

GLOBALISATION AND MODERNISATION IN POST-SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

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PRASANTA KUMAR SAHU

**CENTRE FOR RUSSIAN, CENTRAL ASIAN
AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067
INDIA**

2000





जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067

Centre for Russian, Central Asian &
East European Studies,
School of International Studies

GRAM : JAYENU
TELEX : JNU IN
TEL. : 6107676 / Extn.
6167557 / 2365
FAX : 91-11-6165886
91-11-6868234

July 11, 2000

CERTIFICATE

This dissertation entitled "GLOBALISATION AND MODERNISATION IN POST - SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA" submitted by Prasanta Kumar Sahu in partial fulfilment for the Master of Philosophy degree of this University has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University and is an original work.

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

PROF. AJAY PATNAIK
SUPERVISOR

PROF. SHAMS-UD-DIN
CHAIRPERSON



dedicated

to

my Brother

&

parents (Bapa & maa)

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Though the ideas have been borrowed from various sources, all errors of omission and commission are however, entirely my own.

(PRASANTA KUMAR SAHU)

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

“Globalisation” has become an increasingly important feature of the last quarter of the twentieth century. The entire world is turning into one large village or one large town. In fact, the human society is increasingly realising itself as a single entity. World is beginning to understand fully its integrity and interconnectedness. In a very important sense, globalisation has been the successor to the debates on modernity and post-modernity in the understanding of socio-cultural changes which are emerging as the global begins to replace the nation-state as the decisive framework for social life. As Giddens said, globalisation is nothing but ‘a consequence of modernity’.

International social, political and cultural (for example the media) organisations are standing alongside and beginning to replace their national counterparts. One can speak of a “global society” or a “global culture”, but my understanding of both society and culture draws heavily on tradition which was strongly influenced by the process of nation-state formation. A central implication of the concept of globalisation is that one must understand social life. All this raises the eternal philosophical question about the correlation among the single, the local (nation-state), the specific, the regional (intermediate, continental-

international-inter ethnic) and the universal or the global, especially in the context of social development. The development of human society in the modern era is characterised by radical breaking of old stereotypes thinking. Today the development of world is undergoing a fundamental change. By the end of the twentieth century the bipolar world has become multi-polar.

The dreams of modernisation are coming true in many parts of the world, even in remote areas of underdeveloped countries. The international agencies, globalising structures interacting with individuals, households and communities are delivering modernity to some but not all people formerly far removed from meaningful participation in cross-borders flows of capital, knowledge, information and consumer goods. A massive transformation is being compressed into a short time in the entire world. For oneness of the human race and to generate people's social consciousness, there is a need for establishing adequate forms of vital activity and development.

One of the priorities in this regard is the recognition of the following values: democracy is a universal way of optimal functioning of society; socially-oriented civilised market economy is the foundation of civilised society and the form of state management that corresponds with it. Peace

is an indispensable condition of development of both separate countries and mankind as a whole; interconnection, mutual impact and enrichment of various cultures is the most important factor for human development.

In this context, Central Asian Countries which are undergoing a transitional development are desiring to attain contemporary level of world development. The process of reform which were started even before the attainment of independence, envisaged the modernisation and globalisation which would enable the Central Asian Republics to enter a new stage of development by replacing the indigenous tradition with modernity. Since 1986, the Central Asian Republics entered the process of transformation from an administrative command system into a more democratic one in the socio-economic, cultural and political spheres which are still continuing. The post-perestroika period also conditioned the global trend in the social consciousness of the people resulting in changes in their attitudes. The process of modernisation and globalisation of society which are undergoing a transitional development in the Central Asian Republics envisages the strengthening and development of statehood, multi-party political system and the construction of an effective market economy broadly integrated with

the global economic space. In other words, to join the global civilisational development, one has to take into account the specific peculiarities of the Central Asian republics which impose themselves on this process. The abundant raw material orientation of its economy, multi-national composition of its population and the geo-strategic and geo-political situation of these republics call for working out of specific methods and strategies for carrying out modernisation and globalisation in Central Asia.

A question that arises here is how all this can be achieved at a global scale if there are many states and hundreds of nations and nationalities presenting different levels of social, economic, political and spiritual development. So, without resolving the general realisation of the above mentioned values in the life of all, mankind cannot survive in the modern era. The growing emphasis on nationalism by the leadership, regional and clan rivalry have been increasing in all the Central Asian States despite economic globalisation and social modernisation. With the development and strengthening of statehood, democratisation of social life, unity among multinational people of the country, formation of an advanced market economy, creation of a social state, establishment of political pluralism and acquisition of a respectable place in the

international arena, Central Asia has witnessed changes in the ethno-demographic composition and set-backs to modernisation and globalisation processes. Rise of sub-ethnic identities, declining role of women in public sphere, unemployment, poverty, growing fundamentalism etc. are symbolic of the post-Soviet transition.

It will be interesting to study underdeveloped countries like the Central Asian republics which are seeking to achieve international standard of civilisational development. Central Asia's experience is relevant for those countries who are undertaking globalisation and modernisation processes ignoring local, regional culture, social system, sentiment of sub-ethnic groups, unemployment and poverty which have been acting as stumbling blocks on the processes of globalisation and modernisation. Besides this, Central Asia has been the cross road of different civilisations, cultures and interests in historical, geographical, economic and geo-political relations. That is why the study of today's Central Asia is of more than just scientific interest.

The proposed work intends to study the conceptual and theoretical issues relating to 'globalisation' and 'modernisation' and I would like to analyse the variables and different models of modernisation that influence Society in general and the Central Asian Society in particular. I

also intend to analyse the impact of globalisation on economic, ethno-cultural, and social spheres within the Central Asian countries. The most important task of the proposed study will be to critically examine how governments of the Central Asian Countries are able to pursue globalisation through world agencies and how far the multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-ethnic people are able to develop themselves as well as their society according to world standard.

The hypotheses of the proposed study are : Soviet disintegration and economic decline in CIS countries leave little option for the Central Asian states than integration with the global economy. In the transitional period this integration process has created more social and economic insecurities than before. These insecurities have activated traditional, social and cultural institutions at the cost of social modernisation. Globalisation implies western models of modernisation which ignore specific ethnic and social context in Central Asia. These are some significant questions to be answered in the proposed study and hence, I have taken up this study.

Apart from the introduction and conclusion, this dissertation contains four chapters.

In the first chapter, the meaning of globalisation and modernisation and different theories advocated by Sociologists relating to these processes have been extensively surveyed. Moreover, this chapter also deals with the perspectives on globalisation and modernisation theoretically, their relevance in Central Asia on the basis of Central Asian perspective.

The second chapter, on the other hand, is devoted to study the process of social modernisation in Central Asia under the Soviet which includes brief explanation of cultural and economic modernisation.

In the third chapter, attempt has been made to reflect the discourse of globalisation and its impact on economy and society in Central Asia, particularly after getting independence.

In the fourth chapter, I have tried to explore the socio-cultural changes in Central Asia after independence.

The study has got the necessary feed-backs from the primary sources like documents, reports and secondary sources like the books, articles and academic journals.

The first limitation of the study is that it is not based on any field work. The second limitation is that it has not covered all aspects of

globalisation and modernisation in general and particularly in Central Asia.

These limitations notwithstanding, this dissertation, I would argue, has got its relevance because it is a humble effort to apply some of the sociological ideas to Central Asian context; how, for example, globalisation and modernisation processes are ignoring the ethno-demographic composition and sub-ethnic identities, role of women, unemployment and poverty.

CHAPTER I

PERSPECTIVES ON GLOBALISATION AND MODERNISATION

“Globalisation” has become the catch word in the international sphere, meaning many things to many people around the world¹. This term has been fashionable since about the mid 1980's when it began to replace terms like “internationalisation” and “transnationalisation” as a more suitable concept for describing the ever-intensifying networks of cross-border human interaction. The concept covers a great variety of social, economic, political and cultural relations, and it is therefore not surprising that different disciplines have assigned different meanings to it. In fact, globalisation is one of those terms that invites a genuinely interdisciplinary approach to analysing society as a whole². It seems to involve the totality of contemporary social phenomena. In addition, globalisation embraces technological developments, criminal activity, international relations theory, modernisation and development strategies, and much more besides³. Through this process the entire world is turning into one large village or one large town. There are two divergent historical facts that need to be noted at the outset. First, globalisation is not a new phenomenon and indeed, until 1913, trade was generally free and so was capital movement. What is more significant is that even the movement of labour

across countries was free. There were no passport or visa restrictions. The brief point is that until the first world war which is described by E.J. Hobsbawm as the "Age of Capital", globalisation was a fact of life; and the extent of globalisation was in many ways more pervasive and comprehensive than even the last decade of the 20th century⁴. The only differences between, say 1900-10 and 1985-95 are that : there now exist universal restrictions on the cross-country movement of labour, and restrictions of diverse types in different countries with regard to the movement of capital. However, the revolution in communications, the coverage of satellite TV etc. has made the world a sort of "Global Village"⁵. In principle, and in theory, "capital" recognises no geographical boundaries. It is an inherent feature of capital that it should seek to maximise profits wherever and howsoever that can be done. Globalisation is a force by itself, difficult to regulate or control by the conscious decisions of governments⁶.

Globalisation, as the developmental mega-trend, expresses the dialectical process of expansion of certain activities and forms of association which cover the entire world, their mutual liaison and dependence. Increasingly, reference is being made to the phenomenon of global changes which cannot be successfully resolved within the boundaries

of one single country, state or nation, but call for their solution at the regional or global level⁷. In the light of the aforementioned facts, the following questions arise like, "when did globalisation begin ? What explains globalisation ? Where can one focus an analysis ? What are its mechanisms and possibilities for transformation" ? These questions are central to our analytical study. Some maintain that globalisation is just a continuation of the modernisation process or of capitalist development, whereas others claim that it is a new phenomenon. Some consider globalisation irresistible, others insist that it is not. Regardless of one's disposition on the matter, globalisation has replaced post-modernism as the most captivating concept in the 1990s⁸. Here some ambiguity may arise from the tendency to use the term 'globalisation' instead of the term 'globality' - the idea of globalisation as a consequence of modernity⁹. In fact the conjunction "modernity-globalisation" suggests a temporal outcome of a social and psychological circumstance, whereas the juxta-position of the notion of globality with that of modernity raises directly the problem of the relationship between two sets of conditions which are clearly different. The idea of modernity suggests a general homogenisation of institutions and basic experiences in a temporal, historical mode. But there is increasing recognition that there have been a number of specific areas where

modernity has developed. Therborn identifies three major sites other than Europe where modernity developed relatively autonomously: the new world, where modernity developed as the result of the killing of existing peoples; East Asia, where modernity arose as a response to a threatening external challenge; and much of Africa, where modernity was largely imposed by colonisation or imperialism. The perspective involved in such a “deconstruction” of modernity - or at least its conceptual and empirical differentiation - leads to definite recognition of the relatively independent significance of space and geography under the rubric of globality. Emphasis on globality enables one to avoid the weakness of the proposition that globalisation is simply a consequence of modernity¹⁰. Specifically, globality is the general condition, which has facilitated the diffusion of ‘general modernity’, globality at this point being viewed in terms of the inter-penetration of geographically distinct ‘civilisations’¹¹.

Globalisation: Theoretical Insights

The theoretical status of sociology of globalisation in the work of prominent authors such as Roland Robertson, David Harvey and Anthony Giddens, will now be briefly discussed which will help us to overcome the limits of the globalisation discourse.

Robertson's writings are firmly joined to a conventional mainstream Sociological theory of society as a social system. Social system theory is elaborated in 'Parsons' well-known formulation in which any social system is thought to have four subsystems that are functionally related to serve the maintenance of the whole. These subsystems and their functions are:

1. The economic (adaptive function);
2. The political (mobilisation for collective purposes);
3. The social (integrative function);
- and 4. The cultural (providing the governing value system necessary for reproducing the system through time.

Robertson argues that already for sometime there has clearly been a process of social-system building at the global level. In the economic sphere it paves the way for the rise of capitalism and the modern world because of the growing networks of international trade and production. It has also been actively fostered at the level of the political subsystem with the international cooperation between states and the emergence of international organisations¹². However, in more recent works, Robertson views that 'globalisation' at the cultural level has begun because of two things which he now introduces into his definition of "globalisation" namely, "Compression of the world" and global "consciousness". Compression of the world is the real experience of the

way that interdependencies are being created in the economies of the world to such an extent that, today, the way people live their lives on this side of the globe has immediate consequences for people on the other side of the globe. Industrial processes of development and growth in one country can have environmental and ecological impacts in neighbouring countries. Big dam projects in India cause flooding in Bangladesh; and the forest burning practice of the Brazilian peasant colonists in the Amazon burns holes in our ozone layer. This is what is meant by the 'compression' of the world¹³.

World compression is not a new idea, what makes for its novelty is his argument that world compression intensifies 'global consciousness'. Global consciousness is manifested in the way people all over the world, unified through mass communication, speak of military-political issues in terms of 'world order' or of economic issues as in international recession, and speak of 'world peace' and 'human rights', while issues of pollution and purification are talked about in terms of 'saving the planet'. Thus, although in Robertson's view globalisation has been going on for a very long time forcing even the rise of capitalism and modernity, it has accelerated only in the last decade or so because it has moved to the level of consciousness.

While for Robertson the point of the analysis of globalisation is a sociological theory, namely social system theory, there are others who have theorised it from a completely different angle, namely the concepts of space and time, and space/time compression. David Harvey, who is himself a social geographer, argues that symbolic orderings of space and time provide a framework for experience through which we learn who or what we are in society. There is a common sense notion that 'there is a time and a place for everything'¹⁴.

The organisation of space defines relationships, not only between activities, things and concepts, but by extension between people. The organisation of space defines social relations. The organisation of space holds the key to power. Today, the freedom to move capital wherever it is needed world-wide gives the capital-owning international bourgeoisie a decisive advantage over the mass of workers who are restricted in their movements and migrations by the passports they carry. Like space, time too represents a source of value and power. In capitalist enterprises the costs of production are calculated in terms of the time it takes to produce things, and labour is subjected to constant efforts by employers to reduce the time spent on a particular task. Harvey defines 'time' as the value of money itself. In capitalist economies, the time of production together with the

time of circulation of exchange are referred to as the turnover time of capital¹⁵. If a return on investment in one country takes five years, as compared to three years in another, then investors will prefer to invest in the latter.

However, the really important thing in all this discussion is the relationship between time and space. In capitalist economies, space is expressed in time. Anthony Giddens, whose globalisation theory bears some resemblance to that of Harvey, calls this 'time/space distantiating' which is a measure of the degree to which the friction of space has been overcome to accommodate social interaction. Technological progress has compressed the time-space equation enormously. In the electronic age, telecommunications using satellite TV and the linking of computers through cyberspace allow most 'disembodied' services, for example technological designs, managerial instructions and operational controls, as well as media images of wars and earthquakes and representations of consumer fashions, to enter the minds of people instantly anywhere in the global system. This shrinking of the world to a 'global village' amounts to a virtual annihilation of space through time. As Giddens sum it up, "Globalisation can thus be defined as the intensification of world wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local

happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa”¹⁶.

Modernisation Theory :

The colonial period had thrown up its own theories of imperialism. Also the neo-colonial period encourages the development of a body of knowledge historically specific to its own time. There were the “modernisation theories” which uncritically accepted the structure of the relationships between rich and poor countries that had evolved during the preceding epochs of capitalist expansion. Modernisation theories were problem-solving and policy-oriented theories of social change and economic development. David Harrison records how President Truman in his inaugural address of 1949 announced the four point programme of development Aid. It then became the policy of the US to aid the efforts of the peoples of economically underdeveloped areas to develop their resources and improve their living conditions. The policy was not put forward as altruism- it took place against the backdrop of the cold war and the political independence and liberation of less-developed countries from colonialism which the US favoured. There was an understanding on

the part of policy-makers in the US of the need to keep the third world out of communist hands¹⁷.

Economic and technological aid was at first a means. But it was soon realised that the transplantation of capital and technology to the third world would not bear fruit unless it was accompanied by wider and consistent social, cultural and political changes. Early theories of the modernisation school were often advanced by economists who had been hired by the US as practical advisers; people on aid missions. It was they who observed how cultural diffusion and the introduction of technology from the outside were frustrated by the negative role that traditional culture played in 'blocking' development. They were the first to call for 'comprehensive social and economic change. These were continuing and recurring themes, as was the threat of Soviet influence, if development, that is, the American way of life, were to fail. The sociologists set about the task of developing a comprehensive, all encompassing theory of all the processes and structural changes required to transform non-industrial into industrial societies. These modernisation theories were in turn embedded in abstract, formal theories of societal evolution. The circumstance that these models of societal evolution had themselves been scripted from the historical experience of the development

of the West did not prevent them from becoming normative and perspective. For they turned the abstracted, generalised history of European development into necessary logic. The formal western models had described the interactive processes through which underdeveloped societies of all periods were thought to become developed. They theorised the 'correspondence' between certain advanced economic institutions on the one hand, and certain 'modern' political, cultural and social forms on the other, thereby turning the latter into necessary prerequisites or 'logical requirements' for the former. For example, modernisation studies would examine the processes of secularisation consequent upon the introduction of cash crops into traditional peasant communities, or the effect of industrialisation on the nuclearisation of family systems, or the need for multi-party democracy to support the division of labour. When traditional institutions or values did not fit, they were considered 'dysfunctional' to the process of development and regarded as 'problems' which comprehensive socio-economic planning could be designed to correct. Progress became a matter of ordered social reform.

In practice modernisation theorists came with highlighting the complementarity between compatible institutions and values to advocate the similarity of less developed societies to the western model. But they also

helped to strengthen the illusion of independence and of the sovereignty of the national developmental state, since they were established in a theoretical framework which accorded integrity to 'society' as a self-regulating 'social whole' within which social and political institutions, cultural values as well as economic organisations, were understood fully as constituent parts.

Globalisation and Modernity :

According to Giddens, globalisation is the natural consequence of modernity. In conjunction with globalisation, modernity provides a structure and periodisation. Together, globalisation and modernity make up a ready-made package. Ready-made because it closely resembles the earlier, well-established conceptualisation of globalisation : the Marxist theme of the spread of the world market. The timing and pace are the same in both interpretations: the process starts in the 1500s and experiences its high tide from the late nineteenth century. The structures are the same: the nation-state and individualisation - vehicles of modernity or, in the Marxist paradigm, natural consequences of the spread of the world market. There are several problems associated with the modernity/globalisation approach. According to these concepts, whether centered on capitalism or

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modernity, globalisation begins in and comes from Europe and the West. In effect, it is the theory of westernisation by another name which makes all the problems associated with Eurocentrism : a window on the world, historically and culturally. With this agenda it should be called westernisation and not globalisation. Another problem is that globalisation theory turns into or becomes possession of modernisation theory. While modernisation theory is a passed station in Sociology and development theory, it is making a comeback under the name of globalisation - the 1950s and 1960s revisited under a large global umbrella.

Towards a Critical Theory of globalisation :

Recent years have seen an important contest between orthodox and critical knowledge around the issue of globalisation, i.e., what might be summarily characterised as the process of the world becoming a single place. Today the vocabulary of globality occupies a notable place in the everyday parlance of commerce, governance, academics and entertainment. Debates over globalisation relate centrally to questions of social change in the late twentieth century. Discourses of globalisation have become a prime site of struggle between, broadly speaking,

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conservatives who deny such a trend, liberals who celebrate its presumed fruits, and critics who speak critically its alleged disempowering effects.

Given the closed link of theory and practice, much is at stake in the formulation of knowledge about globalisation. Consciousness does not singly and wholly create the social world, but it does play a significant role in the making of history. Conservative conceptions tend to defuse globalisation by playing down the extent of the shift or even encouraging a rollback of the process, while liberal views confidently (and sometimes dogmatically) promote globalisation as a means whereby prevailing lines of social organisation (capitalism, rationalism, etc.) will lead to universal prosperity, peace and freedom. In contrast, critical orientations emphasise the importance and the dangers of the recent accelerated expansion of a supraterritorial, whole-world dimension of social relations. This reflexive knowledge enlarges the scope for radically transformative praxes of globalisation and aims, in conjunction with well devised political mobilisation, to reshape social structures so as to enhance possibilities of human dignity, security, autonomy, justice, equality, tolerance and community.

The consequences of globalisation - arguably one of the most wide-ranging and unsettling systemic trends in contemporary history - remain

quite open and will be considerably influenced by the sorts of knowledge constructed about, and fed into, the process. Till today, orthodox (and especially liberal) discourses have held an upper hand, but ample opportunities remain to salvage notions of globalisation for critical theory and associated politics of emancipation.

GLOBALISATION AND MODERNISATION:

PERSPECTIVES ON CENTRAL ASIA

In this context, the Central Asian region is of great interest both in the historical and modern perspectives and especially in its cultural and geo-strategic aspects. Central Asia is one of the oldest centers of civilisation, with about 60 million population. A high natural population growth is still observed in the region. The premises for the integration of the five Central Asian states with the rest of the world were created in 1991 as a result of the collapse of the USSR - Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have their own historical sources and modern pre-conditions. The Kushan period was one of cultural and economic expansions for Central Asia. The prosperity of the region was partly due to its location on the "great silk route" connecting China with Persia and the Roman world and the ethno-social, spiritual and cultural

community that sprang up as a result of ancient ties and later as part of the Russian empire and of the USSR¹⁸.

Since the disintegration of the USSR, the Central Asian countries took to their own independent paths of economic transformation, the main aim of which was the construction of an effective market economy, integrated with the world economic space. Full independence in pursuing a macro-economic policy and acceleration of reform in the financial sphere was achieved after the introduction of their respective national currencies. The main directions of the economic reforms were liberalisation of the economic relations, transforming of property including land on the basis of privatisation, de-monopolisation of the economy, development of entrepreneurship, creation of market infrastructure and open economic system widely attracting foreign capital and reform of financial-credit sphere.

Before the collapse of the USSR, the external economic relations of the republics of Central Asia were realised within the framework of inter-Union division of labour. The structure and flow of commodities between the Union republics was determined not by market but by the decision of the all-Union plan. The foreign trade of the Central Asian republics was on the whole conducted on the basis of large deficits. After

disintegration of the USSR, the trade-economic relations of the Central Asian states with the rest of the world grew more successfully than with the CIS. The process of ouster of the CIS countries from Central Asian market in the immediate future is obvious in character. The substantial long term investments by the non-CIS countries in this region has been conditioned and a good basis for the further growth of their external trade and economic relations has been created by the economic collapse in the CIS countries. Besides these, Central Asia's enormous resources makes the region increasingly attractive to the business communities of different countries, such as USA, Russia, China, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan etc. And it is also geo-strategically important for these countries.

USA : The US objectives in the Central Asian region is as follows :

- a. Support for the independence, sovereignty and security of each of the Central Asian states.
- b. Assistance in the establishment of free market economies and democratic governments committed to equal opportunity and human rights for their citizens.

c. Integration of these states into the world community of political and financial institutions as well as their participation in the Euro-Atlantic security dialogue and cooperation programmes.

d. Enhancement of US commercial interest and the expansion and diversification of global energy supplies.

However, the highest American priority was to denuclearise these Central Asian states in exchange for political, diplomatic and economic support. In this respect, Washington cooperated with these states to remove and transport fissile material to the US¹⁹.

Despite the stated commitment of the US to expand the role of grass-root efforts, US-Central Asian partnerships in small non-governmental organisation (NGOs) have played a relatively minor role in overall assistance programmes. As US assistance networks are expanded there, they must be restructured to take account of the specific condition. The US efforts must be sensitive not only to the social safety nets, cultural values and traditions of Central Asia but also to the uniquely evolved mixture of Soviet and middle Eastern political and economic systems in these new countries. Central Asia's resources make the region increasingly attractive to the US Business Community. The region has been identified as one of the most promising and unexplored oil rich

regions in the world. With these parameters, America's interest in Central Asia's stable development is vital. Domestic stability of all five states is a policy goal of the US²⁰.

CHINA:

There are significant trends that have come out on the bilateral and multilateral relationships developing in the region between China and the newly formed Central Asian Republics (CARs). Common national priorities, defined in terms of greater economic growth, have become the main catalytic force in facilitating such a move. While China has been eyeing the vast hydrocarbon and gas reserves to further its economic development, the CARs are banking upon Chinese imports, markets and investment which they believe would help them in overcoming the financial crisis visiting them since the dissolution of the Soviet empire. Apart from that, greater economic, technical and defense cooperation with the hydrocarbon-rich CARs might help China gain a strategic edge over others in the region as well. Meanwhile, the resolution of the major contentious issues between China and Central Asian states has helped them in coming together in the region. The three major contentious issues between China and the Central Asian Republics were identified since the

1991 as: A. the nuclear issue, B. the border issue and C. the ethnic conflicts in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) and cross border support (allegedly from groups operating from the CARs) to such conflicts. Out of these three the first two issues have been amicably resolved²¹.

Economic contracts between China and Central Asia have been traced back to days when the Silk Route was in operation more than 2000 years ago. With the coming into being of the CARs, trade with China increased ten times in 1992 as compared to 1990. China became Kazakhstan's premier trading partner accounting for US \$388 million, i.e., 20% of Kazakhstan's total foreign trade. In 1992 China signed 14 bilateral agreements with Uzbekistan. In 1994 China's trade with Uzbekistan increased to US \$12 million, an increase of 128%. China's imports from the region grew by 500%. China's trade with Turkmenistan also reached \$11 million - a 142.3% increase. Apart from all such increases in the realm of trade, there has been a massive jump in the Chinese joint ventures in Central Asia. Chinese entrepreneurs have accompanied their leaders in their tours to the Central Asian Republics showing the importance given by China for fostering greater economic cooperation²².

The huge hydro-carbon resources in Central Asia and oil reserves hold great promise for cross-border cooperation. In Central Asia, estimates of seven billion barrels of proven oil reserves and at least 6,700 billion cubic meters of natural gas reserves have been made. The fact that China may be importing 3 million barrels of crude oil per day by 2010 makes it necessary for cross border cooperation in this sector²³. Greater Cooperation in the form of an energy grid and a transportation grid could help boost the region's economy. The Kazakh and Chinese governments reached a US \$4 billion agreement in September 1997 to construct a 3000 Km oil pipeline from the Caspian region to Xinjiang which has already won a \$4.5 billion oil contract in Kazakhstan apart from the contract to develop the huge Uzen deposit. Similarly, a 700 Km Trans-Asian pipeline from Turkmenistan to Japan going through China is being encouraged by the Japanese. The second Euro-Asian continental bridge has greatly facilitated communication between the Central Asia and China. The Euro-Asian Optical Fiber Communication Pact involving European countries, which is expected to see the light of the day will further facilitate economic interdependence. The CARs realise that increased cooperation with China will also link their economies with the Asia-Pacific economic boom²⁴.

With the opening of Chinese economy, Europe has become one of China's major markets. The second Euro-Asian railway provides a convenient transportation line for Chinese goods to enter Europe. As the railway goes through Central Asia, particularly Kazakhstan, it will at the same time promote China's trade and economic co-operation with the Central Asian states. At the same time, Europe, especially the Western European economies, is turning its attention to Asia, particularly to China and other East Asian and Southeast Asian countries. They are bound to use this land bridge to get into China and other East Asian countries. That should promote cooperation between Europe and Central Asian states. The Euro-Asian railway, as the 'new Silk Road', could play a double role in promoting economic cooperation between China, Central Asia and Europe.

RUSSIA :

The break-up of USSR left Russia with a set of new and theoretically self-determining states in its backyard, forming a cordon between itself, China, Turkey and the broader Islamic world. This requires the evolution of a strategic regional policy. Russia perceives the CARs as its 'near abroad' and hence, falling within its sphere of influence.

The CARs are heavily dependent on Russia both for economic and security reasons. All these states which were integrated into the Soviet economy now depend upon Russia for import of industrial products, consumer goods and food. Russia is also the largest export market and accounts for over half of the trade of each of the Central Asian states. Nearly 70% of erstwhile Soviet Union's gas pipelines and crude refinery capacity are in the Russian territory. The Russian citizens who constitute 35.8% of the population in Kazakhstan, 21.5% Kyrgyzstan, 9.8% in Turkmenistan, 8.3% in Uzbekistan and 7.6% in Tajikistan provide vital services in the economy of the CARs²⁵.

IRAN AND TURKEY :

Among the West Asian states, Turkey and Iran have a special relationship with the Central Asian states. Both of them are located in the immediate neighbourhood and apart from geographical proximity, they have significant socio-cultural influences in the whole of Central Asia. The states of Central Asia have geopolitical, strategic and economic importance for both Iran and Turkey, as well as for China, India and Russia.

The Iranian leadership reacted swiftly and proposed to Central Asian leaders "the revival of the Silk route"²⁶. The Iranian proposal involves

the building of road links and land routes of the Central Asian states to Iran. Agreements were reached to build a 200 kilometer rail-road line from Mashhad to Sarakhs linking Iran with Turkmenistan, and an additional 300 km of rail-road line in Kazakhstan connecting Iran to China and the Pacific. Iran specifically mentioned the areas of oil and gas, textiles, railways and light and heavy engineering where scope for such cooperation existed. In a path breaking move, India, Iran and Turkmenistan signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) in April 1995 that provided access to Indian goods to the Central Asian Republics through the Iranian land route²⁷. In February 1992, Foreign Minister of Tajikistan, Mr. Hakim Kayumov, met President Rafsanjani of Iran and expressed Dushanbe's desire for "cultural, political and economic cooperation" between the two states. Iran also established diplomatic relations with Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. Both the states were interested in socio-cultural and economic cooperation with Iran. In early February 1992, an Uzbek trade delegation visited Iran, Turkey, and other West Asian countries. Turkmenistan's President Saparmurad Niyazov signed a memorandum of understanding with the leaders of Iran and Turkey at the summit of the Economic Conference Organisation (ECO) in Ashkhabat on 14 May 1997 for a pipeline to carry an annual load of 30 bn cubic metres of natural gas originating in Turkmenistan. The \$

7bn project - with Iran footing the bill for the pipeline in its territory, estimated at \$3.5bn is expected to be finished by the year 2002. On 13 May 1996, President Rafsanjani of Iran inaugurated a rail link between Iran and Central Asia which was attended by 11 heads of state and dignitaries from over 50 countries. Former President Rafsanjani said the \$210 million railway would benefit peace and stability in the region by moving two million tones of goods and half a million people between Iran and Turkmenistan²⁸.

In the developing competition with Iran, Turkey has valuable asserts of its own in Central Asia. Turkey serves as a bridge of friendship and cooperation between the East and the West, the North and the South. In addition to geography, Turkey has historic, ethnic, religious and linguistic affinity with the Turkish - speaking Central Asian states, except Tajikistan, which is a cultural connection of Iran. Turkey is quite an important player in the politics of Central Asian region. Turkey has helped these Republics to lessen their dependence on Russia. Turkey has given large credits to Uzbekistan (\$500 million), Kazakhstan (\$200 million), Turkmenistan (\$75million), and Kyrgyzstan (\$75 million), in addition to establishing television links, cultural exchanges and Turkish language training programmes. Turkish firms took lead in assisting Kazakhstan

in oil exploration, as well as in the construction of oil refineries and of an electric power station, the laying of a pipeline to Turkey later extended to Persian Gulf, the reconstruction of the part of Aktau, the transport of Kazakh goods from the Caspian to the Baltic and Black seas and the distribution of Kazakh goods in Turkey²⁹.

The emergence of Independent states in Central Asia has generated great interest in this part of the world that has not yet been properly understood. Both Turkey and Iran see Central Asia as a large and profitable market with great potential. Both the governments have taken active part in encouraging their respective business communities to expand their dealings with the CARs.

INDIA:

After judging from the current situation, India could have three strategic intentions to develop relations with the Central Asian Countries. First, India could obtain economic benefits by developing economic and trade relations with the Central Asian Countries. Second, to develop good relations with the Central Asian Countries which could help India to contend with its old enemy Pakistan. Third, good relations with the Central Asian Countries would guarantee stable energy supply, which could help

India to meet the increasing domestic energy need. In this sense, oil and gas in Central Asia will be very important for India. Mostly India wants to build a short-cut pipeline from Central Asia to its territory.

It is worth noting that cooperation in the high-tech field between Central Asian countries and particularly Kazakhstan and India developed very rapidly. At present, India and Kazakhstan have made cooperation in the fields of space and atomic energy the priority for their hi-tech cooperation. Based on its general strategy towards the whole Central Asia, India has been trying to strengthen political, economic and cultural relations with all countries of this region³⁰.

Conclusion :

Globalisation is a multi-faceted concept. This is evident in the multi-facious theories put forward by scholars, belonging to different streams of thought. Their respective analysis of the phenomenon of globalisation from different perspectives supports this view-point. This makes any analysis on Central Asian states a difficult task. The Central Asian states are gradually trying to become a part of the globalised world, bringing in new ideas on free-market economy, democracy, human rights, civil society and many other ideas from the developed world. It is in the

throes of change, they are judiciously trying to adapt themselves in its own set-up. In order to develop a worthwhile perspective on the effects of globalisation and modernisation on post-Soviet Central Asia, it would be necessary to have a detailed look on the various historical developments in this region.

NOTES

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⁴ Arun Ghosh, "Capitalism, Nation State and Development in a Globalised World", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 32, No.14, 1997 (April), P.683.

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⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Prof. Dr. Ljubisa Mitrovic, "Globalisation and New World Order", *Review of International Affairs*, Vol. L, N. 1082-83, 1999 (July-Aug.), P. 3.

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CHAPTER II

SOCIAL MODERNISATION IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

Before October Socialist revolution in 1917, Soviet Central Asian region was socially, economically and culturally backward. It was basically an agrarian area. Industrial sector was solely characterised by handicraft and primitive rural industries intended to meet local requirements. From the early 1920's various efforts were made by the Soviet leadership to develop the industrial sector on modern basis. Subsequently, they had brought a series of reforms. Firstly, land and water reform 1920-21; secondly, land and water reform 1925-29; thirdly, the agricultural cooperation and collectivisation since 1929. The highest form of agricultural cooperation is collectivisation, i.e., public ownership of means of production and collective form of labour which was put into action on a large scale in Central Asia at the end 1929¹. Between 1930-40, all the agricultural holdings in Central Asia had been incorporated into one or the other form of collective farming². On the other hand, industrial development was on the process of increase. For example, in 1922, a paper mill, a cellulose mill, a match factory and a cloth factory were shifted to Tashkent from the Russian part to give a boost to industrial growth. Similarly, a few consumer industries were transferred to Bukhara. But the

demands of the people were high. So, this approach had only limited success. There were also lack of skilled workers for managing the new industrial units.

The Soviet development programme received a great boost with the launching of the First-Five Year Plan in 1928, although certain important measures had been taken earlier, especially, the Central Asian Land reform of the middle 1920's. A number of modern factories were set up using local raw materials and labour resources. Among them were cotton ginning mills, oil extracting units and agro-based industries which were set up in the first phase of industrial development. Subsequently, industries contributing to the input of agriculture (mainly cotton cultivation) such as chemical and fertiliser units, agricultural machinery specially for cotton cultivation and harvesting, irrigation equipments for cotton production were developed. Similarly, cotton based modern manufacturing units-ginning, spinning and weaving mills were set up in Central Asian republics³.

One of the main aspects of the Soviet development programme was that all of its parts-economic, political, cultural- were quite highly integrated⁴. Even though they will be treated separately in the discussion that follows, it must be kept in mind that they are pieces of a whole. The interrelation of these factors can be most clearly seen in the Soviet cultural

programme and in the approach to the traditional social structure of Central Asia.

In the opinion of the Soviet leaders, the traditional social hierarchy had to be destroyed. This was necessary to remove a political threat to the new Soviet regime, to free women from the veil and the home and release them for more productive work in the region's economy, and to free the mass of peasants from superstition⁵. The land reform of the early and middle 1920s completed the destruction of the economic and political power of the traditional ruling classes, except in parts of the countryside. Collectivisation completed the policy of transforming the social structure. There were other aspects of this policy. The nomadic Kazakhs had to be settled if they were to progress economically and socially. It was necessary to build an educational system to keep the youth away from traditional social attitudes and to train them to operate a modernised economy. Medical facilities had to be developed if the people were to be healthy and thus, economically productive. These policies were seen as necessary to build a modern economy.

Agrarian Reforms :

Under this reform process, the Soviets freed the peasants from various forms of bondage, indebtedness that forced the surplus rural population to provide cheap labour to the landlords or seek seasonal employment outside. This brought about changes in agrarian relations⁶.

In Central Asia, a serious cotton campaign was launched along with the labour reform, which enabled the country to achieve "cotton self-sufficiency". Apart from this, due to setbacks in external relations with industrialised west and outside capitalist world, USSR was forced to develop its own sources of cotton that resulted in increased cotton cultivation in Central Asia. As a result, Soviet Union became self-sufficient in cotton by 1934-35 and the structure and function of agriculture in Central Asia had undergone many changes. Cotton cultivation was mostly on the irrigated land. The manpower requirement for this type of agriculture was quite high. In Central Asian republics there was an impressive mechanisation of agriculture. Prior to Soviet industrialisation, agricultural work was done by hoes and wooden ploughs. However, labour by hand continued to dominate towards the end of 1940s. The achievements in agricultural labour productivity were considerable, compared to the earlier period. But some labour-intensive operations still remained at a low level of

mechanisation. For example, cotton-pickers were introduced in Central Asia only in 1949. While ploughing was more mechanised, harvesting was still done mostly by hand. However, towards the end of the 1940s when emphasis shifted to rapid mechanisation in Uzbekistan, nearly 71 percent of the cotton plantation was mechanised and as much as 65 percent of the land was over ploughed by machines in 1949⁷.

Agricultural Organisation:

Agricultural organisation was dependent on the nature of crop and the method of farming. Cotton farming was highly remunerative and was mainly organised in collectives⁸. By 1952, the average income of cotton-producing collectives in Central Asia was between 17-36 Roubles, the average income of collective farms specialising in animal products was much less per work-day unit and was as low as 4 Roubles in Uzbekistan⁹. High income not only induced the expansion of labour-consuming cotton cultivation, but also influenced the process of transformation of population from agricultural to non-agricultural occupations. Central Asian peasantry was incorporated into socialised farming and by 1938, 99.8 percent of the sown area in Uzbekistan and 99.2 percent of the area in Tajikistan was collectivised¹⁰. The highest proportion of the collectivised crop area was in

cotton farming. By 1954, 80-90 percent of the income of the average collective farm in Uzbekistan came from cotton. All these indicate the relative importance of collectivised cotton farming in Central Asia. The state farms which were more capital and less manpower intensive did not play an important role in Central Asia as in other parts of the country. The relatively low efficiency in machine-use combined with the nature of agricultural specialisation and organisation to keep the manpower demands of agriculture at a higher level in Central Asia than in the rest of the country.

Socialist Industrialisation:

In Central Asia socialist industrialisation began with the primary concern of doing away the former narrow one-sided specialisation of producing food and raw materials for industrially advanced regions. Soviet State began to create conditions for a new territorial division of labour that would not only do away the existing uneven development in the structure of the economy, but also would end the unequal relationship between regions¹¹.

The first condition for the elimination of the old territorial division of labour was the socialisation of the principal means of production,

exchange and distribution (large scale industry and banking, the wholesale trade and the main transport network). Nationalisation was also equally limited in scope due to lack of large scale industry at the time of revolution. Even a poor and primitive transport system hindered the quick development of Central Asia, as high import and export costs due to backward transport involved serious strains on the national resources and development. The labour force in Central Asia at the time of the revolution was small, and its technical level was very low.

However, industries developed very fast in Central Asia, faster than the average for the country, especially since 1928. Gross industrial production increased by 422 percent in Uzbekistan and by 780 percent in Tajikistan between 1928-1940. In 1937, industry constituted 77 percent of the economy of USSR and by 1942 industry's share was approximately at 75 percent in Uzbekistan. By 1950 Central Asia had already come to possess a powerful and modern industry. Industrial development diversified and created conditions for the integrated development of this region which came to acquire its own fuel, power and machine building base. Industries could be classified as those relying directly on cotton and other agricultural commodities for raw materials; those serving the cotton-growing areas by producing raw materials, machinery, fertiliser etc., and finally, those

engaged in mining and mineral working. Central Asia, by 1950s, was transformed from an agrarian state to an agro-industrial region in the Soviet-period. Territorial concentration of industries and creation of large industrial centers continued under socialism¹².

Urbanisation in Soviet Central Asia:

The rapid development of industry not only led to the growth of industrial centers but also changed the character of the existing urban centers into industrial towns. Concentration of industry and infrastructure as well as skilled manpower in large urban centers was characteristic of urbanisation in this period. Another feature of the pattern of urbanisation was the faster urban growth especially after the 1930s and the low level of urbanisation of the population. The pattern of urbanisation, i.e., a faster urban growth and a slower rise in the urbanisation level was due mainly to a process whereby urban population increase did not result in a simultaneous decline in the rural population. Rural population in Central Asia actually registered an increase, though in the country as a whole it was declining¹³.

While rural areas were getting over populated, the urban pull went on increasing due to rapid industrialisation in Central Asia. The urbanisation process continued to depend on Europeans into urban centers of Central

Asia. This is reflected by the increasing Russian population in Central Asia and the low level of urbanisation among the indigenous population as compared to the European population. In this period there was a need for quick industrialisation to remove the backwardness of Central Asian republics. As a result the growth of urban centers and the increase of Russians in the urban population was characteristic of this period.

Table 1

DYNAMICS OF THE RUSSIAN POPULATION IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

in % of the total population of the Republic)

Republic	1926	1939	1959	1970	1979	1989
Uzbekistan	25.4	11.5	13.5	12.5	10.8	11.0
Tajikistan	0.7	9.1	13.3	11.9	10.4	11.0
Kirghizstan	11.7	20.8	30.2	29.2	25.9	26.0
Turkmenistan	8.2	18.6	17.3	14.5	12.6	13.0

Source: A. Patnaik, *Central Asia: Between Modernity and Tradition*, Delhi, Konark Publishers, 1996, P. 27.

Changing Social Structure of Central Asia:

The low level of urbanisation among the Central Asian had its impact on the social structure in the region. The Soviet period was characterised by the continuous numerical growth of the working class. The rate of increase

in the number of workers in Central Asia till 1950s was considerably above the average for the whole country.

Urbanisation helped the workers into an industrial atmosphere, from seasonal to full time workers. The impact of urbanisation of the ethnic composition of the working class in Central Asia was quite important. Industrialisation resulted in the growth of an indigenous working class, but urbanisation process resulted in a highly multinational work force in Central Asia. The skilled labour in this period, was mostly from outside the region¹⁴. Thus by the 1950s, Central Asian republics had come with their own skilled and unskilled categories of labour. Central Asia in the Soviet period witnessed very rapid urban growth, high rate of industrial growth and rise of industrial labour force. However, rural-urban migration remained very small, though this was the period when an indigenous labour force and also an indigenous female labour force grew substantially. In the rural sector, the disappearance of feudal lords and large landowners resulted in a more egalitarian social structure.

There was faster growth of larger cities with ethnic heterogeneity but the slower process of cultural change in the rural areas was ethnically homogeneous. The slow process of cultural change could be seen in the persistence of large families, fewer inter-ethnic marriages, fewer number of

divorces, lower rate of participation of women in the production process etc. In Central Asia, the cause of the low level of migration was the mobility among women which further handicapped the migration process. Lower mobility among women also affects mobility among men where husband do not want to go to cities if the wife is unwilling to leave the village.

While the whole country had been witnessing a decline in the number of rural population in Central Asia, the number had been continuously increasing. The increase of the rural population in Central Asia in the first six years of the 1980s (2.5 million) was nearly as large as the decline in the whole country (3 million) at the same period¹⁵. Therefore, the share of the population living in the urban areas of Central Asia was lower than that of the rest of the country. In fact the share had gone down between 1979-89.

Table 2

SHARE OF URBAN POPULATION IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, SELECTED REPUBLICS, 1959-1989 :

Republic	1959	1970	1979	1989
Uzbekistan	33.6	36.6	41.2	40.7
Kirgizstan	33.6	37.4	38.7	38.2
Tajikistan	32.6	37.1	34.8	32.6
Turkmenistan	46.1	47.8	47.9	45.3
Central Asia	34.8	38.0	40.6	38.6
USSR	47.8	56.2	62.3	65.8

Source : A Patnaik, *Central Asia: Between Modernity and Tradition*, Delhi, Konark Publishers, 1996 P.31.

Soviet Central Asian modernisation has been one of transition from colonial to socialist system. The main objective was to give the republics of the region an industrial character and close the gap between the European regions and Central Asia. Industry had come to dominate the economy of Central Asian republics.

Education, Culture and Public Health :

The education, culture and public health standards in Central Asia have improved so strikingly in the period of Soviet rule that the comparison is no longer with neighbouring Asian countries, but with the Countries of Western Europe.

The great increase of literacy in Central Asia during the Soviet period is due to the strongly developed compulsory school system and to the

mass campaigns launched against illiteracy. The very large investments in education were the primary reason for the success in eliminating illiteracy.

Table 3

ADULT LITERACY IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA:

Ages, 9-49

Republic	1897	1927	1939	1959
Uzbekistan	3.6	11.6	78.7	98.1
Kazakhstan	8.1	25.1	83.6	96.9
Kirgizstan	3.1	16.5	79.8	98.0
Tajikistan	2.3	3.8	82.8	96.2
Turkmenistan	7.8	14.0	77.7	95.4

Source : Charles K. Wilber, *The Soviet Model and Under Developed Countries*, North California, University Press, 1969, P.159.

Soviet educational achievements have been impressive. In 1914-15, there were 137,000 students, or 1.1 percent of the population, in all types of schools. In 1961-62, there were 5,880,000 students, or 22.5 percent of the population. In 1914-15, there were no schools of higher education. In 1961-62, there were 75 such schools with an enrollment of 255,200. In 1955-56, the number of students in secondary and higher education was 5.46 percent of the total population which ranked Soviet Central Asia sixth highest in the world. The number of teachers in primary schools per thousand students in 1955 was 43 in Central Asia, 45 in the USSR., 34 in Iran, 31 in Iraq, 30 in India, 28 in Pakistan, 27 in France, 33 in England¹⁶.

Table 4 summaries the basic educational changes that have taken place in Central Asia. The data illustrate the progress made in Soviet Central Asia in providing education to its people, which are comparable to the more advanced countries.

Table 4:

**EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS FOR SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA :
SELECTED YEARS, 1914 - 1962**

	1914-15	1927-28	1940-41	1955-56	1961-62
Total number of Students in all levels (thousands)	137.10	523.90	3487.30	3907.10	5880.00
Percent of population	1.05	3.85	20.98	18.69	22.52
Students in Secondary and higher educational establishments(thousands)	--	22.10	278.10	1140.50	--
Percent of Population	--	0.16	1.67	5.46	--
Students in higher educational establishments (thousands)	--	3.90	37.80	154.90	255.20
Percent of population	--	0.03	0.23	0.74	0.98

Source: Charles K. Wilber, *The Soviet Model and Under Developed Countries*, University Press 1969, P.160.

One of the most pressing problems was the extreme cultural and educational backwardness of the indigenous peoples of Central Asia. Prior to the 1917 revolution, they made up less than 10 percent of the total

student enrolment. By the 1940s, elementary school attendance was more or less the same among European and native males. But among secondary school, college and University students, natives were under-represented. In 1927, only 2.4 percent of the students at the Central Asian State University in Tashkent were from local national groups. However, by 1961, national groups of Central Asia, which made up 68 percent of the population, accounted for over one-third of the students in universities, institutes and technical schools in the area. Taking into consideration that no universities existed in Central Asia before the revolution, the presence of 250,000 students in the institutions of higher learning in Central Asia in 1961 was a remarkable achievement. The most difficult problem involved in the educational programme was to persuade the women and girls to participate. In 1927-28, of the 4930 students in Tajikistan schools, only forty-four were women. By 1931-32, of 135,976 students, only 22,317 were women. The percent of girls in total primary, and secondary school enrolment at the beginning of the 1955-56 school year was 43.7 in Uzbekistan, 48.0 in Kazakhstan, 45.9 in Kirghizstan, 42.3 in Tajikistan and 45.7 in Turkmenistan. In the whole of the USSR the figure was 49.6 percent. However, the percent of girls in rural eighth to eleventh grade enrolment was only 25.7 in Uzbekistan, 46.1 in Kazakhstan, 36.1 in

Kirghizstan, 21.8 in Tajikistan, and 33.7 in Turkmenistan. For the USSR the figure was 51.9 percent. The problem was greater in higher education. In Kirghizstan women were approximately 3 percent of the total enrolment in higher education in 1955-56. Uzbek women were approximately 16 percent of the enrolment in Uzbekistan in 1954-55. The low enrolment figures for women in higher education of Central Asia was related to the cultural attitudes towards women in Central Asia. In the Central Asiatic conception, the place of women was in private and not in public life. Education, and especially higher education, took women into public life.

The cultural sphere reflected changes in Soviet Central Asia since the 1917 revolution. Like education and health services, many other indices not only reflected a rise in the cultural level, but also were components of the people's standard of living. The number of film projectors in Soviet Central Asia increased from 52 in 1914 to 9,443 in 1961. Book publishing in the five major national languages of Soviet Central Asia increased rapidly. In 1913, 77 volumes were published with a circulation of 247,000 copies. Of 1961, 3,138 volumes were published with a circulation of 36,137,000 copies, of the 5,304,000 daily circulation of newspapers in 1961, 2,704,000 were in the five major national languages. The daily newspaper circulation

of 203 copies per thousand population compare with 330 copies in the USSR as a whole, 11 in India, 15 in Iran, 45 in Turkey, 278 in the Netherlands, 210 in Israel, 101 in Italy, and 326 in the United States¹⁷.

During the Second Five Year Plan (1932-37), per-capita expenditure on health and education in Central Asia was about one-fifth higher than the average for the USSR. In the Fifth Five Year Plan (1951-55), per-capita expenditure was about the same in Central Asia as the average for the USSR. The number of physicians per thousand population, which before the revolution had been much lower than it is in the neighbouring Asian Countries today, now equals that of the Western European Countries. The number of hospital beds per thousand population is five to twenty times higher than in Asian countries and almost equal that of the advanced Western European Countries and the United States. In all of Soviet Central Asia in 1913 there were 408 physicians and 3240 hospital beds. In 1961, there were 36,294 physicians and 213,400 hospital beds. This, together with higher food consumption, has contributed to the decline in mortality levels¹⁸.

Conclusion:

It would seem that the Soviet regime was successful in implementing, in Central Asia, the strategy of the Soviet model of economic development effecting changes in the social structure and culture to make it conducive to socialist development. Most of the Central Asian People are now oriented toward change. A relatively educated and modernised elite have emerged who are now trying to transform and develop their society in accordance with global standards.

NOTES

¹ Ajay Patnaik, *Central Asia: Between Modernity and Tradition*, Delhi, Konark Publishers, 1996, P.15.

² Collective farming is otherwise known as the farm or group of farms owned by the state and run by the workers. Here no private property exists for workers. Everybody have to contribute their labour and they will take according to their expenditure. This system was normally running in USSR. Ibid.

³ R.G.Gidathubli, "Soviet Central Asia: Socio-Economic Challenges to Development," in K.Warikoo and Dawa Norbu (eds.), *Ethnicity and Politics in Central Asia*, New Delhi, South Asian Publishers, 1992, P.131-32.

⁴ Charles K. Wilber, *The Soviet Model and Under Developed Countries*, North California, University Press, 1969, P.156.

⁵ Ibid., P.157.

⁶ Ajay Patnaik, *Central Asia: Between Modernity and Tradition*, Delhi, Konark Publishers, 1996, P.15.

⁷ Ibid., P.16.

⁸ Grey Hodnett, "Technology and Social change in Soviet Central Asia: The Politics of Cotton Growing" in Henry W.Morton and Rudolf L.Tokes (eds.), *Soviet Politics and Society in the 1970s*, London, 1974, PP. 67-68.

⁹ Ajay Patnaik, *Central Asia Between Modernity and Tradition*, Delhi, Konark Publishers, 1996, P.17.

¹⁰ Ibid., P.18.

¹¹ Ibid., P.19.

¹² Ibid., P.21.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ The share of Uzbek workers in skilled industries in Uzbekistan was 42.2 percent, and that of all indigenous workers in such industries 50.8 percent in 1934. R.G.Rabich, "Changes in the Structure of the Working Class in the Uzbek SSR During Socialist Industrialization", *Soviet Sociology*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 1984-85, P.18.

¹⁵ R.Ubaidullaeva, "One Million Unemployed", *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 39, No.14, 1987, P.4.

¹⁶ Charles K. Wilber, *The Soviet Model and Underdeveloped countries*, North California, University Press, P.159.

¹⁷ Ibid., P.165.

¹⁸ Ibid.

CHAPTER III

GLOBALISATION AND ITS IMPACT ON ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN CENTRAL ASIA

While the definition of globalisation varies with the context of analysis, it generally refers to an increasing interaction across national boundaries that affects many aspects of life: economic, social, cultural and political¹. In the context of this study, in order to keep the analysis within reasonable bounds, focus is only on its impact on society and economic development. As such, globalisation has resulted in growing economic interdependence of countries worldwide. This includes increases in the international division of labour caused by international flows of FDI, accompanied by an increasing volume and variety of cross-border transactions in goods and services, international capital flows, international migration and the more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology. However, it should not be construed that social, cultural and other forms of globalisation are unimportant².

Economic globalisation here refers to the integration of economic processes across political borders, indicating that the behaviour of economic agents is oriented to the global market rather than particular national markets. However, economic globalisation also represents reforms

of economic policy, which encourages the forces in favour of globalisation against those in favour of economic nationalism. In other words, “economic nationalism”³ is geared to protect for the national economic interest against the claims of other nations. Economic globalisation and economic nationalism are the two fundamental forces that have been shaping the world’s economic land over the last few centuries. Both contending forces are integrally linked with markets and states, for both have been fundamentally rooted in the rise of markets and states in the modern era. Indeed, economic globalisation is simply a fuller expression of the expansion of one or more markets to a world scale, while economic nationalism is nothing but the manifestation in the economic arena of the consolidation of states in the international system⁴.

Rise and expansion of globalisation:

The origins of economic globalisation lie in the rise of capitalism in Europe and the penetration by capitalism from that economic core into the regional economies of the periphery around the world. The process of penetration across the globe was not achieved all at once but took place in a succession of expanding circles having the same center⁵. This process was made stronger by the rise of industrialisation, which arose as a spontaneous development in Great Britain though definitely aided

directly and indirectly by the state. In the 19th Century Britain turned to liberalism, perceiving greater economic advantage for itself as the most advanced industrial power in the operation of freer trade. However, it has received more credit for its liberalism in its practice of trade policies toward other states. While Britain preached the virtue of liberalism in relation to the less developed world, it also insisted through political and military coercion on other nations opening their doors to economic penetration by it. Thus, economic globalisation developed not simply through the operation of some autonomous economic forces, but military power served its necessary purpose. The rise of industrialisation in Britain was made for the acquisition of wealth and power. Therefore, it forcefully persuaded other European powers and European colonial settlements around the globe to launch their own programmes of industrialisation⁶. However, this option of economic nationalism was firmly closed for most countries in Asia and Africa because they were converted completely by the North Atlantic powers into colonies or semi-colonies. By the first world war, the North Atlantic states had been especially active in extending globalisation. Indeed, it was Lenin's deep insight that the origins of first world war lay precisely in the completion of the imperialist enterprise of bringing the entire world under

the domination of the North Atlantic powers and dividing it up among themselves, at which point they turned - as they were bound to - against each other over the question as to who should preside over the newly-created world economy and international system⁷. The question remained unresolved until the end of second world war, which explained the economic and political crisis. However, the outcome of that war placed most of the world under the military, political and economic hegemony of the US.

It is with the end of second world war that the intensive phase of globalisation began. Until then, the economic integration of the world was largely confined to international trade among national economies. After second world war, the US as the new hegemony reorganised the world's economic institutions, chiefly in the form of IMF, World Bank, to establish what has been characterised as a liberal international economic order. But it was clearly designed to serve the interests of the advanced industrial powers, more particularly the US⁸. Under the protective framework of the political and economic hegemony of the US across the world, the powerful American Corporations, looked for new markets in their search for larger private profits. However, American MNCs were joined by MNCs of France, Britain etc. for the expansionary thrust under

their joint efforts from the mid-1970s onwards. In turn, these MNCs are the key agents to heightened globalisation.

The deepening of international economic integration by the end of the century is evident in several new developments. One thing is clear that there has been the accelerated growth in international trade in the three decades between 1960 and 1990, doubled from 10 percent to 20 percent. The expansion of world trade at a rate higher than that of world output is a significant indicator of the heightening of globalisation⁹. Even countries whose dependence on foreign trade was traditionally low have seen substantial increases and economic production has come to be increasingly organised on a global basis. It is clear in the increase of foreign direct investment (FDI). The total FDI stock in 1990 amounted to 1100 billion dollars, having multiplied 20 times since 1960. In this context, the inter-state trade (export and imports), and FDI of newly independent states of Central Asia is increasing gradually since independence, particularly from Western and East-Asian countries in the field of oil exploration, construction of pipeline, mining and transport network and local energy.

Since the beginning of perestroika and the disintegration of the USSR, the Central Asian Countries took their own independent path of

economic transformation, the main aim of which is the construction of an effective market economy, integrated with the world economic space. Full independence in pursuing a macro-economic policy and acceleration of reform in the financial sphere was achieved after introduction of their respective national currencies. The main directions of the economic reforms are liberalisation of the economic relations, transforming of property including land on the basis of privatisation, demopolisation of the economy, development of entrepreneurship, creation of a market infrastructure and open economic system widely attracting foreign capital and reform of financial credit sphere¹⁰.

Before the collapse of USSR, the external economic relations of the republics of Central Asia was realised within the framework of inter-union division of labour. The structure and flow of commodities between the union republics was determined not by market but by the decision of the all union plan. The foreign trade of the Central Asian republics was on the whole conducted on the basis of large deficits. After dis-integration of USSR, the trade-economic relations of the Central Asian states with the rest of the World grew more successfully than with the CIS. The process of ouster of the CIS Countries from Central Asian market in the immediate future is obvious in character. The substantial long term investments by the

non-CIS countries in this region has been a good basis for the further growth of their external trade and economic relations¹¹.

It is important to note that in the flow of the long term foreign capital to the Central Asian region, major share belongs to the non-CIS countries, whose investments are increasing year by year with direct investment also going up rapidly. During 1993-95, the total amount of long term capital flow from non-CIS countries to Central Asia exceeded \$ 8.7 billion. According to president N. Nazarbaev, Kazakhstan has agreements providing for investment up to \$50 billion¹². Such types of agreements also exist in other republics of the region. On the whole, the growth of capital investment from non-CIS countries in the near future is likely in the field of energy, mineral resources, transport network connecting the countries of Central Asia with new markets. The implementation of even a few of these planned projects will greatly increase the possibilities of rise in their export to areas outside the post-Soviet space.

It is interesting to investigate how the collapse of the Soviet Union affected the foreign economic activities of the newly independent republics of Central Asia in a more analytical way. According to the estimate of the World Bank, in 1990 the deficit in the external trade of Turkmenistan reached 8% of the GNP, Tajikistan 9.4%, Uzbekistan

10.8%, Kazakhstan 12.4% and Kirghizstan 14.6% of the GNP. With the weakening of central power, the inter-republican trade and economic cooperation began to decline in 1991 and its trade also suffered a big set back, declining by 8.4 times in Kazakhstan, 8.9 times in Turkmenistan, 16.4 times in Kyrgyzstan, 23.3 times in Uzbekistan and 36.7 times in Tajikistan. During these years of 1990-92, the volume of foreign trade of Turkmenistan declined by 3.6 times, Kazakhstan by 6.2 times, Uzbekistan by 11.5 times, Kirghizstan by 15 times and Tajikistan by 21.6 Times¹³.

Table 5

**DYNAMICS OF GDP AND EXPORTS IN CENTRAL
ASIAN COUNTRIES, 1990-96 (1990=100)**

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Kazakhstan						
GDP	95.00	84.3	71.1	57.7	52.6	52.6
Exports	96.2	22.6	28.6	20.1	30.9	39.6
Kyrgyzstan						
GDP	92.2	79.4	61.1	53.6	50.3	53.3
Exports	122.5	97.4	9.3	8.0	9.7	12.0
Tajikistan						
GDP	-----	100.0	28.7	72.2	63.3	53.0
Exports	83.7	4.4	8.2	8.9	16.1	16.5
Turkmenistan						
GDP	-----	-----	-----	-----	100.0	100.0
Exports	147.5	40.2	65.9	39.3	39.7	38.9
Uzbekistan						
GDP	99.5	88.5	86.5	2.9	81.9	83.5
Exports	98.6	9.8	23.3	16.7	18.5	24.1

Source : A.EL'Yanov, Central Asia: Transformation Towards Globalisation, *Contemporary Central Asia*, Vol.2, No.1, 1998, P.23.

External and Internal Trade Performance:

The high dependence on inter-union division of labour and an extremely weak integration with global market economy has compelled the countries of Central Asia after independence to follow the two imperatives. From one side, to support inter-republican trade and economic cooperation to the extent possible, and to widen the geography and circle of partners in external economic activity.

In 1996, the trade of Central Asian countries with the former Soviet republics (including their trade among themselves) exceeded in value terms, the total commodity exchange indicators for 1992 by more than 1.5 times, but 8.4 times behind the indicators for 1990. After the collapse, in 1992, the trade turnover of Kazakhstan with the countries of the CIS rose by 1.4 times, Turkmenistan by 1.5 times, Kirghizstan and Uzbekistan by 1.6 times and Tajikistan by 2.7 times. The export to CIS from all countries of Central Asia excluding Uzbekistan, surpassed the imports. As a result, if in 1992 their inter-republican trade produced a deficit of \$500 million, in 1996 there was a surplus of \$ 600 million¹⁴.

The trade-economic relations of the Central Asian states with the rest of the world grew more successfully than with the CIS. In case of imports from non-CIS countries were almost three times than those from

CIS. Economic crisis in the Russian Federation and lower world prices of the main export items of the economies of Central Asia resulted in a lowering of their external trade in 1998. Uzbekistan experienced a massive downturn in its foreign trade. Now the country has been diverting its exports and imports away from the commonwealth of independent states. Over the period 1994-98, the share of exports to CIS countries declined from 62 to 25 percent and of imports from 54 to 31 percent¹⁵.

Table 6

CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS EXTERNAL TRADE RELATIONS WITH SELECTED COUNTRIES (In millions of U.S. dollars)

1997	Kazakhstan		Kirghizstan		Tajikistan		Turkmenistan		Uzbekistan	
	Import/	Exports	Import/	Exports	Import/	Exports	Import/	Exports	Import/	Exports
China	47	442	46	34	12	8	13	2	68	127
Germany	368	353	37	23	11	8	2	18	483	121
India	20	33	3	--	1	--	1	--	15	2
Iran	9	83	4	6	20	3	60	25	197	40
Korea	130	130	5	--	14	41	1	--	743	--
Pakistan	--	3	10	--	10	--	9	1	43	1
Russia	1966	2157	170	121	99	88	292	142	962	923
Turkey	177	102	50	6	8	3	129	66	232	86
United States	202	139	33	9	20	8	130	2	258	37
Grand Total	4275	6366	713	555	633	586	1201	2551	4839	2881

Source: *Trade Statistics Year book 1998*, International Monetary Fund, Washington, 1998, PP.374-92.

The above table clearly indicates a great external trade is being experienced by Central Asian republics. The non-CIS countries began to expand widely to the markets of Central Asia. This expansion was also welcomed by the Central Asian countries which started an active search for new partners for international economic cooperation in order to reduce the dependence of their economies on foreign factors and provide a larger scope for freedom of their choice in economic decisions and mobilisation of resources not available earlier for their development.

Capital Inflows /Outflows :

It is important to note that in the flow of long-term foreign capital to the region, a lion's share belongs to non-CIS countries, whose investments are increasing year by year with direct investment also going up rapidly. A significant part of these investments is being finalised for the development of local energy and mineral resources as well as for transport network, connecting the countries of Central Asia with the new markets. In 1997, it was \$ 1.32 billion in Kazakhstan, \$ 121 million in Turkmenistan and \$ 812 million in Uzbekistan. In 1993-97, Kazakhstan received \$ 4.45 billion in FDI, equivalent to 5.3 percent of its GDP and well over 50 percent of the total FDI into Central Asia. In comparison, Turkmenistan

has received only \$ 445 million since 1992, or one tenth of that invested in Kazakhstan. The average ratio of FDI to GDP of Turkmenistan was 2.8 percent per year in 1992-97¹⁶. Investment continued to grow strongly in 1998 in most of the economies. In Uzbekistan, it grew by 12 percent in the first half of 1998 and accounted for one third of its GDP. In 1998, the government of Uzbekistan amended the 1994 law on foreign investment to guarantee the terms of agreements for foreign investors for 10 years and reduced the minimum size of a foreign investment¹⁷. However, the liberalisation of FDI policy regimes in combination with macro-economic stabilisation and establishment of the basic institutional infrastructure for functioning market economies has led to a noticeable increase in FDI inflows. In particular, countries rich in natural resources (especially oil and gas) attracted sizeable FDI (see table 7)

Table 7
CENTRAL ASIAN ECONOMIES: FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT
INFLOWS (millions of US Dollars)

Country	1994	1995	1996
Kazakhstan	635	859	1100
Kirghizstan	45	61	31
Tajikistan	12	13	13
Turkmenistan	103	233	129
Uzbekistan	73	-24	50

Source: *European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Transition Report 1997*, London, 1997, P. 126.

All the economies of Central Asia have had access to the financial resources of the international financial institutions. Since 1996, Kazakhstan drew the entire \$417.6 million of its loan of IMF. Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan and Tajikistan have been implementing reform programmes with the support of IMF. The main objectives of the IMF programmes were to assist the economies of Central Asia in implementing their macro-economic reform, restoring macro-economic stability, implementing transparent privatisation programmes, reforming the financial sector and restructuring the banking system. In addition, the programmes were expected to contribute to lessening the adverse impact of reforms on the poor by protecting budgetary provisions for health, education and the social safety net¹⁸.

Some of the projects were approved for IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), IDA (International Development Agency), Interim Trust Fund, in the fiscal year 1998 by the World Bank for reform on agriculture, electric power and other energy, multi sector, public sector management, social protection, urban development, water supply and sanitation of Central Asian countries¹⁹.

Impact on Economy and Society:

Following the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, the Central Asian republics abandoned central planning in favour of market-oriented economic systems. Since then, they have had to cope with formidable challenges to carry out the necessary reforms and restructuring in order to embark on a new development path. Production systems and trading links of these countries suffered severe disruptions. In consequence, they have experienced a drastic decline in output accompanied by hyperinflation, high levels of unemployment, reduced social security provisions, widening income and wealth differences, poverty and inter-ethnic conflict in society²⁰.

During the first half of the 1990s, the GDPs of the Central Asian republics declined by more than half their 1989 levels, while prices rose by a factor of 1500-2000. During the period 1991-95, these countries experienced an average annual decline in GDP ranging from 10 percent in Turkmenistan to 3.7 percent in Uzbekistan as the lowest rate with an annual average. With the exception of Tajikistan, the countries appeared to have ended the worst part of the recession, with some growing positively by 1995-96. By the first half of 1996, the recession had come to an end in Kirghizstan and Uzbekistan as well with real GDP growth of 0.3 and 1.4 percent respectively, compared with the same period in 1995. The 1996

annual growth in Kirghizstan could reach as high as 3.4 percent²¹. Positive change in economic performance in some other countries in the first half of 1996 were also noticeable. Tajikistan, where output had again contracted by more than 20 percent, remained an exception.

In 1993 and 1994, complete economic reforms in Kazakhstan and Kirghizstan encountered serious problems. Many government reform policies could not be implemented, mainly because with the accelerated rate of rising inflation. In 1994, the GDP of Kirghizstan decreased 25 percent from that of 1993. Sixty percent of the state-owned enterprises had to stop production. The unemployment figure rose to 300,000. The collection of tax revenue reached only 58 percent of the goal. There was a huge deficit in the government budget. In 1993, the rate of inflation in Kazakhstan was an unprecedented 3000 percent. In comparison with 1990, the prices of consumer goods in Kirghizstan rocketed 2027 times, and in Uzbekistan 1473 times²². In view of such a situation, both the Kazakhstan and Kirghizstan governments had to slow down the pace of their transition to a market economy. Both governments readjusted their reform programme and strengthened state intervention in the economy. In 1994, inflation in Kirghizstan was brought down to 5.5 percent from 25.4 in 1993. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, on the other hand, continued

their gradualist approach to their transition to market economy, with an emphasis on the state's role of regulating and controlling the market. The Turkmenistan government even returned to the practice of a state-controlled pricing system: the prices of some commodities which had been liberalised earlier were again set by the government. Economic reforms in Tajikistan started to gather pace only after the civil war ended. Its transition to a market economy has also encountered a number of problems²³.

In only a few years, the transition of Central Asian economies to a market economy has made some progress, inspite of all the difficulties and problems encountered. In general, the economies of Kazakhstan and Kirghizstan have been marketised more than others. In 1993, de-nationalised and privatised enterprises made up 25 percent of the total in Kazakhstan and 22 percent of the total in Kyrgyzstan. Most of them were small commercial businesses in catering and other tertiary industries. In early 1995, private ownership increased to account for fifty percent of the national economy in both countries. A securities market was also emerging. In Uzbekistan, in 1994, there were more than 49,000 private enterprises and businesses. The statistics show that private ownership accounted for sixteen percent in industry, 25.2 percent in construction and

82.4 percent in commerce. Turkmenistan was also implementing a privatisation plan in 1995. More than 2000 state-owned enterprises were to be privatised, of which 1850 were commercial and catering businesses²⁴.

Reforms in Uzbekistan started with agriculture. To transform the existing socio-economic relations in rural Uzbekistan based on agricultural collectives, the Uzbekistan government first transferred the right of use of fifteen percent of the land to private farmers. Recovery in output, where it occurred, came mainly from the industrial sector. Gross industrial output grew strongly in Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan in the first six months of 1996. Tajikistan experienced further declines.

Available data on the sectoral composition of GDP showed radical changes taking place in all sectors. Industry and construction have experienced a sharp fall in their contribution to GDP since 1991. The share of agriculture in GDP has risen in Kirghizstan, partly reflecting the decline of the industrial sector. Kazakhstan, on the other hand, experienced a sharp fall in the agricultural share of GDP. The agricultural share in GDP showed a more moderate decline in other countries. The services sector has been the fastest-expanding sector in all the countries. Services accounted for almost 50 percent in Kazakhstan and more than 30 percent in other Central Asian Countries in 1995. The banking and

financial sector underwent a deep institutional and functional reform and their weight in the economy grew considerably. In addition, private sector activities appeared in many areas of services and recorded the fastest growth²⁵.

Changes in the sectoral shares of GDP resulted in changing employment patterns. The changes in the share of the main sectors in total employment were similar for all the countries - a significant decline in Industry and agriculture and an increase in the services sector. The countries have experienced a sharp decline in total employment and high rates of underemployment, reflecting the continued decline in industrial and agricultural production as well as the impact of restructuring. The cumulative fall in employment over the period 1991-1994 varied from 4.2 percent in Tajikistan to 11.9 percent in Kazakhstan. Open unemployment has become more common in all the countries. The number of unemployed persons increased to double in Uzbekistan and more than tripled in Kazakhstan and Kirghizstan between 1993 and 1995²⁶.

Participation in globalisation processes requires a healthy and educated population²⁷. For example, a country with poor health conditions cannot be expected to maintain the level of productivity required of its workforce in order to preserve and enhance its competitiveness in the

global economy. The development, acquisition and diffusion of modern technology require a critical mass of skilled workers as well as scientific, technical, research and management personnel. Indicators related to health and education are thus an important part of the initial conditions which are likely to impinge on a country's ability to integrate with the global and the regional economies.

Per capita income level is often regarded as an inadequate indicator of development. However, from the data in table 8, one could easily see that indicators of social and human resources development, such as adult literacy, infant mortality and life expectancy, closely correspond to per capita incomes. This correspondence is also visible if the countries ranks in terms of per capita income levels are compared with their ranks in terms of human development index (HDI) values.

Table 8

SELECTED ASPECTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN
THE CENTRAL ASIAN REGION

(Human development index (HDI) rank has been calculated on the basis of
Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) region)

Rank	Per Capita GDP/GNP (US\$)	Population (million)	Annual average GDP growth rate (% of GDP)	Savings rate (% of GDP)	Investment rate (% of GDP)	Budgetary balance/annual GDP (%)	Average inflation rates (%)	Adult literacy rate (%)	Infant Mortality rate (per 1000)	Life Expectancy at birth (years)	HDI value
Country	1995	1995	1991-1995	1995	1995	1991-95	1991-95	1995	1994	1994	1993
Kazakhstan	1560 ^d	17.1	-14.4	20.0 ^b	24.0 ^b	-2.9 ^c	1068.3	98 ^d	22	69.5	13
Turkmenistan	1390 ^f	4.1	-9.9	--	--	2.4 ^c	1306.8 ^c	98	48	66.5	17
Uzbekistan	970 ^d	22.8	-3.7	24.0 ^b	23.0 ^b	-10.2 ^c	722.8	97 ^d	32	69.5	19
Kirghizstan	850 ^d	4.7	-12.0	14.0 ^b	30.0 ^b	-12.4 ^c	545.1	97 ^d	27	70	22
Tajikistan	470 ^d	6.1	-16.4	--	--	-17.2 ^c	789.9	97 ^d	40	66.6	24

Source: United Nations, Economic and Social Survey of the Asia and the Pacific, New York, 1997, P.22.

a The ranks are based on descending order of human development index (HDI) value estimated in UNDP, Human Development Report 1996.

b 1994

c 1991-1994

d 1993

e 1992-1995

f 1992

In terms of social conditions, the transition to a market economy in Central Asia was started without adequate support or sufficient preparation.

The break-up of the former Soviet Union and rapid political changes in the Central Asian states threw the Central Asian societies into disarray. In other words, the reforms had to be carried out regardless of existing social conditions. Eventually, it has been proved that social conditions also present an obstacle to a transition to market economy. The transition to market economy is therefore a complicated social engineering process affecting social mobility, social status and social relations in a society. Furthermore, the patriarchal clan system, and in some cases Islamic tradition condition the understanding of markets and the market economy by the general public. The dominant tradition and many other subcultural traditions are not compatible with the concept of a market economy. Ethnic diversity and conflicts between ethnic groups affect social cohesiveness, which is vital for any success in economic reforms.

Poverty :

Further, the situation is being more complicated by the existence of large scale poverty. First, there are developing social tensions between rich and poor and a subsequent widening of gap between the 'haves' and 'have-nots'. It has been observed that there are drastic decline in the ability of the Central Asian governments to maintain minimal levels of public

services and social welfare protection. While most of the investments are narrowly concentrated in the energy sector, they have yet to generate any substantial pay-offs for the rest of the economy, or to have a significant effect-upon living standards. According to the Red Cross, 73 percent of the population of Kazakhstan live below the government defined poverty line of \$50 per person per month. In Kirghizstan the real income of citizens decreased by 83.6 percent between 1992 and 1996. According to Jangoroz Kanimetov, chairman of the parliamentary committee on Social affairs, 41 percent of city dwellers and 75 percent of rural residents are poor, receiving less than \$ 26 per month²⁸. In autumn 1997, Kazakhstan survived its most politicised labour unrest, when the worker from southern Kazakhstan protested against unemployment, wage arrears and declining living conditions (lack of gas and electricity, outbreaks of cholera and tuberculosis) and were supported by their counter parts in the north. But at the same time, the life styles and privileges of the small group of people holding a form of government remained intact and the government managed to find funds to move the capital from Almaty to Astana, at a total estimated cost of between \$ 500 million and \$1 billion²⁹.

Secondly, Islamic radicalism appears to be increasingly prominent in Central Asia. The social grounds for the emergence of a radical movement

of some kind, with a quest for social justice, are not lacking. The cause of this emergence of radical Islamic groups may have deeper roots in lack of social justice, poverty, loss of coherent belief system and reaction against disorder and criminality.

Before the dis-integration of the USSR, the Central Asian republics opted for the nation state³⁰ model of nation building in a multi-ethnic society like Central Asia, imitating England, USA, France, New Zealand (Robertson views it as “compression of the world”) ignoring their multi-national, multi-ethnic population; which encourages nationalistic feelings among the native Central Asian populations and fueling hatred towards minority people. The Central Asian Countries are also providing the privileges and rights, directly or indirectly to the titular groups which is widening income and wealth among the nationalities.

By the end of the 80's ethnic minorities in Central Asian republics came under increasing pressure, leading to emigration. Forms of ethnic assertion include restoring traditional name to cities and landmarks, revising history to reflect a national perspective and observing national and religious festivals as official ones. In Central Asia, there were three conditions leading to rising nationalism and ethnic conflict: socio-economic inequality among ethnic groups in a region; economic inequality among

regions of a unified state, especially if a different ethnic group is predominant in each region; and worsening of economic conditions in the region, especially if the decline is worse than that in other regions of the unified state. Our study has shown that these economic factors were determining factors, perhaps more important than any other factor, in the increase of nationalist sentiments and ethnic tensions in Central Asia. It is often a fact that social conditions have become an obstacle to further reforms on the process of globalisation and modernisation in post-Soviet Central Asia.

NOTES

¹ United Nations, *Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific*, New York, 1999, P.138.

² Starting in the early 1970s, the relatively tight restrictions on international capital movements which were still in existence in many industrial countries began to be removed. IMF, *World Economic Outlook*, Washington DC, 1997 (May), P.60.

³ Baldev Raj Nayar, "Globalisation Nationalism and Economic Policy Reform", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.32, No.30, 1997 (26 July), P.PE-93.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., P.PE-94.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Askar Zh. Shomanov, "Social Modernisation of Kazakh Society," *Contemporary Central Asia*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1997, P.7.

¹¹ A.El'Yanov, "Central Asia: Transformation Towards Globalisation," *Contemporary Central Asia*, Vol.2, No.1, 1998, PP.21-31.

¹² Ibid., P.29.

¹³ Ibid., P.22.

¹⁴ Ibid., P.25.

¹⁵ United Nations, *Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific*, New York, 1999, P.58.

¹⁶ Ibid., P.59.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., P.60.

¹⁹ *The World Annual Report, 1998*, Washington DC, USA, PP.117-37.

²⁰ United Nations, *Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific*, New York, 1997, P.34.

²¹ Ibid., PP.34-35.

²² Zhuangzhi Sun, "Central Asia's Transition to a Market Economy: An Analytical Comparison with China" in Yongjin Zhang and Rouben Azizian (eds.), *Ethnic Challenges beyond Borders: Chinese and Russian Perspectives of the Central Asian Conundrum*, USA, Macmillan Press, 1998, P.153.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., P.154.

²⁵ United Nations, *Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific*, New York, 1997, P.35.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., P.21.

²⁸ Anna Matveeva, "Democratisation, legitimacy and Political change in Central Asia", *International Affairs*, Vol.75 (1), 1999, PP.39-43.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ A nation- state constitutes a body of people with common interests, with a historical tradition of living together in peace and harmony, with generally common interests. If ethnicity be taken as the basis of constituting a nation, state, the US would have to be excluded from the concept; and no one in his right mind would do so. What constitutes a nation state? It is partly history; historical realities of the feeling of "oneness" of a people. Historical developments must be recognised.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGES IN CENTRAL ASIA

SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Within a brief period of Soviet rule in the history of Central Asia, there had been a tremendous socio-cultural changes witnessed despite its drawbacks. Modernisation of the Central Asian society did include education, literacy, modern health system, developed transport communication system, urbanisation. Above all, Central Asian modernisation had created an indigenous skilled work force. This process also included great contribution of women in the fields of banking, telecommunication, agriculture and health service sectors. Nonetheless, the society was still fighting against the patriarchal beliefs and practices, which was prevalent in Central Asia. Patriarchal system did not allow women to work outside except household activities. But, this situation in Central Asia has been under the process of change towards a more secular, liberalised, and new ethos and values. The Soviet modernisation process also aimed at creating an egalitarian society where social differentiation based on class, ethnicity, gender, region, religion would not exist¹.

There is no doubt that Russian culture had a vital impact on Central Asia's culture with the emergence of modernisation process. The campaign of literacy programme and compulsory education of Soviet government with an ambition to use and spread of Russian language among the Central Asians was not accidental. At first, there was a growing dis-satisfaction among the indigenous Central Asian people. Later on, they adjusted with the advantage of this language in the field of knowledge and education. The Central Asian nationalities were accorded their territorial status by the Soviets, which helped them to preserve and advance their language and culture. Infrastructural facilities were developed like radio, television, print media in local languages, books, schools, colleges and universities, art and theatre, film halls, etc. which encouraged the local culture to flourish. It also helped local languages and cultures to flourish.

According to Giddens, globalisation is "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa"². This idea places particular emphasis on the phenomenon that the effects of an event can reach to the other side of the globe, resulting change in the society.

Globalisation highlights a series of inter-related changes that may have generated a set of new conditions³. In this context, the present study revolves around social modernisation (education, literacy, demographic trend, urbanisation, health, unemployment, transport and communication, gender issues) and cultural modernisation made after independence.

Cultural Modernisation :

“Cultural modernity”, according to Anthony D. King, refers to questions of equity in regard to gender, race, ethnicity, affirmations of identity, ecologically progressive transportation systems, security and employment, which would give a totally different set of criteria for judging which of the world's cities could be said to be the most modern⁴. Friedman argued that "Cultural globalisation" is a product of the global system generated in the transformation of the centers of such systems. From the global point of view, culture is a typical product of Western modernity that consists in transforming difference into essence. Culture, a modern tool, applied to the global context in which it emerged, generates an essentialisation of the world, the formation of a shape or outline of different cultures, ethnic groups or races, depending upon the historical period, and the professional identities of

identifiers⁵. Globalisation is especially manifested and exemplified in the “rise of the new global culture” which penetrated across the world without public discussion or evaluation. So, there is no question of separateness of Central Asian Countries from the global scenario of culture. The rich fabric and styles of local dress are replaced by global jeans⁶. Traditional foods with all their cultural and symbolic meanings compete with Mac Donalds hamburgers and Kentucky Fried chicken. Legends and myths and story telling are stamped out by global television, which often changes the traditional values. But the international spread of cultures has been as important as the spread of economic processes. International ideas and values are being mixed with national identities through global television channel like B.B.C., CNN, etc., whose programmes are being mostly translated to local languages. Some TV programmes are also being indigenously produced. Through this global TV programme and mass media communication; East, West, North, South and Central Countries of the world are being integrated with styles in dress, sports, music, eating habits, social and cultural attitudes have becoming global trends⁷.

The US soft drinks giant, Coca-Cola, is to invest 15 m-20 m dollars in a new plant in Tajikistan. The setting up of the plant in the capital, Dushanbe, was discussed at a meeting between President Emomali

Rahmonov and the regional director of the Coca-Cola company for the Caucasus and Central Asia, Ahmet Burak, on 24th December 1998⁸. Burak told reporters he hoped the plant, which will produce 48 m liters of drinks per year, would begin operating by September 1999. In Central Asia mobile cellular telephone subscribers are increasing, as the statistics for Central Asian Countries in the table below shows.

Table 9

MOBILE CELLULAR TELEPHONES & SUBSCRIBERS: 1994-1996

Country	1994	1995
Kazakhstan	400	4600
Kirghizstan	100	N.A.
Tajikistan	--	--
Turkmenistan	500	1000
Uzbekistan	902	3731

Source : *The Europa World Year Book*, London 1999, Vol.2. PP.2029-3865.

Under the present social and cultural conditions of Central Asia, the main hope in the process of formation of national self-awareness is put on mass-media, particularly, on radio and T.V. For example, the programme of Tajik radio and TV has a great-impact on the process of formation of national self-awareness. There are programmes such as: "Hoki Vatan", "Hazoru Jak Kornoma", "Vasfi Vatan", "Zi Ishki Vatan", "Sapeda", "Mardi Hunar", "Rasmi Hubi Tojikon", "Ravzana", "Andaleb" and so on⁹.

These programmes are from the main components of national character, such as; national pride, love to motherland, hospitality, generosity, admiration for rich cultural heritage. Moreover these programmes are called to promote the enrichment of man's spiritual world, adoption of high ideals and values, formation of self-regulation. The other positive aspect of the medium is that it helps to root out such negative phenomena as localism, clan conflict and create a favourable environment for adoption of unique national identity.

Mass media has the powerful influence upon public consciousness and particularly at the moment of change of society's integration with global system, the replacement of ideology and the acceptance of new socio-political views of global world.

After the disintegration of USSR, the people of Central Asian Countries have access to literature dealing with concepts like freedom, democracy, human rights, social justice and civil society¹⁰. Although, concepts like 'human rights' 'civil society' are not so much strong and powerful in Central Asia due to loose governance, still these values are in attention and are being worked out by the leadership in their own contact. The dream of human rights embodied in the French Revolution has shaped history throughout the world in the two centuries. Due to the economic

crisis, all cultural and leisure institutions, including clubs, libraries and museums, suffer from acute material and financial difficulties. During 1993-96, some 200 libraries and over 100 clubs have been closed in Kirghizstan¹¹.

Education:

Education was badly affected by the economic crisis of Central Asia after independence. Due to reduction of funding in Kirghizstan, over two thirds of the pre-school institutions have been closed, which has a negative impact on the beginners of formal schooling. After the increase of paid services in secondary and tertiary education, compulsory and higher education has declined. The financial crisis in education of Kazakhstan was particularly severe in 1993. In 1993, the government expenses for education were 8.1% of GDP, falling to 3.3% in 1996. It is estimated that forty percent of all school facilities in the nation were considered in need of serious repair in 1996. An extensive damage has been done to some secondary schools as there is the lack of winter heating fuel burstwater pipes and heating equipment. Teachers in 1995 earned approximately \$ 45 and were rarely paid on time. Today, a teacher's salary does not pay enough to support even the average monthly household food budget in a

country where education was previously highly valued and where food was comparatively inexpensive¹². Ministry of Education authorities admit that money problems are the major obstacle in returning the education system to the good shape. However, in 1996 United Nations study found the general prestige of primary teachers to have fallen significantly over the past several years, leading to critical shortage in foreign languages, mathematics, and science teachers¹³.

In Kazakhstan current school organisational types are many. At this level there is some innovation. The Law on Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan was issued by the government in 1992 as an effort to underscore their intent to guarantee individual rights under the new constitution, and to stimulate new educational models. According to the law, the Ministry of Education would continue in a supervisory role, but different types of secondary schools and higher education institutions would be encouraged and supported¹⁴.

There are various new secondary school types (private) that have emerged in Kazakhstan. The number of private schools in the republic is extremely small in comparison with the state schools: only 0.1% of the total number of secondary school pupils go to private schools. Yet within this narrow band private education has experienced impressive growth: from

1994 to 1995, the number of private schools increased almost 250%, the number of students in them 300%, and the number of teachers 130%. The majority of private-school students are in the city of Almaty and Semipalatinsk and Karaganda oblasts (37.8%, 18.4% and 16.5% respectively)¹⁵.

In the past five years there has also been a strong tendency to reorganise some of these schools with a "deeper" curriculum into "gymnasia" and "lycea". According to government statistics, there were 131 gymnasia (104 in cities, 27 in the countryside) and 112 lycea (101 in cities, 11 in the countryside) in 1995-96. Between 1994 and 1995 the number of students in these schools rose from 93,300 to 122,200 with the greatest percentage (15.5%) attending Almaty schools¹⁶.

After many years of domination by the "Great Soviet State", the creation of the five newly independent states has attracted the attention of the world to Central Asia once again. They now have new and very different relations with the non-Central Asian world, as compared to Soviet days. They have a very different attitude towards their national identity. As newly independent states, they are all trying to find ways to solve essential problems of political and economic developments without the guidance of the Soviet Union and without its interference. In this difficult

period the preparation of well educated specialists in the fields of economics and management is especially important. In this stage of transition the exchange of students and scholars and the training of specialists play a crucial role, and this raises new questions concerning the role of educational exchange.

A number of American organisations such as the Council on International Exchange of Scholars (CIES), the international Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) and the American Council for Collaboration in Education and Language Study (ACTR/ACCELS) perform important roles in both leadership and representation. The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the United States Information Agency (USIA) administers U.S. government support to the various exchange of persons and programmes in Central Asia.

In addition to such broad programmes, there are institutions that support targeted exchanges. As a result of the initiative by George F.Kennan, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington D.C. instituted the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies in 1974. The Kennan Institute is a national research center committed to improving American expertise and knowledge about the former Soviet Union. In addition to supporting scholarship, it serves as an

important cultural bridge connecting the modern academic worlds, hosting fellows, research scholars, guest scholars, guest speakers, and conference participants from the different parts of the former Soviet Union.

In 1996, also in the U.S. capital, the Central Asian Institute(CAI) at the John Hopkins University's Foreign Policy Institute opened its doors for scholars and specialists dealing with the countries of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. The CAI serves as an information clearing house and a venue for major conferences, and it also hosts frequent "Forums" featuring scholars, diplomats and its own visiting fellows from the region in interaction with Washington's policy community.

In addition to sending scholars and students abroad, Central Asia also receives many students and researchers from foreign countries. From 1993 to 1995 Central Asian scholars received 83 Fulbright scholarships¹⁷.

Between 1986 and the present, the changes in social and cultural life that have occurred in the Central Asian states show that the first effort to bring about major social change is being made through institutional means, and that therefore educational reform remains an important ingredient in the domestic and international relations of the Central Asian states.

The deficiencies in scientific systems and technologies still remain, but the process of communication in this field has been greatly assisted by an important group of scientists and scholars. During the 1990's the terms "global education" and "internationalisation" of science have come to be used more frequently. Scientific knowledge is being distributed at a global level and this has had a far reaching impact in an increasingly interdependent world.

The period 1992 to 1995 witnesses a massive expansion of international assistance efforts by major powers. Nowadays, the government of Uzbekistan participates in joint educational projects with the U.S., Great Britain, Germany, France and Turkey. One example is the European Community's Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS) programme.

Under this programme in 1995 a joint project on educational and training exchange between the Tashkent State University of Communication and Belgium's technical universities was established. The main aim of this project is to train specialists and graduate-level exchange students in the sphere of communications systems and modern technology. Representatives from Uzbekistan and Belgium established a training center in Tashkent to educate young specialists and

also to give them an opportunity to go abroad and conduct their research in Belgium's technical universities¹⁸. In addition, another joint project, between Uzbekistan and Great Britain was established under the TACIS programs in Tashkent in 1995. This project, "Tarikh", is dually administered by Tashkent State University and the University of Exeter of Great Britain. The programme also cooperates with a number of universities in France, Germany and Denmark, and includes English language training, summer programmes and short-term programmes for junior lecturers from 3 to 6 months, and for one year research fellowships. This project provides new computers and modern communications system to faculty, and trains the students in modern on-line systems. The modern equipment and the visits of students and lecturers to European universities are funded by the European Union's programme of technical assistance to the countries of the CIS¹⁹.

It is generally acknowledged that in hiring, preference is usually given to Western-trained and Western-educated persons because the experience and qualifications acquired in the West are very important in the development of newly independent countries. Many of the prestigious foreign companies now working in Central Asia prefer young specialists with American or European training experience.

Similar exchange efforts by the British Council office in Tashkent give young students and specialists the opportunity to acquire Western education and to understand the culture, traditions and heritage of Western countries. There is much evidence that such programmes provide not only education and broader understanding, but also equip the participants to assume positions of greater responsibility in their government and society. There is a large number of Western educated and trained individuals in power in Uzbekistan today. The exchange experience of these individuals helped them to establish contacts with people in many countries of the non-Central Asian world. This experience guides their performance in the international arena and, in turn, helps Uzbekistan enter the world community.

Women:

From ancient times, Uzbek women have earned fame with their poems, dramas and books, but there are no female diplomats of Uzbekistan abroad and only a small number of Uzbek women in higher positions in the national government. It has been witnessed that the position of women in the society is continuously deteriorating due to extreme household burden on women, patriarchal system, religious fundamentalism,

reappearing of veil system. Some women are withdrawing from public life. Economic transition has been affecting women more than men. Women who are choosing to work outside household are being forced to stay at home due to excessive patriarchy and because they cannot afford child care. Women are also being discriminated in Job advertisements and also job security (on the basis of age) in Central Asia. Many women have been dropped out of the labour force and unemployment share is increasing. But much of the decline represents women being forced to stay at home by more domestic responsibilities or becoming discouraged workers. It has been reported by Kyrgyz women that there has been tremendous stress of adapting to a new culture. They report that selling home-grown produce is stressful in Kyrgyz culture, since according to Kyrgyz culture, a household with extra food always gave - not sold - food to neighbours in need. There is also report of lower wages for women as compared to men²⁰.

Table 10**WOMEN'S ACCESS TO EDUCATION, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE:**

(HDI Rank) Medium human development	Female Students enrolment in tertiary field. per 100000 women. 1995	Women in Govt.			Female economic activity rate (as % of male rate) 1995
		Total (%) 1995	At ministerial level (%)1995	At sub- ministerial level(%) 1995	
Turkmenistan	1,960	4	4	4	83
Uzbekistan	3,529	3	3	3	86
Kirghizstan	1,145	8	4	11	87
Tajikistan	1,240	4	7	3	77
Kazakhstan	3,032	1	3	0	86

Source: UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 1998, PP. 187-88.

There is a close connection between globalisation and the burden on women. The pressures on women as household caregivers increase because the public service system fails to meet their needs for social services. Their access to health and education services diminishes just when they need it most.

Population Dynamics:

The emerging demographic dynamics (size, growth, age, structure of the population and its distribution particularly between rural and urban areas) will continue to have important implications for development and participation in the globalisation and regionalisation processes. The ability of individual countries to adapt, adjust to and

benefit from the process of globalisation will be conditioned by their specific demographic situation. Globalisation itself, through its impact on various factors, such as female employment, rural-to-urban migration will influence demographic change in the region and their impact, especially on health, education and employment, which in turn, affect a country's ability and willingness to participate in the Globalisation and regionalisation process.

Table 11

ESTIMATES OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1995-2020, AND RATES OF GROWTH OF POPULATION: 1960-2020

Country Area	Population in Thousands		Annual compound growth rate (%)					
	1995	2020	1960- 1970	1970- 1980	1980- 1990	1990- 2000	2000- 2010	2010- 2020
Central Asia	54889	80321						
Kazakhstan	17111	21014	2.8	1.3	1.1	0.6	0.9	0.8
Kirghizstan	4745	6728	3.2	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.2
Tajikistan	6101	10886	3.5	3.0	2.9	2.8	2.4	2.1
Turkmenistan	4099	6267	3.2	2.7	2.5	2.2	1.8	1.4
Uzbekistan	22843	35426	3.4	2.9	2.5	2.2	1.9	1.4

Source: United Nations, *Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific*, New York, 1997, P.64.

However, the above table shows that the rate of growth of population is declining as compared with 1960-1980 and 2000-2020. But the number of population is increasing in Central Asia. In other words life expectancy and health status of Central Asian people have increased.

Dynamics of Inter-ethnic Relations:

In Central Asia all the republics are multi-ethnic society. Due to inter-ethnic conflict, foreign nationalities are migrating to their native countries. This is clear from the series of ethnic riots that have rocked Central Asia since 1989. Thousands of Russian people have been leaving Central Asia since the late 1980s. By the end of 1992, nearly 150,000 Russian speaking people (Ukrainians, Germans and Koreans) left Tajikistan. In Kirghizstan about 70 percent of the emigrants consisted of hard-working and highly qualified people, and this represents a severe loss to the economy. Between 1990-96, about 2,10,284 Russians left the republic and 15,976 Kyrgyz came into Kirghizstan²¹.

There has been a large scale migration of ethnic groups from Tajikistan and Kirghizstan due to ethnic riots among indigenous ethnic groups. During the Soviet years, the position of the Russians defined the self-identity of the Central Asians. However, after independence, the

hegemonic position of Russians have changed. This process has the danger of fragmenting ethnic identity and weakening inter-ethnic relations. Now the ethnic identity of Central Asians is determined less by anti-Russian sentiments, than by sentiments against neighbours or between two indigenous neighbours²².

Conclusion:

After disintegration of the USSR, the Central Asian republics have opened and liberalised their society on the basis of Western Values and ideas leading to the changing of social structure and culture, conducive for development. Most of the Central Asian people are now oriented towards change. A large number of Western educated people have been engaged for the development of society and culture. In Central Asia educational and training exchange with other countries are taking place. There is a large number of Western educated and trained individuals in Central Asia today. However, the status of women in society has not drastically changed. They still occupied higher positions in the national government. No such big ethnic conflict are taking place in Central Asia now a days.

Although there are some drawbacks to the development of Central Asia socio-culturally, still Central Asia is seeking revive from these setbacks through global support and help.

NOTES

¹ Ajay Patnaik "Socio-Cultural Changes in Post-Soviet Central Asia", in N.N. Vohra (ed.), *Culture, Society and Politics in Central Asia and India*, Delhi, Shipra Publications, 1999, P. 198.

² Markku Wilenius, "Sociology, Modernity and the Globalisation of Environmental Change", *International Sociology*, Vol. 14, No.1, 1999 (March), P.43.

³ R.J.Barry Jones, "Globalisation and Change in the International Political Economy", *International Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 2, 1999 (April), PP.357-67.

⁴ Anthony D.King, "The Time and Spaces of Modernity (or who Needs Postmodernism?)" in Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson(eds.), *Global Modernities*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1995, P.118.

⁵ Jonathan Friedman, "Global System, Globalisation and the Parameters of Modernity", in Mike Featherstone, Scott Last and Roland Robertson (eds.), *Global Modernities*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1995 PP.80-81.

⁶ Patrick A.Taran, "Globalisation, Migration and Human Rights", *Journal of Peace Studies*, Vol.6, No.1, 1999 (Jan.-Feb.), P.11.

⁷ UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 1997, P.83.

⁸ *Summary of World Broadcast*, 1998, 30 Dec, SU/3420 GI4.

⁹ M.Sultonzoda, "The Rate of Mass-Media in the formation of Self-awareness (Radio and TV)", Proceedings of the II International Scientific Practical Conference, *Place of Tajikistan in New International Order*, 1997, PP.116-17.

¹⁰ Adam Hochschile, "Globalisation and Culture", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 33, No.21, 1998 (23 May), PP.1235-38.

¹¹ Ajay Patnaik, "Socio-Cultural Changes in Post-Soviet Central Asia", in N.N.Vhora (ed.), *Culture, Society and Politics in Central Asia and India*, Delhi, Shipra Publications, 1999, P.209.

¹² *Ibid.*, P.208.

¹³ Alan J. Young, and Galina Valyayeva, "Post- Soviet Secondary School Reform in Kazakhstan: The views of 149 classroom teachers", *Central Asia Monitor*, 1997, No.3, p.25.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., P.26.

¹⁷ Dilorom Nishanova, "The Impact of Educational Exchange in Central Asia", *Central Asia Monitor*, 1997, No.5, P.29.

¹⁸ Ibid.,P.30.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ World Development Report, Oxford, University Press, 1996, P.72.

²¹ Ajay Patnaik, "Socio-Cultural Changes in Post Soviet Central Asia" in N.N.Vohra (ed.), *Culture Society and Politics in Central Asia and India*, Delhi, Shipra Publications, 1999, PP.199-206.

²² Ibid.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

In the introduction, it was made clear that in undertaking the whole exercise, five objectives were kept in mind-conceptual and theoretical understanding of 'globalisation' and 'modernisation', secondly, to analyse different models of 'modernisation' in Central Asia, thirdly, the impact of globalisation on economic, social and ethno-cultural spheres, fourthly, critical analysis of government's initiative in pursuing globalisation through world agencies, fifthly, ability of multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi lingual, Central Asian people to develop their society. Care has been taken to address all these five objectives. Though each chapter has its own concluding remark, here again, a total summing up of the whole exercise is attempted to make the observations more focused and clear.

The first chapter started with the main focus on presenting the conceptual and theoretical understanding of 'globalisation' and 'modernisation'. The term 'globalisation' is being fashioned to replace the term 'internationalisation' since mid 1980's. It is a concept of cross-border human interaction covering variety of social, economic, cultural and political' relations. It is a concept that calls for inter-disciplinary approach to analysing society. Globalisation has been the successor to the concept

of modernity and post-modernity in the understanding of socio-cultural change in the society. According to Giddens "globalisation" is nothing but the natural consequence of "modernity". According to Robertson, Globalisation is a social system having four subsystems: 1. Economic (adaptive function); 2. Political (mobilisation for collective purposes); 3 Social (integrative function); 4. Cultural (providing the governing value system). Robertson argues that already for some time there has clearly been a process of social system building at the global level. According to him, there are two concepts relating to cultural level of "globalisation" namely, 'compression of the world' and 'global consciousness'. Giddens' view on globalisation is not contradictory to Robertson. According to him "Globalisation defined as the intensification of world wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa". Modernisation theories are problem solving and policy oriented theories of social change and economic development. In conjunction with globalisation, modernity provides a structure and periodisation. These concepts, whether centered on capitalism or modernity, of globalisation begins in and comes from Europe and the West. In effect, it is the theory of westernisation by another name,

which brings all the problems associated with Eurocentrism, historically and culturally.

In the second chapter, it was shown that in the history of Central Asia during Soviet times, modernisation process was undertaken despite some draw backs. From the early 1920's, efforts were made by the Soviet leadership to develop the industrial sector on modern basis. Subsequently, they had brought a series of reforms as land and water reform in 1920-21 and again in 1925-29, secondly, the agricultural cooperation and collectivisation since 1929. On the other hand, industrial development was steadily progressing. Some factories were shifted to Tashkent from the Russian part to give a boost to industrial growth. However, industries developed very fast in Central Asia, faster than the average for the country, especially since 1928. This changed the character of the urban centres into industrial towns. In this period there was a need for quick industrialisation to remove the backwardness of Central Asia. As a result the skilled technicians from different European countries increased. Due to this, there were faster growth of larger cities with ethnic heterogeneity but slower process of cultural change. The education and public health standards in Central Asia have improved so strikingly that the comparison is no longer with neighbouring Asian countries, but

with the countries of Western Europe. But the most serious problem was the relative influence of tradition and customs on the indigenous people of Central Asia.

Most of the Central Asia is now oriented towards change. A relatively educated and modernised elite class has emerged which is now trying to transform and develop the society on the global standards.

The third chapter discussed about understanding globalisation and its impact on economy and society. So, globalisation is a multi-faceted concept. This makes any analysis on the impact of globalisation on Central Asian states a complex task. The Central Asian states are gradually trying to become a part of the globalised world, bringing in new ideas on free-market economy, democracy, human rights, civil society and many other areas from the developed world. It is in the throes of change, They are judiciously trying to adapt themselves in their own set-up. International social, cultural and economic organisations are beginning to replace their national counterparts in Central Asia. These socio-cultural organisations draw heavily on tradition, which was strongly influenced by the process of nation-state formation in Central Asia.

The dreams of modernisation are coming true in many parts of the world, even in remote areas of underdeveloped countries. Central Asian

countries are not out of this process. These countries are following Western model of nation building adapting "nation state" model as the basis. Central Asian countries have recognised the values of democracy by moving towards democratic form of government, democratic values and ethos in the society. They have accepted the "market economic system" to be integrated with the global economic space. The government of Central Asian countries have recognised multi-party political system to strengthen the values of democracy. Since 1986, Central Asian republics entered the process of transformation from administrative-command system into a more democratic one in the socio-economic, cultural and political spheres, which are still continuing. More and more people of Central Asia have come to accept the global trend in their social consciousness resulting changes in their attitudes.

An increasing number of people in Central Asia, expecting the process of globalisation to deliver, is now struggling to come to terms with growing unemployment or underemployment, stagnation or decrease in earnings for those employed, disappearing job security, increasing poverty, reductions in access to health care, education, public transportation and housing, declining role of women in public sphere, reduced social security provisions, inter-ethnic conflict in society etc.

In other words, Central Asia has experienced a drastic decline in output accompanied by hyperinflation, widening income and wealth differences in society.

So far in Central Asian countries, the result has not been social or economic reconstruction based on individual initiatives in the market place rather there has been a resurgence of collective identities. Thus, we see the rising incidence of ethnic-based regrouping and emergence of fundamentalism, as people find themselves compelled to rely on traditional social bonds, simply to survive. In some cases, these adjustments have led to economic and social catastrophes in Central Asia.

The fourth chapter brought out clearly socio-cultural changes in Central Asia since independence. From the global point of view, modern culture is a typical product of western modernity. Central Asia has also been sought to be westernised on the basis of art, morals, dress styles, food habits, ideas and values through mass media, communication and inter-state socio-cultural economic and political interaction. There is a very good inter-state communication specially in the field of education, science and technology with Central Asian countries and western countries.

Culturally, societies in Central Asia are unique. They are all between East and West. As large numbers of Russians, Ukrainians, and Germans moved into urban areas in Central Asia, major cities in Central Asia were quickly "Europeanised". In rural areas where titular ethnic groups are living, tradition reigned. Such a contrast between urban centres and rural areas offers an obstacle to modernisation and globalisation process. Although governments of Central Asia are getting support from global countries and world financial and social institutions, it is not enough to tackle the present problems of Central Asian Society. Better governance is vital not just to ensure the rule of law and protection against international organised crime, but also to maintain and expand social and economic infrastructure.

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