

29<sup>th</sup> Annual Teacher Outreach Conference  
Saturday and Sunday, April 26–27, 2003

## *The Muslim World in Eastern Europe and Eurasia*

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**Ronelle Alexander, Slavic Languages and Literatures, UC Berkeley**

**“Bosnian Identity in the Former Yugoslavia”**

Most in the West would perceive “Bosnian identity in the former Yugoslavia” as synonymous with the community of Bosnian Muslims, especially after the brutality of the wars that tore Bosnia apart, in which the primary (but not only) victims were Bosnian Muslims. Yet anyone who seeks to understand “Bosnian Muslim identity” cannot do so without understanding “Bosnian identity.” The latter concept is very complex (not even Bosnians themselves can give a simple definition of it), but at the same time is amazingly durable. This talk examines the basis of this durability in the past and the threats to its durability in the present and immediate future. Although the central focus is the cultural side of Bosnian identity, reference to politics and to recent events cannot (and will not) be avoided. Similarly, reference to Serbian and Croatian identity must also be included since in many ways Bosnian identity functions in opposition to these two better understood (though also highly complex) cultural-political constructs. Special attention will be paid to the distinction between the two terms “Bosnian” and “Bosniac” (*bosanski* vs. *bošnjački*), and to the recent dissolution of Serbo-Croatian (the official language of the former Yugoslavia) into the three formally separate languages Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian.

**Roumen Daskalov, New Bulgarian University and Central European University**

**“The History of Islam in the Balkans”**

The presentation takes a historical view at the formation of Muslim communities in the Balkans. Since Islam came with the Ottoman Turks, I start with the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans and the ethnic and religious changes it brought about. Several questions will be addressed more specifically. First, the channels and ways of spreading Islam in the Balkans, such as colonization, compulsive and voluntary Islamization. Secondly, the dynamics of Islamization and the formation of the biggest Islamic communities in the Balkans, accounting for peculiarities of the Albanian and the Bosnian cases. Thirdly, I will trace the fate of the Muslims with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of independent Balkan nation-states. The treatment of the Muslim minorities by national governments of various type, communist including, will be presented in general outline. Expulsion, assimilation, modernizing and secularizing influences, etc. are part of that story.

**Gail Lapidus, Institute of International Studies, Stanford University**

**“Political Islam in Central Asia”**

Introduction: Islam and Political Islam

A. Historical background: Islam in Central Asia

B. Sovietization and its consequences

C. The catalysts of change in Central Asia

The Iranian revolution

The invasion of Afghanistan

The impact of perestroika

The civil war in Tajikistan

D. The newly-independent states of Central Asia and the “Islamic factor”

Islamic revival

The rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan and its impact

9/11 and its aftermath

E. Political Islam today: sources, forms, and trends

“An Overview of Islam and Islamic Movements”

- I. The Muslim World
  - A. Size
    - i. Population
      - 1. More than one billion people
      - 2. 2<sup>nd</sup> largest religion in the world (after Christianity)
    - ii. Area
      - 1. Large Muslim populations in more than 60 countries (1/3 of the world’s countries)
      - 2. About 40 countries that are dominantly Muslim
      - 3. Most populous Muslim countries (Indonesia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India)
      - 4. Other prominent Muslim countries (Egypt, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan)
      - 5. Overview of Muslim world regions
  - B. Diversity
    - i. Ethnicity & Culture
      - 1. Geertz in “Islam Observed” (Morocco vs. Indonesia)
      - 2. Arabian culture vs. Turkic culture vs. Asian cultures vs. African cultures
    - ii. Religious Emphasis
      - 1. Elements of local culture incorporated into religious practice (ex: visions of the family, use of amulets, using saints as intermediaries)
      - 2. Doctrinal differences (Sunni vs. Shi’a vs. Sufi)
- II. Islam as Religion
  - A. Meaning
    - i. Islam as “submission”
    - ii. Muslim as “the one who submits”
    - iii. Importance of believer’s relationship to God
    - iv. Other root meanings: to protect, to make peace
      - 1. “salaam”=peace; “as-salaamu aleekum”=peace be unto you
  - B. Central Beliefs
    - i. Strict monotheism
      - 1. Allah= “the God”
      - 2. Unity of God= “tawhid”
    - ii. Prophets
      - 1. Belief in prophets from the Old Testament and Jewish tradition (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Elijah, etc.)
      - 2. Jesus as prophet
      - 3. Muhammed as the final prophet

4. Shahada (declaration of faith) “There is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God”
  - iii. Scripture and Other Texts
    1. The Qur’an
      - a. Direct revelation to the prophet Muhammad
      - b. “recitation” of God’s word
        - i. untranslatable from the Arabic
      - c. Discussion of the nature of God and man, man’s obligations, teachings of the prophets, God’s judgment, regulations for maintaining social order
    2. The Hadith
      - a. Prophetic tradition of sayings and actions of Muhammad
      - b. Examples: death of children (156:7); on choosing a bride (223:11)
  - iv. Other Beliefs
    1. Final Judgment
    2. Afterlife in Paradise or Hell
    3. Angels and Supernatural Beings (Jinn)
    4. Divine Predestination
- C. Religious Obligations
- i. Five minimal obligations (“acts of worship” or “pillars of Islam”)
  - ii. Personal purification before worship
    1. Physical cleansing (ablution)
    2. Spiritual intent (declaration of focus and intention)
  - iii. Declaration of testimony (shahada)
    1. Mark of conversion (three times)
  - iv. Prayer (salat)
    1. Ritual prayer service five times daily
    2. Call to prayer (adhan) (example)
    3. Place and direction
    4. Attendance at Friday prayer service (with sermon)
  - v. Almsgiving (zakat)
  - vi. Fasting (sawm)
    1. Ramadan (month when Qur’an descended)
    2. From dawn to sunset
    3. Holiday festivities (aid-al-fitr)
  - vii. Pilgrimage (hajj)
    1. Once a lifetime (during last month)
    2. Rituals of Mecca
    3. Spiritual and social roles of pilgrimage
  - viii. Exertion (jihad)
    1. Greater jihad: overcoming the self
    2. Lesser jihad: protecting Islam from its enemies
- D. Variations and Sects
- i. Sunni Islam
    1. Followers of the way of the prophet

2. 85% of Muslims
3. Four legal schools
- ii. Shi'a Islam
  1. The party of Ali
  2. Ali as Muhammed's successor
  3. Split in 657
  4. The infallible "imam"
  5. Centers of Shiism
    - a. Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen, Afghanistan
- iii. Sufism
  1. Medieval mysticism
    - a. Focus on encounters with the divine
    - b. Ex: Mevlevis (Whirling Dervishes)
  2. Master and Disciple (sheikh and muriid)
  3. The role of Islamic brotherhoods
    - a. Spiritual
    - b. Artistic (Poetry and Music)
    - c. Social (Welfare networks)
    - d. Economic (ex: Senegal)
  4. Centers of Modern Sufism
    - a. Africa, Asia, Egypt, Turkey
    - b. Caucasus (Nakshibendiyya, Qadiriyya)
- iv. Wahhabism
  1. Against popular Islam
  2. Return to Fundamental Obligations
  3. Campaigns against Sufism and Saints

### III. Islamic History

- A. Life of Muhammed
  - i. Messenger
    1. Channeled the word of God
    2. Visits by the Angel Gabriel
  - ii. Social and Political Leader
    1. Led revolt against pagan society
    2. Established strong social and political centers
      - a. Medina and Mecca
- B. Muhammad's Successors: The "Rightly Guided" Caliphs
  - i. Leadership compromises
    1. Caliph as "Commander of the Faithful" (amir al-mu'miniin)
  - ii. Visions of an ideal Islamic community
- C. Schisms
  - i. Split between Ali (Iraq) and Mu'awiya (Syria)
  - ii. Kharijites
    1. Refused to arbitration over the caliph
  - iii. Shi'ites

1. Subsequently split with Ali's sons as designated "imams"
  2. Battle of Karbala (martyrdom of Hussein 680)
- D. Spread of the Islamic Empire
- i. Challenge to the Byzantine Empire (Constantinople)
  - ii. Arabia to Syria to Egypt and Iran
  - iii. Across North Africa and into Spain (718)
  - iv. Movement east into Sind
  - v. Treatment of religious minorities (dhimmis) ("people of the book")
  - vi. Reasons for the rapid spread
    1. Strict and effective form of social organization
    2. Incentives for conversion and cooperation
    3. Social disruption: "vacuum theory"
- E. Early Islamic Centers: Damascus (Umayyads) and Baghdad (Abbasids)
- i. Umayyads (657–750)
    1. consolidated the spread of the Islamic empire
    2. accused of being worldly Arab tyrants
  - ii. Abbasids (750–1258)
    1. height of medieval Islamic civilization
    2. strong state with absolute rule by the Caliph
    3. Destroyed by Mongol invasions
    4. Post-script: Crusaders from Europe
- F. Other Islamic Centers
- i. Persia (900–)
    1. Center of Art, Architecture, and Literature
  - ii. Egypt (969–)
    1. Fatimid Shi'ites
  - iii. Spain (Andalusia) (718–1492)
    1. rival Umayyad caliph
    2. Transmitted Greek philosophy and Islamic science to Western Europe
  - iv. Ottoman Turkey (1500–1918)
    1. Renewed the Caliphate
    2. Late center of Islamic political innovation
  - v. Mughal India (1206–)
  - vi. Arab Trading Centers
    1. East African coast
    2. South-East Asia
  - vii. Central Asia and Eastern Europe
    1. Azerbaijan (642)
    2. Spread through Central Asia (7–10<sup>th</sup> centuries)
    3. Latecomers (Albania, Ingushetia) (17–19<sup>th</sup> centuries)

#### IV. Islamic Civilization

##### A. Art & Architecture

- i. Calligraphy
  1. Qur'anic illumination



- 2. Prohibition on depicting figures
- ii. Mosques and Madrasas (Islamic schools)
  - 1. Experiments in space and light
    - a. Arches, entryways
  - 2. Minarets (Iraq vs. Egypt vs. Turkey)
  - 3. Intricate decorative arts
- B. Literature
  - i. Qur'an as literature (ex: fatiha)
  - ii. Arabian nights (Harun al-Rashid of Baghdad)
  - iii. Sufi poetry (Rumi)
    - 1. Joys of the finding the passion of God
    - 2. Example: opening of the mathnawi
- C. Science
  - i. Medicine (Avicenna-Ibn Sina)
  - ii. Astronomy
  - iii. Mathematics
- D. Philosophy, History and Theology
  - i. Role of maintaining and debating Greek philosophy
  - ii. Explorations of Africa and Asia (ibn-Batuta)
  - iii. Theories of state and society (ibn-Khaldun)
- E. Islamic Institutions
  - i. Mosques
    - 1. Center of social life
  - ii. Sufi Brotherhoods
  - iii. Universities
    - 1. Ex: Al-Azhar in Cairo as oldest university
  - iv. Charitable endowments (awqaf)
  - v. Religious Leadership
    - 1. Ulema (Sunni) and mullahs (Shii)
    - 2. Relationship to the government
- F. Social Life
  - i. Role of the Family
    - 1. Family as center of all community life
  - ii. Role of Women
    - 1. Polygamy
    - 2. Veiling
    - 3. Diverse understandings and applications
  - iii. Communal Norms
- G. Islam & Politics
  - i. Islam as total system (diin wa dawla)
  - ii. Political concepts
    - 1. Justice
    - 2. God as only true ruler
    - 3. Consultation
    - 4. Qur'an as constitution

- iii. Debates over Islamic Law (shari'a)
  - 1. Sign of an Islamic state
  - 2. Control moral behavior of the community
  - 3. Gaps in application
- iv. Political movements
  - 1. Islamic states (Saudi Arabia, Sudan)
  - 2. Revolutionary movements (Iran, Afghanistan, Algeria)
  - 3. Guerrilla movements (Palestine, Lebanon)
  - 4. Islamic parties (Turkey, Morocco, Indonesia)
- v. Concerns of these movements
  - 1. Moral order
  - 2. Sacred space
  - 3. Cultural "imperialism"
  - 4. Palestine
  - 5. Unjust and ineffective economies
  - 6. Distribution of wealth

## V. Conclusion

### A. Recent Developments

- 1. Motivations of 9/11
- 2. Interpreting 9/11
- 3. The dangers of radicalism
- 4. The dangers of misunderstanding

### B. Islam & America

- i. Rapid growth (2–3% of population?)
- ii. Nation of Islam
  - 1. Source of moral order and nationalism in the African-American community
- iii. Muslims abroad
  - 1. Concerns with cultural exports
  - 2. Concerns with foreign policy
    - a. Palestine
    - b. Iraq
    - c. Support for autocrats
  - 3. Appreciation for American opportunity

**Vitaly Naumkin, International Center for Strategic and Political Studies, Moscow**

**“Muslims in the Russian Federation”**

1. The Muslims of Russia: Who are They?
2. Islam and Politics in Russia
3. Islamic Dimension of the Chechen Conflict
4. Troubled Waters of Dagestan
5. Euro-Islam of the Tatars

**M. Nazif Shahrani, Anthropology, Indiana University, Bloomington**

**“Re-claiming Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia”**

I. INTRODUCTION: What is novel about the concept of *re-claiming* Islam in post-Soviet Central Asia?

II. Shifting realities: Islam, states, and society

A. Muslim Khanates and tsarist Russia

B. Soviet and post-Soviet legacy of the “political culture of scientific atheism”

C. The consequences of Soviet policies on Central Asian Islam and Muslim institutions:

1. Islamic “Great Tradition” vs. Muslim “Little Traditions”

2. Rural vs. urban

3. Non-literate vs. the educated

4. “Traditional” Muslim families (“elite,” intact or broken)

5. Islam and Central Asian nationalism

III. Politicalization of Islam (1980s):

A. Internal and external factors

B. Beginnings of re-claiming Islam

1. Rise of Muslim political action groups

2. The use of the label of Wahhabi

IV. 1991 and Independent States: The case of Uzbekistan

A. Redefining the relationship between the Uzbek state and society

1. Formative period (1990 to April 1992)

2. Islam Karimov “re-claims” Islam
3. The rise of an alleged Muslim “militia” in Namangan
4. The Mufti vs. Dini Idora
5. Anti-religious/Islamic constitutional and legal measures

#### V. Uzbek state triumphant

- A. Repression directed against opposition (Islamist and secular “democratic”)
- B. “Official Islam” vs. popular reformist Muslim preachers (the “Wahhabis”)
  1. Reclaiming the family and community (*mahalla*)—the battle for hearts and minds
  2. Reclaiming space for worship—Masajid (mosques)
  3. User-friendly education in mosques and community events
  4. The changing size and composition of congregations
  5. Attention to women’s Islamic education
  6. Maktabas and Madrassas: Mixed curricula

#### VI. The lost opportunity and the rise of militancy

- A. Disappearances, abductions, imprisonments, and repression of the advocates and practitioners of Un-Official (reformist) Islam in Uzbekistan
- B. The civil war in Tajikistan
- C. Armed resistance in Uzbekistan by IMU and Hizb al-Tahrir
- D. War on Terrorism in Afghanistan and its impact on Central Asian states
- E. Future prospects

**Edward W. Walker, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, UC Berkeley**

**“Islam and the Conflict in Chechnya”**

I. Introduction

II. Islam and Chechen culture

A. Islam before Sovietization

B. The Soviet period: Islam as culture vs. Islam as faith

C. Adat and the persistence of tradition

D. Chechnya during perestroika

III. Islam and the Chechen National Movement (1991–94)

A. Chechnya and the era of irrational nationalist exuberance

B. Liberal myths and ethno-national realities

C. Dzhokhar Dudayev and the five pillars of Islam (or is it four?)

IV. Islam and the first war (1994–96)

A. Gradual Islamicization

B. The myth of the Afghan mujahidin

C. External support: International jihadists and financing from abroad

- D. A war of national liberation
  
- V. The interwar period: Maskhadov's embrace of Islamism (1996–99)
  - A. Aslan Maskhadov and Islamism with a Chechen face
  
  - B. Political order, Shari'a, and the crisis of state-building
  
  - C. Maskhadov vs. the "Wahhabis"
  
- VI. Islam and the second war (1999 to date)
  - A. Basayev and Khattab: Jihadists without a Jihad
  
  - B. Maskhadov and the Islamic War of National Liberation
  
  - C. Divisions over ends in the resistance movement
  
  - D. Divisions of means in the resistance movement
  
- VII. Conclusion: A brutal war without end