

**Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies
School of International Studies, JNU**

Course :	Ph.D
Course Title:	Politics of Modernization in Central Asia
Course Type:	Optional
Course Teacher:	Prof. Phool Badan
Credits:	Four
Course Code:	SE 622
Semester:	Winter Semester
Contact Hours:	Two per week

Course Objectives

The course includes five Central Asian Republics- Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan - which got their independence in 1991. The course deals with socio-cultural and political aspects of these countries and their transformation during different phases. It also explains why and how Imperial Russia colonized the region and what was the native response. The socio-cultural and political development in Central Asia during the period have been discussed.

The course looks at the Soviet cultural/religious policy to transform/change the Central Asian society and culture in the name of modernization so that the identity of the native people could be changed. The course analyses the modernization processes in the post-Soviet Central Asia. Besides, it discusses the problems and challenges faced by the Central Asian societies. The recent socio-cultural and political development can be better understood in the context of and with reference to the legacy of Tsarist and Soviet rule. The course traces the historical development of the region, including feudalism (Khanate period), colonialism (Tsarist period) and the Soviet socialist system to the present time.

Learning Outcomes

- To learn about the socio-cultural and political history of Central Asia.
- To understand the colonization of the region by the Tsarist Government.
- To acquaint the researcher with socio-cultural and political transformation in the region during different phases.
- To acquire knowledge about the changes/developments which have taken place in the region in the post-Soviet period.
- To familiarize the researcher with the problems which are major impediments to the development of Central Asian society.

Evaluation Method

Class performance, Assignments, Seminars, Mid-session examination (50%) End Semester Exam (50%)

Course Content

Unit I

Theories and Models of Modernization

This unit of the course covers various theories of the modernization of society. The section also discusses the different models of modernization which are used in the transformation of the society. The models which have been discussed in this part include, Western Liberal-Democratic Model of Development, Soviet Model of Development and Third World Model of Development.

Readings

- Alatas, Sayed Hussain (1972), *Modernization and Social Change*, Sydney Cremorne; Argue and Roberston.
- Apter David E. (1965), *The Politics of Modernization* (Chicago& London; Chicago University Press.
- Dube, S.C. (1998), *Modernization and Development: The Search for Alternative Paradigm*, New Delhi, Vistar Publication.
- Eisentadt, S. N. (1973), *Tradition, Change and Modernity*, New York, London, Sydney, Toronto; Wiley-Interscience Publication.
- Gerner, Kristian and Hedlund, Stefan (1989), *Ideology and Rationality in the Soviet Model: A legacy for Gorbachev*, London, New York, Routeledge.

Unit II

Historical and Cultural Background of Central Asia.

This section deals with the social-cultural and political system of Central Asia before coming of the Russian to the region. The unit will also shed light on the colonialism and development of Central Asian society during the Tsarist period. The response of the native people to the colonization of the region has also been discussed in this part. Besides, the section explains the development in Central Asia between the two Revolutions of 1917.

Readings

Books

- Bacon, Elizabeth E. (1966), *Central Asia under Russian Rule*, New York, Ithaka.
- Becker, Semour (2004), *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia:1865-1924*, London and New York, Routledge Curzen.

- Kaushik, Devendra (1970), *Central Asia in Modern Times*, Moscow, Progress Publication.
- Khalfin, N. A. (1964), *Russian Policy in Central Asia, 1857-68* (London, Central Asian Research Centre Publication.
- Khalid, Adeb (1999), *The politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia*, California, University of California Press.
- Pierce, Richard D (1960), *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917*, Berkeley & Los Angeles; University of California Press.
- Rywkin, Michael, ed. (1963) *Russian Colonial Expansion to 1917*, London, and New York, Mansell publishing Ltd.
- Vaidyanath, R (1969), *Formation of the Central Asian Republics: A Study in Soviet Nationality Policy, 1917-1936* (New Delhi, Peoples Publication House, 1969.
- Wheeler, Geoffery (1964) *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia*, London, Weildenfelada and Nicolson.

Articles in Research Journals

- Khan, Hina (1996), *Russian Expansion in Central Asia and the Region's Response*, *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 49, no. 2, pp.33-57
- Shams-ud-din (1979), *Problems of Modernization of Politics in Russian Central Asia before October Revolution*, *Indian Journal of Politics* (Aligarh), vol. XIII, nos. 1-2, pp. 85-96.
- Shams-ud-din (1984), *Russian Policy Towards Islam and Muslim: an Overview*, *Journal of The Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* (Jeddah), vol.5, no. 2, pp. 321-333.

Unit III

Phases of Soviet Pattern of Development in Central Asia

This part of the course structure analyses the Soviet cultural/religious policies to transform/change the native culture/religion in the name of modernization so the identity of the people could be changed. The Soviet cultural policies during various phases of development include- early Soviet period, Post-Second World War period and Perestroika period. This segment tries to throw light on the cultural changes brought about by the Soviet government during the above-said phase.

Readings

Books

- Fatland, Erica (2020), *Sovietization: Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan*, Pegasus Books.
- Keller, Sohanan (2001), *To Moscow Not to Mecca: The Soviet Campaign against Islam in Central Asia, 1917-1941*, Westport, Connecticut, Londodon, Praeger.
- Pipes, Richard (1970), *The Formation of the Soviet Union Communism and Nationalism, 1917-1923*, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Harvard University Press.
- Shams-ud-din (1982), *Secularization in the USSR*, Delhi; Vikas Publishing House.
- Tiwari, J.G. (1984) *Muslims under the Tsars and the Soviets*, Lucknow; Islamic Research and Publicatin.
- Vaidyanath, R. (1969), *Formation of the Central Asian Republics: A Study in in Soviet Nationality Policy, 1917-1936*, New Delhi, Peoples Publication House.
- Wheeler, Geoffery (1968), *The Peoples of Soviet Central Asia*, London, Bodley Head.

Articles in Research Journals

- Shams-ud-din (1982), Soviet Language Policy: Change in Script of Central Asian Languages and its impact on Nationalities Questions, *Studies in Islam* (New Delhi), vol. XIX, no. 3, pp. 169-181
- Wheeler, Geoffery (1959), “ Cultural Development in Soviet Central Asia”, *Journal of Royal Central Asian Society*, vol. 41, pp.179-189

Unit IV

Modernization Process in the Post- Soviet Central Asia.

In this unit an attempt has been made to discuss the modernization of the political system in the post-Soviet period. In this section an effort would be made to analyse the Constitutional Development and the Evolution of State Structure, Evolution of Party System and Interest Group, Electoral Process, Media, Judiciary and Bureaucracy.

Readings

Books

- Ahrens, Joachim and Herman W. Hoen, eds. (2012), Institutional Reform in Central Asia: Politico-Economic Challenges, London, Routledge.
- Constitutions of the five Central Asian Republics.
- Badan, Phool, Dynamics of Political Development in Central Asia (Delhi; Lancer’s Books, 2001)
- Cummings, Salley N., ed. (2002), Power and Change in Central Asia, London, New York; Routledge.
- Deshpandey, Deshpaney, ed. (2016), Dynamics of Central Asia: Issues and Challenges, G.B. Books Publishers.
- Loung, Pauline Jones (2000), Institutional change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Power, Perceptions and Pacts, Cambridge, New York; Cambridge University Press.

Articles in Research Journals

- Badan, Phool (2001), “Emerging Political System in Central Asia in the Post- Soviet Period” *India Quarterly*, vol. LVII, no. 3, pp.97-118.
- Badan, Phool (2012), “Political and Economic Reforms in Uzbekistan”, *Security and Society*, Vol. 7, Nos.1-2, pp. 18-33.

Unit V

Problems and Issues in Independent Central Asia.

The Unit fifth highlights the problems and issues which are major hurdles in the development of the Central Asian society. The Central Asian countries are facing numerous problems and challenges which include- authoritarianism, Islamic militancy, political instability, economic challenges, Ecological problems and ethnic and nationalistic Challenges.

Readings

Books

- Badan, Phool (2014), Resurgence of Islam in Central Asia, Delhi; Lancer’s Books.

- Freedman, Eric and Neuzil, Mark, eds. (2015), *Environmental Crisis in Central Asia: From Steppes to Seas, From Deserts to glaciers*, Routledge.
- Lang, Joef (2013), *The Radical Islamic Militants of Central Asia*, Warsaw, OSW Report.
- Omelicheva, Mariya Y. (2015), *Democracy in Central Asia: Competing Perspectives and Alternatives Strategies*, Lexington, The University Press of Kentucky.

Articles in Research Journals

- Badan, Phool (2015), “Environmental Degradation and Health Problems in Central Asia”, in Sanjay Deshpandey, ed. (2015), *Central Eurasia: Political and Economic Perspectives*, Mumbai; Rishad Publishing House Mumbai.
- Bober, Serguusz (2020), Introduction: Ethnic Issues in Central Asia, *Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 1-5
- Haghyeghi, Mehrdad, Media and Politics in Central Asia, *Demokratizatsiya*, pp. 215-227, available at: http://demokratizatsiya.pub/archives/03-2_Haghyeghi
- Knox, Colin and Janenova, Saltanat (2022), Does Bureaucratic Performance Vary Across Authoritarian Regimes, *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration* (Online Journal).
- Patnaik, Ajay (2018), Central Asia: Between Stability and Instability, *International Studies*, vol. 53, nos. 3-4, pp. 176-194.

SOME IMPORTANT JOURNALS

1. Adelphi Paper (New York) 2. American Political Science Review (Washington, DC.) 3. Asian Survey (Berkeley) 4. AussenPolitik (Hamburg) 5. Biss Journal (Dhaka) 6. Canadian Slavonic Papers (Toronto) 7. Central Asia Monitor (London) 8. Central Asian Review (London) 9. Central Asian Survey (Oxford) 10. Conflict Studies (London) 11. Contemporary Central Asia (New Delhi) 12. Current Digest of Soviet/ Post Soviet Press (Columbus) 13. Current History (Philadelphia) 14. Economic and Political Weekly (Mumbai) 15. Eurasian Studies (Ankara) 16. FBIS Report: Central Eurasia (USA) 17. For Eastern Quarterly (New York) 18. Frontline (New Delhi) 19. Himalayan and Central Asian Studies (New Delhi) 20. India Quarterly (New Delhi) 21. Indian Journal of Politics (Aligarh) 22. International Studies (New Delhi) 23. Islam and the Modern Age (New Delhi) 24. Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs (Jeddah) 25. Journal of Central Asian Studies (Srinagar) 26. Journal of Islamic Studies (London) 27. Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society (London) 28. Journal of West Asian Studies (Aligarh) 29. Keesing’s Record of World Events (Washington) 30. Middle East International (London) 31. Middle East Studies (London) 32. Mongolian Journal of International Affairs 33. Orbis (London) 34. Political Science Quarterly (New York) 35. Post- Soviet Affairs (Berkeley) 36. Problems of Communism (Washington, DC) 37. Regional Studies (Islamabad) 38. Russia and the Muslim World (Moscow) 39. Seminar (New Delhi) 40. Soviet Studies/Europe Asia Studies (Glasgow) 41. Strategic Analysis (New Delhi) 42. Studies in Islam (New Delhi) 43. Summary of World Broadcast (London) 44. The Asian Journal (New Delhi) 45. The Economist (London) 46. The Europa Year Book (London) 47. The Ukrainian Review (London).

Note: Apart from above readings, the course teacher will add some new readings (Time to Time) in the given reading list.