



This work is licensed under a
[Creative Commons Attribution 4.0
International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)



AL DALILI

Bi-Annual, Multilingual (Arabic, Balochi, Birahvi, English, Pashto, Persian, Urdu)

ISSN: 2788-4627 (Print), ISSN: 2788-4635 (online)

Project of **RAHATULQULOOB RESEARCH ACADEMY**,

Jamiat road, Khiljiabad, near Pak-Turk School, link Spini road, Quetta, Pakistan.

Website: www.aldalili.com

Approved by Higher Education Commission Pakistan

Indexing: » IRI (AIOU), Tahqeeqat, Euro pub, MIAR.

TOPIC

Spread of Islam in Eastern Europe and Russian Federation: Post-Soviet Dissolution

AUTHORS

1. Muhammad Ahad Yar Khan, Ph.D Scholar, Area Study Centre for Europe, University of Karachi, Pakistan.
Email: mahadyarkhan@gmail.com
2. Dr. Tansif ur Rehman, Visiting Faculty, Department of Criminology, University of Karachi, Pakistan. Email: tansif@live.com

How to Cite: Muhammad Ahad Yar Khan, & Dr. Tansif ur Rehman. (2022). ENGLISH: Spread of Islam in Eastern Europe and Russian Federation: Post-Soviet Dissolution. *Al-Dalili*, 4(1), 12–24. Retrieved from <https://aldalili.com/index.php/dalili/article/view/48>

URL: <https://aldalili.com/index.php/dalili/article/view/48>
Vol.4, No.1 || July–December 2022 || English: Page. 12-24
Published online: 07-08-2022

QR. Code



Spread of Islam in Eastern Europe and Russian Federation: Post-Soviet Dissolution

¹ Muhammad Ahad Yar Khan, ² Tansif ur Rehman

ABSTRACT:

The invasion of the USSR of neighboring country Afghanistan led to its dismemberment. The Warsaw Pact East European countries, namely Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania, got freedom from the USSR's yoke and followed their independent foreign policies. The freedom from the wrath of the Red Army of the USSR led to the revival of Islam in respective countries, especially Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, and even in the later formed Russian Federation. As a result, in the contemporary era, open association with different religions has become a big part of Eastern European's national character. The research uses a direct and straightforward methodology of research, i.e., secondary analysis methodology was adopted.

Keywords: Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Islam

Introduction

With the breakdown of Communism during the 1990s, Soviet Union provoked change and progress in Eastern Europe. Each country in the region was under Communist rules and was distrustful as well as skeptical of God. The countries flanking Russia were once part of the Soviet Union, and those countries who were not even part of the Soviet Union were vivaciously affected by its prevailing circumstance in the region. When the USSR disintegrated in 1991, the respective countries articulated self-rule and began the technique of blend into the European social order, which was commonly Christian-directed. Regardless, with the surge of evacuees from the Middle East, these countries socioeconomic conditions ceaselessly changed as countless Muslims moved into these countries.

Governments that Communist autocrats and dictators had compelled before 1991 were opened up to the lion's share rule structures with open race policies similarly and in several spheres. With the fall of Communism came particular political and monetary changes that allowed people to follow their chosen religion. Various Central and Eastern European countries officially kept religion out of their disclosed life when they were a part of the Soviet Union. The accompanying sections dig into the recovery and spread of Islam following the USSR's dissolution in 1991. As a result, in the contemporary era, open association with different religions has become a big part of Eastern European's national character.

Research Methodology

The following respective research defies a direct and straightforward research methodology, namely, secondary analysis methodology was implemented. That engaged applying qualitative data by other researchers. It offered the benefit of saving time and

financial resources. The drawback of secondary and content analysis of other research studies was compensated by dependence on the data quoted by noted researchers.

Albania and Islam

Following the more broad examples of sociopolitical pluralism and opportunity in Eastern Europe, Albanian culture's movement competed against the Communist framework disintegrating in the wake of allowing two races (Christian and Muslims) to flourish together.¹ Near the completion of the framework's breakdown, it had reluctantly thought about confined severe verbalization to return.² In 1990 close by a cathedral, the central mosque in Shkoder was the chief structure resuscitated in the country.³

At that time, Muslims, usually from northern Albania, for example, Azem Hajdari (1963-1998) and Sali Berisha, who afterward was elected for several terms as president and Prime Minister, were unarguably the forerunners in the growth for a reformatory party rule.⁴ In 1992 and 1997, even some segments of the Albanian government comprised of a Muslim establishment. Regions that had been generally Muslim in Albania going before 1967 returned in a post-Communist setting eventually as Muslims with their distinctive features.⁵ As a result of some degree of the difficulty and misuse experienced during the Communist incumbency, Muslims in Albania have indicated reliable help for casting a ballot-based framework.⁶

Restoration of Islam in Albania

During the 1990s, Muslim Albanians set their celebration on restoring associations and Islamic socioeconomic infrastructure that was ruined by Communists.⁷ Hafiz Sabri Koci (1921-2004), a prayer leader arrested by the Communist government, changed into the breathtaking Mufti of Albania's Muslim community. All over this period, Muslim religious scholars in Albania addressed progressive issues and educated Muslims against standard authoritative heredity.⁸

The majority of mosques and educational institutes destroyed and damaged when the Communist government had by 1996 was either reproduced or revived in past constituencies where they once resided before 1967.⁹ The Muslim community of Albania is the central affiliation body regulating Islam in Albania and throughout the 1990s. The community got funds and substantial assistance from overseas to reconstruct its effect in the country.¹⁰ As a result of interwar and Communist legacies of weakening Islam in the country and secularizing the people, the transformation was disturbing. In Albania's post-Communist state, resettlement posed various problems for Muslims like recovery of religion, reviving socioeconomic structures, and reestablishing social relationships with non-Muslims.¹¹

Muslims are serving in sociopolitical and academic minority positions.¹² The Albanian state sees the social order and controls a considerable segment of mosques while similarly observed as Muslims' essential operators.¹³ Along these lines, it unravels its circumstance as ensuring an Albanian express type of Islam that follows institutional and ideological models created throughout the post-Ottoman nation-building era and has progressively got the status of an Albanian approach towards Islam.¹⁴

Great Mosque of Tirana

In 2010, the mayor of Tirana, Edi Rama, allowed the building of the Great Mosque of Tirana, as the Albanian community has developed cordial relations with Muslims.¹⁵ Because of financing inadequacies in Albania, such relationships have been domestically significant as they have mobilized resources of a couple of all-around bolstered widespread Muslim affiliations, for instance, the Organization of Islamic Conference, which believed in the revival of Muslim customs and practices in Albania.¹⁶ Spreading information about Islam has become very common in Albania through media and madrassas, and mosques (especially, Great Mosque of Tirana).¹⁷ From 2009 onwards, the Albanian government allocates financing to deal with administrative and various costs of religious places across Albania.

The state-run Turkish Muslim affiliation Diyanet (Directorate of Religious Affairs) upheld and started improving the respective mosque in Tirane in 2015.¹⁸ It is considered the most splendid mosque in Balkan with its minarets 50 meters high and a vault of 30 meters, its covered area 10,000 square meters and was situated near the parliament of Albania lodge 4,500 people.¹⁹ Worldwide assistance from directs relationships, for instance, the "Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency" (TIKA), have also endorsed the rebuilding of Ottoman-era mosques, of which only a few endure through Communist repression.²⁰ Albania's Muslims are still awaiting compensation of properties and land seized by the Communist regime in a post-Communist period.

Bulgaria and Islam

After the fall of Communism in November 1989, Muslims battled for and got the option to change their names back to their Muslim name.²¹ Mosques were repaired, and new mosques were also built. Writings, discussions, and preaching Islam started in Bulgaria, which was vehemently opposed in the Communist regime.²² As Kristen Ghodsee has portrayed it, "Islam in Bulgaria is incredibly heterogeneous, and there has been no consistent development for remaking Islam".²³ All through this typification procedure, the conventional Islam of neighborhood encapsulated rehearses some portion of the foundation, picked to shifting degrees by people.²⁴

Islamic Revival Movement in Bulgaria

Bulgarian media believes that many Bulgarian Muslims have adopted Islamic fundamentalism and are exponents of women wearing headscarves and endeavor to brainwash the youth.²⁵ The vision of Islamic commitment as an individual choice is relatively new. The social groupings that it structures are not synonymous with family, yet are built-up by common interests and feelings.²⁶ Islamic dedications in Bulgaria are highly regarded and may even be a fountainhead of magnificence concerning Islam's spread. Considering everything, the number of conventional individuals in exacting events is close to nothing.²⁷

In Muslim towns, there are programs for youth to think about Islam and Qur'an after school and even throughout vacations. The Grand Mufti's office launched 700 courses in 2014, while for 2005, there were around 250 courses planned. These classes include a briefing about the passages from Qur'an, recitation, and promoting Islamic values as

well as ethics. To have a better understanding of the Qur'an, the classes even incorporate a careful examination of Arabic literature, phonetics, idioms, poems, and plays.²⁸

“Despite how financing for Islamic reclamation in Bulgaria has started from Middle Eastern sources, is it not the case that Islam is an imported markdown from abroad. Resources for Islamic reclamation have begun from Arab relationship through secretly selected associations and respectable aim”.²⁹ An impressive number of Islamic teachers are from Saudi Arabia or potentially Jordan.³⁰

Regardless, while remote effects may without a doubt be felt in Bulgarian Muslim towns, the sorts of recuperation that are at present being cleaned are different outgrowths of the techniques of post-Communist Islamic propagation.³¹ Rather than being installed, Islam has progressed, and the present Bulgarian Islam is richly multivoiced.³² The pioneers of Islam among Bulgaria’s Muslims are people whose families were possessed during the Communist regime, or progressively energetic people in their 30s and 40s, who grew up not long after the sanctions were lifted. Some of them acquired the Islamic way of thinking in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Turkey, while others got their guidance in Bulgaria.³³

The Czech Republic and Islam

In the Czech Republic, there are two mosques in Prague and one in Brno. The majority of Czechoslovakian Muslims are Arabs who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s from Africa and the Middle East. Many Muslims came from the Caucasus and the Balkans seeking a better life.³⁴ and ignoring how the country’s Muslim minority will, as a rule, remain under conversations over issues, for instance, whether or not schools should allow the hijab.³⁵

Czech Looking to Islam for Spirituality

The Muslim social order in the Czech Republic, one of the least severe countries in Europe, is pretty much nothing.³⁶ Various Muslims come to live and focus at present. Moreover, there is a preference for some young Czechs to convert to Islam as they keep searching for new experiences.³⁷ After the collapse of the Communist regime, Czechs are understanding and experiencing Islam. Many are converting to Islam, but Islamophobia is also on a high rise in the Czech Republic after 9/11.³⁸

Poland and Islam

In Poland, Muslim society is continuously changing, as Tatars and Poles are faced with the problematic task to either accept or reject the advancing changes.³⁹ Moreover, the affirmation of these movements is obstructed by the truth that Polish society is set in a phase to recognize Islamic values.⁴⁰ This circumstance is an outcome because people who preach religion (Islam) and know the Arabic language are outcasts, Arabs, usually from Saudi Arabia or the Middle East, who inspired Poland by their religion, lifestyle, and values.⁴¹ It is not easy to comprehend that various young Tatars attempt to live according to the guidelines developed by transient Muslim social order and Polish converts.⁴² Simultaneously, it must be kept in mind that Poland, similarly to various Western and Southern European countries, faces Islam's expansion. Because of Poland's hermetic culture, a passageway for Islam into the country has begun lately

by the extending number of foreigners coming to Poland for business purposes or permanent residence.⁴³ It is related to Poland's closer contacts with the Middle Eastern countries and the growing number of Polish converts to Islam.⁴⁴

Besides, Muslim analysts and scholars visit Poland from time to time, Qur'an translations are reissued, exacting composing is appropriated, classes in which the Arabic language is the medium of instruction are often commenced. Departments of Arabic Language at the University of Warsaw and the University of Krakow work adequately; thus, Islamic literature is available.

Romania and Islam

In Romania, Islam is trailed by merely 0.3 percent of the people, yet has 700 years of presence in Northern Dobruja, a region in the Black Sea coast that was once a part of the Ottoman Empire for around five centuries (ca. 1420-1878).⁴⁵ Most supporters of Islam in Romania have their roots in either Tatar or Turkish ethnic systems. Islam is one of the 16 areas that require state affirmation in Romania.⁴⁶

Sociocultural Aspects of Romanian Muslims

Ethnically, there are mostly Tatars, followed by Turks (also known as Muslim Roma), Albanians, and Middle Eastern workers.⁴⁷ Individuals from the Muslim groups inside the Roma minority are conversationally known as 'Turkish Romani'.⁴⁸ They are generally less strict than other Islamic groups in Romania, and their way of life blends Islamic traditions with Roma social standards.⁴⁹

Socialism and Post-Revolution Period

Dobruja Muslims were exposed to social restraint all over Communist Romania. Post-1948, all Islamic organizations' property was taken over by the state.⁵⁰ The next year, government-controlled obligatory classes for Tatar and Turkish children were launched (Pauly, 2016). Irwin (1989) indicated this was an endeavor to ensure that the Tatar community acclimatizes with the set precedents. A sharp decrease in model school's enrollment prompted the new curriculum to be stopped in 1957.⁵¹

Thus, training in the Tatars and Turkish language was assured within 1959, while the Islamic educational institute in Medgidia was shut down in the 1960s.⁵² Many inhabitants in Ada Kaleh settled in Anatolia in a matter of time before the 1968 construction of the Iron Gates dam by a joint Yugoslav-Romanian venture that made the island very populous.⁵³

Muslims were less restrained and scattered in Romania in contrast to other countries of Eastern Europe, and the rules were less harsh than, for instance, those implemented against Roman Catholics and Protestants living in the country.⁵⁴ Accordingly, they supported a publication of the Qur'an, and top government officials, for instance, Bucharest Imam Regep Sali and Mufti Iacub Mehmet, had publicly discussed various issues in the Great National Assembly in President Nicolai Ceausescu reign in the country.

Following the Romanian Revolution of 1989, the Muslims of Tatar and Turkey were again allowed to the country's educational program.⁵⁵ and in 1993, Medgidia madrasa was resumed as a theological and pedagogic high school of Romania. The madrasa

was then elevated to the status of a national college. In the 1990s, the official Muslim delegates in Romania keep close relations with universal non-administrative associations, for example, the Muslim World League.

Russian Federation and Islam

The Muslims in Russian Federation are around 14,220,000, or 10% of the entire population is indigenous, and this number keeps on increasing.⁵⁶ Islam came to Russia in the 7th century A.D. Following two decades of the demise of Prophet Muhammad, the Muslims came to Russia and preached. Around three-fourth of all immigrants in Russia come from ex-Soviet Republics, and several others hail from countries that had strong traditional relations with Russian, for instance, Afghanistan and Vietnam. The transformed concepts of an Islamic-Christian rivalry first surfaced from Afghanistan's Soviet occupation and later from the regional rivalries following the USSR's breakup.⁵⁷

Russian leaders and politicians continuously emphasize the importance of Islam as an essential component of statehood's political system, traditionally and in the contemporary world.⁵⁸ The Russian law recognized Islam as one of Russia's four major religions, constituting a vital aspect of the Russian historical legacy.⁵⁹

Islam in Post-Soviet Period

There existed a significant official trade-off towards Islam in Russia during the 1990s. The number of Muslims permitted to make excursions to the Holy grounds of Mecca and Medina rose high following the fall of the USSR in 1991.⁶⁰ In 1995, Imam Khatib Mukaddas of Tatarstan started sifting through advancement to improve the relationship between ethnic appreciation and ending the Russians about Islam's misinformed judgment in Russia.⁶¹

The post-Communist affiliation set up an ideological gathering, explicitly the 'Nur All-Russia Muslim Public Movement' that acted personally with Muslim imams to help Muslims' political, monetary, and social benefits.⁶² The Islamic Cultural Center of Russia that possessed an austere school was built up in Moscow in 1991. During the 1990s, countless Islamic literature was circulated.⁶³

Perhaps, the most significant phase of Muslim revival in Russia is that Muslims began to emphasize their presence as part of the world Muslim community and therefore disregarded the notion of minority, or 'younger brother, that was prevalent all over during the Soviet period.⁶⁴ For that reason, Alexey Malashenko and many Russian analysts on Islam explained the Muslim renaissance's primary causes in positive ways. Nevertheless, following many years there was a rising apprehension concerning the balance of influence within the Muslims in Russia moving towards radical Islamic involvement elements.⁶⁵ *The Russian government has shown prejudice against its Muslim minority and disregarded the growth of corrosive xenophobia amongst its people. That led to a rise in bitterness and hostility among the Muslims in the country – sentiments that radical Islamic groups in Russian would exploit.*⁶⁶

Territorial Fixation

Most Russian Muslims live in Moscow and other significant metropolitan zones, i.e.,

Saint Petersburg and Yekaterinburg. Muslims' high centralization in the districts where Islamic states previously existed.⁶⁷ At present, these areas are Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and the countries of the North Caucasus. In Russia, Muslims living in other regions are generally allowed to take a day leave of work if they compensate for their leave afterward. Putin officially congratulated Muslims at their religious festivals.⁶⁸ If the pattern proceeds, the Muslim populace could surpass ethnic Russians in three decades.

Development Elements of Russian Muslims

The Muslim religious education system in Russia comprises over a hundred Islamic colleges and Madrassas. There were 7,000 mosques in 2000, 3098 registered Muslim societies, and 114 Muslim Madrassas.⁶⁹ Muslims are increasing because of two fundamental elements, the high birth rate and an influx of immigrants arriving from Central Asian nations.⁷⁰

Muslim Demographic Effects on Russian Society

According to the U.S. official estimates, the Russian population stands at 141.7 million (July 2020).⁷¹ However, no official record existed in the country about the number of Muslims, as the earlier census did not include its religious beliefs. The Census of 2010 showed the total number of Muslims in the country was around 15 million, and many labor migrants hailed from Central Asian countries, whose expatriates show a significant part of the nearly 11 million labor migrants in the country. The final figure of Muslims in the country perhaps stands at 20 million.⁷² That is precisely what Muslim spiritual leaders,⁷³ and Russian politicians, namely President Vladimir Putin, generally quote.⁷⁴

Besides, the number of Muslims in Russia, comprising legal and illegal immigrants, reaches some 20 million. Accordingly, it is plausible to evaluate that the country has the most significant Muslim minority in the European continent. The Russian population's Muslim portion is believed to rise from about 12 percent in 2010 to nearly 14 percent in 2030.⁷⁵ The Muslims' growth rate in Russia is estimated to be less than 1 percent per annum over the next couple of decades. Besides, about 22.8 percent of Russian Muslims are under the age of 15, in contrast to nearly 15.9 percent of ethnic Russians.⁷⁶ There is, however, apprehension for the ethnic Russians, who view the Muslim population with hostility. The more 'Russified' Tatars are in decline, similar to the ethnic Russian population.⁷⁷

Though Russia's abortion rate is highest globally, the study implies that Muslim women have fewer abortions generally than other ethnic women.⁷⁸ Such factors promise the projected rise of the Muslim population^{79 80 81 82}

An illustration of data of migrants shows 33 percent of all births in the country.⁸³ The Muslim immigrants continue to rise in Russia. Accordingly, the official Russian statistics show nearly 240,000 immigrants move into the country yearly. Konstantin Romodanovsky, the head of the Federal Migration Service, stated that nearly three million immigrants are thought to enter the country unlawfully.⁸⁴

Russian Domestic Issues and Foreign Policy Options

A rising trend of Russian and Muslim nationalism has caused religious politicization,

and the Russian government has to effectively deal with this issue.⁸⁵ One of the significant challenges the Russian government faces is its ties with Islam, both internally and in foreign policy.⁸⁶ The Russian government has outlined three parallel dialogues on Islam to emerge Islamophile and fight Islamic radicalism.⁸⁷ The Russian government considers the country multinational and pluralistic, wherein all the religions are equal.⁸⁸

Recently, Russia has developed a new policy in which Muslim countries worldwide are natural allies of Russia in their fight against the West (especially the United States of America). The doctrine exploited the fact that many Muslim countries in the Middle East are apprehensive and disturbed by the encroachment of liberal Western social values in countries with globalization.⁸⁹ However, Muslims generally, and especially in the Arab world, have shown a relatively neutral or sometimes positive viewpoint of Russia, as it supports a discourse against US-style democracy promotion and its attendant intervention.⁹⁰

However, many analysts thought that the Russian military intervention in Syria might backfire by supporting the Syrian government in a sectarian war. Russians supported Assad's regime and attacked Sunni rebels' endeavor to head a coalition of Iran, Iraq, and Syria.⁹¹ In Syria, the revolt against Assad's government led to an increasingly sectarian war in the country. That is an outcome of identity politics that prevailed in Syria since its creation following the First World War, especially since the Assad regime's government took power first time in 1970.^{92 93} The sectarian identity has been the critical factor among Iraq's people since 2003.⁹⁴

The Russian government has intensely focused mainly on supporting Muslims for their vested political agenda, both domestically and overseas. However, the critical issue is how long the government will manage the Muslim population and continue to enjoy such diverse groups.⁹⁵ While firmly watching the Muslims' developments in the country, the government is trying to maintain its Muslim content and avoid national conflict. Nevertheless, Muslim's experience of xenophobia in the country continues to grow as a result of Russian far-right and popular opinion generally (i.e., "Russia for the Russians").⁹⁶

Besides, Muslims are always turning towards Islam out of frustration with the Russian government's policies, which has been a failure to improve social and economic conditions. The attitude of the Russian government towards Muslim minorities is full of ambiguities. Though not prepared to fulfill the demands of even the more moderate elements amongst Muslims, Russia stresses complete loyalty from its Muslim community. It implies that Muslim regions on the middle Volga, namely Tatarstan and Bashkortostan. However, they continue to make growing political and economic demands from the Russian government.⁹⁷

Nevertheless, in conventionally Muslim areas, Islamic references are a vital part of society, and all local leaders try to place themselves as followers of customary Islam. Nevertheless, in regions where Islam is slightly visible only with the activities of migrants, there are growing tensions.⁹⁸

Given the imminent demographic alterations, in about 2050, Muslims may represent between one third and one half of Russia's population. Consequently, the growing number of Muslims will affect both the Russian domestic and foreign policy initiatives in the medium and long-term.⁹⁹ Russian government discriminatory promotion of Islam matches well with its foreign policy objectives. The declaration of Islam's historical relationship with Russia, a fundamental part of the Muslim world, has led to the Russian endeavor to reestablish its great-power standing in Asia and the Middle East.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

Various Central and Eastern European countries officially kept religion out of their disclosed life when they were a part of the Soviet Union. The accompanying sections dig into the recovery and spread of Islam following the USSR's dissolution in 1991. As a result, in the contemporary era, open association with different religions has become a big part of Eastern European's national character. When the USSR disintegrated in 1991, countries like Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Poland, and Romania articulated self-rule and blended into the European social order, which was commonly Christian-directed. Regardless, with the surge of evacuees from the Middle East, these countries socioeconomic conditions ceaselessly changed as countless Muslims moved into these countries.

In the future, the ties between the Russian regime and its Muslim community will rely more on the assimilation of national and religious communities and minorities in the country, as Russian authorities often consider questions like if the Muslims are loyal to the government or the separatist developments become more robust in the country?.¹⁰¹

Islam in Russian Federation would continue to increase its influence because of the disappointment of the Russian government's policies and increased migration from Central Asian countries. Since the Russian government is apprehensive of Islamic fundamentalism and extremism, such factors may lead to further internal conflicts.

The complicated political turmoil occurring amongst the Muslim community in Russia and the Muslim world requires that the Russian government reconsider its Muslim community's attitude, including political Islam, discarding stereotypes, and creating amicable approaches. It is especially significant as a hostile economic situation can worsen political issues and exacerbate the already complicated inter-ethnic ties.¹⁰² The Russian government would endorse the country's rising Islamic identity and its possible effects on foreign policy. A growing aspect of Russia's public opinion will force the government to support Muslim foreign policy initiatives.¹⁰³

References

¹Kurt Brackob, *Scanderbeg: A History of George Castriota and the Albanian Resistance to Islamic Expansion in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, Center for Romanian Studies, 2017

²Robert Hoyland, *From Albania to Aarran: The East Caucasus Between the Ancient and Islamic Worlds (ca. 330 BCE-1000 CE)*, Gorgias Press, 2020

³Isa Blumi and Gezim Krasniqi, *Albanians' Islam(s): The Oxford Handbook of European Islam*. Oxford University Press, 2015

⁴Cecilie Endresen, *Is the Albanian's Religion Really 'Albanianism'? Religion and Nation According to Muslim and Christian Leaders in Albania*, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013

- ⁵Alison Vacca, *Non-Muslim Provinces Under Early Islam: Islamic Rule and Iranian Legitimacy in Armenia and Caucasian Albania*, Cambridge University Press, 2017
- ⁶Erich Bethmann, *Bridge to Islam*, Routledge, 2020
- ⁷Mohammad Hashas, *The Idea of European Islam*, Routledge, 2019
- ⁸Andrea Mura, *The Symbolic Scenarios of Islamism*, Routledge, 2015
- ⁹Lacy Evans De O'leary, *Islam at the Crossroads*, Routledge, 2019
- ¹⁰Mohammad Hashas, *The Idea of European Islam*, Routledge, 2019
- ¹¹Robert Pauly, *Islam in Europe: Integration or Marginalization?* Routledge, 2016
- ¹²Kurt Brackob, *Scanderbeg: A History of George Castriota and the Albanian Resistance to Islamic Expansion in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, Center for Romanian Studies, 2017
- ¹³Robert Hoyland, *From Albania to Aarran: The East Caucasus Between the Ancient and Islamic Worlds (ca. 330 BCE-1000 CE)*, Gorgias Press, 2020
- ¹⁴Isa Blumi and Gezim Krasniqi, *Albanians' Islam(s): The Oxford Handbook of European Islam*. Oxford University Press, 2015
- ¹⁵Cecilie Endresen, *Is the Albanian's Religion Really 'Albanianism'?* Religion and Nation According to Muslim and Christian Leaders in Albania, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013
- ¹⁶Isa Blumi and Gezim Krasniqi, *Albanians' Islam(s): The Oxford Handbook of European Islam*. Oxford University Press, 2015
- ¹⁷Robert Hoyland, *From Albania to Aarran: The East Caucasus Between the Ancient and Islamic Worlds (ca. 330 BCE-1000 CE)*, Gorgias Press, 2020
- ¹⁸Kurt Brackob, *Scanderbeg: A History of George Castriota and the Albanian Resistance to Islamic Expansion in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, Center for Romanian Studies, 2017
- ¹⁹Isa Blumi and Gezim Krasniqi, *Albanians' Islam(s): The Oxford Handbook of European Islam*. Oxford University Press, 2015
- ²⁰Robert Hoyland, *From Albania to Aarran: The East Caucasus Between the Ancient and Islamic Worlds (ca. 330 BCE-1000 CE)*, Gorgias Press, 2020
- ²¹Orlin Avramov, *Annotated Legal Documents on Islam in Europe: Bulgaria*. Brill, 2014
- ²²Lacy Evans De O'leary, *Islam at the Crossroads*, Routledge, 2019
- ²³Kristen Ghodsee, *Muslim Lives in Eastern Europe: Gender, Ethnicity and the Transformation of Islam in Post-Socialist Bulgaria*, Princeton University Press, 2010, P-14
- ²⁴Andrea Mura, *The Symbolic Scenarios of Islamism*, Routledge, 2015
- ²⁵Mohammad Hashas, *The Idea of European Islam*, Routledge, 2019
- ²⁶Nilufer Gole, *Islam in Europe: The Lure of Fundamentalism and the Allure of Cosmopolitanism*. (Translated by Steven Rendall), Markus Wiener, 2011
- ²⁷Evgeniia, Antonii, Boriana, Ilona, Mikhail, and Sonia, 'Naglasi na Miusiulmanite v Bulgaria' [Composition of Muslims in Bulgaria], New Bulgarian University and Alpha Research, 2011
- ²⁸Government of Bulgaria, Office of Grand Mufti, Broiat na Letnite Koran Kursove Dostigna 700, 2014, July 25
- ²⁹Kristen Ghodsee, *Muslim Lives in Eastern Europe: Gender, Ethnicity and the Transformation of Islam in Post-Socialist Bulgaria*, Princeton University Press, 2010, P-142
- ³⁰Kristen Ghodsee, *Muslim Lives in Eastern Europe: Gender, Ethnicity and the Transformation of Islam in Post-Socialist Bulgaria*, Princeton University Press, 2010
- ³¹Erich Bethmann, *Bridge to Islam*, Routledge, 2020
- ³²Orlin Avramov, *Annotated Legal Documents on Islam in Europe: Bulgaria*. Brill, 2014
- ³³Robert Pauly, *Islam in Europe: Integration or Marginalization?* Routledge, 2016
- ³⁴Laura Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity and the Making of Czech Identity, 1453-1683*, Routledge, 2013
- ³⁵Erich Bethmann, *Bridge to Islam*, Routledge, 2020
- ³⁶Lacy Evans De O'leary, *Islam at the Crossroads*, Routledge, 2019
- ³⁷Andrea Mura, *The Symbolic Scenarios of Islamism*, Routledge, 2015

- ³⁸Robert Pauly, *Islam in Europe: Integration or Marginalization?* Routledge, 2016
- ³⁹Erich Bethmann, *Bridge to Islam*, Routledge, 2020
- ⁴⁰Pawel Borecki, *Annotated Legal Documents on Islam in Europe: Poland*, Brill, 2013
- ⁴¹Andrea Mura, *The Symbolic Scenarios of Islamism*, Routledge, 2015
- ⁴²Robert Pauly, *Islam in Europe: Integration or Marginalization?* Routledge, 2016
- ⁴³Harry Norris, *Islam in the Baltic: Europe's Early Muslim Community*, I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2017
- ⁴⁴Pawel Borecki, *Annotated Legal Documents on Islam in Europe: Poland*, Brill, 2013
- ⁴⁵Marius Lazar, *Multiculturalism and Islam in Romania: The Relations between the Muslim Minorities and the Romanian State and Society*, Lambert Academic Publishing, 2018
- ⁴⁶Dennis Deletant, *Romania Under Communism*, Routledge, 2019
- ⁴⁷Lacy Evans De O'leary, *Islam at the Crossroads*, Routledge, 2019
- ⁴⁸Dennis Deletant, *Romania Under Communism*, Routledge, 2019
- ⁴⁹Marius Lazar, *Multiculturalism and Islam in Romania: The Relations between the Muslim Minorities and the Romanian State and Society*, Lambert Academic Publishing, 2018
- ⁵⁰Dennis Deletant, *Romania Under Communism*, Routledge, 2019
- ⁵¹Marius Lazar, *Multiculturalism and Islam in Romania: The Relations between the Muslim Minorities and the Romanian State and Society*, Lambert Academic Publishing, 2018
- ⁵²Zachary Irwin, *The Fate of Islam in the Balkans: A Comparison of Four State Policies*. In Sabrina Pedro Ramet (ed.), *Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics*, Duke University Press, 1989
- ⁵³Marius Lazar, *Multiculturalism and Islam in Romania: The Relations between the Muslim Minorities and the Romanian State and Society*, Lambert Academic Publishing, 2018
- ⁵⁴Zachary Irwin, *The Fate of Islam in the Balkans: A Comparison of Four State Policies*. In Sabrina Pedro Ramet (ed.), *Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics*, Duke University Press, 1989
- ⁵⁵Mohammad Hashas, *The Idea of European Islam*, Routledge, 2019
- ⁵⁶United States Department of State. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor International, *Religious Freedom Report for 2011*, 2011
- ⁵⁷Scott Thomas, *A Globalized God: Religion's Growing Influence in International Politics*, Foreign Affairs, 2010, November
- ⁵⁸Karina Fayzullina, *Interpreting Russian Policy and Islam*, Al-Jazeera Centre for Studies, 2014, September 28
- ⁵⁹United States Department of State. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor International, *Religious Freedom Report for 2011*, 2011
- ⁶⁰Daniel Pipes, *Muslim Russia?* The Washington Times, 2013, October 20
- ⁶¹Ian Black, *The Islamic State: Is it Isis, Isil-or Possibly Daesh?* The Guardian, 2014, September 21
- ⁶²Paul Coyer, *(Un)Holy Alliance: Vladimir Putin, The Russian Orthodox Church and Russian Exceptionalism*, Forbes, 2015, May 21
- ⁶³Petrenko, G. (2012). *Influence of the Russian Orthodox church on Russia's foreign policy*. 4th ECPR Graduate Student Conference. Jacobs University Bremen.
- ⁶⁴Ibid
- ⁶⁵Paul Coyer, *(Un)Holy Alliance: Vladimir Putin, The Russian Orthodox Church and Russian Exceptionalism*, Forbes, 2015, May 21
- ⁶⁶Daniel Pipes, *Muslim Russia?* The Washington Times, 2013, October 20
- ⁶⁷Mukhametshin, *Musul'mane Rossii: Sud'by, Perspektivy, Nadezhdy* [Muslims of Russia: Fate, Prospects, and Hopes], Moskva, 2001, P-72
- ⁶⁸Elmira Akhmetova, *Yearbook of Muslims in Europe*, V. 6, Brill, 2014
- ⁶⁹Mukhametshin, *Musul'mane Rossii: Sud'by, Perspektivy, Nadezhdy* [Muslims of Russia: Fate, Prospects, and Hopes], Moskva, 2001, P-72
- ⁷⁰Elmira Akhmetova, *Yearbook of Muslims in Europe*, V.6, Brill, 2014

- ⁷¹Government of United States of America, CIA World Factbook, Russia Population, 2020
- ⁷²Alexei Malashenko, *Islam in Russia. Changes in the Kremlin's Rhetoric*, Russia in Global Affairs, 2014, September 23
- ⁷³Elmira Akhmetova, *Yearbook of Muslims in Europe*, V.6, Brill, 2014
- ⁷⁴Arab News, *Observer's Role Strengthens Moscow's Relations with OIC*, 2011, June 12
- ⁷⁵Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, *The Future of the Global Muslim Population*, 2011, January
- ⁷⁶Judyth Twigg, *Differential Demographics: Russia's Muslim and Slavic Populations*, PON ARS Policy Memo No. 388, 2005, December
- ⁷⁷Stratfor, *Reassessing the Russian Identity, Part 4: Putin's Evolving Russia*, 2012, November 29
- ⁷⁸Judyth Twigg, *Differential Demographics: Russia's Muslim and Slavic Populations*, PON ARS Policy Memo No. 388, 2005, December
- ⁷⁹ABC News, *Russia Faces the HIV Epidemic with 1 million Positive Cases; Kremlin Blames Moral Lapses*, 2016, September 7
- ⁸⁰Agence France-Presse, *Russian HIV-Aids Epidemic Worsening Under Kremlin Policies, Says an Expert*, 2016, February 17
- ⁸¹Al-Jazeera, *Left Out in the Cold: Living with HIV in Russia*, 2016, September 3
- ⁸²Andrew Osborn, *Russia's AIDS Epidemic Reaches Crisis Levels*, Reuters, 2016, January 22
- ⁸³Abdullah Rinat Mukhametov, *Russian Muslims Face Challenges of Demography and Migration*, New Eastern Europe, 2015, August 14
- ⁸⁴Stratfor, *Reassessing the Russian Identity, Part 4: Putin's Evolving Russia*, 2012, November 29
- ⁸⁵Paul Salem and Alexey Malashenko, *The Russia-Middle East Connection: The Arab Spring and Its Impact on Russia's Muslims*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013, April 12
- ⁸⁶Walter Laqueur, *Russia's Muslim strategy*. Middle East Papers: Middle East Strategy at Harvard, No. 6, 2009, November 1
- ⁸⁷Kaarina Aitamurto, *Protected and Controlled. Islam and 'Desecularization from Above' in Russia*. Europe-Asia Studies, 68(1), 2016, P-182-202
- ⁸⁸Kate Graney, *'Russian Islam' and the Politics of Religious Multiculturalism in Russia*. In Dominique Arel and Blair Ruble, (eds.), *Rebounding Identities: The Politics of Identity in Russia and Ukraine*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press with Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006
- ⁸⁹Paul Sanders, *Putin's Muslim Family Values*, Al-Monitor, 2014, May 29
- ⁹⁰Marlene Laruelle, *How Islam Will Change Russia*, The Jamestown Foundation, 2016, September 13
- ⁹¹Egor Lazarev and Anna Biryukova, *Are Russia's 20 million Muslims Seething About Putin Bombing Syria?* The Washington Post, 2016, March 7
- ⁹²Terrill Washington, *Confronting the Islamic State: Understanding the Strengths and Vulnerabilities of ISIS*, Parameters, 44(3), 2
- ⁹³Nikolaos van Dam, *The Struggle for Power in Syria*, I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1996
- ⁹⁴Fanar Haddad, *Sectarianism in Iraq: Antagonistic Visions of Unity*, Columbia University Press, 2011
- ⁹⁵Robert Crews, *Moscow and the Mosque*, Foreign Affairs, 2014, February 6
- ⁹⁶Walter Laqueur, *Russia's Muslim strategy*. Middle East Papers: Middle East Strategy at Harvard, No. 6, 2009, November 1
- ⁹⁷Ibid
- ⁹⁸Marlene Laruelle, *How Islam Will Change Russia*, The Jamestown Foundation, 2016, September 13
- ⁹⁹Ibid
- ¹⁰⁰Robert Crews, *Moscow and the Mosque*, Foreign Affairs, 2014, February 6
- ¹⁰¹Walter Laqueur, *Russia's Muslim strategy*. Middle East Papers: Middle East Strategy at Harvard, No. 6, 2009, November 1
- ¹⁰²Alexei Malashenko, *Islam in Russia. Changes in the Kremlin's Rhetoric*, Russia in Global Affairs, 2014, September 23
- ¹⁰³Marlene Laruelle, *How Islam Will Change Russia*, The Jamestown Foundation, 2016, September 13