.F.N.) status, after bilateral trade talks in Washington aimed normalizing trade relations between the two countries.

New Digest June 1993⁷

KAZAKHSTAN - MULTINATIONAL OIL ACCORD.

A consortium of one domestic and seven western oil firms signed an agreement in Alma ata on June 9 worth US \$350,000,000 for the exploration and possible development of oil fields in the Caspian sea. Similar agreements had been signed with the French oil Company. Elf-Aquitaine in February, and with the US based oil corporation Chevron in April, 93.

September -93⁸

US special ambassador strobe Talbott signed an agreement in Dushambe on Sept. 13-speeding up US aid to Tajikistan, but warned that the amount of aid available would depend upon the govt. willing lines to pursue democratic reform and improve its human rights record. At a news conference that day Talbott said

⁶ News Digest - mar 1993.

⁷ News Digest - June 1993.

⁸ News Digest - Sep 1993.

that despite the fact that this relief aid of US \$43,000,000 had already been allocated as "long term (US) aid could not be taken for granted so long as Tajikistan had not met necessary conditions in the sphere of democracy, human rights, economic reform and the observance of regional peace.

FEB 1994⁹

KAZAKHSTAN - NAZARBAYEV'S US VISIT

President Nursultan Nazarbayev visited the U.S.A. on Feb 13-17 securing a pledge from U.S. President Bill Clinton significantly increasing the level of US economic aid to Kazakhstan. US aid had allotted some US \$ 91,000,000 in 1993. The amount pledged for 1994, some \$396 million included an \$ 84,000,000 contribution the cost of dismantling Kazakhstan's nuclear weapons. The increase in aid reflected in part the US administrations desire Kazakhstani ratification on Dec. 13 of the N.P.T. The US was also counseled to ensure the rapid dismantling of Kazakhsatan's nuclear weapons especially in view of the anxiety about their condition and safety.

Nezarbeijav said on Feb 19 that the one agreement signed during his visit bound the USA to pursue active diplomatic measures in the event of Kazakhstan's borders being threatened.

⁹ News Digest - Feb 1993.

NEWS DIGEST FOR NOVEMBER 1997¹⁰

Keesing's Record of World Events

President Nursultan Nazarbaijev visited the U.S.A. in mid November for talks with vice President Agore and Defence secretary William Cohen. Nazarbeihev and Gore chaired the fourth session of the Kazakhstan - U.S. Joint Commission on Nov. 17-18 during which two oil and gas production sharing agreements were signed.

According to report by the Russian news agency Interfax on Nov. 19 agreements provided some US \$ 26 billion investment in the Kazakhengy sector over a 40 yr. Period. The first agreement was for the development of the Kazakhagank oil and gas field, and involved British gas Agip and Texaco. The second deal concerned preparations for exploratory drilling in the Kazakhstan sector of the Caspian sea and was signed by a consortium in including Mobil, B.P. Statoel, Shell Total and British Gas.

Interface also reported that Nazarbaijev had signed an accord on increased military co-o operation with Cohen on Nov. 17. It was reported that the deal provided for US assistance in training.

¹⁰ News Digest - Nov 1997, Keesings Record - World Events.

OCTOBER - TURKMENISTAN - OIL AND GAS ISSUES

New Digest 1997

Turkeministan and Iran agreed on Oct. 14 to establish a joint consortium to develop offshore oil and gas fields situated near their Caspian sea border. The announcement was made in Ashiqabad on the final day of two day talks between foreign minister Boris Shikhmyradov and his visiting Iranian counter part Kamal Kharaze. The two sides also agreed to increase their efforts to determine the legal status of disputed sectors of the Caspian sea.

On Oct. 3¹¹ Shikrmyradov had reiterated a claim of ownership of several Caspian Oil fields currently being exploited by Azerbaijan. Speaking during a visit to Washington, he announced that U.S. Deputy Secretary of states strobe Talbott was prepared to mediate over the issue of the Azeri, Chirag and Gunghi Fields which Azerbaijan had developed since 1994. Earlier in the month. Turkeminstan had demanded compensation from Azerbaijan over the continued mining of the Azeri and Chirag fields oil and gas fields situated near their Caspian fields.

¹¹ News Digest - Oct 1997.

A consortium of oil and gas companies including U.S. Owned UNOCAL and the Saudi Arabian Company Delta Oil - reached agreement on Oct. 25 to build a US \$ 2 billion natural gas pipeline linking Turkeministan.

Minerals in Central Asia

Country	Minerals ('000 metric tons unless otherwise indicated)	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Kazakistan	Asbestos		387	272	140	
	Hard Coal		126,543	111,874	104,357	
	Brown Coal		4,4490	4,673	n.a.	
	Crude Petroleum		21,795	19,287	19,289	
	Natural Gas (ml. cu.m.)					
	Iron Ore	42,591	17,671	13,150	n.a.	
	Uranium (Metric tons)		2,802	2,700	2,240	
Kyrgyzstan	Coal		2,151	1,721	848	
	Crude Petroleum		113	88	88	
	Natural Gas (ml. cu.mts.)		72	42	39	
Tajikistan	Hard Coal	313	200	200	140	
	Crude Petrol	108	57	39	32	
	Natural Gas (Petajoules)	93	72	49	1	
	Gypsum (crude)		49	4	n.a.	
Turkmenistan	Crude Petroleum		4,663	3,916	3,866	4,400
	Natural Gas		60,071	65,213	35,636	35,200
Uzbekistan	Coal		4,431	3,807	3,800	3,054
	Uranium		2,700	2,600	2,116	3000
	Crude Petroleum		3,293	3,943	5,517	5,500
	Natural Gas (ml. cu. mts.)		42,803	45,34	46,240	47,000

Source : Europe Year Book Vol. 2 1997.

Trade with USA (US \$ Million)

Imports

Country	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Kazakistan		6	38	42		
Kyrgyzstan				3.5	19.1	
Tajikistan			33	32		
Turkmenistan						
Uzbekistan		21	32	95		

Source :- UN, Statistical Year Book

EXPORTS

Country	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Kazakistan		101	145	121		
Kyrgyzstan			24	27		
Tajikistan						
Turkmenistan		38	44	21		
Uzbekistan						

Source :- UN, Statistical Year Book

HOW WAS ECONOMY IN ERSTWHILE USSR ?¹²

Historically, as we know these republics of Central Asian states were part of the Russia of the Czars or to put, in simple, were incorporated into it - as a result of colonizing in the second half of the 19h century. Thereafter, the region came to be known as Russian Turkestan. It is useful to recall that the noted historian of Turkestan V.V. Barthold aptly described the whole region as the most backward in whole Muslim world". The obvious implication was that the neighbouring Islamic countries were far more advanced. Soviet rule however changed the faced of the entire region. These states marked ahead of neighbouring Islamic countries and often projected by the Soviet regime as a model of economic development to be followed by the Third world countries. This was indeed a gross exaggeration. However, it is true but nevertheless inescapable, that the political economy inherited from economy inherited from the Soviet period impinges a great deal on their domestic as well as external policy options. Their attempts at national consolidation bristle with tension and emotions, which at times bypass economic and political imperatives. The problems of the Central Asian states are quite complex and therefore, must not be analyzed in a partial categories.

In the domain of economic realities, Soviets did not bring about a break with the policy of the Russian states to expand cotton culture in central Asia.

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Infact, it was pursued with considerable efficacy. The excessive specialization in cotton culture, has in course of time, emerged as, the most critical feature of the economy of central Asia. In the main, cotton growing in Central Asia was exported to other republics of the former USSR, only five to six percent was utilized locally in the textile industry.

There were several primary and secondary reasons for this trend, including the non - availability of an indigenous skilled and unskilled labour force Whatever the reasons, the consequence was that cotton processing was so grossly insignificant that it played US little role in fulfilling the local that it played a little role in fulfilling the local demand. In the main, in the cotton growing republics, particularly Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, industries linked to cotton growing produced more than one third of the gross industrial output. These include largely equipment and machinery for cotton cultivation, textile machinery fertilizers and pesticides produced by the chemical industry, obviously these are meant to promote cotton culture in the region. In the most developed central Asia republic of Uzbekistan, the cotton complex covered nearly 60% of the Uzbek economy.

ECONOMIC POSITION OF CENTRAL ASIAN STATES TILL 96

Ist-CASE OF KAZAKHSTAN

Here is a comparative economic estimation of different Republics, so that one can find a rough sketch what is their actual positions at present. Taking view

of 1994, according to estimates by the world bank Kazakhstan's gross national product (G.N.P) measured at average 1992-94¹³ prices was US \$18,896 equivalent to \$ 1,110 per head. During 1985-94, it was estimated, GNP per head declined in real terms, by an average annual rate of 6.5%. During the same period population increased by an annual average of 7.2% in 1985-95¹⁴. GDP declined by 2.5% in 1994, although the rate of decline slowed to an estimated 8.9% in 1995. Growth of 11% was reported by the Kazakh authorities in 1996.

According to World Bank figures, agriculture (including hunting and forestry) contributed 13.5% of GDP in 1993. In 1992 the sector including fishing provided 24.0% of total employment. There are large areas of land suitable for agriculture, and Kazakhstan is a major producer and exporter of agriculture products. The principal crops include fruits sugar beet, vegetable, potatoes, cotton and most importantly cereals.

Industry (including mining, manufacturing, construction, logging, fishing and power) contributed 29.6% of GDP in 1993. In 1992 industry (excluding fishing) provided 29.6% of total employment. Industrial GDP was estimated to have declined by 0.3% per year during 1985-93 and 28.5% in 1994. In the

¹³ Economic Review Kazakhstan, I.M.F. MAY 1992 Page No. - 4.

¹⁴ An emerging economic tiger in Central Asia by Vakistang Shelin - the observer FEB 1995.

following year it was reported to be declined by 7.9% but in 1996 industrial GDP was estimated to be grown by 2.0%.

Mining and quarrying provided 3.5% of employment in 1992¹⁵. Kazakhstan possess immense mineral wealth and large scale mining and processing industries have been developed. There are major coal fields (in the Karganda, Turgai, Ekibtur and Mainkeven basins) as well as substantial deposits of Iron, Ore, Lead, Zinc, ore Titanium Magnesium, Chromium Tungsten, gold, silver, copper and manganese¹⁶, petroleum in extracted and Kazakhstan possess what are believe to be among the worlds largest unexploited oil fields in the Caspian depression and substantial reserves of natural gas In early 1995 total reserves of Petroleum and natural gas¹⁷ were estimated to be 4,500 m. metric tones and 5,900,00 m, cum respectively.

Manufacturing Provided 15.8% of employment in 1992 and an estimated 30.6% of G.D.P. in 1991. Parts of Kazakhstan are highly industrialized and the most important sectors are associated with, the transformation of raw materials including metal processing, fuel, power, chemicals machine- building textiles and food processing. The G.D.P. of the manufacturing sector declined at an average annual rate of 3.2% in 1985-93¹⁸.

¹⁵ Ibid 43

¹⁶ Ibid 44

¹⁷ Economic Intelligence unit country profile Karakhstan, Central Asian Republics 1993-1994, ESP. PP 58- 137.

¹⁸ Ibid 47

In 1991 some 54.4% of Kazakhstan's total energy consumption was derived from coal followed by petroleum (27.5%) and natural gas (13.8%). Although domestic output of electricity increased considerably during the 1980s. Kazakhstan is obliged to requirements. In the early 1990s thermal power stations (mainly coal field provided about 87% of annual domestic electricity production while hydroelectric nuclear power stations accounted for the remainder 12% and 1% respectively). In early 1997 it was reported that the Govt. considering proposals for the construction of several and nuclear power installations over the next five years. The services section contributed 44.5% of G.D.P. in 1993¹⁹ and provided 46.4% of employment in 1992. In 1993 Kazakhstan recorded a visible trade deficit of US\$414 m, and there was a deficit of \$438 m.04 the current account of the balance of payments. In 1995, the principle sources of imports were Russia (46.2% of total imports) and other Republics of the former USSR, the major sources were the Netherlands (6.6%), the Peoples Republic of China (56.0%) and Germany (4.4%). the principle markets for exporter were Republics of former U.S.S.R. the main exports in 1994 even base metals, mineral products and chemical products, textiles, base-metals and food stuffs beverages and tobacco.

Budget estimate for 1994 projected an overall deficit of 20,345m. large (equivalent to 4.6% of GDP). The actual deficit in that year was 30,382m tenge,

¹⁹ Strategic Digest vol. 16. 1993

but this was reduced to 25,181m. tenge in 1995²⁰, Kazakhstan's total external debt was US \$2,704m. at the end of 1994 of which \$ 2,21m was long-term public debt. In that, the cost of debt servicing was equivalent to 1.9% of the value of exports of goods and services. Consumer prices Consumer Prices increased by an annual average of 1,872% in 1994, the inflation ration rate slowed to 176.2% in 1995, and to 39.2% in 1996. In March, some 210,000 people were registered as unemployed. However, unofficial sources estimated the no. of unemployed to be closer to 1.5m.

Kazakhstan was admitted to the IMF and the World Bank in 1992.²¹ In addition to its membership of the economic bodies of the common wealth of independent states (C.I.S.), Kazakhstan has joined the Asian development Bank (ADB), is a country of operations of the European Bank for Reconstruction and development (EBRD) and is a member of the Economic co-operation co organization (ECO)²². In early 1995. Kazakhstan signed an agreement of partnership and co-operation with the European Union.

Since independence in 1991 Kazakhstan has been beset by extensive economic difficulties largely resulting from the collapse of the Soviet central planning and internal trading systems contraction in all sectors of Kazakh

²⁰ FBI's daily Report Central Eurasia August 1995

²¹ With Oul and Wests appeal inmind Tokyo plans aid, for Central Asia by Steven Brull- National Herald Tribune 16 Dec. 1992 (Paris)

²² ECO's New Leap - The News (Lahor) 27 Nov 1992.

economy was recorded annually in 1991-94, but in 1994, the first indications of an economic recovery emerged, with an increase in production in the metal gas petroleum and chemical industries. Proposals for the transfer to private ownership of state enterprises were first announced in 1990, and it was estimated by the Govt. that the privatization process would be completed by mid 1997. Kazakhstan's long term economic prospects are considered to be highly favorable, owing to the country's immense and as yet largely unexploited, hydrocarbon and other mineral reserves.

In 1993, an agreement was reached with a US company to develop the Tengiz²³ Petroleum field but production was hampered by the lack of a reliable export pipeline, by early 1996 65,000 barrels per day (b/d) were produced, of an estimated production capacity of 120,000 (b/d). However in 1996, the Caspian pipeline consortium comprising the Govt. of Kazakh, Russia and Oman and international Petroleum companies signed an agreement on the construction of a new pipeline to connect the Tengiz field to Novorossiysk on the Russian Black sea coast. The pipeline is scheduled for construction by 2010 and should greatly increase production capacity. Further agreements were reached between the Kazakh Govt. and international petroleum²⁴ companies to develop other fields. The Koskoye Vasidkoskoye goldmine. Further agreements were reached between

²³ Sagers, Mathe J, "Notes on long term plans for oil and gas sector in Kazakhstan", *Post Soviet Geography*, 34, 1 : 66-69, Jan 1993.

²⁴ Paul Henze, "Wither Turkistan, Rand Paper 1992, p. 3.

the Kazakh Govt. and international petroleum companies to develop other fields, the Vasilkoskoye goldmine estimated to be the world's fourth largest undeveloped mine was also tendered to an international consortium for exploitation.

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS - TAJIKISTAN

In 1995, according to preliminary estimates by the World Bank, Tajikistan's gross national product (GNP), measured at average²⁵ 1993-95 prices, was US \$,1,976m, equivalent to \$340 per head reportedly the lowest among all the former Soviet republics. During 1985-95, it was estimated, GNP per head declined in real terms by an average annual rate of 11.7%. During 1985-95 the population increased by an annual average of 2.4%. During the same period Tajikistan's gross domestic product (GDP) decreased by an average of 9.0% annually, in real terms. In 1996 Tajikistan's GDP decreased, in real terms, by an estimated 16.7%.

Despite the fact that only 7% of Tajikistan's land is arable (the remainder being largely mountainous) the Tajik economy has traditionally been predominately agricultural: Agriculture and forestry contributed an estimated 20.8% of GDP in 1995 and provided 51.2% of employment in 1993. The principal crop is cotton, followed in importance by grain, vegetables and fruit. Approximately 85% of the country's arable land is irrigated . Agricultural

²⁵ Shahbad, Theodore, "News Notes" New Control Asian Hydro electric station stars up" Soviet Goeg, 27, 3: 205 - 206, Mar 1986

production was severely spurted by the civil war in 1992-93²⁶ and there were frequent reports of shortages of foodstuffs in urban areas. In 1996 proposals were announced to transfer collective and state farms into private ownership. During 1980-90 agricultural GDP declined by an average of 1.4% annually. In 1995 the GDP of the sector decreased by an estimated 21.1%.

Industry contributed an estimated 53.0% of GDP in 1995 and provided 18.1% of employment in 1993. There is little heavy industry, except for mineral extraction, aluminum production processing, textiles and carpet-making. During 1980-90 the GDP of the sector increased by an annual average of 3.6%. However, it was estimated that the volume of industrial production decreased by 54.4% in 1990-94, as a result of disruption caused by civil conflict. In 1994, according to the World Bank industrial GDP declined by 22.8%. However in 1995 it was estimated that the GDP of the sector increased by 0.2%.

Tajikistan has considerable mineral deposits including gold antimony, silver, aluminum, iron, lead, mercury and tin, There are deposits of coal as well as small reserves of petroleum and natural gas Mineral extraction is hampered by the mountainous terrain.

²⁶ Russia's Full strategic Doctrine Foreign Report Nov. 18, 1993.

Tajikistan relies heavily on imports²⁷ of petroleum and gas and in 1995 imports of fuel and energy comprised 23.7% of the value of merchandise imports. The mountain river system is widely used for hydroelectric²⁸ power generation satisfying about 75% of domestic electricity requirements prior to the Civil war. Electric energy production amounted to some 17,000 kWh in 1994.

The services sector contributed an estimated 26.2% of GDP in 1995, according to the World Bank and employed 21.7% of the employed labour force. During 1980-90 the GDP of the sector increased by an average of 5.9% annually. However in 1995 it declined by an estimated 26.5%.

In 1994,²⁹ according to IMF figures, Tajikistan recorded a visible trade deficit of US \$109m. while there was a deficit of \$116m on the current account of the balance of payments, In that year the principal sources of imports were Uzbekistan, Switzerland, Russia and the United Kingdom, while and Switzerland, The principal exports in 1996 were aluminum, electricity and cotton lint. The principal imports in 1994 were materials and machinery for aluminum plants, food products and consumer goods.

²⁷ Gate - of Central Asia Now opens for business. Elif Kaban - Bangkok post FEB 1 1992.

²⁸ Ibid. 55.

²⁹ Ibid 55

The 1996 budget proposals projected a deficit equivalent to 5.4% of GDP. Tajikistan's total external debt was US \$665.4m. at the end of 1995 of which \$612.4m was long term public debt. The annual rate of inflation averaged 1,157% in 1992 and 2.195% in 1993, but declined to an average of 350% in 1994. However in 1995 the rate reported to have decreased significantly in 1996. At the end of 1996 some 99,900 people were registered as unemployed.

In 1992 Tajikistan³⁰ joined the Economic Co-operation Organization (ECO, see p. 250) and the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD, see p.144); it became a member of the IMF and the World Bank in 1993.³¹ Tajikistan has sought to promote closer economic integration among the member states of the Common Wealth of Independent States (CIS, see p.129). In November 1995 Tajikistan became a member of the CIS Customs Union (already consisting of Russia, Kazakistan and Belarus), and in November 1996 it joined the Islamic Development Bank.

Already the poorest of the republics of the former USSR, during the early 1990s the Tajik economy was very seriously affected by the widespread disruption to the former Soviet trading system, caused by the collapse of the USSR, and by the civil war that broke out in 1992 (see Recent History).

³⁰ A. Jafarey, 'Economic relationship between Pakistan and Central Asia. The observer Feb 1995.

³¹ Economic Tajikistan, I.M.F, may 1992, p. 39

Negotiations on the terms for a full monetary union between Russia and Tajikistan, as part of new 'trouble zone' were held in the early 1990s, with the Tajik Government surrendering control of monetary policy and government expenditure to the central Bank of the Russian Federation in November 1993, However, the Russian Government was reluctant to assume the high level of expenditure that monetary union would entail and in May 1995, Tajikistan³² introduced a new currency the Tajik trouble. In September, the Government announced an ambitious five-year programme of economic reform including privatization a reformed taxation system new legislation to encourage investment for the liberation of foreign trade and land reform. Foreign investment was discouraged by the civil unrest, although in 1994-95 several Western companies formed joint ventures to exploit Tajikistan's large mineral reserves, especially gold. In May 1996 the IMF³³ approved a loan of about Us \$22m. for Tajikistan to provide support for an agreed programme of economic stabilization. This was followed in September, by a loan of some US \$50m. from the World Bank, to assist in the development of the agricultural sector address the country's deterioration social infrastructure. By March 1997 the Government's privatization programme had achieved limited success, with an estimated 50% of the former state-owned enterprises in private ownership. It was estimated that Tajikistan would receive some US \$185m. in 1997 in international aid.

³² Ibid. 60.

³³ FBI's daily Report Central Eurasia August 1995 Annual Report.

Economic Affairs

In 1995, according to preliminary estimates by the World Bank, Turkministan's gross national product(GNP) measured at average 1993-95 prices, was US \$ 4,125m equivalent to \$920 per head. During 1985-95, it was estimated, GNP per head declined in real terms, by an annual average of 3.3% Turkministan's gross domestic product (GDP) decreased in real terms by an annual average of 10.6% in 1990-95. According to calculations by the 13.9% in 1995.

Agriculture contributed an estimated 19.4% of GDP in 1995. The sector employed 43.4% of the working population in 1993. Although the Kara-Kum desert covers some 90% of the country's territory, widespread irrigation has enabled rapid agricultural development in recent years however, over intensive cultivation of the principal crop, cotton, together with massive irrigation projects, have led to serious ecological damage. IN 1995 s cross include grain, vegetables and fruit (in particular groped on imports of foodstuffs. Livestock breeding (including the production of astrakhanandkarakul wools) plays a central role in the sector. Silkworm breeding is also widespread. IN 1991 agricultural production year. According to CIS statistics, annual agricultural production declined by about 10% in both 1994 and 1995.

Industry (including mining manufacturing construction and power) contributed an estimated 64.3% of GDP in 1993 20.8% of the working population were employed in the sector. Industrial activity is chiefly associated with the extraction and processing of the country's mineral resources (predominantly natural gas and petroleum), energy generation and cotton processing. In 1990 textile production accounted for some 36% of the value of total industrial production, while a further 30% was accounted for the electricity generation, chemical, gas and petroleum processing industries. In 1992 industrial production declined by an estimated 16% compared with 1991.³⁴ Production was reported to have declined by 25% in 1994 and by 7% in 1995. However, official sources estimated that production increased by as much as 32% in the first five months of 1996.

CASE OF TURKMENISTAN.

Turkmenistan is richly endowed with mineral resources, in particular natural gas and petroleum (reserves of which were estimated to be some 12,000,000m cum and 6,300m. metric tons, respectively in early 1996). Before the dissolution of the USSR, Turkmenistan produced an annual average of about 40,000 cun. However, by the mid 1990s production of gas had decreased to an annual average of approximately 35,000m cum (Largely owing to non-payment by

³⁴ Stariko, Evegnii. Bazar, not a market problems of Economic Trasition 37,(2), June pp. 14-25.

CIS trading partners). Petroleum is refined at the country's sole active refinery at Turkmenbashi (Krasnovodsk). Turkmenistan also has large deposits of iodinebromine, sodium sulphate slay, gypsum and different types of salt.

The manufacturing sector contributed 12.8%³⁵ of GDP in 1995. The sector is largely associated with the processing of the country's mineral extracts and cotton products.

In 1993 Turkmenistan had an installed electricity capacity of 2,640 MW, all of which was thermally fired by the country's two major thermal power station(which were fuelled by domestically produced natural gas). In the following year almost 10,500m kWh of electricity was produced in Turkmenistan of which some 20% was reported to have been exported while a proportion of the remainder was distributed free of charge to domestic users. (Some charges for domestic electricity use were introduced in 1996).

The services sector contributed 16.3% of GDP in 1995. Transport and communication services for industrial purposes form the major part of the sector, with retailing and housing,

In 1995 Turkmenistan recorded a visible trade surplus of S\$74m. and there was a surplus of \$54m. on the current account of the balance of payments. In the same year Turkmenistan's leading trading partner was Ukraine which accounted for 33% of its total trade), followed by other republics of the CIS (25%), primarily Russia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Outside the CIS, Turkey, Switzerland, Germany and Italy were among the republic's leading trading partner In 1995 the principal exports were natural gas and other fuel (accounting for some 72% of the value of total exports were food and consumer goods (40% of total imports), machinery and metal work and light industrial products.

The 1996 budget projected a deficit of some 8,170m. Turkmen manats. At the end of 1995 Turkmenistan's total external debt was US \$392.5m of which \$374. was long term public debt. Consumer prices increased by an annual average of 102.5% in 1991, by debt 492.9% in 1992 by 1,150% in 1993 and by 1,748% in 1994, falling to 1,005% in 1995 and to estimated 100% in 1996. At mid 1992 some 40,000 people were officially registered as unemployed (about 2.55 of the labour force); however, unofficial sources estimated the rate to be much higher.

Turkmenistan became a member of the IMF and the World Bank in 1992. It also joined the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) as a

Country of Economic³⁶ CO- operation Organization (ECO). In 1994 Turkmenistan became a member of the Islamic Development Bank (IDB,).

One of the poorest republics of the former USSR, Turkmenistan had experienced considerable economic decline ever before the dissolution of the USSR in December 1991. The ensuing disruptions inter-republican trade adversely affected Turkmenistan's industrial sector, which was heavily reliant on imported finished and intermediate goods. Moreover, their failure or delay or many of Turkmenistan's CIS trading partner to pay for imports of Turkmen natural gas (the mainstay of the republic's economy) resulted in huge arrears (of nearly US \$1,740m. by late 1994). A further problem was the fact that Turkmenistan's sole route for export in its natural gas was through the pipeline system of the Russian Federation, Consequently in the mid 1990s Turkmenistan was exploring the possibility of alternative routes including one to Europe, via Iran and Turkey and others to China and Japan and to Pakistan, via Afghanistan in order to lessen the republic's economic dependence on Russia.

Compared with other former USSR³⁷ republics the Turkmen Government initially adopted a cautious approach towards the implementation of market economic reform concerned that the population's living standards should not as a

³⁶ The Frontline, "P.M. Opens ECO moot today" 16 Feb, 1993.

³⁷ Van, Atta Don, Agrarian Reforms in Post - Russia, Post -Soviet Affairs, 10(2), 1994, pp. 159-190

consequence, deteriorate drastically. The first stage of the privatization of state property (mainly in the services, trade and catering sectors) was commenced only in December 1993, considerably later than in other former Soviet republics, while the second stage (industry construction and transport) was initiated in 1996.

Turkmenistan remained within the rouble area until November 1993, when a new national currency, the Turkmen manat, was introduced. The resulting economic instability initially caused a dramatic increase in inflation, a decline in salaries increased lawlessness and corruption as well as popular discontent. Nevertheless, the situation has improved somewhat by August 1996, when the IMF noted that the rate of inflation had been curbed significantly and the manat had been successfully stabilized while industrial production had begun to revive and capital investment was increasing. Further economic development in Turkmenistan is expected to be based on exploitation of the country's enormous reserves of natural gas (of which it is the world's fourth largest producer) and petroleum, as well as other natural resources. In this connection the Government has sought to encourage foreign investment and plans have been announced for the establishment of several free economic zones.

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS - UZBEKISTAN

In 1995, according to preliminary estimates³⁸ by the World Bank, Uzbekistan's gross national product (GNP), measured at average 1993-95 prices, was US\$21,979m. equivalent to \$970 per head. During 1985-94, it was estimated, GNP per head decreased in real terms at an average annual rate of 2.4%. The population increased by an annual average 2.35 in 1985-95. According to estimates by the World Bank, gross domestic product (GDP) decreased in real terms by 15% during 1992-94 by 3.5% in 1994 and by 1995 GDP increased. however 1.6% in 1996, and continued to grow in the first months of 1997.

In 1992 agriculture³⁹ (including forest) contributed 35.9% of GNPs and employed 43.4% of the working population. Some 60% of the country's land is covered by desert and steppe. While the remainder comprises fertile valleys watered by two major river systems. The massive irrigation of arid areas has greatly increased production of the major crop, cotton, but has caused devastating environmental problems ; Uzbekistan is among the five largest Producer of 40% of the value of total agricultural production. Other major crops include grain, rice, vegetables and fruit. Silkworm breeding is also important, as is the production of

³⁸ Far Eastern Economic Review, pp. 101-106. Weekly Foreign Reports, 1992 and 1993.

³⁹ Wegren, Stephenk, Building Market institutions : Agricultural Commodity exchange in post. Communist Russia, Communist and Post Communist Studies, 27 (3): Sep. 94. Pp. 195-224.

astrakhan wool. Since independence the Government has striven to reduce the area under cultivation of cotton in order to produce more grain. Harvests of grain have improved since 1990 but in 1996 still failed to reach official targets. Private farming was legalized in 1992 by 1996 some 97% of Uzbekistan's 715 state farms had been transferred into co-operative and private farms, joint-stock companies and other forms of ownership. In the same year these farms accounted for more than 98% agricultural production. In 1992 agricultural output declined by about 7%, compared with the previous year.

In 1992 industry⁴⁰ (including mining, manufacturing, construction and power) contributed 41.6% of GNP and provided 21.3% of employment. Industrial activity focuses largely on the processing of agricultural and mineral raw materials as well as the manufacturing of agricultural machinery, chemical products and metallurgy. In 1993 light industry provided 39% of industrial output, heavy industry provided 41% and the food and agro-processing sector accounted for 21%. Industrial production declined by an estimated 2% in 1995, but increased by 5.9% in 1996.

Uzbekistan is well endowed with mineral deposits, in particular natural gas, petroleum and coal. Average annual production of petroleum is 5m-6m metric tons, more than 50% of overall consumption. Annual production is expected to

⁴⁰ Sharing economic potential for peace and progress, the news (Lahore) 2 Feb 1992.

reach some 9m tons by 2010. Natural gas is exported to other Central Asian countries and is also used domestically for industrial purposes and power generation. There are also large reserves of gold, silver, uranium, copper, lead, zinc and tungsten. Uzbekistan is the fourth largest producer of uranium in the world and the sixth largest producer of gold. The Navoi uranium mine was expected to increase production by some 40% in 1997, compared to the previous year in reportedly the world's largest single open cast gold mine, producing some 70% of Uzbekistan's average annual output of 60-70 metric tns. In 1995 it was announced that the Amantaytau mine with estimated reserves of 60m. metric tons, was to be developed. Annual output of gold was consequently expected to double by 2000. In 1991 89.2% of electricity was generated by thermal power stations, while the remaining 10.8% came from hydroelectric sources.

In 1995 Uzbekistan recorded a visible trade surplus of US \$292m., but there was a deficit of \$53m. on the current account of the balance of payments. In 1990 about 83% of Uzbekistan's trade was conducted with other republics of the USSR, but in 1996 the proportion had been reduced to 28% following concerned efforts to expand economic links with non-traditional trading partners. In 1996⁴¹ the major trading partners were Russia (16% of total trade), the USA(10%),Germany(9%) and the Republic of Korea (7%). The principal imports

⁴¹ Vakistan Shelin, "An emerging economic tiger in Central Asia", The Observer of Feb, 1995.

are machinery (35% of total expenditure in 1996), light industrial goods, food and raw materials. The principal exports are cotton (38% of total export revenue in 1996), textiles, machinery, chemical, food and energy products.

The 1997 budget proposed in December 1996, provided for revenue of 123,600m (sum) and for expenditure of 150,400m. sum. The resulting deficit (of 26,800m sum) was to be equivalent was US \$1,500m. External debt reached 17% of GDP in 1996. The annual rate of inflation declined from some 1,300% in 1993 to some 60% in 1996. In 1994 some 20,000 people were officially registered as unemployed although the true level was believed to be considerably higher.

In 1992 Uzbekistan became a member of the IMF and the World Bank also for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD. see p.144). In the same year Uzbekistan was admitted, with five other former republics of the USSR to the Economic Co-operation Organization (ECO, see p.250). In 1995, Uzbekistan became a member of the Asian Development Bank (ADB, see p.108), having been provisionally included in 1993, and in mid 1994 the republic formalized an agreement on a common economic area with neighbouring Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

The collapse of the USSR⁴² in December 1991 did not initially affect Uzbekistan as adversely as other former Soviet republics, owing to the country's near self-sufficiency in energy resources and agricultural products. However, GDP declined sharply (by almost 10%) in 1992 and inflation increased rapidly. The Government responded by announcing measures designed to lead to a gradual transition to a market economic system to lead to a gradual transition to a market economic system, which included the extensive liberalization of process and the privatization of selected state enterprises. During 1993-95 economic performance improved (although GDP continued to decline), and the rate of inflation slowed. The economy returned to growth in 1996: GDP increased by 1.6% industrial output rose by some 6% and the budgetary deficit was achieved in attraction foreign investment (some US\$3,000m) and the number of joint venture companies continued to grow. In early 1997 however the World Bank and the IMF postponed scheduled loans, following Uzbekistan's failure to meet inflation targets (Since independence international donor organization have granted a series of loans designed to assist economic reform and support the national currency sum) Monthly inflation reached an estimated 15% in December 1996. The Government's economic programmes for 1996 and 1997 aimed to stabilize the sum, which had entered circulation in 1994, to widen the industrial base, increase export revenue and to expand to private sector (in early 1997 private companies

⁴² Maratha Bill Olcott, "Gorvachev's national Dilemma", *Journal of International Affairs* Vo. 42, Spring 1989, p. 397.

employed more than 70% of those in work and accounted for almost 70% of GDP). Diversifying the economy is still a priority in 1997 Uzbekistan remained heavily dependent on agricultural production, particularly cotton.

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS - KYRGYZSTAN

In 1995⁴³, according to estimates by the World Bank, Kyrgyzstan's gross national product (GNP), measured at average 1993-95 prices, as US \$3,159m., equivalent⁴⁴ to \$710 per head decreased, in real terms at an average annual rate of 4.9% sin 1985-95. Over the same period the population increased by an annual average of 1.2%. In real terms, Kyrgyzstan's gross average of 3.7% in 1985-95, GDP decreased by 26.55 in 1994 but in 1995 GDP was estimated to have increased by 1.3%.

Agriculture (including forestry) contributed an estimated 43.7% of GDP in 1995, when the sector provided 42.0% employment. By tradition, the Kyrgya are a pastoral nomadic people and the majority of the population (some 60% in the early 1990s) reside in rural areas, livestock (particularly sheeprearing) is the mainstay of agricultural activity. Only about 7% of the country's land is arable of this some 70% depends on irrigation. The principal crops are grain, potatoes, vegetables, fruit, cotton and tobacco. Agriculture is also of considerable

⁴³ Ibid. 62.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 57.

significance. By late 1995, it was reported that almost all the state farms had been privatized. Agricultural production declined by an annual average of 3.1% in 1992-95, although output increased by 2.6% in 1995.

Industry⁴⁵ (including mining, manufacturing, power, construction, logging and fishing contributed an estimated 24.3% of GDP and provided 19.3% of employment in 1995. Kyrgyzstan has considerable mineral deposits, including coal, petroleum, natural gas, gold, tin mercury, antimony, zinc, tungsten and uranium. In 1991, the mining sector employed between 3% and 7% of the industrial work-force, the Kumtor gold mines are believed to contain the seventy largest deposits of gold in the world, IN the mid 1990s negotiations were held with a Canadian company to develop these mines. In 1994 the principal branches of manufacturing, measured by gross value of output, were food processing, wood products and metal products.

Kyrgyzstan's principal source of domestic energy production (and also a major export) is hydroelectricity (generated by country's mountain rivers). Kyrgyzstan's reserves of petroleum and natural gas are less significant than those of other Central Asian countries, and imports of hydrocarbons (mainly from

⁴⁵ Malakhov, Sergei Valer'evich and Zadorozhnikov, Ivan Evdokimovich. Economic psychology and the practice of running a modern economy, Russian social science review 35(1) Jan-Feb. 94, pp. 60-73.

mineral fuels comprised 31.1% of the value of total recorded imports in 1995, Exports of electricity contributed 10.0% of the value of total exports in 1995,

In 1995 the services sector contributed an estimated 32.1% of GDP and provided some 38.7% of employment. Trade and transport and construction activities were notably expanding in the mid 1990s.

In 1995 Kyrgyzstan recorded a visible trade deficit of US⁴⁶ \$263.4m, while there a deficit of \$287.6m on the current account of the balance of payments. In 1995 the principal source of recorded imports (21.9%) of Russia was also the main market for exports in that year (265.6%). Other Principal markets were Uzbekistan and Turkey, Russia was also the main market for export in that year (256%). Other principal markets were Uzbekistan, the people Republics of China, Kazakistan and the United Kingdom. The main exports in 1995 were food produces and beverages, light industrial products, non-ferrous metallurgical products, and products of machine building and metal working. The principal recorded imports in that year were petroleum and natural gas, machinery and metal working products and food and beverages.

In 1995 Kyrgyzstan recorded an overall budgetary deficit of 2,175.0m soms (equivalent to 12.5% of GDP). Kyrgyzstan's total external debt was US \$ 610m at

⁴⁶ Demianevko, Vladlen N. Our food problems and the US experience. problems of Economic transition, 36 (2), June 93, pp. 28-52.

the end of 1995 of which \$474.3m was long term public debt. Annual inflation averaged 1,209% in 1993, the rate slowed to 278% in 1994 to 43% in 1995 and to an estimated 36% in 1996. In August 1996 80,400 people were officially registered as unemployed (4.7% of the labour force). However, the level of hidden unemployment was reported to be substantially higher.

Kyrgyzstan participated in the economic bodies of the Common Wealth of Independent States (CIS,) and has also joined the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development as a 'Country of Operations' and the Economic⁴⁷ Co-operation Organization Kyrgyzstan is also a member of the Asian Development Bank. In 1994 Kyrgyzstan joined Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in a trilateral economic area. In February⁴⁸ 1995 Kyrgyzstan signed a 10 years partnership and co-operation agreement with the European Union.

In spite of the economic difficulties experienced following independence, Kyrgyzstan has a well educated population, a relatively strong industrial base and a good infrastructural, as well as considerable mineral, agricultural and energy resources on which future economic development might be based. It is recognized, however that the exploitation of these resource will require substantial external assistance and the Government has thus given priority to attaching foreign

⁴⁷ Bangkok Post (Bangkok), ECO charater amended to include Central Asia, 29 Nov. 1992.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 40.

investment in Kyrgyzstan, In early 1996 the IMF commended the economic reforms process taking place in Kyrgyzstan the exchange rate of the new national currency, the some (introduced in 1993) remained stable against the US dollar, while foreign reserves increased; there was a rapid expansion in external trade (particularly with partners outside the CIS), and significant progress had been made in the implementation of structural reforms. By 1996 the privatization process was well under way with some 80% of enterprises transferred to private interests in early 1997⁴⁹ proposals for the divestment of the energy sector were made by the Government. In May 1996 the Government presented its programme for economic development for the period to 2005. Stabilization of the economy and a reorganization of the banking system were emphasized as the aims of the programme until 1999, followed by the modernization of industry. Growth in industrial production of about 5% was recorded in 1996⁵⁰, however, some 50% of enterprises were reported to be inoperative in that year, owing to unpaid debts. The development of the Kumtor gold mines and related infrastructure has led to a significant growth in the construction sector; production of gold from the mines was expected to begin in 1997.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Ibid. 52.

⁵⁰ FBI's SOV- 96 - 144 25 July 1996, p. 25.

⁵¹ Ibid. 52.

CHAPTER 4

GEOSTRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

With the down and disintegration of the erstwhile USSR in the post cold war era in 1991¹ and with a series of events occurring consecutively and the role played by the communist hardliners and their ulterior motives to maintain the status quo or the earlier regime in the Kremlin has changed the existing world order and disturbed the balance of power so much that the USSR had to face the doomsday like situation and then needless to add it collapsed like house of cards, which paved the way for easy demise of the cold war in 1989.

As an eventual outcome, its different constituents sought their own way to independence confronting the world in general and the neighbouring states in particular with totally new realities. Here in this context it is to be noted that the constituents and the leaders associated with them with communist credentials who were the last of the constituents republics to opt for independence and in to a rapidly charging world. While at the same time they tried to get tied to Moscow by the umbilical cord of economic independence, that are responding to the opportunities to revive their cultural and historic links with the Muslim² counties

¹ New Agenda for Pakistn, "The US interest in Central Asia" - The Nation, (New Delhi) 5 Mar 1993.

² Mohiuddin Misbahi, "Russian Foreign Policy and security in Central Asia and Caucasus", Central Asian Survey, 1993. P. 181-183.

to their south and west from which they had artificially been cut off as a result of Russian colonization in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Now question arises how entire gamut of developments of developments perceived by ever eager Pakistan and how this country, again another Islamic one reacted over the entire developments, with which the majority of its population shares ethnic and cultural ties. So in the new security partnership between the US and Pakistan under lying their combined objective of containing Iranian influence in the politically fragile but strategically important region of Central Asia.

PAKISTAN VIEWS OF CENTRAL ASIA³

⁴Pakistan views Central Asian Republics as a golden opportunity and not to miss which she feels and perceives worthy of it in three broad perspectives :

(a) Strategic - As a country that faces a persistent threat from a hostile, hegemonies India and cultural links to South Asia and their likely quest for an outlet to the sea via Pakistan makes them into a potential his. Over a period as a regional co-operation and Islamic bonds develop, this could alter the strategic configuration and also with the assistance and co- operation of U.S.A. it could achieve its designed results, which would makeup for the loss of importance the country suffered as a "front-line states" during the cold war.

³ Pakistan and the Central Asian states Tahir Amir - The Nation (Lahore), 22 Feb, 1993.

⁴ Pakistan Keen to open trade with Central Asia - Bangkok Post - 15 Aug 92.

Secondly, in regional terms of geography, history and economic potential the era extending from Turkey eastwards to Pakistan and from Central Asia to the Arabian sea constitutes a natural region for co-operation and integrated development. The Economic co-operation organization (ECO)⁵ which originally comprised three countries, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan has been expanded to include Afghanistan and the six Muslim Republics of the former Soviet Union. It has now become the second biggest regional organization after EEC, with potential for making a significant contribution to the development and prosperity of the member countries. As a founding member of ECO Pakistan attaches great importance to the role the grouping could play in promoting stability and progress in a sensitive and vital part of Asia and expects the Central Asian republics to give a new meaning and direction to its goals and activities.

However, on the one hand Pakistan is founder member of ECO and Iran also of it and equally Pakistan has to check the influence of Iran and contain intention of exporting ideology beyond frontiers in the Central Asia Republics and that too jointly with the combined efforts of U.S.A.⁶

While the newly independent republics share a feeling of affinity and kinship with Pakistan, since they have retained the Islamic link of their distinctive

⁵ ECO's Near Leap forward - The News (Lahore) 27 Nov. 1992.

⁶ A role in Central Asia - Abhadiket.
Hindustan Times 11 Nov. 1991.

cultural identity during the years they were colonized by Russia. They have emerged as a group of countries with which Pakistan can develop significant co-operation in many areas. They qualify as neighbours by their location and once stability comes to Afghanistan, Pakistan will expect to provide the most convenient outlet to the sea to these land locked countries.⁷

Therefore, the aforesaid explanation evidently and amply shows that in the new security partnership, given the Geo- strategic importance as Pakistan enjoys, it can evidently play a very important role in underlying the interest of U.S.A., equally containing the adventures by Iran in this politically fragile but economically unexploited and very promising hot spot of the world. In the 19th century, the rivalry between the expanding empires of Russia and Britain over Central and south Asia was called the "Great Game" in which soldiers and state men as well as intelligence operatives played a role. The two empires compromised by delimiting their zones of influence, Russia to have a free hand in Central Asia, but leaving the British India empire, the Jewel in the British crown along with Afghanistan serving as the suffer. A Century later the vast steps of central Asia, that lie at the Centre of fabled old empires of Russia, China, Turkey, Persia and India have again become a place for international rivalry.

⁷ Ibid. 41.

THE US PERCEPTION⁸

Though Central Asia is geographically remote, the Western countries headed by the US are manifesting interest in it, Partly because of its natural resources notably oil, and partly on account of its strategic location. For their part the Central Asian republics need capital and technology for their development. For these reasons, the US is already active, and American private sector interest is specially strong in Kazakhstan on account of its rich source base. Private sector participation in joint ventures and in.

New Players of the great game : Iran, Turkey and the United States⁹

The dismantlement of the Soviet Union in December 1991 was destined to provide a new definition and new players to the formerly defunct great games. There are several note worthy features of this new great game - some brand new ones while others have been in operation since world war -II (One of the most recent phenomenon is that Russia). The political confusion stemming from the breakup of the Soviet union and a related potential instability of the C.I.S. caused considerable consternation in Washington One-way to stablize the region was to provide a massive amount of economic assistance. The Marshal Plan that was

⁸ The dynamics of the New Great Game in Muslim Central Asia M.E., Ahrari, Central Asian Survey, Vol. 13.

⁹ Bratha B. Olcoff, Gorbachev's National dilemma, Journal of international Affairs, Vo. 42, Spring 1989, p441.

created by the United States to rebuild Western Europe following world war II. But the success of that plan stemmed from the fact that the western European economics only needed reconstruction. They already had the necessary financial and industrial know how to bounce back, capital was invested in rebuilding their infrastructure. Once a massive amount of (C.I.S). It did not know how to respond to the potential development of Islamic identity on the part of the Muslim republics of the C.I.S. The off handed response of the United States was that these states should be nudged away from Islamic fundamentalism. Another variation of the same theme was that the Central Asian states should be discouraged from adopting the Iranian Islamic models. Instead it was argued that they should be encouraged to adopt the Turkish secular model. Also plus the dissolution of the Soviet union gave the Turks a new¹⁰ strategic relevance and a new area - Muslim Central Asia where they could excise their influence.¹¹

The Bush¹² administration emphasized that Turkey should use the common ethnic variable in Central Asia and persuade these countries to emulate the Turkish secular model of Govt. over its competing alternative, the Iranian Islamic model. Since President Bill Clinton did not make any pronouncement for Central Asia that contradicts the policies pursued by the predecessors, it is safe to assume that

¹⁰ Ibid. 40.

¹¹ Ibid. 95.

¹² U.S. Turkey and Iran Chase power in Central Asia - From Bruce Clark in Moscow and National river Baku, Times London 17, Feb. 1993

Washington has stayed the course in that region on this issue. The United States hopes that the acceptance of the Turkish model by the Central Asian states will also enable them to avoid political instability.

An important variable underlying the promotion of the Turkish secular model was also related to the overplaying of the Turkic ethnic factor in Central Asia. It should be noted that any under lying of panTurkism may also trigger the feelings of pan slavism and pan Iranianism (on the part of the Tajiks and the Iranians).

The¹³ United states is not paying attention to the fact that such an emphasis also underscores the nation of pan Turkism in the region, which is feared by Russia, Armenia, Tajikistan and Iran. Greeks and Arabs have already accused Turkey of revising . Turan or greater Turkistan - Fromn china, across Asiatic Russia, to the Adriatic sea. Moscow charged that the real intentions underlying the increased Turkish activities were due to obtain nuclear weapons that are in the possession of Kazakhstan . In its efforts to establish a belt of Turkic speaking republics south of Russia. Turkey made several statements decrying that it has any pan. Turkic ambition since the death of Turkish President Turgut Ozal. The future of an activist Turkish involvement in Muslim Central has remained under a considerable cloud.

¹³ Stephen Blank, Energy and security in the Trans caucas, Strategic studies Institute, U.S. Army war college, Carlisle Barracks, par sept, 1994.

The future dynamics of the new great game¹⁴ in Central Asia will be determined largely on the basis of what happens to the C.I.S. itself. If the Commonwealth survives the process of change in that region is likely to be gradual and manageable. Even if the C.I.S. was to fall apart in the near future, the dynamics of this game are still likely to be determined by what happens in Russia and by the related response of the West Asia and the regional actors to the Russian course of action vis-a-vis the Central Asian republics.

The early 1990s¹⁵ is a time when pan - Turkism or pan Slavism is Lurking on the Horizons, there is also a suggestion of the potential rejuvenation of Eurasianism. This phenomenon envisages a potential union between the slav and The Turkey steps, which is based on mutual respect and not assimilation or absorption. These tendencies, especially their darker side would only gain an upper hand if economic hardships are prolonged in the C.I.S. but especially if they become worse. After gaining independence Muslim Central Asia is not likely to remain either politically or economically subservient to¹⁶ Moscow. To ensure their independence these states are trying to integrate themselves in the international and regional economic arrangements. In this regard, the United States and western

¹⁴ Strategic studies vol. 16, 1993.

¹⁵ Ian Cathberston, the new great game, world policy Journal winter 1995/95 p. 31-43.

¹⁶ Mhiaddin Meshbahi Russian Foreign policy and security in Central Asia and Caucasus Central Asian Survey 1993, p. 181-183.

Europe have the potential of playing a crucial role, what these actions must do - especially the United States is to economically stabilize these countries.

Regarding the Geo¹⁷-political variables, the pendulum of advantage is likely to swing between Iran and Turkey, with Saudi Arabia playing an important role in heightening the Islamic¹⁸ consciousness of Muslim Central Asia. There is little or no relationship between this enhanced Islamic consciousness of religious extremism and anti - Americanism. The future of all extremism is likely to be determined by capabilities of these countries to grow and prosper economically.

ENERGY, ECONOMICS AND SECURITY IN CENTRAL ASIA¹⁹

Five new states emerged in Central Asia when the Soviet Union disintegrated. The Bush administration and many American pundits openly presumed that these largely Muslim republics would inevitably soon come under Iranian and fundamentalist influence. This view was utterly unfounded and based on a superficial and wrong headed reading of the area. Instead a complex many sided international rivalry to influence and control central Asia's density, trade and resources, especially Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan's oil and gas has developed. The main players are Russia, Iran, Turkey, China, India, Pakistan the United States and oil companies Israel and Saudi Arabia, though present play a lesser role.

¹⁷ Central Asia News Profile, Vol. 2, No. 5 (19) May, 1994, p-5.

¹⁸ Ibid. 1 and 2.

¹⁹ Economics Review of all Central Asian states, I.M.F. May 1992. p-4, I.M.F. May 1992, p. 39, p.37 and p-5.

However the main point of discussion for the topic is central Asian-American relations since 91, in terms of economic and security dimension.²⁰ Now so far under secretary of U.S.A. Talbott is concerned he does not hide his view that our support for Central Asian reform is mainly targeted on Russia's neighbours. Indeed his prospective has become policy and is enshrined in President Clinton's national security statement for 1994 which states:

²¹Russia is a key state in this regard. If we can support and help consolidate democratic market reform in Russia (and the other newly independent states) (the parenthesis carries a world of meaning -STB).

We can help a turn a former threat into region of valued diplomatic and economic partners. In addition our efforts in Russia, Ukraine and the other states raise the likelihood of continued reductions in nuclear arms and compliance with international non proliferation accords.²²

US policies towards Central Asia are, in practice calls for democratization, pressure to open doors for U.S. Investment and support for Russia as a model and leader, Unfortunately, these policies embrace a mutually contradiction logic since support for Russia here means closing the door to foreign investment and to

²⁰ Ibid -40 and Ibid. 101

²¹ Post Soviet Geography, 34, 1:66-69, Jan 1993

²² Sagers, Mathew, Milford Green and Rune Castberg. of 108 Prospects for Soviet Gas exports :Opportunities and Constraints, Soviet Geography, 29, 10 881-908, December 1988.

democracy which can't flourish under conditions of neo-colonial dependency that blasts ecologies and economies of Central Asia, As it in Russian pressure or Khazakhas tramway lead Chevron to consider its investment. To over some of this contradiction, US policy can't reconcile demands for an open door and democratic market, with support for naked and brutal Russian hegemony.

CONCLUSION

A careful surge of US perception towards central Asia reveals that the US has much fear psychosis as to the Islamic resurgence in the Predominant Islamic region. As the united states, fears that the Islamic fundamentalism may Jeopardize the very interest setting of its foreign policies in an anti US direction.

While the Central Asian Republics as being new entities, view USA and Western allies better partners in terms of trades, technical know how's for the exploration and exploitation of Oil; as these states lack in terms of perfection's, therefore, these countries entered in to agreements with the U.S.A. and western allies from time to time since 1991 onwards, Secondly the US also wants to control the Central Asia as the region is full of oil and natural resources,. Moreover, if one views the gesture of Mr. Jalbott's formulation one comes under the impression that the US rejects the sea of Great Game as an intense Competition among the great powers to control the destiny on Central Asia Mr. Talbott says everyone can win in a Co-operative region for Central Asia. Having viewed, it looks however, obviously so far the Islamic resurgence is concerned after the collapse of the Soviet union a conducive environment was automatically created for the flourishing of the fundamentalism, with different perceptions in their psyche as to what model would be best suited for their regions to follow, Truly theological regime or secular model. But given the situation as Islam is the

predominant religion of almost all the peoples of the southern region of the old Soviet Empire, i.e. to say Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. At least one of them could become a strong fundamentalist country and thus herald a wave of Pan Islamism.

And given the efforts of outside Islamic countries and trying hard alliances with the Central Asian Republics and even possibly exporting their ideologies as the new Central Asian states are much vulnerable to all these, then in this situation there would be a small wonder if they fall line in line and in tune with these extended tentacles.

Third chapter deals economic dimensions of the Central Asian Republics as the area happens to be one of the most reservoirs of oil, which is almost unexploited.

Moreover, in economic dimension a no. of agreements took place between U.S.A. and the Central Asian republics and also reports on by the summary of world Broad Casts, B.B.C weekly ECO report a 3rd Jan 1992 was on the behest of USA in the form of aid and grain for Kyrgyzstan which was discussed by president Akayev with the visiting US of state James Baker who discussed the possibility of granting Kyrgyzstan the most favoured nation (MFN) status, as it is a democratic state. It will supply the republic with 240,000 of grains as well as medicines. Apart from this also in the coming years a no. of contracts took place.

Being economically viable(CAR) in the post cold war era, at a time when the producing capacity of the Middle East is declining; it is perceived to be very worth while to have much linkages with these nearly emerging nations and as the most promising spot ; so far the resources are concerned; therefore it is but natural countries like U.S.A. and its allies can afford to ignore this.

Coming to the last but not the least the final chapter focuses on the geo-strategic importance, in which the new security partnership between the US and Pakistan under lining their combined objective of containing Iranian influence in the politically fragile but strategically important region of Central Asia which obviously happens the past of "Great Game". Moreover regarding the Geo-political variables the pendulum of advantage is likely to swing between Iran and Turkey, However the interest and objective of US in this part of the world is to checkmate the sphere and influence from penetration in this strategically located region and for the US which wants to involve Pakistan as an active player. Needless to say, Pakistan has been tested ally of the cold war of U.S.A.

The U.S. has been quick to spot advantages for mixed reasons of prestige politics and business prospects of being represented in this new accessible part of Asia.

However, as the competition runs between Russia and the United States in Central Asia Washington's objective is into to isolate Iran if necessary; under

the combined endeavors to check her influence in the region, also plus the potential of china as a future player in the oil politics of the region, which are likely to ensure that the metaphor of the “Great game” will remain the most popular way of looking at Central Asia as part of the interest of the United States.

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