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Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia,

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Rashid, Ahmed. *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 2002. 281pp. \$24

After the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, U.S. policy makers focused heavily on Central Asian states as venues for basing troops and equipment for the war on terrorism. Although that war initially focused on Afghanistan, the effects of militant Islam have also affected various states in the Central Asian region to the north. In this book, Rashid provides the reader with a journalist's account of what has led to the rise of militant Islam in Central Asia. This book had just gone into editing when the attacks on the World Trade Center towers and the Pentagon occurred, and it underwent revision shortly before publication.

Rashid served as the chief correspondent for Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asia at the *Far Eastern Economic Review* and the *Daily Telegraph* for several years. His books and articles have made him one of the most respected observers of events in the region. His previous book, *Taliban*, won him worldwide acclaim and became a best-seller after 9/11 for its explanation of the rise of the Taliban.

Rashid begins by providing historical background. He points out that due to its geographic location, Central Asia has historically been the setting of numerous conquests, great-power struggles, significant economic activity, literary and artistic developments, and discussions about Islamic philosophy. Some of these themes still resonate today.

The struggle between Russia and Great Britain in the late nineteenth century

saw major Central Asian khanates (territories), such as Bukhara, Samarkand, and Tashkent, fall under Russian influence. This influence continued into the Soviet era despite attempts by Central Asian territories to forge autonomy. By appealing to Islam in various combinations with nationalism, ethnic identity, and ideology, Muslim intellectuals and clerics in Central Asia initially tried to find common ground with the Bolshevik government. Unfortunately, all overt symbols of Islam were ultimately suppressed, and the religion went underground during Soviet times.

After the Soviet Union's collapse, Islam underwent a rebirth in Central Asia, according to Rashid. However, most of the region's new leaders were former Communist Party officials turned nationalists who were mainly concerned about maintaining order and preventing the infiltration of militant Islamists. The civil war in Afghanistan, the rise of the Taliban, and the presence of al-Qa'ida fed these objectives. Furthermore, the new Central Asian rulers have been unable to improve the economic condition of the people. Rashid observes that among other factors, a combination of abject poverty, authoritarian rule, and the skepticism of Central Asian leaders about even peaceful manifestations of Islam have led to the rise of militant groups throughout the region.

The author uses three examples to illustrate his points: the Islamic Renaissance Party in Tajikistan, the Hizb-ut-Tahrir in several Central Asian states, and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. Each of these, although in itself unique, owes its prominence to the reasons outlined above. Rashid also discusses the situation of great-power rivalry among the

United States, China, and Russia as it relates to oil pipelines and regional stability. He also goes into detail regarding neighboring states, such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey, and their respective agendas toward the region. These chapters round out a complete picture of all the factors affecting Central Asia's stability.

The author ends with a chapter that highlights the issues contributing to Central Asia's woeful situation and offers some thoughts about forging stability there. This latter portion is disappointingly short; Rashid devotes only nine pages to discussing possible solutions to alleviating Central Asia's plight. A more developed discussion would have been beneficial.

Aside from this flaw, *Jihad* provides an excellent overview of the reasons for the rise of militant elements in Central Asia. The book gives an understanding of the stakes involved in Central Asia's security and how the region applies to U.S. interests. Central Asia has become significant for U.S. interests not only because of the prospects for oil but also for its potential as a haven for terrorist bases.

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Klare, Michael T. *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict*. New York: Henry Holt, 2002. 304pp. \$15

Michael Klare argues that most wars of the future, like many of those of the past and present, will be caused by conflicts over natural resources, especially oil and water. As a consequence, he suggests that American national

security policy focus “on oil field protection, the defense of maritime trade routes, and other aspects of resource security.” This position represents a reaffirmation of the industrial and economic dimensions of U.S. national security. In effect, if Klare is right, we are witnessing a resurgence of a materialist strand of American strategic thought that has been prominent at least since Alfred Thayer Mahan. For strategists, neither the clash of civilizations, the tragedies of identity politics, nor the long-buried animosities of religion or ethnicity are sufficient motivations for the major sources of conflict in the modern world. Rather, conflicts and national security policies are about the struggle for natural resources.

Lest anyone think that this is a purely American phenomenon, Klare suggests that the “economization” of international security affairs holds not just for the United States but also for most countries, including China, Japan, and Russia. Insatiable consumption coupled with finite, poorly distributed resources, as well as with a propensity to use armed force, leads to a conflict-ridden future.

Much of Klare's argument reads as if it were inspired by the tumultuous events of the 1970s, specifically after the first global oil shock helped to alert the world to upcoming neo-Malthusian dilemmas. The 1973–74 oil crisis, among other events, forced the United States and the world to face the reality that petroleum supplies are finite, poorly distributed across the globe, and vulnerable to rogue states. Academics and policy entrepreneurs then spent much of the decade cataloguing the vast number of critically important natural resources that were in short supply or projected to be, given consumption trends and