

## *Preface*

Central Eurasian studies have made remarkable progress over the last two decades. Formerly a rare subject, Central Eurasia is now studied by a large number of researchers on the basis of primary sources and field-work. Scholars in the West and Central Eurasia, once separated by the Iron Curtain, now make frequent contact. Japan, having a long tradition of studying the ancient and medieval history of Central Asia, has also witnessed a surge of interest in modern Central Eurasia.<sup>1</sup>

This volume is a product of collaboration of Japanese, Central Eurasian, American, and Russian scholars, and reflects recent innovation in approaches and methodologies in this field of study. The first group of themes in this book is related to the history of Central Eurasia under the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. The multinational character of these successive “empires” has become common knowledge, but specialists in Russian history tend to rely exclusively upon Russian sources and analyze the events in Russia’s “peripheries” only in the context of Russian administration. Our approach is to combine Russian, Turkic, and Persian sources, and to investigate interactions between Russian administration and local people.

The second main subject is Islam, which was inseparably related to

1 In addition to individual works, recent works collectively written by Japanese scholars on Central Eurasia include: KOMATSU Hisao, UMEMURA Hiroshi, UYAMA Tomohiko, OBIYA Chika, and HORIKAWA Toru, eds., *Chuo Yurashia wo shiru jiten* [Cyclopedia of Central Eurasia] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005), 624 p.; IWASAKI Ichiro, UYAMA Tomohiko, and KOMATSU Hisao, *Gendai Chuo Ajia ron: Henbo suru seiji-keizai no shinso* [Contemporary Central Asia: Political and economic changes] (Tokyo: Nippon hyoronsha, 2004), xxi + 301 p.; KITAGAWA Seiichi, MAEDA Hirotake, HIROSE Yoko, and YOSHIMURA Takayuki, eds., *Kokasasu wo shiru tame no 60 sho* [Sixty chapters about the Caucasus] (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2006), 336 p.

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Tsarist policy and the life of many of the Central Eurasian peoples, and was suppressed but later revived under the Soviet regime. For today's Central Eurasian countries, Islamic rebirth is both a homegrown and global phenomenon. Our third focus is on contemporary politics, in which the peculiarities of each country and transnational factors both play crucial role. Overall, the basic concept of this book is interaction between internal/regional dynamics and external/transregional dynamics.

The book begins with a chapter by Komatsu Hisao, who explores the perception of Russian imperial rule by intellectuals, especially Islamic scholars, in Turkestan. Contrary to the view that Turkestani Muslims always dreamed of liberation from Russia, he shows that prominent intellectuals regarded Russian Turkestan as *Dār al-Islām* (Land of Islam) on the grounds that Muslim *qādis* (judges) worked there according to *Shari'a*. They accused the leaders of the Andijan Uprising of being ignorant Sufis who made fun of *qādis* and disturbed Muslim life. Later, the concept of *Dār al-Islām* also served as a basis for the idea of Turkestan autonomy. Uyama Tomohiko turns his attention to the Russian officials' views on the Central Asians expressed in long discussions on the possibility of Christianization and military conscription, and characterizes Russian policy by the conceptions of particularism, Orientalism, and rising Russian nationalism. He also points out that although Muslim intellectuals were generally receptive to both particularistic discourses and the idea of Russia as their motherland, the Russian government was reluctant to accept their offers to mediate between it and ordinary people.

If Komatsu and Uyama examine the mutual perceptions of the Russian government and the Central Asians and the political relations between them on a macro level, Naganawa Norihiro focuses on a micro level of interaction between the state institutions and the Volga-Ural Muslims. He analyzes the debates among Jadid intellectuals, Muslim school teachers, and local Islamic leaders on educational reform in the context of competition between the Ministry of Education and the *zemstvos*. His paper is related to such important issues as the role of the *mahalla* (parish) as a public space, and the coexistence of Russian citizenship and Tatar nationality. Margaret Dikovitskaya opens the world of a unique kind of historical material, namely the photograph. She

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claims that the color ethnographic photography of Prokudin-Gorskii, being a new visual technology, was a powerful publicity tool that represented Russian national pride and discriminatory views on the indigenous populations of Central Asia.

Adeeb Khalid's essay on the revolutionary period continues both the themes of Central Asian Jadid discourse (Komatsu) and of cultural reform (Naganawa). Khalid vividly describes how the Russian revolution urged the Jadids, who had earlier engaged in cultural reform, to political action. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1918 and the establishment of British paramountcy in the Middle East converted the Jadids from European liberalism to anticolonialism. They maintained revolutionary enthusiasm after the Bolsheviks won the civil war, although their activities were gradually confined again to the cultural realm. Mambet Koigeldiev narrates even harsher conflicts between the Bolsheviks and Kazakh intellectuals, extensively referring to rare documents from the former Communist Party and KGB archives. The Kazakh national movement, which culminated in the establishment of the Alash Orda autonomous government (1917–1920), was met with hostility from the Bolsheviks. Goloshchekin, the notorious secretary of the Kazakh Krai Committee of the Communist Party (1925–1933), launched an assault on the Kazakh elite, many of whom were sent to concentration camps and eventually killed.

Along with the purge of national elites in the 1930s, one of the most tragic events caused by Soviet policy is the deportation of entire nationalities in the 1940s. Elza-Bair Guchinova, through a series of interviews, minutely describes the adaptation difficulties and survival strategies of the Kalmyks deported to Siberia. Although their overall situation was extremely difficult, they worked and studied hard, communicated with the local people, and marked their festivals secretly, and their common experiences consolidated their ethnic identity. While the Kalmyks returned to their homeland in the late 1950s, some other ethnic groups were forced to remain in exile for more decades. Hanya Shiro focuses on their problem in order to better understand nationalities policy in the Brezhnev era. The Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks demanded rehabilitation and return to the homeland. The authorities reacted with carrots and sticks, repressing activists of national move-

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ments while permitting return to the homeland under limited conditions. The plan to create a German autonomy in Kazakhstan was abandoned because of the Kazakhs' objection, which testified to the growing national consciousness of titular nations in the 1970s.

Ashirbek Muminov approaches the Soviet period from a different angle and demonstrates the paradoxical nature of Islamic rebirth under a regime that propagated atheism. Shami-Damulla, an anti-Sufi and anti-Hanafi Arab theologian, was extremely influential in Tashkent in the 1920s. Some of his followers later played prominent roles in the Spiritual Directorate of Muslims and struggled against local traditions with the support of the authorities. The idea of Shami-Damulla and his followers returning to the Qur'an and the *hadiths* was borrowed by the young clergy who launched fundamentalist movements in the late Soviet period. George Sanikidze provides valuable information on Islamic resurgence in the Pankisi Gorge, a place that became famous after Russia accused Georgia of harboring Chechen rebels there in the early 2000s. Sanikidze shows that Islam was historically not the sole dominant religion in the gorge, with Georgians and Russians often successfully propagating Christianity among the local Kists. Sufi orders were active during the Soviet period, but radical Islam appeared in the gorge only in the 1990s, when Chechen refugees and Arabs arrived there.

The next two chapters are dedicated to analyses of the internal political dynamism of Central Eurasian countries. Dosym Satpaev shows changes in the political system and elite of Kazakhstan over the post-Soviet period, and the formation of various groupings around figures close to the president. He also points out the danger of super-personification of governmental power. Alexander Markarov analyzes long debates on constitutional reform in Armenia, using the concept of semipresidentialism. The constitutional distribution of power has been an object of contestation in many of the post-Soviet states, and it has been an especially complicated issue in Armenia, where parliamentary coalitions have often been transformed.

The book ends with two chapters that deal with current transborder issues. Sergey Golunov sheds light on the problem of drug trafficking that poses a threat to both Eurasia as a whole and the border regions of Russia and Kazakhstan. He explains in detail the significance of the Rus-

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sia-Kazakhstan route among various routes of drug trafficking, the forms of organization of trafficking, and measures taken against it. Oka Natsuko focuses on two transborder ethnic groups, the Uighurs and Uzbeks in Kazakhstan, and proves that although they are sometimes faced with problems deriving from the relationship between Kazakhstan and China or Uzbekistan, they largely maintain stable relations with the Kazakhs and the authorities, and their transborder ethnic links have not challenged the existing border.

All the chapters are based on the papers presented at the international symposium “Regional and Transregional Dynamism in Central Eurasia: Empires, Islam and Politics” (Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, July 7–8, 2005).<sup>2</sup> Both the symposium and this volume have been financed by the 21st Century COE Program “Making a Discipline of Slavic Eurasian Studies.” The symposium was also supported by the project “A Comparative Study of the Role of Intellectuals in the Modernization of Central Eurasia” (grant-in-aid for scientific research by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science). I am grateful to the discussants who made helpful comments and suggestions on the papers, and all those who helped in organizing the symposium, especially Iwashita Akihiro, Fujimori Shinkichi, and Maeda Hirotake. A special thanks goes to the editorial assistants—Hosono Mitsue, Yokokawa Daisuke, and Okada Yukari.

Transliteration is a complex issue in this book where the authors refer to sources in various language and alphabets, such as old Tatar in Arabic, Kazakh in Cyrillic, Uzbek in Latin, Georgian in its own script, and so on. Therefore, some words are spelled differently among the chapters, but transliteration is consistent within one chapter. Transliteration from Russian follows the Library of Congress system, although some well-known proper names (such as Catherine II and Yuri Andropov) are spelled according to English convention. Japanese names are written with the family name first.

Uyama Tomohiko

2 Regrettably, a paper on Islamic folk publications in Xinjiang presented at the symposium was not submitted to this volume.