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SECTION 30. Philosophy

PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION IN COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES (CIS)

Abstract: In this article analyzed the processes of model of politic modernization in CIS.

Key words: civilization, modernization, tradition, conservation, liberalism, society, conception, development, individualism.

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I. Introduction

With regards to societies and nations, the expression 'modernization' applies to many sectors of life, such as technological updating, city planning, and introducing legislations for upgrading election of officials. With the exception of a few nomadic and so-called "arrested cultures," continuous modernization is the standard norms of all societies.

This paper investigates the dynamics of current norms and paths of modernization. A major concern is to clarify both differences between alternative paths necessary to modernization. Prior to the economic crisis of 2009 a tacit assumption was shared among the political scientists that "modernization," has three essential dimensions: (a) a political liberalization with an emphasis on a democratic election process, (b) acceptance of a market type of economy, and (c) a judicial system that protects the human rights of citizen. To that end, almost universally and implicitly, Western nations, especially the United States were taken to be the paradigm case of modernized state, to be copied by other nations. Scholars, especially those from the West, often assumed that there was a single vertical line of modernization – with the USA and the West on the top of the line; all other nations were to be judged by a comparison of their legislative and other political process with the West. Often this attitude also applied to dress codes and manners of eating.

At the present however, these Western-centric pre-suppositions are in process of modification. This

phenomenon has changed. Three major phenomena present a challenge to the presumption of Western superiority in politics and economy:

(a) First, the dynamics of growth of economic and technology of *The People's Republic of China* (hereafter PRC) has impressed the globe. PRC has clearly is overtaken the lead role in both science and commerce. For example As reported in BBC News (10-28-2010), PRC has the top super power computer (The Tianhe 1-A) in the globe. Remarks, Prof Jack Dongarra from the University of Tennessee, "I would say it's 47% faster than the Oak Ridge National Laboratory's machine, 1.7 Pflops (ORNL system) to 2.5 Pflops (Chinese system)."

(b) Second, another phenomenon is the so-called universally accepted economic miracle of Uzbekistan. After the economic crisis of 2009, Uzbekistan's President Karimov and not the West is the paradigm case of having the correct economic model – especially in fiscal and banking policies. Eventually, the West followed President Karimov's policies, e.g. Present Obama, repeated President Karimov's view that the supply side type of capitalism is dead.

(c) Third, while Western individualism emphasizes "human rights" in sense of primacy of property rights - including taxation of the wealthy, the other communitarian societies focus on social services, medical, health, education, and economic support of the needy by the government. For example, while many countries offer universal health care and free access to higher education, USA'



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medical and pharmaceutical business make a substantial profit, making insurance too costly for 50.7 million Americans; also the annual cost of tuitions private colleges often exceeds \$40,000 and federal subsidies to public institutions of higher education is declining rapidly.

It is in this context, that this essay examines various options of modernization chosen by Russia (from its transference from its Soviet to the Russian Federation phase) and Central Asian nations (from their transference from a Soviet Republic to formally independent-sovereign republics).

II. Salient features of The Russian Federation and CIS

Modern Russia and countries of CIS from the 90's of the 20th century were pulled into a dramatic process of a transmission from a planned economical system to the so-called market economy. Moreover, many of the CIS nations faced serious challenges such as social upheaval in Russia and civil strife in Central. These changes resulted in social, economic, and political reconstructions that rose interest to adopt a family of "liberal" Western European ideals, such as "free market" economy and the political process of democratic election. However, these so-called progressive views often lead to negative side effects, such as inflation, unemployment, wide difference of income between populations, destruction of stable social-life system of many communities. In ordinary circumstances, liberalization often implies strength of legislators at the expense of the executive system. However if the central and local government agencies weaken their control in times of social upheaval, it leads to an increase in number of problems such as narcotics, prostitution, and crime. Many observers believed that these problems were temporary, as they were offset by gradually strengthening their political system, and receive the benefits of democratization as well as benefits of market relationship. However, as we have stated, the global economic crisis of 2009 furthers skepticism on these assumptions.

In the new Russian Federation, the reconstruction was implemented by a dynamic giant step, from socialism into capitalism, a comprehensive complex system with much complexity. Obviously the newly "liberalized" countries copied the intrinsic mechanism of free market economy from many nations with longer experience. However, not all countries leaped into liberalization of their political system. It became obvious that there are other alternative non-Western paths to modernization, as one considers the cases in Eastern Asia (Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore), Persian Gulf (Saudi Arabia, Oman, Catarrh, Bahrain, and United Arabic Emirates) and Southern America (Chili). There are also developing countries which

did not diverge far from their traditions such as People's Republic of China, Uganda, Thailand, and Malaysia. It is informative to investigate the democratic dimensions of the abovementioned countries which have already in advanced stages of progress.

III. Non-Western Types of Democracy and Modernization

Often international problems- with a neighbor or a super power- shifts attention of a government from issue of internal liberalization to protect a nation's external foreign affairs. For protection, and sometimes survival, nations often solidify political control by their executive branch. In turn a strong executive power takes steps such that eventually lead to a semi-type of democracy. These include developing a middle class, gradually opening the political offices to the members of middle class, and improving their integration into regional or global economy. Finally, some nations gradually introduced elements of market economy. For instance, in case of PRC, Mao's government first focused on encountering hostilities from the Japans invaders, then from proxies of Western powers such as Chiang Kai Check, as well as internal dissidents. Later, as 1976, the government of Ding Xiaoping in PRC introduced market economy and gradually loosened the grip of the government by abandoning much of planned economy. In most –but not all- Asian countries economic advancement furthered political freedom and individual rights.

The interplay between individual freedom, property rights on the one hand and government taxation for sake of increasing social service has been a concern for all countries. It is true that egalitarian, hierarchic types of social systems, takes a prime concern for the well being of a population. It restricts individual's profit for the interest of public, and provides each member's safety net and public stability. Differing from West organizations, such an egalitarian method was successful in Japan, a nation based on traditions. In many non-western European societies social hierarchy, family, diligence to traditions is of prime concern. The Asian societies which were not European type realize their democracy without destroying their fabric of communitarian values. A paradigm model is Japan with primacy of loyalty of worker to a company almost like a family. Another case is PRC, which has inherited Confucius mentality of value of hard labor as well as priority of investment over consumption. In sum, it may not be possible for all societies to blindly follow the path of individual democracy as advocated in the West.

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IV. Framework for a Proposed Solutions

Recent history shows that much modernization was achieved without adaptation of Western types of democracy in the Russian Federation, PRC, Japan, CIS nations, Persian Gulf countries; Chili in South America achieved promotion, economical growing in short period using authoritarian style.

During the 20th Century, witnessed a few cases of failures of nationalistic types of governments; this list includes the Weimar Germany, India after colonialism, Soviet Union prior to Gorbachev, Nigeria, Sudan, Somali and other countries; also there are several successful types of government which allowed limited , such as Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, Uganda, and Indonesia. We note that often societal features accompany success such as economic growth, social and political tranquility, social justice, and accord with neighboring countries and super powers.

The main function of authoritarian democracy – is to further strength for the country by assisting increasing the number of members from lower income to a middle class who develop internal industry and employment opportunities for lower classes. Here are five parameters for modernization without following the Western model: (1) existence of a concerned political authoritarian constitution which is favor of the workers –not an instrument of the rich; this authority safeguards against hostile foreign takeover of the local industries (2) implementation of a mixed type of economy which encourages commerce by allowing profit while safe guards the workers against injustice and exploitation by the (3) external safety net to protect the country in case of economic crisis from within as well as from external sources (4) implementation of new order in line with traditional customs and values to prevent social chaos, finally (5) usually a popular leader who excite the nationalistic tendencies of the nation, especially nurtures the hope of the young and lower income group for a better future. We hold that these elements lead to a chemistry of success for a nation.

V. Specifics of Modernization

As to be expected, different types of perspectives that evaluate the process of modernization in The Russian Federation in the two decades – past and the forthcoming. Some investigators proffer that depicting a few shortcoming in Russian economics does not warrant a negative judgment for varieties of reasons. For example, modernization takes place similar to a “mutation” rather than a steady economic progress. Moreover, true modernizations happen during a powerful government that has a seasoned managerial, support system that had ample time to focus on the internal needs of a coherent population. Also,

following the well known models of “well being,” for social progress, we should include factors such as liberation of Russians of Russians from Soviet tyranny. We should not minimize societal dynamics that apply to the entire Europe such as demographic changes, e.g. the Russians are losing one million persons per year Finally, The Russian Federation is adjusting its perspective with its neighbors, especially Uzbekistan that is gradually emerging as a global leader. These considerations tend to increase doubt that there are transnational types of solution in expressing modernization in terms of market economy, elections, human rights, and social well beings.

When we move from considering Russia to other areas, the notion of modernization seem to be embedded in a more complicated framework. For example, it is surprising that many societies that were devastated by a world war, managed to reconstruct their social order and modernize their industry. For example, West Germany, Japan, Korea emerged in ruin after the Second World War. In the same vein, PRC encountered the problems rising from “cultural revolution”; moreover, Taiwan began with very little industry. In sum, after the war, Asia was regarded as part of the “third world.” The immediate problem was recovery and not social emancipation. Every one of these countries transferred from poverty to wealth, from chaos to power. Japan was defeated by the Western allies, led by the USA. In a few years, large sum of USA wealth was spent to purchase Japanese product. Some say that Japan lost in the battle field and won in the market place. On 1965 trade surplus of Japan with a US was \$2.4 billion, rose to \$7.3 billion by 1971; US exports rose from \$2.1 billion to \$4.1 billion.

A clearer picture emerges when we compare USA’s debt to Japan and to PRC. At the present year, Japan holds \$821 billions of USA’s treasury bonds to its foreign currency, while PRC hold \$846.7 billion. Obviously issues like “election processes” in neither of these two countries are prima facie related to their financial wealth.

VI. The Trade Balance Shifts

At the present, there is no single program that tends to implement, a process of modernization in Russia, as the ruling elite do not focus primarily on modernization. We recommend the following strategy to achieve these goals: directions. In this light, we recommend the following guidelines for research in this issue:

1. We should examine alternative criteria of growth and well being, then purely industrial modernization, for example take into account factors such as integration of minorities in a culture, e.g. Turks in Germany, Tajikistani minority in Russia and alike

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2. We should attend carefully in the process of modernization, factors that include prevention of marginalization of a sector of population, unemployment, and the so-called “well being” of a society.

3. Furtherance of strength of a middle class that increases trade and thus wealth of a nation.

4. Opening the political branch of government to a larger group of citizens that emerge from the local group- on the model of “mahal” committees in Uzbekistan.

5. The main end of modernization – includes expansion of the existing framework, both in industry and management. These require government’s attention to technical education, as well as energy from publics’ involvement to participate in the process of governing the country.

In this perspective, Robert Patmen proffers four indexed analyzing model of democracy [“Reagan, Gorbachev and the Emergence of 'New Political Thinking'”, by Robert G. Patman, published in Michael Cox (ed.) *Twentieth Century International Relations* (four volumes), London, Thousand Oaks (California) and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006, pp. 262-289.]

□ Enrichment of the micro-support group of a country, by furtherance of civic groups, commercial (councils), political (parties), artistic and cultural groups. In this light, the strength of a country is not limited in the ruling elites, but follows into the middle class.

□ Stimulus to the election process. In our opinion, state, civil and local collaboration for a successful election in Uzbekistan this year, can serve as a model for this criterion.

□ Participation of the population in referendums.

It appears that Patmen’s focuses on two major source of power in society- the middle class and the significance of the electoral process.

It appears that that a transformation to democracy happens by a plan of a political elite type of administration which uses the legislators to further participation of the common people. Accordingly, true democratizing emerges usually via economic success and strengthening and expanding a middle class that stimulates the economy through employment, production and consumption. It appears that each country chooses its own mode of developing modernization. A whole set of complex factors contribute to modernization such as work ethics (e.g. individualistic [such as Western European] or group [such as Japanese, Chinese, and Middle Eastern]), physical features (e.g. with many or few natural resources, land locked or having access to sea] and immediate priorities (e.g. ethnic, religious diversity-conflict).

Let us take an example, *The Russian Federation* (hereafter RF). A major priority for Russia has

always been to sustain its image as global power, with a military strength, as well as being independent of NATO, USA, and PRC. In addition Russia faces insurgencies from Chechnya and affiliated ethnics population. Above all, there are concerns in Russia that its former Eastern European political satellites are becoming service areas for NATO’s nuclear arsenals. About fifty years ago, Russia agreed to move its missiles from USA’s back door- Cuba; fifty years later, Russian are faced by USA’s missile in their own back yard. To this end, there is a perception that during the Soviet period of competing with USA in the cold war, over 50% of Russia’s budget was spent –directly or indirectly on military. At the present there persist reminiscent of this image. Facing NATO, internal strife and a non-defensible border, RF is extensively involved in military expenditure. In this light, *Global Security Organization* reports that

Russia’s budget spending on state defense orders will amount to 1.2 trillion rubles (\$46.8 billion) in 2009, first deputy prime minister Sergei Ivanov said on 12 September 2008. The spending figure is outlined in the Russian budget for 2009-2011 which was due to be considered by Russia’s lower house of parliament, the State Duma, on September 19. The three-year budget envisaged additional spending of 170 billion rubles (\$6.63 billion) in comparison to previous annual programs. (<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/russia/mo-budget.htm>)

On 2009, the present RF has a GDP of approximately 2.11 trillion \$, ranking 8th in the globe, after EU, USA, PRC, Japan, India, Germany and UK. We note that UK has a population of 62 million compared with RF’s population of 149 million. RF’s GDP is about 15% of USA and 25% of PRC. RF’s economic concern is described by *CIA-Fact Book* 2010, as follows:

The Russian economy, ..., was one of the hardest hit by the 2008-09 global economic crisis as oil prices plummeted and the foreign credits that Russian banks and firms relied on dried up. The Central Bank of Russia spent one-third of its \$600 billion international reserves, the world’s third largest, in late 2008 to slow the devaluation of the ruble. The government also devoted \$200 billion in a rescue plan to increase liquidity in the banking sector and aid Russian firms unable to roll over large foreign debts coming due. The economic decline appears to have bottomed out in mid-2009 and by the second half of the year there were signs that the economy was growing, albeit slowly. Long-term challenges include a shrinking workforce, a high level of corruption, and poor infrastructure in need of large capital investment (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>)

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In sum, it appears that the issue of democratization – true free-open election process is not immediate concerns of RF (149 million population), which is struggling to encounter its position in competition with USA (350 million population) and PRC (1.5 billion population). It is not helpful to evaluate RF in terms of the criteria of free elections, free market economy, human rights, social services and support.

In this tenor, the celebrated Japanese, political scientist, Saburo Okito, proffers the following view. First, we should not select the out dated economic theme of laissez faire to be the operating framework of an economy. Instead, at the first phase of countries without a free market tradition, the government should take the lead in specifics of implications of market economy. Second any transmission from a planned economy to a free market type need to concern three issues: proceed gradually, take account of its traditional social values, as well as its immediate challenges from unfriendly international powers. (cf. “Steps to the 21th Century,” *The Japan Times*, 1993)

VI. Some observations regarding the case of Uzbekistan

It is noteworthy that Uzbekistan has been a model of modernization due to the policies of president Islam Karimov as following summary testifies.

(a) The miracle of Uzbek economy (8.1 % growth) is due to partly to the wise financial policies such as micro banking that prohibits unwarranted type of speculations that led to the foreclosure of millions of homes in the USA.

(b) Implementation of various means –such as the Mahali feature of election process that assures local representation; the result is the result of government of the people for the people- witnessed by foreign observers during the parliamentary election of 2010.

(c) Passage of legislation to strengthen of judicial system that assures the rights of people to social justice and grievances.

(d) Expenditure on education system –technical, scientific, intellectual to further the percentage of expert labor that will continue Uzbekistan’s continuous growth in modernization.

(e) Not wasting the countries resources in military wars. Not becoming a pawn of a superpower in proxy wars. In this light, the resources are spent on consumer goods- raising the quality of life style of the citizens and on investment goods that assures wealth and progress for forthcoming generations of Uzbeks.

(f) Achieve a leadership position in global politics but presenting innovating ideas such as a workable solution to the disastrous situation in Afghanistan. Also providing practical meaningful support such as transportation and electricity for Afghan that provides a glimpse of sustainability in the future of Afghanistan.

Obviously it is beyond the scope of this paper to elaborate further on the above and other achievement of the government of President Karimov. However, this brief summary warrants that Uzbekistan in indeed expresses features in modernization which is useful to other nations.

VII. Conclusions

In conclusion, we have proffered arguments to support of the following theses:

(i) No longer have developing countries presupposed that the United States and Western Europe are paradigms of modernization process. After all, we are in the second decade of the 21st Century, a post 2009 economic crisis period of globalization, and rise of PRC and Central Asia.

(ii) A positive evaluation of Uzbekistan’s policy in transformation from a Soviet Republic to a modern progressive democracy.

(iii) Prima facie in analysis of a transmission towards modernization of a country, investigators should pay attention on the following factors: (i) free market economy, (ii) free elections, (iii) social justice- human rights, (iv) and social services.

However, there are other issues that may affect the transmission such as regional and global threats, traditional values, and political-history of each country may play a significant part.

Even though, our model cannot be blindly applied to different cases of modernization, it may be useful as a first phase of a theoretical tool for analysis of a specific country, to be supplemented by empirical evidence. Political science after all is an empirical discipline as well as an art.

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