

Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli

Annali

Anno Ventottesimo
1992

Feltrinelli Editore Milano

Direzione:

Salvatore Veca

Comitato scientifico:

Maurice Aymard
Duccio Bigazzi
Enzo Collotti
Furio Diaz
Alberto Martinelli
Giuliano Procacci
Michele Salvati
Giulio Sapelli
Mario Stoppino
Leo Valiani
Salvatore Veca

Traduzioni e redazione:

Michael Eve
Maria Luisa Rotondi

Segreteria di redazione:

Marisa de Gioia

Direttore responsabile:

Adolfo Scalpelli

Manoscritti e pubblicazioni:

Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli
Via Romagnosi 3, Milano
ISSN: 0393-3954

Lavoro eseguito con il contributo del Consiglio
Nazionale delle Ricerche

Prima edizione: aprile 1993

Copyright

©

Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Milano
ISBN 88-07-9904-82

IN A COLLAPSING EMPIRE

Underdevelopment,
Ethnic Conflicts and Nationalisms
in the Soviet Union

Edited by
Marco Buttino

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	p.	XI
MARCO BUTTINO, <i>General Introduction</i>		XIII
Part One		
Varieties and Roots of Nationalism		
CHARLES URJEWICZ, <i>Introduction</i>		3
ALIKHAN Z. DADASHEV, <i>The Socio-Economic Development of the Republics of the Soviet Union: Trends, the Current Situation, Problems</i>		9
VIKTOR I. PEREVEDENTSEV, <i>Population Migrations between the Republics in the USSR</i>		21
ALAIN BLUM, <i>Unité politique et disparités démographiques - l'URSS jusqu'en 1991</i>		31
ALEKSEI M. SALMIN, <i>Political Self-Determination of Nations and Nationalities in the USSR: from 1922 to Perestroika</i>		43
ANDREI B. ZUBOV, <i>Distinctive Features of the Multinational Nature of the USSR and the Problem of Political Representation of Nationalities</i>		53
IGOR I. KRUPNIK, <i>The Conflict between two Nationalisms: a New Soviet Experience</i>		65
TAMARA DRAGADZE, <i>Soviet Economics and Nationalism in the Gorbachev Years. Regionalism, Ethnicised Regionalism and Constitutional Regionalism</i>		73
		VII

Contents

ERNEST A. GELLNER, <i>Nationalism in a Post-Marxist World: Contemporary Reflections</i>	83
DOMINIC LIEVEN, <i>Empires, Russian and Other</i>	89
Part Two	
Russian Identity in the Crisis of Russian Predominance	
MICHAEL RYWKIN, <i>Introduction</i>	107
VITTORIO STRADA, <i>Russian Nationalism, Soviet Nationalism, Post-Nationalism</i>	111
VIKTOR ZASLAVSKY, <i>Russian Nationalism in the Past and Today</i>	119
JOHN B. DUNLOP, <i>Christian Democracy: Antidote to Extreme Russian Nationalism?</i>	127
YURII V. ARUTYUNYAN, <i>The Russians outside Russia</i>	139
KLARA HALLIK, MARIKA KIRCH, <i>On Interethnic Relations in Estonia</i>	149
JULIAN GRAFFY, <i>Russian-language Journals in the Central Asian Republics</i>	161
Part Three	
Transcaucasia	
MARIE BENNIGSEN BROXUP, <i>Introduction</i>	175
RONALD G. SUNY, <i>Making Nations in Transcaucasia</i>	181
TADEUSZ SWIETOCHOWSKI, <i>Russia's Transcaucasian Policies and Azerbaijan: Ethnic Conflict and Regional Unity</i>	189
HENRY R. HUTTENBACH, <i>Nationalism in Armenia and Azerbaijan as Anti-Colonial Movements</i>	197
CLAIRE MOURADIAN, <i>Autour du Karabagh et du mouvement national arménien</i>	203
LEILA I. YUNUSOVA, <i>Azerbaijan: Views for the Future</i>	219
JONATHAN AVES, <i>Underdevelopment and the New Georgian Nationalist Movement</i>	225

Contents

CHARLES URJEWICZ, <i>La Transcaucasie – un Tiers Monde inconnu? Mal-développement et question nationale</i>	237
FRÉDÉRIQUE LONGUET MARX, <i>Rites soviétiques face aux rituels musulmans: une tentative de transformation par le pouvoir. Un exemple au Daghestan</i>	241
Part Four	
Central Asia	
MARCO BUTTINO, <i>Introduction</i>	251
MARCO BUTTINO, <i>Politics and Social Conflict during a Famine: Turkestan immediately after the Revolution</i>	257
DMITRII B. ORESHKIN, <i>Ethnic Dimensions of the Aral Sea Crisis</i>	279
AKBAR RASHIDOV, <i>Family and Tribal Structures and Social Conflicts in Soviet Central Asia</i>	291
TALIB S. SAIDBAEV, <i>Nationalism in Central Asia: its Forms and Historical Conditions</i>	301
KEMAL H. KARPAT, <i>The Roots of Kazakh Nationalism: Ethnicity, Islam or Land?</i>	313
CATHERINE POUJOL, <i>The Central Asian Jews in the Post-Soviet Era: the Beginning of the End?</i>	335
OLIVIER ROY, <i>The Impact of the Afghan War in Soviet Central Asia</i>	341
MARCO BUTTINO, <i>Appendix</i>	347
<i>Contributors</i>	367
<i>Index of names</i>	371

Fondazione
Giangiacomo Feltrinelli

IN A COLLAPSING EMPIRE

Underdevelopment, Ethnic Conflicts and Nationalisms in the Soviet Union

Edited by Marco Buttino

The breakup of the Soviet Union was the culmination of a long phase of decline, during which the central government became gradually less and less able to buy the loyalty of the national elites of the republics with material resources and a share of political power. By the mid 1980s the leadership of the communist party had come to the conclusion that the Soviet economy was in a state of stagnation that risked becoming a catastrophic crisis, and that the profoundly corrupt and inefficient political system was no longer capable of either developing or controlling the republics. In the summer of 1991, after years of failed attempts at reform, the republics became independent and the USSR had disappeared from the map.

The contributions to this volume of the *Annali* are revised versions of papers originally presented at an international colloquium held under the sponsorship of the Feltrinelli Foundation and the city of Cortona, with the collaboration of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (New York) and the journal *Central Asian Survey*. The contributions are centred on the underlying tendencies which are transforming collective identities in the USSR and causing conflicts which are visibly leading to a breakup of the Union.

The focus is primarily on the southern republics — those republics for whom Russia was the centre of industrial development (if not of prosperity). From the point of view of the local peoples, the Russian immigrants who are numerous especially in the larger towns and cities of the republics, are representatives of an outside world, and one which has been dominant. The political and economic crisis greatly strengthened the boundaries of ethnic identity; people found their identities changing and becoming more definite; new movements and parties were founded which legitimated themselves through nationalist discourse; conflicts emerged between the ethnic majorities of the republics, the minorities, and the Russians.

In a Collapsing Empire contains discussions by historians, political scientists, anthropologists, geographers and economists. It first analyzes the roots and forms of ethnic conflict and nationalism in general terms; then it turns in greater detail to the new nationalism of the Russians, who are having to adjust to their loss of dominance, and to the centrifugal nationalisms of the southern republics of the Transcaucasus and of Islamic central Asia.

ISBN 88-07-99048-2



9 788807 990489