

Central Asia AND THE CAUCASUS after the Soviet Union

**Domestic and
International Dynamics**

Edited by Mohiaddin Mesbahi

University Press of Florida

GAINESVILLE · TALLAHASSEE · TAMPA · BOCA RATON

PENSACOLA · ORLANDO · MIAMI · JACKSONVILLE

Copyright 1994 by the Board of Regents of the State of Florida

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ☺

All rights reserved

99 98 97 96 95 94 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Central Asia and the Caucasus after the Soviet Union: domestic and international dynamics/edited by Mohiaddin Mesbahi.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8130-1307-0 (acid-free paper).—ISBN 0-8130-1308-9 (pbk.: acid-free paper)

1. Asia, Central—History—1991- 2. Caucasus—History. 3. Muslims—Former Soviet republics. 4. Former Soviet republics—Ethnic relations. 5. Russia (Federation)—Foreign relations—Asia, Central. 6. Asia, Central—Foreign relations—Russia (Federation) 7. Russia (Federation)—Relations—Caucasus. 8. Caucasus—Relations—Russia (Federation). I. Mesbahi, Mohiaddin.

DK859.5.C454 1994

947'.9086—dc20 9416204

The University Press of Florida is the scholarly publishing agency for the State University System of Florida, comprised of Florida A & M University, Florida Atlantic University, Florida International University, Florida State University, University of Central Florida, University of Florida, University of North Florida, University of South Florida, and University of West Florida.

University Press of Florida
15 Northwest 15th Street
Gainesville, FL 32611

CONTENTS

Preface	ix
Introduction: The Emerging "Muslim" States of Central Asia and the Caucasus <i>Mohiaddin Mesbahi</i>	1
Part 1. Russia, Central Asia, and the Caucasus: Ethnicity and Islam	
1. The Ethnohistorical Dynamics of Muslim Societies within Russia and the CIS <i>Sergei A. Panarin</i>	17
2. The Emerging Central Asia: Ethnic and Religious Factions <i>Eden Naby</i>	34
3. Muslim Central Asia: Soviet Development Legacies and Future Challenges <i>M. Nazif Shahrani</i>	56
Part 2. The New Muslim States: The North Caucasus and Azerbaijan	
4. The "Internal" Muslim Factor in the Politics of Russia: Tatarstan and the North Caucasus <i>Marie Bennigsen Broxup</i>	75
5. Azerbaijan <i>Yuri N. Zinin and Alexei V. Maleshenko</i>	99
Part 3. The New Muslim States: Central Asia	
6. Kazakhstan <i>Martha Brill Olcott</i>	119
7. Uzbekistan <i>Zahid I. Munavvarov</i>	133
8. Kyrgyzstan <i>Alexander O. Filonyk</i>	149
9. Tajikistan <i>Aziz Niyazi</i>	164
10. Turkmenistan <i>Andrei G. Nedvetsky</i>	191

Part 4. Russia and the Former Soviet South: The New Geopolitics

11. The Disintegration of the Soviet Eurasian Empire: An Ongoing Debate <i>Milan L. Hauner</i>	209
12. Great Power Ideology and the Muslim Nations of the CIS <i>Arthur Sagadeev</i>	234
13. Central Asia and the Middle East: The Emerging Links <i>Anthony Hyman</i>	248
14. Russia and the Geopolitics of the Muslim South <i>Mohiaddin Mesbahi</i>	268
Contributors	321
Index	325

"Conceptually very rich and broad. . . . Will outlive the continuous changes that are taking place in the territory of the former Soviet Union."

—A. Reza Sheikholeslami, *Oriental Institute, Oxford University*

"A multidisciplinary as well as a multicultural approach to the study of Central Asia. . . . An informative account of history, politics, religions, and the social complexities of the Central Asian societies."

—Manochehr Dorraj, *Texas Christian University*

Leading Western, Russian, and Central Asian scholars examine here the domestic and international dynamics of Muslim Central Asia and the Caucasus. They address the two circumstances that continue to affect the Muslim states of the former Soviet Union: the enduring impact of the Soviet experience on ethno-social and political life, and the prospects for the recovery of their own identities now that the Soviet system has collapsed. The authors suggest that the symbiosis of these two forces will continue to characterize political and social developments in Central Asia and the Caucasus for years to come.

Mohiaddin Mesbahi is associate professor of international relations at Florida International University in Miami. He has published several studies of Soviet-Iranian relations and Central Asian security and is the editor of *Russia and the Third World in the Post-Soviet Era* (UPF, 1994).

**University
Press of Florida**

ISBN 0-8130-1308-9



9 780813 013084