# THE CENTRAL ASIAN NEWSLETTER

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# RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Rasma Karklins, "Ethnic Politics and Access to Higher Education," Comparative Politics, April 1984, pp 277-294.

Sauri P. Bhattacharya, "Soviet Nationality Policy in Afghanistan," Asian Affairs, June 1984, pp 125-137.

Marie Mendras, "L'URSS et les Communistes Iraniens," <u>L'Autre Europe</u>, 1984, No 1, pp 55-58.

Frances D'Souza, The Threat of Famine in Afghanistan, Afghan Aid, London, May 1984, 57 p. This report was prepared for the British Afghan Aid Committee and funded by the Overseas Development Administration. Dr D'Souza is a fellow of the International Disaster Institute and the former Director of the Disaster Research Institute. She indicates "classic pre-famine conditions" in those districts (especially north, northeastern) which have suffered repeated bombings and a strong Soviet presence. According to the report, two factors could cause widespread and potentially catastrophic food shortages: 1) any Soviet attempt to close or even control the border with Pakistan; 2) possibility that the winter snows might be insufficient to maintain irrigation or if the rains fail in dry-land areas. Apart from heavy loss of life (half a million would be the immediate casualty figure), Dr D'Souza considers that the first consequence of famine or "even widespread food shortages" would be an "end to the resistance war against the invader."

Aziz Toghyan, <u>Hazarajat</u>, Editor Heidar Ali, 200 p, published by the "Organisation of New Generation of Hazaras Mongols" in December 1980, 1000 copies. Available from Aramdar in Quetta, Pakistan. The book includes a map of Hazarajat which covers the greater part of Afghanistan. The book studies the history and geography of

Hazarajat and pays special attention to the campaign of Emir Abdur Rahman in 1892-93 and the reasons why Hazara resistance failed. The Pushtuns are refered to as "occupants." The bibliography contained in the book refers exclusively to Soviet sources: Soviet archives, pre-Revolutionary Russian studies, and mainly works published on Hazara and Mongol questions in Moscow in the mid 1960s (even references to Marco Polo's travels are quoted from Russian translation).

"Mujahidin Unite to Repel Panjshir Offensive," Arabia, June 1984, No 34.

"Central Asia Focus: Soviets Step up the Propaganda War," Arabia, July 1984, No. 35.

"Afghan Refugees in Turkey," Afkar, Vol.1, No. 2 (July 1984).

Kuldip Nayar, "Subcontinent in Peril as Zia Seeks Afghanistan Deal," <u>Arabia</u>, June 1984, No 34.

"Le Grand Imam d'al-Azhar appelle; soutenir la Resistance Afghane," <u>Terre</u> Nouvelle, December 1983, Vol 5, No 25.

Ronald Wixman, The Peoples of the USSR. An Ethnographic Handbook, M.E. Sharpe Inc, Armonk, N.Y., 1984

Rosemarie Crisostomo, "The Demographic Dilemma of the Soviet Union," U.S. Department of Commerce - Bureau of the Census, International Research Document, No 10, August 1983, 15 p.

Anthony Hyman, "Afghan Resistance: Danger from Disunity," Conflict Studies, London, 1984, No 161, 24 p.

Il Giornale, 21, 24, 27 April, 4, 13 May 1984 featured articles by Ugo Tramballi on his recent travels among the resistance groups in Afghanistan.

Yossef Bodansky, "Afghan Defector Talks of Soviet Insults," Jane's Defence Weekly, 24 March 1984.

John Gunston, "Afghans Plan USSR Terror Attacks," Janes Defence Weekly, 31 March 1984, pp 481-486.

Yossef Bodansky, "Soviets Testing Chemical Agents in Afghanistan," Jane's Defence Weekly, 7 April 1984.

Rahimullah Yusufzai, "PDPA: Khalq-Parcham Struggle for Power," Regional Studies, Islamabad, Spring 1984, No 2, pp 64-105.

"The Soviet Union and Afghanistan,"

Institute of Soviet and East European

Judies: Bibliography No 2, Carleton

University, Canada, January 1984, 461

titles, 42 p.

Edward Bohm and Sybille Reymann, Das Wirtschaftliche Engagement der Sowjetunion in Asien: Afghanistan, Indien, Iran Pakistan und Turkei, Hamburg, Verlag Weltarchiv, 1983.

# Radio Liberty Research Bulletins

- o Peter Kruzhin, "Soviet Propaganda on Afghanistan, "RL 142/84, 5 April 1984.
- o Julia Wishnevsky, "Reference to Afghanistan in Samizdat," RL 143/84, 6 April 1984.
- o Mirza Mikailov, "Azeri Journal Published Fable Satirising Russo-Azeri Friendship," RL 182/84, 7 May 1984.
  - o Fatima Salkazanova, "An Interview with the Director of the Afghan Information Centre in Peshawar," RL 194/84, 16 May 1984.
  - o Fatima Salkanazova, "Interviews with Soviet Deserters in Peshawar," RL 205/84, 24 May 1984.

# CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS

o Institut d'Etudes Turques, Universite des Sciences Humaines, Strasbourg, will hold a symposium on "Azerbaijan, Passe, Present," on 13 and 14 November 1984. The

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symposium is jointly organised by Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijan and the France-URSS and URSS-Fresocieties. For further information contact: Mr Paul Dumont, 50 Avenue du Ber 92190 Meudon, France, tel 507 12 02.

o "The Potential of Afghanistan's Soci Institutions to Resist Sov and Penetration and Domination." This is = topic of research underway by Profess Nake M. Kamrany and Leon B. Poullada. study is scheduled to be completed at = end of August and a workshop will convened in late August or early September 1984 to discuss the major findings of t study. Those who are interested receiving the full text of the resear design may write for a copy from: Pro Nake Kamrany, Department of Economics, Univ of Southern California, MC 0035, Le Angeles, California USA 90089; Tel (213 743-2488. Inquiries for participation i the workshop may also be addressed to Prof Kamrany.

# FROM THE SOVIET PRESS

#### O SOVETSKAIA KIRGIZIIA

2 February 1984, L. Stroilov, "Henri Alle Protiv Sovetologov" (Henri Alleg Agains the Sovietologists), half page abstract in praise of the Henri Alleg book "Etoile Rouge et Croissant Vert." The article that there is no force stresses russification of Central Asians nor any contradiction between communist ideology and the mentality of Soviet Central Asians. The author denies any revival of Islam in the USSR. Attacked in the article are Proj Vucinic of Stanford Univ for encouraging separationist tendencies among Soviet Muslims; A. Bennigsen for having "shamelessly" declared that "nothing has basically changed in Central Asia after the October Revolution save a new form of Russian oppression;" and Helene Carrere d'Encausse for her book L'Empire Eclate.

Dozore Rodiny" (Fighting Patrol of the Motherland), for the 60th anniversary of the Border Guards units in Kirgizia and Gorno-Badakhshan. Retraces the history of the Border Guards fight against the

to production and the graduate the test enter

Basmachi, Kurshirmat, Ismankula and Husain Bey in particular.

29 March 1984, K. Orozaliev and V. Ploskikh, "Ne Gnushais' Lozh'iu Kleveshchut na Nashu Deistvitel'nost Antisovetchiki Vsekh Mastei," (Without Abhoring Lies Anti-Soviets of all Categories Defame Our Conditions of Life), half page article on Western falsifiers of Kirghiz history. Attacked are: Richard Pipes for having written that the October Revolution brought a "new and much heavier form of national oppression...proletarian colonialism"; Baymirza Hayit specifically for his work on the Basmachi; Isabelle Kreindler for her works on Kirghiz national culture and russification; and A. Bennigsen. Pride of

place is given to professor Kemal Karpat of the University of Wisconsin, who is accused of violent pan-Turkism and chauvinism for having written in William O. McCagg and Brian Silver, eds., Soviet-Asian Ethnic Frontiers (New York, 1979) that Turkic groups everywhere in the world instinctively acknowledge that the achievements and fate of Turkey has a deep psychological and political influence over their own fate," and for trying to prove the incompatibility of Russian and Central Asian nations. The Central Asian Review of Col. G. Wheeler (published in the 1950s-1960s) is also attacked. The authors claim that it has now been resurrected as The Central Asian Survey, edited by Enders Wimbush. Finally there is a celebration of the Russian language - "a brilliant manifestation of the international and national unity in the life of the Soviet people" thanks to which "the Kirghiz nation is now in communion with Russian, Soviet and world culture."

April 1984, V. Kiiutin, "V Slepom Antisovetizme" (Blind Anti-Sovietism), the article aims to prove that Soviet Muslims do not feel part of the "Muslim community," that there is no Islamic revival in the USSR and that the internationalist consciousness of the new Soviet man is "taking root." Although religious rituals are still performed in the former Muslim territories of the USSR, they are practised only by a few elderly people, and even mong those religiosity has a superficial character. "Our youth is indifferent to

religious rituals and religious education. Young people are building their private and social lives around Soviet rituals, feasts and customs - among them the Soviet marriage. Thus, the fact that part of the Central Asian population follows Muslim rituals, does not change the brilliant atheistic colouring of the activities and world view of the toilers of Central Asia."... "The all conquering ray of truth of Lenin's teaching has illuminated the of Central Asian nations and has brought a real change in their spiritual world - a reorientation from nationalism and Islam to atheism." The author further claims that there never was any unity among the people of Central Asia, that before the Revolution their internal history was written in blood, the oppression of the Kirghiz by the Khanate of Kcond illustrating this argument. Impact, Stern, Spiegel, Middle East International are singled out for criticism, while a recent article in World Politics (July 1982) by Martha Brill Olcott of Colgate University is cited in support of the argument that there is no Islamic renaissance in the USSR.

24 April 1984, "Razoblachaia Litsemerie Imperializma" (Exposing the Hypocrisy of Imperialism), TASS report from Kabul on an international meeting held there with representatives of Asian and African countries at which numerous "noted Afghan religious leaders" spoke about the position of Muslims in Afghanistan and the respect shown to Islam by members of the PDPA. Abdul Wali Hodjat, representative of re government department for Islamic Affàirs attacked the "American supported bands who spread death and destruction in the country hiding behind pseudo-religious slogans." M.M. Zeinalov of the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Asian and African Countries talked about Islam in Soviet Azerbaijan.

# O BAKINSKII RABOCHII

2 December 1983, Mursal Nadzhafov, "Mnogolikaia Muza Navvaba" (The Many-faced Muse of Navvab). Long article on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Mir Mohsen Navvab, an artist and writer.

7 December 1983, "Aktual'nye Problemy

Natsional'nykh Otnoshenii" (Real Problems of National Relationships). Reports on a held in Baku (6-10 December conference 1983) on "Dialectic of National and International Concepts in the Spiritual Life of the Soviet Man." The conference was very high powered with many ministers and academicians present, including Iu.V. Kh.Kh. Bokov. Academician and Bromlei Fedoseev made the opening speech, the main One must disseminate being: point propaganda and knowledge about the Soviet achievements on the nationality question in order to fight survivals of ethnic prejudices, racial arrogance and parochialism. "We all rejoice over the outstanding achievements of the peoples of the national republics of the Soviet Union, whether Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Turkmens, Ureks or Tajiks. But we know what cruel the befell their kinsmen living in the territories of neighbouring bourgeois and feudal states, as a result of wars of annexation or arbitrary border demarcations. Our people acknowledge what happiness befell them to be able to live and work in the Soviet Union under the glow of socialism. They thank fate that they did not find themselves on the wrong side of the socialist border."

# o <u>TURKMENSKAIA</u> <u>ISKRA</u>

10 December 1983, Khudaiberdy Durdyev, "Velikii Gumanist" (The Great Humanist). Celebrating the 250th anniversary of the great Turkmen Sufi poet Makhtumkuli. (Articles celebrating Makhtumkuli also arreared on 11 and 14 December 1983).

3 April 1984, B. Saryev, "Chto Skryvaetsia za Starymi Obriadami" (What is Hidden Behing Old Rites), the author writes that "studying the reasons of the tenacious life of survivals ( perezhitki ) from the past in the consciousness and customs of the people, scholars have come to the conclusion that religious influence plays a major role." The most tenacious survivals are found to be those which are presented national traditions. Sociological surveys conducted in Turkmenistan have shown that the older generation often refuses to live with young families and help with children's education if old customs are not followed. Because of social pressure people are forced to comply

with tradition: for instance if somebod refuses to give a religious burial an funeral banquet (pominki) to relatives, h is accused of being uncaring and lacking respect for the dead; if a young wife refuses to wear a iashmak she will be considered immoral. The author consider that family traditions of the past "serve the propaganda of the ideology of Islam give the idea of religious exclusiveness and national peculiarity to the nations professing this religion." Although freedom of religion does not mean that believers and representatives of Islam have the right to be led only by their own rules disregarding the laws of the state." Early marriage of girls is said to encourage religiosity among women and customs like religious burial and marriage are performed quite openly in the presence of the whole village and government representatives, who participate in the rituals even if they claim to be atheists.

6 April 1984, "Pereshel na Storonu Narodnoi Vlasti" (Joined the Side of People's Power), TASS report filed from Kabul. Statement by a former member of Harakat-e Engelab-e Islami who served "this criminal band" for 5 years while under the influence of Western propaganda. However, he has now understood that Islam is not threatened in Afghanistan and does not need defending. The article also mentions meetings and thousands-strong, demonstrations large, held recently in the provinces of Afghanistan (unspecified) with the support of the National Fatherland Front, the religious establishment, trade unions, youth and women organisations etc, against the USA.

14 April 1984, "Ideologicheskie Diversii Protiv DRA" (Ideological Diversions Against the DRA), TASS from New Dehli, attack on Western disinformation about Afghanistan quoting Indian sources. Specifically mentioned are "the subversive radio station pretentiously named Radio Free Kabul" and the Afghan Information Centre in Peshawar.

17 April 1984, "Zastava u Reki" (The Outpost Near the River), in the regular column "My Zhivem na Granitse", set in 1924 during the war against the Basmachi.

24 April 1984, "Nedelia Solidarnosti s

Afganistanom" (Solidarity Week with Afghanistan), front page article to celebrate the 6th anniversary of the Saur revolution, meetings, concerts in the kolkhoz, sovkhoz, academic institutions, etc.

# o PRAVDA VOSTOKA

"Propagandisty Ateizma" December 1983, (Propagandists of Atheism). Front page (reproduced from Pravda, 14 editorial December 1983) on the shortcomings of atheistic propaganda. The propaganda, complains the editorial, is too often carried in an abstract manner: religious dogmas are criticised "in general without attention to specific aspects of a religion like Islam, which is closely intertwined with national customs in several parts of the country, and without analysing

contemporary trends in the ideology and activity of the clergy and sectarian organisations." Turkmenistan and the Narimanov raion of the Astrakhan oblast' are singled out for special criticism: in Narimanov raion (numbering some 100 rural settlement centres), only 78 lectures were held in 1982, while during the same period Muslim and Orthodox clergy conducted some 220 religious services.

## O KAZAKHSTANSKAIA PRAVDA

18, 20, 21, and 22 December 1983, S. Kozybaev "Oborotni" (The Werewolves). Very detailed attacks on the Kazakh staff of Radio Liberty.

25 December 1983, "Note of Protest" to Pakistan, quoting Bakhtar News Agency about an attack "with light and heavy artillery", by Afghan Mujahidin on a custom house in Towr Kham.

### o OTHER

A. Doev, "Islam Zhana Ateisttik Ish" (Islam and Atheistic Work), Kommunist, Frunze, 1984, No 2, pp 68-74, in Kirghiz. Ambiguous article: it criticises Western specialists who talk about the "renaissance of Islam," the "historical role of Islam" and stresses the lack of unity of the Muslim world, yet reminds that there are 800 million Muslims quoting Ayatollah Khomeini's words, that by the year 2000 Muslims will outgrow Christians, and

suggests the possibility that the Muslim may "wake-up" thanks world revolutionary dynamism. On Islam in the Soviet Union Doev writies that according to the findings of Soviet sociologists 70 per cent of Muslims in the USSR believe in religion. their blames He propaganda for the fact that it is generally believed in the Muslim world that Soviet Muslims do not have the right to pray, fast and live according to their traditions. On page 71, the author claims that the Mujahidin resistance parties Hezb-e Islami and Jamiat-e Islami (in large print in the text) kill those people who support the socialist order. The author also claims that Radio Liberty, various Turkestani emigre organisations, Baymirza Hayit, Michael Bourdeaux of Keston College the Central Asian Research Centre in London and NATO aim to create an "association of Islamic unity."

# MUSLIMS IN POLAND

Keston News Service, 7 June 1984, reports that a new mosque is to be built in Oliwa near Gdansk. There are approximately 2500 Polish Muslims of Tatar origin living in six communities with 2 mosques functioning.

## MUSLIM RELIGIOUS BOARDS - USSR

Muslims of the Soviet East 1984, No 1, features an editorial on the importance of ijtihad (the doctrine allowing individual interpretation of the Shari'at by qualified doctors of law) and stresses that Islam ard the Qoran can provide answers to aspects of modern political, social and economic life; and an article on Rizaeddin Fahreddin, a Tatar jadid theologian and pupil of Shihabeddin Marjani.

### MOSQUES IN KAZAKHSTAN

According to the Qazi of Kazakhstan, Ratbek Nisanbaiev, (Muslims of the Soviet East, 1984, No 1) there are more than 40 Jami mosques functioning in the Republic. In the last few years new mosques have been built in the cities of Dzhezkazgan and Karaganda, in the settlements of Merk, Abai, Yangi Kurgan of Kizil Orda region, Urdjar of Semipalatinsk region, Chilik of Amla-Ata region, in districts of Djambul and Chimkent and in the city of Djetisay near Chimkent. Old mosques were restored