

The Central Asian Newsletter

VOLUME 5, No. 3 AUGUST 1986

P.O. BOX 131, OXFORD OX1 2NJ, UK.

EDITORS: MARIE BROXUP
DAWN JAMISON

CONTENTS

- Recent Publications
- Soviet Books and Periodicals
- Polish Research on Afghanistan
- From the Soviet Press
- Reports from Republic Party Congresses
- Northern River Diversion Scheme
- Afghanistan
- Muslim Minorities in Bulgaria, China

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Books

Afganistan v ogne. Dokumenty i svidetel'stva o voine v Afganistan ("Afghanistan on Fire. Documents and Evidence on the War in Afghanistan"). V. Malinkovich, editor Suchasnist', 1985.

Hamid, Muhammad, *Imam Shamil – the first Muslim Guerrilla Leader*, Lahore: Islamic Publications Ltd, 1986.

Basgoz, Ilhan, and Tietze, Andreas, *Bilmece: A Corpus of Turkish Riddles*, University of California Press, Folklore Studies No. 22, 12,000 riddles in Turkish with English translation, 1063 pp., \$25.00.

Bennigsen, Alexandre, and Lemercier-Quelquejay, Chantal, *Sultan Galiev, le pere de la Revolution tiers-mondiste*, Paris: Fayard, 1986, 307 pp.

Bucherer-Dietschi, Paul, and Jentsch, Christoph, eds., *Afghanistan, Landermonographie*, Listal: Bibliotheca Afghanica, 1986, 493 pp., including maps and tables.

Bulgarian Turks in the Turkish Press, January-April, 1985, Directorate General of Press and Information, Prime Ministry of Turkey, Ankara, in Turkish "Turk Basininda Bulgaristan Turkleri", a collection of news and articles published in various press organs of Turkey. The 750 page book carries 424 such news items, and provides detailed information on many specific cases of oppression against Muslims in Bulgaria.

Carre, Olivier, and Dumont, Paul, eds., *Radicalismes Islamiques*, a compendium in two volumes, editions l'Harmattan, end 1985-beginning 1986.

Periodicals

Barry, Michael, Lagerfelt, Johan, and Terrenoire, Marie-Odile, "Mission to Afghanistan and Pakistan (September/October/November 1985)", report to International Humanitarian Enquiry Commission on Displaced Persons in Afghanistan, Oxford: Central Asian Survey Incidental Papers Series, No. 4, 1986, 41 pp.

Altman, Yochanan, and Mars, Gerald, "The Emigration of Soviet Georgian Jews to Israel", *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, June 1984, pp. 35-45.

Strode, Rebecca. "The Soviet Armed Forces: Adaption to Resource Scarcity," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2, Spring 1986, pp. 55-69

Olcott, Martha Brill, "Moscow's Troublesome Muslim Minority", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2, Spring 1986, pp. 73-83.

Mukerjee, Dilip, "India and the Soviet Union", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 9 No. 2, Spring 1986, pp. 109-122.

"Chinese Hajj claims", *Arabia*, January 1986, p. 74.

"Central Asia Focus: How many faces has Chingiz Aitmatov?", *Arabia*, January 1986, pp. 40-41.

"Afghanistan File: The Afghan jihad six years on . . .", *Arabia*, December 1985, pp. 15-19.

"Central Asia Focus: Second fiddle calls the tune in Uzbekistan", *Arabia*, December 1985, p. 44.

Alptekin, Erkin, "Eastern Turkestan: An Overview", *Journal*, Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1985, pp. 126-136.

Hayit, Baymirza, "Western Turkestan: The Russian Dilemma", *Journal*, Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1985, pp. 137-151.

Wimbush, S. Enders, "Soviet Muslims in the 1980s", *Journal*, Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1985, pp. 152-166.

"Changing rivers' courses to irrigate an empire", *Arabia*, Vol. 5, No. 54, February 1986, p. 43.

"Muslims in USSR: tough times ahead?" *Arabia*, Vol. 5, No. 56, April 1986, p. 45.

Iskander Karim, "Afghanistan: US aid with strings attached", *Arabia*, March 1986.

Landau, Jacob M., "Political Institutions", *Turkei*, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985, pp. 248-261.

Kirimli, Hakan, "Bulgaristan'daki Turkler ve Kirim Tatarlari", *Emel*, Sept. – Oct. 1985, pp. 4-8.

Khan, Dr. Mohammad Anwar, "Muslims of Soviet Russia – A Survey", *Central Asia* (Journal of the Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar), Summer 1985, pp. 1-27.

Hamid, Fazli, "Pakhtu - A Code of Honour", *Central Asia* (Journal of the Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar), Summer 1985, pp. 129-146.

Ali Akis, "Idil-Ural'da Hurriyet Mucadelesi", Istanbul: Yeni Asya Yayinlari, 1985, 62 pp.

Daniel, Odile, "La communaute musulmane dans le mouvement culturel albanais de la fin du XIXe au debut du XXe siecle", *Lettre d'information*, CNRS, No. 4, November 1985, pp. 21-34.

"Free Afghanistan", No. 3, Spring 1986, the new journal of the Afghanistan Support Committee includes, among others, the following articles:

- Julian Gearing and Barnaby Rogerson, "Resistance under Pressure: 1985".
- Olivier Roy, "The Afghan Resistance and the Arabs".
- Sir Oliver Forster, "Human Rights in Afghanistan".
- Julian Gearing, "Western Media Coverage of the War in Afghanistan".
- Fatima Gailani, "Women in the Jihad".

- Dr. Schuyler Jones, "Nuristan". Subscriptions: The Afghanistan Support Committee, 18 Charing Cross Road, London WC2 N OHR.

Hayit, Dr. Baymirza, "Sovyetler Birliğinde İslam Araştırmalarının Temayülleri", *Türk Dünyası*, No. 41, Nisan 1986, pp. 183-200.

Devlet, Dr. Nadir, "Tatar Sairi Tukay' in 100, Yili (1886-1913)", *Türk Dünyası*, No. 41, Nisan 1986, pp. 201-205.

Radio Liberty Research Bulletins

Solchanyk, Roman, "Does Gorbachev Have a Nationalities Policy?", RL 112/86, March 7, 1986.

Seagram, Joseph, "Teaching of Russian Discussed at Party Congresses in Muslim Republics of the USSR", RL 131/86, March 13, 1986.

Seagram, Joseph, "Need For Changes in

Kirgiz Language Discussed", RL 141/86, March 21, 1986.

Seagram, Joseph, "The Status of Islam in the USSR as Reflected in Speeches at the Republican Party Congresses", RL 120/86, March 7, 1986.

Seagram, Joseph, "Problems in Publishing Spotlited at Party Congresses in Central Asia and Kazakhstan", RL 123/86, March 7, 1986.

Solchanyk, Roman, "Two Soviet Scholars Oppose Silence on Concept of Merger (*Sliyanie*) of Nations", RL 125/86, March 10, 1986.

Kramer, Michael, "Party Ideological Secretaries in the Union Republics: Where They Come From and Where They Go", RL 419/8, December 20, 1985.

SOVIET BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Dadashzade, M.A. *Dukhovnaya kul'tura azerbaidzhanskogo naroda v srednie veka* ("The Religious Culture of the Azeri People in the Middle Ages"), Baku: Elm, 1985, 214 pages, 850 copies, in Azeri.

Voenno-oboronitel'noe delo domongol'skoi Bulgarii ("The Military and Defense in Pre-Mongol Bulgaria"), Kazan': Institute of Language, Literature and History, USSR Academy of Science, 126 pages, 500 copies.

Azimov, A., *Ekonomicheskoe i sotsial'noe rasvitiie Uzbekistana v gody Sovetskoi vlasti* ("The Economic and Social Development of Uzbekistan in the Years of Soviet Power"), Samarkand: SamGU, 1985, 104 pages, 500 copies.

Suleimanov, R.B., Moiseev, V. A., *Chokan Valikhanov - vostokoved*. ("Chokan Valikhanov - Orientalist"), Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1985, 111 pages, 3000 copies.

Problemy sovremennykh etnicheskikh protsessov v Kalmykii ("Problems of Contemporary Ethnic Processes in Kalmykia"), A.G. Mitirov ed., Elista: KalmNIIIE, 1985, 140 pages, 500 copies.

V stroiu boevom (Sbornik o podvige narodov Sred. Asii i Kazakhstana v gody belikoi Otech. voiny i o voen.-patriot. vospitaniu voenov sredneasiat. voen. okruga) ("In Fighting Order", a collection of the exploits of the peoples of

Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the years of World War II and on the military-patriotic training of the troops of the Central Asian military district), Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1985, 248 pages, 14000 copies.

Sem'ia u narodov SSSR v usloviakh razvitiia sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva, vsesoiuznaia nauch. konf. Makhachkala, 1985. ("The Family among the Peoples of the USSR under the Conditions of a Developed Socialist Society", results of an all-Union scientific conference held in Makhachqala in 1985), Makhachqala: B. i., 1985, 249 pages, 350 copies.

Alapaev, O., *Religiia i ateisticheskoe vospitanie molodezhi* ("Religion and the Atheistic Upbringing of Youth"), Frunze: Mektep, 1985, 85 pages, 3000 copies, in Kirghiz.

Tarba, I. D., *O sisteme nauchno-ateisticheskogo vospitaniia v Abkhazskoi ASSR* ("On the System of Scientific-Atheistic Education in the Abkhaz ASSR"), Sukhumi: Alashara, 1985, 41 pages, 500 copies, in Abkhaz.

Umarov, C. Ts., *Evoliutsiia osnovnykh techenii islama v Checheno-Ingushetii* ("The Evolution of the Basic Tendencies of Islam in Checheno-Ingushetia"), Grozny: Chech.-Ing. kn. izd-vo, 1985, 32 pages, 3000 copies.

Avksent'ev, A.V., Mavliutov, R.R., *Kniga o Korane* ("Book on the Qoran", translated from the Russian), Cherkessk: Stavrop. kn. izd-vo. Karachaevo-

Cherkes. otd-nie, 1985, 215 pages, 5000 copies, in Karachai.

Amanturlin, Sh. B., *Predrassudki i sueverii, ikh preodolenie* ("Prejudices and Superstitions: Overcoming Them"), Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1985, 124 pages, 15500 copies.

Islomov, S., *Nesostoiatel'nost' burzh-uaznoi fal'sifikatsii ekonomicheskogo razvitiia Tadzhikistana* ("The Groundlessness of Bourgeois Falsifications of the Economic Development of Tajikistan"), Dushanbe: Irfon, 1985, 48 pages, 2000 copies, in Tajik.

Davitadze, G.Z., *Islam, ego vrednye posledstviia* ("Islam and its Harmful Consequences"), Batumi: Sabchota Adzhara, 1985, 94 pages, 3000 copies, in Georgian.

Nabiev, G., *Nravstvennyi ideal i nauchnyi ateizm* ("The Moral Ideal and Scientific Atheism"), Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 1985, 30 pages, 11840 copies, in Uzbek.

Religiia i sovremennost' ("Religion and the Present Day", a collection compiled by I. Shloss), Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1985, 77 pages, 1500 copies, in German.

Voprosy istorii Kazakhstana v russkoi dvoriansko-burzh-uaznoi i sovremennoi istoriografii sovetologov ("Questions of the History of Kazakhstan in Russian Noble-Bourgeois and Contemporary Sovietological Historiography"), Alma-Ata: KazPI, 1985, 90 pages, 500 copies.

Kopeshavidze, G.G., *Kul'tura i byt abkhazov, prozhivaiushchikh v Adzharii*

("The Culture and Everyday Life of the Abkhaz living in Adjara"), Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1985, 128 pages, 1000 copies.

Istoriia Afganistana ("The History of Afghanistan"), translation from the Russian (authors Iu. V. Gankovskii, M.R. Arunova, V.G. Korgun and others), Moscow: Progress, 1984, 360 pages, 9355 copies, in English.

Voprosy arkheologii Adygei ("Questions of Adyghe Archeology"), Maikop: B. i., 1985, 167 pages, 600 copies.

Dorzhenov, S.B., *Islam, veruiushchie i zhizn'* ("Islam, Believers and Life" – a "detailed investigation of the situation of contemporary Islam. The basic tasks of atheistic education and practical advice"), Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1985, 149 pages, 5500 copies, in Kazakh.

Islam: problemy ideologii, prava, politiki i ekonomiki ("Islam: Problems of Ideology, Law, Politics and Economics"), Moscow: Nauka, 1985, 279 pages, 10000 copies.

Potapchuk, V.A., *Iskusstvo i religiia: tsennosti podlinnye i mnimye* ("Art and Religion: Values Genuine and Sham" – scholars converse with believers), Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1985, 70 pages, 9600 copies.

Aliev, F.M., *Azerbaidzhano-russkie otnosheniia (XV-XIX vv.)* ("Azerbaijan-Russian Relations [XV-XIX centuries]"), Baku: Elm, 1985, 174 pages, 950 copies.

Butba, R.M. *Abkhazia: gody i sobytiia* ("Abkhazia: Years and Events"), Sukhumi: Alashara, 1985, 54 pages, 600 copies, in Abkhaz.

Molchanov, P. I., Repnikov, I.G., *Novocherkassk: Ist.-kraeved. ocherk. – 3-e izd.* ("Novocherkassk: Studies in History and Local Lore – 3rd Edition"), Rostov-on-Don: Kn. izd-vo, 1985, 207 pages, 15000 copies.

Khakuashev, E.T., *Novoe vremia – novye obychai* ("New Times – New Customs"), Nal'chik: El'brus, 1984, 158 pages, 1000 copies.

Gapurov, M.G., *Bratstvo naveki: (K 100-letiiu dobrovol. vkhozheniia Turkmenistana v Rossiiu)* ("Brotherhood Forever: On the Occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Voluntary Unification of Turkmenistan with Russia"), Ashkhabad: Ylym, 1984, 93 pages, 15000 copies, in Turkmen.

Fakhrutdinov, R.G., *Ocherki po istorii Volzhskoi Bulgarii* ("Studies in the History of the Volga Bulgars"), Moscow: Nauka, 1984, 216 pages, 3500 copies.

Narody Povolzh'ia i Priural'ia ("The Peoples of the Volga and the Urals"), R.G. Kuzeev, chief editor, Moscow: Nauka, 1985, 309 pages, 4100 copies.

Akmuradov, K., *Ateisticheskoe vospitanie sel'skogo naseleniia na sovremennom etape* ("Atheistic Education of the Rural Population in the Present Day"), A.A. Rosliakov, chief editor, Ashkhabad: Ylym, 1985, 119 pages, 1500 copies.

Iakh'iaev, Sh. G., *Islam i sovremennost'* ("Islam and the Present Day"), Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 1985, 28 pages, 8229 copies, in Uzbek. (From the Uzbek Znanie Society.)

Vzaimosviazi kirgizskogo naroda s narodami Rossii, Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana (konets XVIII-XIX v.) ("Interconnections of the Kirghiz People with the Peoples of Russia, Central Asia and Kazakhstan [from the end of the 18th century to the 19th century]"), B.V. Lunin, chief editor, Frunze: Ilim, 1985, 221 pages, 1000 copies.

Akhmedov, A., *Islam v sovremennoi ideino-politicheskoi bor'be* ("Islam in the Contemporary Ideo-Political Struggle"), Moscow: Politizdat, 1985, 240 pages, 100000 copies.

Sakhokia, T., *Puteshestviia po Gurii, Adzharii, Samurzakano i Abkhazii* ("Travels in Guria, Adjara, Samurzakano and Abkhazia"), Batumi: Sabchota Sakartvelo, 1985, 414 pages, 40000 copies, in Georgian. (Ethnographic notes.)

Mamedov, M.D., *Sotsial'nyi progress i religiia* ("Social Progress and Religion"), Baku: Elm, 1985, 195 pages: 1200 copies, in Azeri.

Zhulenev, V.F., Suiunov, N.T., *Pro-myshlennost' Turkmenistana za 60 let (1924–1984)* ("The Industry of Turkmenistan Over 60 Years [1924–1984]"), Ashkhabad: Turkmenistan, 1985, 133 pages, 3000 copies.

Ateisticheskii slovar' ("Atheist Dictionary"), M.P. Novikova chief editor, 2nd edition, Moscow: Politizdat, 1985, 512 pages, 300000 copies.

Ashirov, N., Ismailov, Kh. I., *Kritika antisovetskoi fal'sifitsii polozheniia*

islama i musul'man v SSSR ("A Critique of the Anti-Soviet Falsification of the Situation of Islam and Muslims in the USSR" [translation]), Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1985, 85 pages, 1000 copies, in Uighur.

Akhmedov, B.A., *Istoriko-geograficheskaia literatura Srednei Azii XVI-XVIII vv.* ("Historical-Geographical Literature of Central Asia of the 16th–18th Centuries"), Tashkent: Fan, 1985, 262 pages, 1378 copies.

Lakoba, S.Z., *Abkhaziia v gody pervoi rossiiskoi revoliutsii* ("Abkhazia in the Years of the First Russian Revolution"), Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1985, 109 pages, 1000 copies.

Nekotorye voprosy obshchestvenno-politicheskikh otnoshenii na Severo-Zapadnom Kavkaze v kontse XVIII-pervoi polovine XIX v. ("Some Questions of Socio-Political Relations in the Northwest Caucasus at the End of the 18th–First Half of the 19th Centuries"), a collection of articles, V.P. Gromov chief editor, Maikop: B. i., 1985, 96 pages, 500 copies.

Novye obriady i traditsii ("New Customs and Traditions"), Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 1985, 127 pages, 1000 copies, in Uzbek and Russian (parallel texts).

Dorzhenov, S.B., *Islam i natsional'nye otnosheniia* ("Islam and National Relations"), Alma-Ata: "Znanie" KazSSR, 1985, 47 pages, 2570 copies, in Kazakh.

Dzhafarov, Iu. M.R., *Gunny i Azerbaijan* ("The Huns and Azerbaijan"), Baku: Elm, 1985, 124 pages, 900 copies.

Esengeldiev, S., *O novykh obychaiakh i traditsiakh* ("On New Customs and Tradition"), Frunze: Mektep, 1985, 43 pages, 3000 copies, in Kirghiz.

Soviet Publications for Afghanistan

Gafurova, N.G., *Stroitel'stva sotsializma v Tadzhikistane* ("The Construction of Socialism in Tajikistan"), translation from the Russian. Moscow: Progress, 1985. 144 pages, 7176 copies, in Dari.

Khal'fin, N.A., *Zaria svobody nad Kabulom* ("The Dawn of Freedom over Kabul"), Moscow: Nauka, 1985, 320 pages, 25000 copies.

MUSLIM MINORITIES

Bulgaria and its Turkish Minority

"Bulgaria accused of killing Turks", by Michael Simmons. *The Guardian*, 26 March 1986, p. 8. The report notes:

"Amnesty [International] said the Bulgarian authorities were obliged to use army reinforcements, including tanks and water cannon, in a highly organised campaign to persuade Turks to change their names, to stop practising Turkish or Muslim customs, and even to stop speaking Turkish in public places.

"The organisation says it has the names of more than 100 ethnic Turks allegedly killed by the security forces during the campaign. In one case, security forces used teargas and dogs, and then opened fire on a peaceful protest march to a town

hall in the Greek border area.

"Amnesty says it also has the names of more than 250 ethnic Turks who have been arrested or imprisoned, most of them apparently for refusing to accept new identity cards.

"Amnesty adds: 'Since the end of March, 1985, when the name changing campaign was officially described as 'safely completed', we have continued to receive reports alleging that ethnic Turks have been killed or arrested in connection with the assimilation campaign.'

"Bulgarian Embassy officials refused to be drawn on the details advanced by Amnesty. These include accounts of forced 'resettling' in other regions of Bulgaria, of police demanding evidence that a local ethnic Turk had not circumcised his son, of one man from central Bulgaria arrested and imprisoned for refusing to accept his new identity card,

returning home to find no trace of his family.

"Circumcision, according to the report, can now be punished in Bulgaria by a fine equivalent to about L700 or up to three years in prison.

"We have also received reports from all over the country that anybody who speaks Turkish in a public place is liable to a summary fine. Other reports state that, because ethnic Turks were listening to Turkish radio broadcasts from Turkey, they have been forbidden to have radios in their homes, and that those wearing traditional Turkish dress have been harassed in the street."

Bulgaria: Imprisonment of Ethnic Turks is obtainable for £2.50 post free from Amnesty International at Roberts Place, London EC1R 0EJ.

China

(From the *Newsletter* of the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, Istanbul, No. 10, 1985, p. 26).

The Islamic Association in Urumqi, capital city of Xinjiang region in East Turkistan, has set up an Islamic Limited

Stock Company. The Company plans to raise money for investments in Islamic printing houses, as well as processing plants, shops and restaurants. Muslims in China are conservatively estimated at over 50 million.

The Pakistani Government will assist Muslims in China and in training religious

personnel and renovating mosques and *madrassas*, a Government statement said. The offer was made by the Minister of State for Religious Affairs, Mr. Maqbool Ahmad, at a meeting with a Chinese delegation headed by Haji Hussain Heiboli. Pakistan will also supply religious books for East Turkistan.

PAST CONFERENCES

The 1986 Midwest Slavic Conference held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison on April 18-19, 1986, included the following papers:

- Michael J. Harpke (University of Wisconsin-Madison), "The Social Bases of North-Caucasian Resistance to Russian Conquest: Egalitarian Fundamentalism"
- H.B. Paksoy (Oxford University), "Shora Batir: A Tatar Account of Russian Expansionism"
- Audrey Altstadt-Mirhadi (University of Wisconsin-Madison), "Resistance and Accommodation in Azerbaijani Elites Under Russian Rule".

The Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies held a one day conference on "Political Participation in the Turkish Republic: Discourse, Procedure & Power", Friday 16 May 1986. Further information may be obtained from The Chairman, Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HP.

The Sixth International Conference of

World Assembly of Muslim Youth, 22-27 January 1986, Riyadh, included the following sessions and papers (among others):

Topic: Muslims in Russia and China

"The Present Situation of the Soviet Muslims: in the Example of Kazan Tatars", by Dr. Nadir Devlet.

"The Status of Muslim Minorities in China's Uighur Autonomous Regions Traditionally Called Eastern Turkestan", by Ghulamuddin Pahta.

"Persecution of Turkish Muslims in Eastern Turkestan", by Mohammad Erkin Alptekin.

Topic: Socio-Cultural Problems of Muslim Minorities

"Impact of Soviet Culture on the Muslim Minorities in the Soviet Union (A Case Study)", by Dr. Abdur Rahman Al-Naqeeb.

The Second International Afghanistan Hearing, Oslo, 16 March 1986 included sessions on the Soviet Union and the War, Afghanistan and the UN, General Aspects of the War, and International Relief Work.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The XXXII International Congress for Asian and North African Studies will be held on 25-30 August 1986 in Hamburg. For further details, please write to: 32nd ICANAS Congress Organisation, Hamburg Messe und Congress GmbH, Postfach 30 24 80, D-2000 Hamburg 36, Federal Republic of Germany.

The twenty-ninth meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference will be held in Tashkent, Uzbek SSR from 15 to 21 September 1986. For more information contact the Soviet Organising Committee of the 29th PIAC, Zhdanova Street 12, Moscow, 103777, USSR.

The British Society for Middle East Studies will hold its Annual Conference from 6 to 9 July, 1986, at the University of London. Among other topics under discussion will be Afghanistan and Turkish politics. For more information, please write to the Chairman, Middle East Centre, School of Oriental and African Studies, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HP.

POLISH RESEARCH ON AFGHANISTAN

Penkala, Danuta, "'Hot' and 'Cold' in the Traditional Medicine of Afghanistan", *Ethnomedizin*, vol. VI, 1-4 (1980), pp. 201-228.

Pstrusinska, Jadwiga, "Poetic Forms in Afghan Poetry", *Folia Orientalia*, Tome XIII, 1971, pp. 233-256.

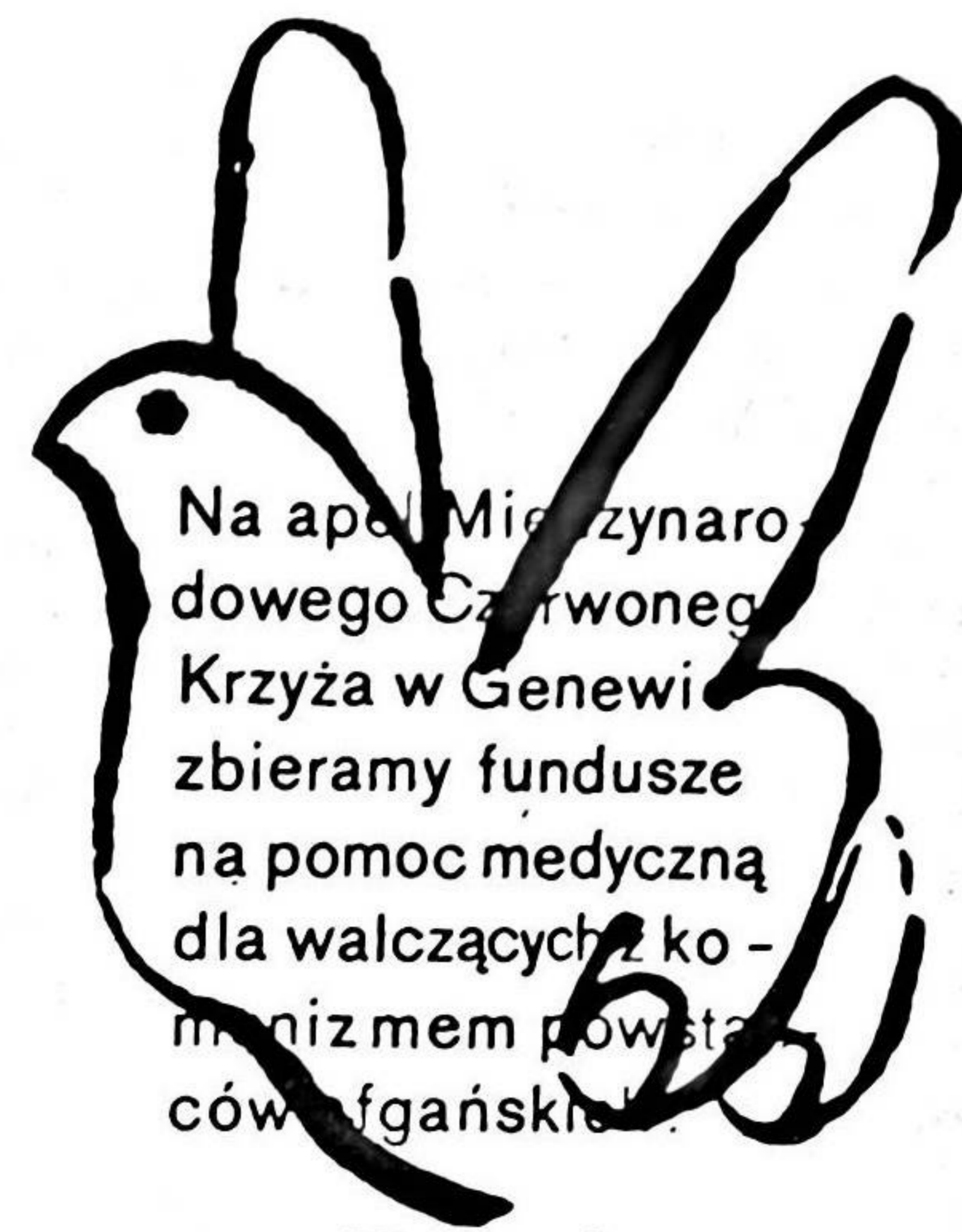
Pstrusinska, Jadwiga, "On Afghan Classification of Poetic Figures", *Folia Orientalia*, Tome XIV, 1972-73, pp. 161-188.

Gawecki, Marek, *Wies Stodkowego i Polnocnego Afganistanu. Tradycja i Proby Modernizacji*, Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 1983, 182 pp. with illustrations.

Pstrusinska, Jadwiga, *Pasto au Dari* (Selections for Studying the Official Languages of Afghanistan and their Literature), Krakow: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1985, 234 pp.

This little poster is now being sold underground in Poland for 100 Zlotys in support of the Afghan Resistance.

Wording: "Because of the appeal of the International Red Cross in Geneva, we are collecting money for medical help for the Afghan partisans fighting against communism" - Freedom and Peace Movement. (Arabia, June 1986.)



**Ruch
Wolność i Pokój**

FROM THE SOVIET PRESS (quoted from SWB translations - Summary of World Broadcasts, BBC. Printed and published by the Monitoring Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation.)

Religion in Soviet Muslim Communities

Report on Life in Four Religious Communities (*Izvestiia*, 17 January 1986), excerpts from an article by G. Alimov, O. Dzyuba, A. Lepikhov and A. Shliyenkov, "A day like any other: Reportage from four religious communities":

"Yangiyul is a comfortable town near Tashkent. It was midday on a Friday. Sheikh Arifzhan Yuldashev met the *Izvestiia* correspondent at the gates of the mosque and invited him to enter the courtyard. A few minutes later the Friday service was due to begin. The believers, mainly old men, had already taken up their places in the mosque square . . .

"Afterwards, the correspondent talked to believers, and, to be honest, he felt some embarrassment from the fact that he was forced to say to them 'strange' things, as they put it. About how people in the West present them as sufferers for their faith, persecuted, unhappy and without the possibility of praying to Allah. 'You have seen everything for yourself, sonny, with your own eyes,' they said. 'We come to the mosque freely, nobody prevents us.'

"I became acquainted with Normatzhan

Tuychev. He is 73 and used to work in the fields on a collective farm. He fought at Kursk and Stalingrad and is an invalid second class. He has orders and medals. The elder has eight children. All of them have grown up, he said: three daughters are doctors, one son is the head of a rayon social security department, another is a driver and the rest have also chosen work according to their inclinations. Uncle Normatzhan has 27 grandchildren; the eldest grandson, Bogatyr, recently joined the army and another grandson, Abdulla, is studying in the geological faculty of a polytechnical institute. Young people now have different lives, the elder asserted.

"Vagizov Zufar is also 73 and a doctor by profession. He fought in the cavalry and ended the war near Lvov. Uncle Zufar has seven children - five sons and two daughters. They all graduated from school with gold medals. Two sons are pilots - one in the air force and the other in the civil air fleet. 'My sons sometimes joke: Father, we fly so often in the skies, but somehow we have never met your God,' Uncle Zufar smiled.

"Sheikh Arifzhan Yuldashev, Imam-Khatib [prayer leader and preacher] of the mosque in Yangiyul, said that when he was abroad he was asked questions about 'unfortunate' Muslim believers and about the alleged fact that the state is closing mosques. He always replied: come and see for yourselves. Some do come and are amazed.

"The sheikh is 45 and has been leader of this mosque since 1972. He has seven children. One son graduated from Bukhara Technological Institute, a second from a technical college, a third is studying at a technical college, three children are in school and the last is in nursery school.

"The children are following their own paths,' the sheikh said. 'Nobody has ever reproached them that their father is a mullah . . .'

"We showed this reportage to K.M. Kharchev, Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, who said: ' . . . I would especially like to mention those cases when various kinds of rogues try to exploit the religious feelings of believers. For instance, from time to time self-styled 'ministers' of religion, who shamelessly deceive and rob people, appear in 'holy' places - for instance, 'Imam Zaynullobeddin' in Dzhilikul Raion and 'Uncle Gulchech' in Ilichevsk Raion in the Tajik SSR. And when proceedings are taken against them, they spread rumours that they are allegedly suffering for their faith. And it is most frequently such rumours that Western propaganda tries to circulate. I think that your reportages show very well how far removed from the actual state of affairs these rumours are.'" (SWB, SU/8166/-B/5-6, 25 January 1986)

Turkmenistan

Holy Places in Turkmenistan

Radio broadcast from Ashkhabad in Turkmen, 14.15 GMT, 18 December 1985 (SWB, SU/8147/B/6, 3 January 1986).

Report of a talk by T. Ataev attacking pilgrimages to holy places. According to Ataev, people who visit holy places become "dull" and "turbid" and do not contribute to production. Instead, they are busy building "large domes on tombs and on Nalach Baba plain". Other active places of pilgrimage were mentioned: Ibrahim Edhem, Misgin Ata, Ovezjan Ishan.

Soviet Army

Party Conference of Transcaucasian Military District (Kommunisti in Georgian, 16 January 1986).

"At the conference it was stated that the influence of political workers, party committees and buros on the organization of ideological work should be strengthened, taking into consideration the international situation . . .

"The need was stressed for further strengthening work on the heroic-patriotic and internationalist education of the district's troops . . . In connection with the fact that the anti-Soviet activity of the West's mass information media has been

stepped up, we must carry out counter-propaganda work purposefully and positively. We should aim to reach the point at which knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and party policy should form a firm ideological conviction among the servicemen, and should help towards the model fulfilment of military duty . . .

"During analysis of party leadership of the district's Komsomol members, it was stressed that we must even more severely test elected communists and Komsomol leaders in the Komsomol organisations." (SWB, SU/8166/B/8, 25 January 1986)

Atheism

"Atheistic education is in need of considerable improvement", Kommunist Tadzhiqistana said on 14th January in a report from the Kulyab Oblast, party conference. "The analysis of this work in the Lenin collective farm, Moskovskiy Raion, and in Leningradskiy Raion showed that the party committees are not in possession of sufficient information regarding the religiousness of the population, that they carry out inadequate work on the introduction of socialist rituals and they do not always solve in a principled way the problems of raising the culture of daily life, especially in remote and almost inaccessible kishlaks. As a result, the clergy becomes more active and the legislation on cults is violated." (SWB, SU/8166/B/9, 25 January 1986)

Soviet Turkmenistany reported on 11 January 1986 that "In order to carry out atheistic propaganda properly and fruitfully and enhance the atheistic education of the working people substantially it is necessary to improve the Marxist-Leninist education of atheists. For this purpose, courses set up in Chardzhou Oblast, for lecturers, agitators and organisers of atheistic work were not limited to theoretical material but also included the teaching of relevant experience in this work. At recent courses in Chardzhou and Kerki, lectures by V.F. Svetlichnaia, Secretary of Chardzhou Town Party Committee, on carrying out atheistic education among the people, and by I. Khalmyradov of the Turkmen State Pedagogical Institute, on the conflict between scientific and religious outlooks, had greatly impressed the audience." (SWB, SU/8/50/B)

Review of Book on Struggle with Religion in Turkmen Villages (Atheistic Education of the Rural Population at the Present Stage by G. Akmyradov, Ilim, 1985).

From *Soviet Turkmenistany* in Turkmen, 21 December 1985. Excerpt from article

by B. Sarryev, Doctor of History, and T. Khidirov, senior scientific worker at the Department of Philosophy and Law of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences, "A new book for village atheists":

"Unlike the city population, one comes across religious views more frequently amongst the village population. This situation has been explained by rural history and the particularities of rural social development. The author justifiably mentions that compared with the cities, belief in religion among the population is being defeated less satisfactorily in villages.

"Vestiges of old customs and a property-owning mentality still exist in the minds of some categories of people in the republic. Selling girls and taking bride money and keeping the bride at her parents' home for a certain period of time, and people working as quacks and sorcerers to lead a life of ease, are still seen among the population. The author proves that such 'indelible marks' of the past system are strongly connected with the religious views and backwardness of minds and ideas of a certain section of the population.

"The book points out that negligence is being tolerated in the struggle against these negative phenomena which have a negative effect on social progress and impede it. Not carrying out propaganda against religion according to a certain system, not efficiently fulfilling educational tasks among the population, and especially among those who have faith in religion, and the lack of a sufficient amount of relevant literature and specialist and popular scientific books are substantial shortcomings in the field of important issues of atheism." (SWB, SU/8178/B/5, 8 February 1986)

Excerpts from an article by T. Atayev, "On religion and the 'miracle'", Sovet Turkmenistany in Turkmen, 4 January 1986.

". . . the present-day modernists of Islam say: 'Islam is a democratic principle: it stands for a better life for the people, it preaches high morality and it is for the

material and cultural growth of the Soviet people' . . . Modernists of Islam preach that believing in 'miracles' and visiting 'miraculous' places are measures of cultural and touristic importance which affect the health and well-being of the people.

". . . the effectiveness of religious propaganda of pseudo-mullahs among the people and the emergence of young pseudo-mullahs in some places like Vekil-Bazar Raion and other raions" are quoted as contributing to the preservation of the concept of 'miracle'.

"Muslims still believe the legends about Muhammed and the fabrications about his 'miracle and power'. They continue to go on pilgrimages to the 'miraculous' places. They do not understand the propaganda of ishans and pseudo-mullahs which are aimed at accumulating wealth and property. At get-togethers and weddings and other ceremonies they boast that they are representatives of the religion of Islam and that they are religious people who know the Koran and Shariah very well. Talking about the 'miraculous' things of Islam and various stories about Muhammed and his Four Companions, they entangle credulous people in their traps.

"One can come across people who take advantage of 'miraculous' places and those who regard themselves as 'ishans' in Lukman in Takhta, Telman, Vekil-Bazar, Bayram-Ali and other raions. A single example: an 'ishan' called Komek Babayev at the Kalinin collective farm in Takhta Raion is said to be able to 'cure' depression, headache and backache. According to information about him, he has no religious education. He learned a few verses from the Koran and religious fabrications from someone and spread it among people that he was an 'ishan'. The leaders of the collective farm have allowed Komek Babayev to deceive people saying that he is an 'ishan' and have let him lead a life of ease. As they say, 'walls have ears'. Komek Babayev was not satisfied with working as a mullah

and quack only in Takhta Raion. He got into the habit of touring other raions of the oblast' such as Ilyaly and Kalinin Raions and Tashauz in his Zhiguli car together with his followers (disciples) to cure people's illnesses."

"It was established that the practice of rituals [Shamanistic rituals practised by Turkmen Sufis to treat the depressed and mentally ill] which are vestiges of 'miracles' of Islam, has emerged in Telman Raion of Tashauz Oblast again. They are said to 'cure' mental illness through rituals. They deceive people with this practice. These people who have heard about religious ideas from here and there, deceive credulous people while being disguised as dervishes, pretending to do certain movements, humming certain melodies and playing an instrument. We hope that the leaders and atheists of Telman Raion will wage an irreconcilable struggle against these people and will provide people with better medical services." (SWB, SU/8196/B/1-2, 1 March 1986)

Excerpts from reports on atheistic education in Turkmenistan:
(Soviet Turkmenistany in Turkmen, 5 February 1986)

"... the central library of the city of Nebit-Dag . . . is taking many measures to propagandise widely belles-lettres and political education among people. . . The library has recently been showing special concern for the atheistic education of workers. Stands dedicated to atheistic topics, a book exhibition and atheistic corner set up in the library attract the attention of people coming there. Rows of literature and handbooks of scientific atheism are placed here. Library workers frequently deliver lectures and hold talks on atheistic topics among workers in production collectives.

"Recently a voice journal called 'Adam ve Din' [Man and Religion] has been enjoying great esteem among the people. [It is prepared by lecturers in atheism of the City Party Committee and the Bilim society.]

"A thematic soiree under the topic 'Customs and time' was held in the house of culture of the Zhdanov collective farm in Khalach Raion." It included lectures on "the religion of Islam and its reactionary content", "religion and medicine", and "science exposes religion". "Comic acts and sketches devoted to atheistic topics were shown at the evening. . . Nearly 400 people, including nearly 100 elders, were said to have attended the soiree." (SWB, SU/8197/B/1, 3 March 1986)

"Charlatans Hidden behind Mask of Religion" are "Mouthpieces of Hostile Ideology" (Soviet Turkmenistany, 14 December 1985)

Excerpts from article by L. Beryyeva and Dzh. Khommatduryyev, "Preachers' harbouring a grudge":

"Once I used to listen to Gorgan radio [in northern Iran]. I was attracted by their music. In the beginning I did not notice that this foreign radio station does not broadcast just music. When I listened more carefully and thought about them, I realized for what purpose these programmes were broadcast, what the 'preachers of Islam' were trying to achieve and that they were harbouring a grudge." S. Khudayberdyyev, city of Cheleken.

"We have introduced here only part of a letter from our reader from Cheleken. This letter reflects the thoughts of someone who, at a certain period of his life, was deceived by a musical programme broadcast by a foreign radio station and, as he says, has shown a 'foolish trust' and unwittingly fallen into the trap which was set. In other words, this is called losing one's consciousness. And enemies of our ideology pin their hopes on this.

"These are strongly emphasized words. Yes, strong indeed. Because those 'preachers of Islam' make every effort to attract to religion as many people with 'foolish trust' as possible. They do this with a certain purpose.

"Propaganda subversion for weakening socialism from the inside, which is also directed at the republics of Central Asia, has clearly been stepped up. For this purpose, enemies of our ideology have chosen the way of fanning up religion and religious fanaticism - an old weapon tested by the exploiting classes. By calling on the peoples of the Soviet East to rally under the banner of Islam; Muslim extremist clerics of Iran are making special efforts for this purpose. They send instigatory religious literature which preaches Islam to Central Asian republics, including Turkmenia. They attempt to spread religion also among the non-believing sections of the population (most of the population have no faith in religion) and activate the work of Muslim clerics.

"Foreign reactionary centres actively use all means of mass information in order to achieve their aim. A whole series of 'radio voices' like Gorgan radio which broadcasts programmes from the territory of Islamic Iran to neighbouring Turkmenia, have turned into places for performing directly anti-Soviet ideological actions. The subversive programme of this radio centre is designed to have a harmful ideological effect on Soviet citizens. Its methods are also worked out and prepared in detail. Pretending to explain the Suras of the Koran to those who believe in religion, radio Gorgan programmes are really broadcast

to achieve extremely aggressive aims.

"Recently, the implementation of these aims has taken on an acutely anti-Soviet nature. For example, on Gorgan's 'radio voice', no longer resorting to fine diplomacy, 'preachers of Islam' have openly and unscrupulously begun inciting hostility among ethnic groups of the peoples of the Soviet East. Furthermore the incitement of anti-Soviet feeling and acts is being increasingly heard in the anti-Soviet media of religious brainwashing. These are the basic aims and acts which the 'preachers of Islam', exporters of 'Islamic revolution' and those who support the 'Muslim Brotherhood' pursue in their attempt to divert the peoples of the Soviet East from the path of socialism and force them to turn against the achievements of Great October.

"A high level of political consciousness and a firm atheistic world outlook is natural to most Soviet people. Educating them remains the most important integral part of the ideological, political and educational task of the party. This is a state policy which suits the interests of people's spiritual growth and enrichment.

"But out ideological enemies look even for the most trivial possibility for achieving their aims. It suits them to select a particular target for their ill intentions. Thus, it suits them to sow doubt and confusion in the minds of morally corrupt people, young people whose world outlook socially and politically has not been sufficiently perfected yet and in the minds of people of advanced age. The lures used in the radio programmes are carefully worked out. It is worth mentioning that musical programmes are one form of them. Active provocations aimed at violating Soviet legality on religious cults are being carried out. Hidden under the religious facade, the flourishing of charlatans and religious speculation is given approval. It seems that all means become useful for the enemy as long as they harm us as much as possible, as long as they work as quickly as possible. Just like the corroding of metal, religious fanaticism should eat into the consciousness of Soviet man and coat his heart with a thicker rust. All these should have only a negative effect on Soviet man's view on his social, citizenship, patriotic and internationalist obligations.

"This is the true face of the policy which, by using all measures, they attempt to impose upon the peoples of the Soviet East with the help of foreign 'radio voices' and under the slogans of the 'Islamic Brotherhood'.

"A meeting held recently in Kazandzhik Raion could justly be called a court of public opinion. Charlatans hidden behind the mask of religion were condemned with much hatred by the public. Masked by religion, they had become rich at the expense of credulous people, including those who believe in religion. And some of them had become the

mouthpiece of hostile ideology.

"The verdict of all people was a harsh and irreconcilable one. Those who called themselves religious representatives were exposed. The mask of their 'holiness' was removed and thrown away. Hiding behind this mask, they had committed many crimes. Yes, the verdict was very harsh – stop attempting to introduce disorder and idleness into working life, stop polluting it with everything which is against Soviet laws, Soviet morality and Soviet way of life, busy yourself with honest work!

"On that day, thousands of villagers, who had gathered from all parts of the raion, unanimously approved this verdict and requested that it should be widely publicised.

"The few dozen steps which brought Sary Esenmammedov, known as 'Sary Mullah', before the people's meeting seemed a long and difficult road to him. He said, without raising his eyes, 'Fellow villagers! I will do everything to correct my mistakes and regain my reputation.' Nothing was left of his confidence and the talkativeness peculiar to him. If he had raised his eyes and looked at the crowd, he would have been exposed to the looks of rebuke of hundreds of people whom he had unscrupulously plundered under the mask of religion. He had plundered people by learning the programmes of Gorgan radio and trying to prove that he was 'really' associated with religion. For this purpose he had given up the job which suited his education and did not

want to continue his studies at the institute.

"On that day, at the people's meeting, people who, for the welfare of society work with all sincerity and honesty, condemned several more charlatans who use religion as a means of easy earning and accumulation of wealth and call themselves religious. If we continue to explain what is said about them, we will find out that these are people who mock religion. 'Sorcerer' Soltanmukhammet Pullyyev, 'quack' Mukhammet Pukhanov, Nurberdy Torayev, who had intentionally violated Soviet legality on religious cults, pseudo-mullah Kadyr Niyazmammedov and others who had been degrading themselves, got what they deserved . . .

"Among those who spoke at the meeting, together with atheists, there were people who believed in religion. One of these is Salykh Berdymyradov, who is a worker at the raion sanitary epidemic station. 'When I listened to Gorgan radio, I was perplexed. According to them, everything in our [republic] is contrary to the facts; we Turkmen are not happy with our life and we are being hurt. This is slander indeed!' . . .

"The request of the participants in the Kazandzhik meeting to publicise the decision of the meeting was fulfilled. Such meetings were also held in all farms of the raion. Meetings were also held in most of the work collectives of Krasnovodsk Oblast'. Letters from workers on the fight against charlatans and those

who prefer to live on incomes earned without working began to arrive at the board of editors of local newspapers.

"People also began to submit requests to the party committees and to executive committees of soviets of people's deputies. Those who believed in religion were also among these people. Among the authors of letters and requests there were people who had understood the contents of the reactionary radio propaganda broadcasts from abroad and perceived that they violate citizens' and constitutional rights.

"A group of those who believed in religion had once before gathered at the executive committee and talked on this theme. They harshly condemned not only the pseudo-religious charlatans of Kazandzhik, but also the actions of such people in the area where they live. [This presumably means that the 'charlatans' enjoy wider support in their locality than the authors will have us believe.] They also invited A. Nazdzhanov, watchman of the city cemetery, to this talk. He was the target of hatred by the participants of the gathering for having mixed with clerics."

The article ends with the following quote: "Trying to persuade the Turkmen to return to the past is a vain effort. We are establishing our new life with our own hands and our own labour, and shall not allow anyone to destroy it!" (SWB, SU/8159/C/4, 17 January 1986).

Russian Language

Language problems for new recruits in Turkestan Military District

The 14th February *Krasnaia Zvezda* published the second and final part of an article by correspondent Col G. Ivanov entitled 'Try on the greatcoat, son – how young men are trained for military service in Namangan Oblast'. Dealing with the importance of a sound knowledge of the Russian language for servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces, it pointed out that not all servicemen in the Turkestan Military District spoke Russian well. The article cited the example of a private from Azerbaijan who lagged far behind his colleagues because of his poor knowledge of Russian and only began to catch up with them towards the end of his second year of military service. With special reference to military training in Uzbekistan's Namangan Oblast', the writer pointed out that Russian speech was rarely heard in rural localities there, but "the specific nature of military labour and of the tasks to be resolved obliges every serviceman to act quickly and understand his commanding officer's order almost before it is spoken – which

is impossible if there is a language barrier. The article went on to describe" the measures being taken in the oblast' to improve Russian language teaching and concluded by emphasising that "this work will repay itself a hundredfold by strengthening young people's communist education, further improving their training for service in the Armed Forces and ensuring the exemplary fulfilment of military duty by the oblast's emissaries." (SWB, SU/8187/B/8, 19 February 1986)

Russian language day in Azerbaijan school

"In the Gazyan village school the third day of every week has been declared Russian language day. On these days, pupils speak in Russian, review the life and creativity of Russian writers and poets and select examples of their works and read them." (*Kommunist* in Azeri, 23 January 1986.) (SWB, SU/8187/B/8, 19 February 1986)

Kirghizia

Criticism of Leadership in Kirghizia's Oblast' (*Izvestiia*, 6 January 1986)

Text of report by correspondent B.

Prokhorov, "At report and election party conferences: Raising demandingness" (excerpts):

"Large omissions were allowed in ideological work. Too little attention has been paid to the study of the Russian language in the Oblast' [Naryn], where a population mainly of indigenous nationality is concentrated. This could not fail to affect the development of general culture, education and technical progress. Is it not for this reason that vestiges of the dark past and religious prejudices have proved particularly tenacious?" (SWB, SU/8152/B/9, 9 January 1986)

Uzbekistan

Abuse of Office and Nepotism in Uzbekistan: "Moral Unscrupulousness" (A long article in *Pravda Vostoka*, 22 November 1985 entitled "To be in line with the times. How the resolutions of the 16th plenum of the Central Committee of the CP of Uzbekistan are being implemented".) (SWB, SU/8154/B/1, 11 January 1986)

REPUBLICAN PARTY CONGRESSES

Azerbaijan

Bagirov's Report to CP of Azerbaijan Congress (*Bakinskii Rabochii*, 1 February 1986) (SWB, SU/8187/B/3, 19 February 1986)

Excerpts from published version of Bagirov's report to 31st CP of Azerbaijan Congress on 31 January:

Agit-Prop

"A total of 376,822 members and candidate members are now in the ranks of the republican party organisation. Approximately one working inhabitant in nine and one inhabitant of the republic in ten aged 18 or older are communists. More than 69% of communists work in the sphere of material production . . .

"One should admit that there are a lot of shortcomings in the study and selection of cadres. We have not avoided the appointment of people clearly not trained, not checked sufficiently in their practical activities and with unsettled moral qualities . . .

"A total of 86% of collective farm chairmen were changed in Barda Raion in the course of the last five years. On the Kalinin collective farm, the chairmen were changed every year; they were changed three times on the Thaelmann, G. Gadzhiyev, Komsomol and Lemberan collective farms. In Mardakert Raion 63.6% of farm leaders were changed within the last three years. A high rate of replacement of cadres is being tolerated in Belokany, Kyurdamir, Lachin, Dzhulfa and a number of other rayons.

"It is necessary to decisively remove showiness, formalism and paper shuffling from the practice of Komsomol organisations.

"We have strengthened leadership of the Procurator's Office and the Ministry of Justice, and this had a beneficial effect on their activity . . . One has to note that the Procurator's Office of the republic has made its fight against various negative phenomena more active.

"At the same time, one should frankly admit that we were unable to eradicate negative phenomena completely and the number of instances of violations of the law in the republic is still quite substantial. One still encounters cases of crude violation of party and state discipline and the principles of socialist morality, and such negative phenomena as money-grubbing, bribe-taking, speculation, parasitism ["parasitism" refers to non-registered Muslim clerics], and private-ownership mentality."

Police

"It is necessary to comprehensively improve the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Comrade Veliyev), the Supreme Court (Comrade Ismailov), the Ministry of Justice (Comrade Orudzhev) and the Procurator's Office of the republic (Comrade Ismailov) . . .

"The political bodies created in the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs two years ago should play a consolidating role in enhancing the level of activity of the ministry's bodies. Their effect, however, is far from being felt. Comrade Dzhafarov, Head of the Political Department, and the political apparatus of the town (raion) bodies of internal affairs should activate their work and comprehensively strengthen the education of personnel and the political provision of operational tasks."

Russian Language

"The learning of the Russian language by our people actively facilitates further deepening of links between the nations.

The republican party organisation has set a task of extreme political and socio-cultural importance – every inhabitant of the republic, every Azerbaijani, should know well both his native tongue and also the Russian language. This work should be carried out starting from the nursery and school. The Ministry of Education, the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and the Ministry of Higher Education of the republic must carry it out consistently and persistently. The Komsomol organisations, ideological establishments and mass media should not stand aside, either."

Atheism

"The issues of forming an atheistic outlook require constant party attention. One could say that in the course of the last few years quite substantial experience of atheistic work was accumulated in the republic. The wide programme of ideological work to develop mass atheism was carried out in accordance with a number of the most important resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee.

"However, in a number of places failure to pay proper attention to the religious situation leads to weakening of the struggle against the vestiges of the past. In some places cult ceremonies were passed off as 'folk values' and 'national traditions' and communists and Komsomol members shut their eyes to these facts.

"Party bodies, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organisations and ideological establishments of the republic are to widely spread an atheistic propaganda offensive, implement new socialist traditions, and rituals more persistently in everyday life and get rid of formalism in this work. In accordance with the remarkable traditions of militant atheism of the artistic culture of Azerbaijan, the figures of art and literature should take a more active part in this work . . ."

Kazakhstan

Highlights from Kunayev's Report to CP of Kazakhstan Congress (*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 7 February 1986) (SWB, SU/8289/B/1, 21 February 1986)

Excerpts from published "abbreviated account" of Kunayev's report to 16th CP of Kazakhstan Congress on 6 February:

Ideological Education

"It is now a matter of eradicating shortcomings, organising combative ideological political education work and going over to the offensive, and ensuring that it is highly efficient, dynamic and fruitful.

"The moulding in all Soviet people, particularly young people, of a scientific

Marxist-Leninist world outlook must continue to be at the centre of attention. This process must be continuous and creative.

"Analysis shows that the theoretical level of training is extremely low even in oblast' universities of Marxism-Leninism and schools for party, economic and ideological activists, particularly those of Aktyubinsk, Kzyl-Orda, Pavlodar and Semipalatinsk Oblast' Party Committees . . ."

Internationalism

"Marriages between nationalities, the widespread knowledge of Russian as a means of communication between the nations, and the development of a unified culture that is national in form, socialist

in content and international in essence and spirit have been remarkable phenomena.

"While stepping up international and patriotic education and strengthening friendship among brother peoples, it should not be forgotten for a second that the theory and practice of our national relations is one of the main targets for bourgeois ideology, which baulks at no means in attempting to discredit the Soviet system and sow the poisonous seeds of national discord and parochialism.

"In this connection the effectiveness of counter-propaganda as a crucial and vital section of the ideological struggle must be stepped up."

Atheism

"The previous congress seriously criticised the state of atheistic work. It should be noted that in the report period some things have been done in this area. However, the incidence of religious sentiments among the population remains relatively high and is even tending to increase in southern oblasts. All this obliges us to step up the work again and again and conduct it profoundly and in a well conceived way, thereby implementing our lofty humane goals."

Mirasism [rediscovery or promotion of national patrimony]

"Ideological and artistic failures and violations of financial discipline have been tolerated at the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, headed by Comrade Yeleukenov. Some authors are not averse to travelling back to 'ancient times', discussing the inter-relationship between Khans and Bais [rich Central Asian landowners] and even publishing biographical details about former members of the Alash [nationalist Kazak organisation in 1917-1900] gangs."

The Communist Party

". . . In some sectors of the economy in East Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata and Chim-

kent Oblasts the proportion of working communists has been allowed to decline. Importance has not always been attached to questions of the qualitative selection of prospective party members, with the result that over the five years one in six of those admitted have been expelled from or have left the CPSU.

"In the period under review, more than 500 workers on the Central Committee nomenklatura were dismissed from their posts for negative reasons. Many of them were called to account for abuses of their official position, a formal attitude toward the cause and toward people's needs and aspirations, and the violation of the norms of party morality and the demands of the CPSU rules."

Kzyl-Orda Oblast First Secretary's Speech at CP of Kazakhstan Congress (Kazakhstanskaia Pravda, 8 February 1986) (SWB, SU/8189/B/7, 21 February 1986)

Excerpts from published "abbreviated account" of speech by Ye. N. Auyelbekov, First Secretary of Kzyl-Orda Oblast CP of Kazakhstan Committee, at 16th CP of Kazakhstan Congress on 6 February:

Shortcomings

"The effectiveness of many ideological measures is low. The religious situation

remains disturbing and the harmfulness of Islam is often underestimated.

"Backward customs and habits incompatible with the socialist way of life are being revived in some places. According to incomplete figures, 23.6% of the able-bodied population is not working for various reasons. During the 11th Five-Year plan several thousand people, mostly young people, left the oblast'.

"Profound study of these processes showed that the main reason for this situation was the slackening of party and state discipline and the violation of Leninist principles of the selection, placement and training of cadres. People were often appointed to responsible posts on grounds of personal loyalty, kinship, or local favouritism.

"Last year alone 159 people on the nomenklatura of the oblast' town and raion party committees were relieved of their posts for negative reasons."

Economy

". . . A number of ministries and also the Kazakh SSR State Planning Committee . . . do not fully realise the sheer acuteness of the situation prevailing in the oblast'. The problem of the Aral Sea and the former fishermen remains acute . . ."

Tajikistan

Highlights from Makhkamov's Report to CP of Tajikistan Congress (Kommunist Tadzhikistana, 25 February 1986) (SWB, SU/8181/B/1, 12 February 1986)

Excerpts from published version of Makhkamov's report to 20th CP of Tajikistan Congress on 24 January:

As in Azerbaijan, "the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has now been strengthened. A new minister, Comrade K.P. Pulatov, has now been appointed."

Internationalism

"The 11th plenum of the CP of Tajikistan Central Committee thoroughly examined the practical tasks for working people's education in a spirit of internationalism and patriotism . . .

"We have been persuaded from our own experience that the flowering of each of the socialist nations and ethnic groups is possible only if the economy is developed and integrated and only with active mutual aid and the broad and full use of the spiritual wealth created by all our country's people.

"The most important condition for this is mastery of the Russian language - the tested means of inter-nation communi-

cation. For the majority of the republic's indigenous population, it has become a second native language.

"Unfortunately, some of our young people, particularly those in the ranks of the Soviet Army, still speak Russian badly. Here the imperfection of general education schools and higher and secondary educational establishments is having an effect. Taking this into account, in the period under review the CP of Tajikistan Central Committee and the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers have adopted resolutions on the further improvement of the teaching of Russian in schools and other educational establishments. Their implementation is already producing results.

"The matter of internationalist and patriotic education should not be limited to propaganda and cultural and educational measures. Prime importance should be attributed to the formation of an internationalist climate in the labour collectives, educational establishments and at people's places of residence. It is also essential to ensure the relevant representation of people of different nationalities not only in elected but also in executive organs."

Atheism

"The grave shortcomings in atheistic propaganda mentioned at the ninth plenum

of the CP of Tajikistan Central Committee are being eliminated only slowly. In some raions of republican subordination, Kurgan-Tyube, Kulyab and other oblasts, religious ritual is showing virtually no diminution.

"Self-styled mullahs and unregistered religious communities and groups are still operating in the republic, and this has rightly been pointed out to us by the Central Committee. But there are still individual leaders, including party committee secretaries, who are trying to create a semblance of all being well without sensing the political acuteness of the matter and without considering the anti-Soviet nature of the foreign religious propaganda directed against our republic. More resolute use must be made of our Soviet legislation in halting the illegal activity of ministers of religion.

"The draft new revised edition of the Party Programme clearly shows the way of overcoming religious prejudices: 'Enhancing people's labour and social activeness, educating them, and creating and widely disseminating new Soviet rituals.' It is essential in the very near future to examine the proposals prepared for improving the work of commissions for Soviet festivals and rituals, creating the material base for new rituals and training the relevant cadres.

"The party organisations must ensure

that every communist fulfils the statutory requirement to struggle resolutely against religious prejudices and other vestiges of the past and to observe the principles of communist morality . . ."

Army

"... The physical tempering of young people of call-up age and the selection and dispatch of young men to military educational establishments are acute on the agenda today . . ."

"Far from everything is being done in party leadership of the Komsomol and the communist education of young people. The republican Komsomol Central Committee (Comrade Sh. M. Sultanov) and many Komsomol committees are lax in studying the processes taking place among young people and are not doing enough work on the internationalist and military-patriotic education of the rising generation."

Youth

"Under the conditions of the sharply

aggravated ideological struggle, we must not forget that the adversary views the rising generation as one of the main targets of his subversive activity. Unfortunately, individual young people, under the influence of bourgeois propaganda and also by virtue of ideological and political misconceptions and lack of experience of life, display political indifference and perpetrate acts incompatible with communist morality. Such instances have occurred among the students of Dushanbe medical, agricultural and polytechnical institutes, which was the result of grave omissions in educational work both in educational establishments and in the family, including on the part of a number of responsible workers." [This apparently refers to some specific disturbances.]

Women

"More attention began to be paid to promoting women cadres to leading work. They comprise over 40% of all specialists with higher and secondary education, and thousands of them are

worthily represented in the socio-political sphere. But there are also examples of another kind. In Nurek town and Ayni, Ganchi, Proletarskii and Vakhsh Raion Party Committees, there are no women among the secretaries. Just two women work as ministry and department leaders. There are extremely few women among the department leaders of the Gorno-Badakhshan and Kulyab Oblast' Party Committees. They comprise just 4.5% of the leaders of the republic's industrial, transport and communications enterprises. There are virtually no women in leading work in construction organisations. This is evidence of the party committees' poor work in training and educating women cadres locally. We must be particularly attentive and principled in these matters and be unswervingly guided by the CPSU Central Committee's instructions. . ."

Turkmenistan

Highlights from Niyazov's Report to CP of Turkmenistan Congress (*Turkmenskaia Iskra*, 18 January 1986) (SWB, SU/8167/B/9, 27 January 1986)

Excerpts from published version of Niyazov's report for the 23rd CP of Turkmenistan Congress on 17 January:

"On the whole, the level of ideological education and mass political work still does not fully match up to party demands and today's tasks. . ."

Army

"Work on the physical and military-patriotic education of the population and the country's armed forces is becoming increasingly purposeful.

"Nonetheless, the quality of the physical and initial military training of young people and of the training of specialists for the USSR Armed Forces is improving only slowly. It is necessary to ensure that conscripts have good general educational, physical and psychological training, know the Russian language and have technical knowledge. It is necessary to enhance the prestige of the military profession in the

republic and to intensify the orientation of young people at school towards military specialities.

"It is necessary to further strengthen and develop work collectives' sponsorship relations with units and subunits of the Red Banner Turkestan Military District and Central Asian Border District, which protect our homeland's southern borders and to display constant attention and concern for Great Fatherland War veterans, the families of dead servicemen and also the families of those on military service today . . ."

Censorship

"While paying due tribute to the creative intelligentsia's contribution to the people's education, it has to be said that books, paintings and films which are ideologically imperfect and fail to reach the emotions of readers, viewers and listeners sometimes appear alongside the good works. Primitivism, and sometimes simply bad taste, still find their way into popular music concert programmes and amateur artistic activity."

Communist Party

"... CP ... membership now numbers

over 110,000 communists" but "shortcomings still exist, however, in the work to regulate the growth of the republic party organisation's ranks and to improve its qualitative structure. A tendency towards a fall in the proportion of worker communists has been noticeable recently in Ashkhabad and Krasnovodsk Oblast' party organisations, and their numbers have fallen in industrial and construction industry enterprises in Mary and Chardzhou Oblasts.

"Undeserving and at times even unworthy people find their way into the CPSU's ranks. Following the 22nd Communist Party [of Turkmenistan] Congress, a number of CPSU members were expelled from its ranks for actions incompatible with the title of communist. Some party committees tolerate a liberal attitude towards communists who have violated the demands of the CPSU rules.

"Serious shortcomings and omissions exist in work with cadres . . . There are still instances of workers being promoted by virtue of personal loyalty, kinship or local favouritism. This breeds nepotism, sycophancy and careerism, creates an atmosphere of laxness and mutual protection. . ."

Uzbekistan

Highlights from Usmanhodzhayev's Report to CP of Uzbekistan Congress (*Pravda Vostoka*, 31 January 1986) (SWB, SU/8182/B/1, 13 February 1986)

Excerpts from Usmanhodzhayev's report to 21st CP of Uzbekistan Congress on 30 January:

"Those present in the hall well know that gross violations of party norms and morality and Soviet laws and serious

shortcomings in leadership of the national economy were uncovered in Uzbekistan in recent years. Over-reporting, embezzlement and bribery, which led to moral disintegration and degeneration among a certain section of

cadres, were widespread. These negative phenomena assumed an extremely dangerous nature.

"As a rule cadres were promoted not on the basis of political, professional and moral qualities but on the grounds of kinship, local favouritism, cronyism and often selfish motives. Monitoring of leaders' activity was slackened and in a number of places – particularly the Karakalpak ASSR and Bukhara and Kashkadarya Oblasts – it was totally lacking. Some of these leaders not only shielded themselves against checks and criticism but even received unwarranted rewards.

"Many people who have been justly called to account by the party and state are not averse to creating a false public perception of the alleged decimation of cadres. Some of 'yesterday's men' who in the recent past deceived the party and state and robbed society and working people are today adopting the pose of injured people who have suffered for the republic's interests. There are individual, albeit camouflaged, attempts to depict the struggle to restore order and justice as almost an anti-national campaign."

Migration and Labour

"Recently, we have resettled surplus manpower resources from the densely populated oblasts of the Ferghana valley to virgin land areas of Syrdarya, Dzhizak and Kashkadarya. It is necessary to step up work in this direction and create all the conditions for work and daily life for the migrants. More and more emissaries from Uzbekistan are taking part in opening up regions of Siberia and in construction projects in the non-black soil zone, Tyumen and the Baykal-Amur railroad. Some 60,000 residents of the republic will be sent to all-union shock construction projects in the country during the 12th Five-Year plan." [Probably the majority of these workers will be Russians or other 'Europeans'.]

Ideological Education

"Recently the Central Committee examined reports from the Ferghana Oblast' Party Committee. Analysis showed that many leaders have ceased to improve their own ideological and political standards and have a superficial grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory and topical issues of the CPSU's policy and that party committees are tolerating this situation. In the last five years the Bukhara and Navoi Oblast' Party Committees have not once examined the state of the Marxist-Leninist education of leading cadres. And it is no accident that in these oblasts over one-third of the personnel on the oblast' party committee's nomenklatura do not take part in permanent propaganda and education work. In the republic as a whole only 18% of leaders are propagandists. They are especially rare in Surkhandarya and Dzhizak Oblasts and

in Kalinin, Leninabad, Pskent and Takhtakupy Raions."

Atheism

"One of the serious problems facing the republican party organisation is that of anti-religious propaganda and atheistic education. Some party organisations connive at and sometimes openly flirt with religion and pander to backward traditions and customs. Party committees do not notice, or else refuse to notice, that souvenirs and goods bearing religious symbols and the dictums of theologians are produced in state enterprises. Religious rites, with their extravagance, have captivated many people. There are by no means isolated cases of communists, Komsomol members and leading personnel taking part in the performance of religious rites.

"Oblast' town and raion party committees are indifferent to such violations of the demands of the rules and party morality, fail to make a principled assessment of them and fail to show elementary demandingness toward communists who attempt to combine party membership with religious prejudices.

"An unsatisfactory religious situation continues to exist in Namangan Oblast'. In the towns and raions of this Oblast' unregistered religious associations operate illegally and cases of the instruction of groups of adolescents and women in religious dogma have been discovered. The Oblast' party committee does not attach political significance to attempts to revive obsolete customs and does not make a proper assessment of participation by CPSU members in religious festivals and rites. Atheistic work is based on general phrases and routine measures and party committees and local government organs often try to create the appearance of a satisfactory situation. Namangan Oblast' party committee and its Secretaries N.R. Radzhabov and Kh. M. Akhmedova must more deeply analyse the situation in this important sector of ideological work, display greater principledness, increase the demands made on town and raion party committees and primary party organisations and fundamentally restructure atheistic propaganda.

"This work is severely neglected in Syrdarya, Sariassiya, Ulyanovsk, Dekhkanabad, Dzhizak, Buvayda, Urgut, Chirakchi and other Raions.

"Great political vigilance is needed on matters of overcoming patriarchal traditions and backward customs. 'While advocating strict observance of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience,' the draft new revised edition of the CPSU Programme says, 'the Party condemns attempts to exploit religion to the detriment of the interests of society and the individual.'

"It must be constantly remembered

that religion clears the way for nationalism and chauvinism and is a tremendous brake on social, economic and societal development and the assertion of a socialist way of life and communist morality. Resistance to the changes in our life, petty-bourgeois elements and the private ownership mentality and a multitude of negative phenomena are closely interwoven in religious survivals and backward customs and ways.

"It is necessary from a class and party standpoint to distinguish between true popular traditions and all harmful accretions and attempts by our ideological opponents to play on people's national feelings. Popular traditions must be respected and a sense of love for the homeland's history must be fostered in the rising generation. But the past of the Uzbek people, like that of our country's other peoples, is not, of course, patriarchal traditions and the dogma of the Shariah. The people's true traditions are wisdom, diligence, honesty, modesty, desire for peace and truly humanistic morality. It is precisely this past, hallowed by the joint struggle with the Russian proletariat for social liberation and a happy future, that serves the present and the future and deserves to be propagandised and disseminated in every possible way. In the process it is necessary to deal a resolute rebuff to backward ways and customs which promote ideas and a morality alien to our society in the guise of popular traditions."

Counter-Propaganda

"It is necessary to step up the attention paid to counter-propaganda and enhance its incisiveness and effectiveness. The class enemy is making unprecedentedly large-scale attacks on socialism, Marxist-Leninist ideology and the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Everything is being used – lies, slander, falsifications and deliberate silence – long-obsolete ideas of pan-Islamism are being revived and nationalist passions are being inflamed.

"Party committees, primary party organisations, ideological institutions and the mass news media must formulate a precise and effective system of counter-propaganda work, more cogently reveal the inevitability of the triumph of socialism and the historically doomed nature of capitalism and instill in people class intransigence toward the enemy, political vigilance and immunity in bourgeois ideology and morality."

CPSU

The party organisation has increased and now has "more than 640,000 members and candidate members of the CPSU. . . In the last five years the number of workers in the republican party organisation has increased by 45,000 and amounts to more than 255,000 people today."

NORTHERN RIVER DIVERSION SCHEME

In the debate on the river diversion scheme, which has at times taken on distinctly nationalistic tones, Western specialists have generally assumed that it is the Central Asians who favour the scheme, while the Russians oppose it. This article by Selim Taygan (Istanbul) gives a somewhat different picture. His unusual interpretation is based on impressions gained from conversations with Central Asian Muslims.

According to recent information the project has now been abandoned, or at least postponed, although some debate on its merits still continued in the Soviet press.

Swan Lake by Selim Taygan

As if in a fairy tale, we now remember that once upon a time there was a land upon the earth called Turkestan. This land at certain moments of history was the cradle of an independent and separate government created by peoples of Turkic descent.

Although mountains, rivers, valleys and even the indigenous population of this country, in which one could place the whole of Europe, still exists, nowadays if one speaks of the place, one has to use the past tense. Unfortunately, that's the way it is. One can't even find the old name in dictionaries.

The Chinese renamed the eastern part of the land Xinjiang. And how could the Russians be left behind? They named the part remaining to them Central Asia. Or, expressing it more intimately, our Central Asian republics.

We recall that General Kaufman, who had united Turkestan with the Russian empire, had the honorary title "Turkestanskii" conferred upon him. He became General Kaufman-Turkestanskii. Although this has no meaning whatsoever, it is nevertheless interesting: who are the descendants of the general? Turkestanis or Central Asians?

This country, with the corrupted name, and which has been consigned to the oblivion of the past, might look like a dead body, but it is still biologically alive. Data from the population census attest to this. From them it is apparent that at the end of the century Muslim troops of Turkic origin will outnumber the Russians. Persons frightened of communist and Russian aggression have interpreted this fact in a positive way. We are not partisans of such an interpretation: if the statistical conclusions are correct, as it seems to us, then the energy of the Turkic Muslims who are in the service of "evil" is sufficient to destroy not only those people who place groundless hopes

upon them, but also themselves. There are historical examples of this.

This land, which we have chosen as the topic of our unauthoritative tale and which we don't know what to call correctly, is expecting a new ordeal: the carrying out of a gigantic project - water from rivers in Russia and Siberia will be partly diverted and directed south!

Really, why should huge quantities of valuable fresh water pour in the ocean, where there is already so much water, when the Volga, the Caspian and Aral Seas are shrinking and Central Asia is scorched by the sun? Besides, this huge quantity of fresh water allows the formation of ice and so isn't propitious for shipping in polar waters.

A giant project! One can only applaud such an idea! Of course we are for it! We love everything big! Wholeheartedly love it! If it's a game, we'll stake everything. A bottle of vodka, we'll drink the whole thing! Who worries about harm? We have enough of the smallest; but let the biggest befall us! Friends? We don't have any, so there is no choice.

The watery abundance transferred to the southern deserts and steppes! How wonderful!

Whether the goal of the project is the prosperity of the present residents of the land or for the new settlers, for whom the forests, swamps, lakes and rivers will be their native element, we don't know. Under the new conditions, the place of the horse will be taken by the boat, the camel will be replaced by the barge, and the goat will be replaced by the pig. What is there not to like?

Although all this seems like a fantasy, it isn't. Because people are working on the project, the thing is possible, brought about with the aid of canals and dikes.

Even if one supposes that the author of this project only has in mind the destruction of the last traces of ancient Turkestan, it doesn't lessen the immensity of the plan. The project will change not only the climate of Central Asia, but of the whole world, and thus will have an effect on every creature who lives on earth. At the same time that the project is being carried out, it will be the responsibility of only one government, moreover, one without democratic freedoms. Is such a situation desirable? Forty years have passed since the killing of tens of thousands of Polish officers before everyone's eyes, but the circumstances of this have still not been made clear. Arguments about who killed them, whether you or I did it, go on to this day. Such an episode, set within the borders of Asia, could mean the disappearance of many millions of people without trace. The absence of democracy and its attendant freedoms is reminiscent of the workplace where

safety precautions are not taken: you can easily fall from a staircase without a railing, while an openly turning gear can flatten you into a pancake.

We have tried to calm our fellow countrymen who have come to us looking for consolation, and recommended looking at everything cold-bloodedly through the fashionable lenses of economics.

They interrupt us: we have perfectly good vision and we won't wear spectacles; we see both close-up and far away quite well. In Khan-Tengri and the Pamirs, where their hydraulics did not work, they poured flame on our co-religionists from the sky, and those who didn't die paid dearly for living. That flame is more expensive than water, we know from our own kitchens, without needing spectacles. They know that, too. So, won't they dam us up in narrow valleys and open the sluices, and drown us like mice in a trap? We know what sort of specialists on sluices they have.

We advised them again to be brave and cold-blooded: don't you know that as long as you work, nothing will happen to you, we said uncertainly, and if it does, as you say, then you will be the first nation to be drowned by its own government. Thus, glory and honour will be yours.

Yes, this is true, they answered, and at once calmed down. Glory and honour are not empty words for them.

So, we managed to calm them down, but we were uneasy ourselves. When we said goodbye to them we told them to get a Bible and read the story of the Prophet Moses.

After a while we went to return their visit. While walking among all kinds of hydraulic equipment, we suddenly saw a crowd of our fellow countrymen running wildly in all directions. We tried to stop them. What's the matter, friends, are devils after you?

Nobody is chasing us, they answered. We are given the role of fish in Swan Lake, so we are now rehearsing our part.

Dear readers, please excuse our friends. From the time they lost the right to determine their own fate, they treat matters of vital importance as a joke. So, dear readers, please treat our little tale as one.

[See also the article "Land is our main resource", *Pravda*, 12 February 1986 which gives voice to the opposition of some academics to the river diversion scheme. For an in-depth study of the scheme see: Philip P. Micklin, "Soviet Water Diversion Plans: Implications for Kazakhstan and Central Asia", *Central Asian Survey*, vol.1, No. 4.

AFGHANISTAN

SOVIET AND AFGHAN BROADCASTS

Iranian Interference in Afghanistan

Interview with Professor Bondarevskiy by Radio Moscow, in Persian, 1800 GMT, 26 February 1986. (SWB, SU/1897/A4/1, 3 March 1986)

Two interesting points mentioned were that Afghanistan is seen as the main point of disagreement between the USSR and Iran, and that Bache-ye Saqao is referred to as a British agent.

"We know that in 1978-79, a plan was prepared in the USA for deploying Pershing II missiles in the Hindu Kush mountains. Had this been brought to fruition, the aggressors would have been able to place Soviet Central Asia under their control. Of course, we could not allow this to happen."

Iranian "Interference" in Afghanistan. Tashkent radio in Uzbek for abroad, 1700 GMT, 19 February 1986. (SWB, SU/8197/A4/2, 3 March 1986)

Excerpts from commentary entitled "The DRA government's demand":

"The latest reports indicate that Iranian interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs has considerably increased. Officials in Afghanistan have noted a visit paid recently to Iran's borders with Afghanistan by very high-ranking Iranian clergy. The members of this unique group asked the leaders of the various bands of robbers to consolidate their struggle against the people's administration in Afghanistan and promised to increase the aid given to them.

"The [participation] of Iranians in the ranks of the bands of robbers who receive aid from Iran has become a frequent occurrence. They are gathering reports on the situation in the border provinces and on the deployment and moves of the Afghan army units and divisions. The seizure of food convoys travelling towards the Iranian border by Afghan officials is also a frequent occurrence. With instructions and funds from foreign countries, the bands of robbers purchase rice, wheat . . . and even fuel in bazaars in Herat province . . ."

DRA Protests to Iran over Theologians' Illegal Visit to Afghanistan (Kabul home service in Pashto, 1530 GMT, 10 February 1986)

Referring to IRNA, sources report that "a delegation composed of theologian elements of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Afghanistan residing in Iran, and counter-revolutionary groups, the so-called Pasdaran-e Jihad-e Islami, Nasr, Nohzat-e Islami, Harakat-e Islami, Jabha-e Motahed-e Inqelab-e Islami, and Nayro-e Islami Afghanistan, had entered DRA territory secretly, illegally and contrary to the [principles] of good neighborliness on the instruction of Ayatollah Montazeri and supervised by Hojjat al-Islam Javaheri. The source mentioned the aim of the delegation's visit as the elimination of differences and inter-group clashes between the so-called . . . groups and the creation of a so-called united Islamic front in Afghanistan."

DRA Protests to Iran over Alleged Border Incidents (Kabul home service in Dari, 1600 GMT, 3 March 1986)

Recently "new dimensions have been added to that state's [Iran] methods of intervention in and aggression against revolutionary Afghanistan . . . Events and incidents during the current year [the year ends on 20 March] show that DRA territory has been violated 63 times by the ground and air forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as a result of which 20 people were killed, 245 wounded, 19 kidnapped and taken to Iran and heavy material losses inflicted.

"Despite repeated requests, the propaganda, publicity and organisational operations against the DRA have not only not been reduced, but the hours of hostile broadcasting on Iranian radio and TV against the DRA have been increased and the Iranian press is full of hostile and fabricated material against the DRA. The authorities and leaders of that country have expanded their interference by organising, provoking and instigating the Afghans and counter-revolutionary elements in Iran to such an extent that religious leaders, instructed by the high authorities, enter DRA territory in order to carry out secret, unfriendly actions, and the Iranian media extensively publicise them. These actions are taken on

the instructions of such personalities as Ayatollah Montazeri.

"In a similar manner, some section of the Iranian media, under the slogan 'the uprising of the Muslim people of Afghanistan is victorious', admit that the Islamic Republic of Iran gives broad material, financial, political and military assistance to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. . . It is due to the involvement of these authorities [Iranian] that the Afghan counter-revolutionary bands have been organised in the cities of Tehran, Qom, Mashad, Yazd and Isfahan and in other parts of Iran, and are sent to Afghanistan for murder, plunder and subversion."

Official Commentary on Human Rights in Afghanistan

Bakhtar Commentary on Human Rights in DRA (Kabul home service in Pashto, 1530 GMT, 2 March 1986) (SWB, FE/8198/C/1, 4 March 1986) includes an attack on commanders Abdul Haq (Khaless) and Alauddin (Jamiat - Herat). Regarding Islam the commentator stated, "There are many people in the West who speak about the danger to Islam in the DRA. However, how are these concerns matched with reality? During the last four years alone, 144 mosques have been built in Afghanistan and 1,026 have been repaired. The state has spent 1,250m afghanis for this and other humanitarian purposes. On the other hand, the Afghan counter-revolutionaries, who are financed, trained and equipped by the West and are its obedient servants, have burnt down 254 mosques and have martyred 1,112 religious leaders in that time."

Ancient Poet and Politician Remembered

"The 500th anniversary of the death of Amir Ali Sher Nava'i, a poet and politician of ancient Afghanistan, has been marked in Kabul. Sulayman La'eq, candidate member of the Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee, Minister of Nationalities and Tribal Affairs and President of the DRA Academy of Sciences, took part in a seminar held by the Academy of Sciences to mark the occasion." (Bakhtar in English, 0521 GMT, 23 February 1986)

AFGHAN MUJAHIDIN PUBLICATIONS

According to Radio Kabul, 20 April 1986, an agreement of legal and judicial cooperation was signed between the

DRA and Iraq (*Afghan Realities*, No. 56, 1 May 1986).

Kabul Military Academy

According to an interview with a former Afghan army officer in *Afghan Realities*,

No. 56, 1 May 1986, the Military Academy consists of 8 colleges each with 3 Soviet advisers. These advisers do not teach but give instructions to the instructors and commanders of the colleges. There are 170 classes in the Academy and one student is selected from each class for

study in the USSR. According to the interview, conditions for admission into the Academy are less strict than for the faculties of Kabul University. Students are now accepted from the 10th grade (as opposed to the 12th in the past). The academic year has been shortened to 7 months. The three year course is crammed into 21 months uninterrupted by vacations.

Fighting on Soviet Territory

According to Jamiat-i Islami, mujahidin led by commander Malik Khan attacked a Russian convoy on its way to Shindand from Torghundi on 9 April 1986. During the fighting, which took place in the area of Chehel Dukhtar near Torghundi, and lasted 3 days, the mujahidin were forced to retreat into Soviet territory through a pistachio forest. On their way back to Herat they captured 25 Russians. During the fighting, oil pipelines were destroyed and the Herat-Torghundi highway re-

mained closed. (*Afghan Realities*, No. 56, 1 May 1986)

Soviet Tribal Policy

According to the Afghan Information Centre's *Monthly Bulletin* (March 1986, p. 7):

"The Russians' tribal policy is a failure. The area where the Russians operated belongs to the Shinwari tribe and across the border, the Pakistani side is inhabited by the well known Afridi tribe. For a time the Soviet-Kabul regime has been working hard on the tribes on both sides, trying to bribe tribal chiefs, promising them – and actually providing – arms and money. Kabul apparently succeeded in winning over Wali Khan, chief of Kukikhel clan (one of the eight main Afridi clans). For a time, Kukikhel's people went to Kabul; they were well received and well-provided with money and arms. Wali Khan openly declared his loyalty to the Kabul regime and made

strong anti-resistance and anti-Pakistani statements.

"When the Russians invaded the Shinwar area along the border, they expected that the local pro-Kabul Shinwari and their Afridi friends across the border would be helpful. They expected that Kukikhel's followers would fight the mujahideen or at least make the main resistance route crossing their territory difficult. But nothing of the kind happened. The Kukikhel clan stayed neutral and the rest of the Afridi tribe spontaneously gave its active support to the mujahideen. Afridi tribesmen sent food to the resistance fighters, helped them with transportation and even some volunteered to go with the mujahideen to fight against the Russians.

"The hard blow to Russian tribal policy in the area came when Wali Khan Kukikhel, with his entire clan, went back to the Pakistani authorities and broke relations with Kabul."

SHABNAMAH ("Night Letters")

We reproduce here samples of *shabnamah* which were originally written in 1984 and circulated by the Afghan resistance. Nos. 1 and 2 were produced by Jamiat-i Islami, No. 1 in Dari aimed at the Parchamis, and No. 2 in Russian for Soviet soldiers.

No. 1

You Parchamis, you betrayers, you bloodthirsty so-called supporters of the masses, you betraying militias; what do you think you are doing? How long do you want to continue killing Muslims in support of the bloody atheist Russians, and for how long do you want to go on destroying the homes and lives of your own countrymen? Awaken your consciousness. You have been born and bred in the arms of these religious families, you have benefitted from the earth of the same land. It is disgraceful now to become Russian agents, to shed the blood of your countrymen, and to make the women and children of your homeland homeless. You must know that you are a disgrace to history. You are doomed by the world, rejected by humanity and by the fatherland. People will demand an explanation from you. Leave the line of betrayers before the axe of justice reaches your neck, and join the line of religion and freedom.





Воины советской армии!

Вас послали сюда беспощадно убивать
 не в темных и беззащитных афганцев.
 Но говорили вам: «Вы будете защищать Аф-
 ганский народ от вмешательства извне».
 Сейчас, находясь в Афганистане и уничтожая
 афганский народ, вы сами думаете: кого вы
 защищаете?, и от кого?. Вы же сжигаете
 дома и деревни (т.е. места жительства) аф-
 ганцев. Разве ваша совесть (если она у вас)
 не ждет вас? Не осуждаете ли вы своих
 матерей, отцов и братьев во время войны?
 Если вы не хотите, чтобы ваши дома и
 деревни сгорели? Вы пришли сюда, чтобы
 убивать и сжигать афганцев-
 мусульман и патриотов. Разве это
 позорное дело?

Вы должны рассказать все то, что
 вы видели своими собственными глазами в
 Афганистане, особенно тем, кто будет про-
 должать массовое убийство афганцев.
 Вы должны рассказать, что это зверская и необъявлен-
 ная война заставила афганский народ сидеть
 в Кремле убитыми.

Наш народ просит вас: покинуть
 нашу страну, так же, как пришли в нее без
 приглашения. Если боитесь смерти (военного
 трибунала), переходите в нашу сторону. Мы
 вам гарантируем вашу жизнь. В этом слу-
 чае вас ждет счастливая жизнь, где бы вы
 не хотели. Пожалуйста бросайте эту гряз-
 ную и позорную войну. Помните русскую
 пословицу: В чужой монастырь своим це-
 лавком не ходят.

No. 2

Troops of the Soviet Army!

You were sent here to mercilessly kill innocent, defenseless Afghans for no reasons. But you were told, "You will defend the Afghan people from foreign interference." Now having come to Afghanistan and taken part in destroying the Afghan people, you think to yourself: whom am I defending? and from whom? You set Afghan houses and villages on

fire (e.g. people's homes). How could it be that your conscience (if you have one) doesn't condemn you? Don't you remember your own fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers while the mass destruction of Afghans is taking place? You came here to kill and destroy Afghan Muslims and patriots. Isn't it a shameful business?

You must tell people about everything you saw with your own eyes in Afghanistan, especially to those who will arrive to continue the mass killing. Upon your return home you must tell about how this

brutal and undeclared war has been forced upon the Afghan people by murderers sitting in the Kremlin.

Our people ask you to leave our country just as you came in without invitation. If you are afraid of death (the military tribunal), come over to our side. We guarantee your life. A happy life awaits you, wherever you want. Please, give up this dirty, disgraceful war. Remember the Russian saying: your own rules don't apply in somebody else's monastery.