

# Turkestan used for Soviet aims

Turkestan, with a population of 42 million people — mostly of Turkish descent — is part of the Soviet Empire and borders China, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran in Central Asia. According to Abdullah Kwaja, president of the Turkistan American Association in New York, the area is strategically vital to the Soviet Union and plays a significant role in the Soviet war against Afghanistan, as well as being a base for communist influence in the Middle East.

Besides its strategic value, Turkestan has proven to be one of the Kremlin's main sources for minerals, earth gas, oil and agricultural products. In an interview with News World reporter Gert van Dorsten, Kwaja, who emigrated to the United States in the '70s, gave a surprising account of recent activities involving Turkestan, a country that infrequently finds itself the attention of the Western press.



Kevin McCormick - News World

Abdullah Kwaja, 30, says that little is known about Turkestan in the West because the Soviets have made a special effort to keep this strategically important country a "state" secret.

There is very little known about Turkestan in the United States. Presently, what is the overall situation in this country?

It is basically the same as in other captive nations. The people have a strong feeling for freedom, but the Soviets try to keep them down, to nationalize them and to teach them godlessness. There are no free newspapers and no contact with the outside world.

The feeling against the Soviets is very strong. In 1979, when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, there were approximately 45,000 Turkestanians among the 85,000 invading forces.

The Turkestanian soldiers were told that they were being sent to fight the United States and the Chinese, but when they arrived in Afghanistan they discovered that the opposing forces were all innocent Afghans and Muslims. When the Turkestanians — who are also Muslims — saw that the Mujahideen [Afghan freedom fighters] didn't have weapons, they gave them their own weapons. Many of them also defected to the Afghan side.

Several of the defectors have since moved to Pakistan, where they are presently training the Mujahideen. They have built training camps and are teaching Soviet military techniques to the Afghan freedom fighters. Moscow eventually recalled all Turkestanian troops to the Soviet Union.

What happened to those who were sent back?

Though the Turkestanian sol-

diers knew that they would be killed if they didn't fight, they took this risk. The Soviets first put them in prison. Then they executed most of them.

To the communists, a human life doesn't mean anything. From the Revolution in 1917, when they invaded Turkestan, until 1934, they killed almost 10 million Turkestanians. Our people didn't give up right away, they fought more than 10 years — nobody listened, nobody helped us. What the world is wit-

It depends. The groups of Mujahideen consist of different quantities. Some vary in numbers from a few thousand to 200,000.

What is the primary importance of the Soviet presence in Tashkent?

Tashkent is one of the main cities in Turkestan. There is an air base for war planes going to Afghanistan. Because it is so close to the Middle East and Afghanistan, it has great strategic value.

## *If Turkestan were to gain independence, it would block the way for the Soviets to reach the Mideast.*

nessing in Afghanistan today has already happened in Turkestan in the past.

How many Turkestanians have defected?

I don't know the exact number, but many of the Turkestanians immediately recognized that the Mujahideen were in the right. Others were captured and then defected.

How big are these training camps for the Mujahideen in Pakistan?

If Turkestan were to gain independence, it would block the way for the Soviets to reach the Middle East. Security of these countries would be guaranteed, and the free world would have access to the economic potential of Turkestan.

What other significant reasons do the Soviets attach to their domination of Turkestan?

Soviet leadership has decreed that Turkestan is to be the carrier of the germ of communist revolution in the Orient. In Tashkent

they have organized many international conferences, where the Soviet system has been presented as an exemplary model.

The communist authorities also invite many students to Turkestan through exchange programs, especially young people from the Arabic countries. Before the invasion, many students from Afghanistan traveled back and forth, also Palestinians, and students from Iraq, Syria and Lybia. On two occasions, the authorities have even contacted our organization in the United States and offered to educate our children without any costs to us.

When the students arrive, the communists show them the city (special sections of Tashkent) and say, "look how everything is changed and how much better it is under the communist rule." They tell the visitors that there is freedom of religion and that they respect the Islamic faith.

How severe is the persecution of human rights in Turkestan?

Continuously there are 24,000 to 30,000 political prisoners in jail. They are imprisoned for speaking out for freedom or against the godlessness of communism.

Before the Russian Revolution there were 28,000 mosques. Now there are only 100 left, and these are just for propaganda purposes to show tourists that there is freedom of religion. It is all a fabrication.

They have influenced education in such a way that the only thing that the younger generation knows about God is that He is the creator of the world and that Mohammed is his prophet. In 1981, the government published 25 books especially written to discredit Islam.

Are there any resistance groups in Turkestan?

There are resistance groups, but only underground. There is no chance to fight openly. Because of the strategic importance of Turkestan, the Soviets are very strict. Though there are many political prisoners who were jailed for seeking freedom, to fight like Solidarity in Poland is not possible.

What do you expect will be the future of Afghanistan?

If the Mujahideen get modern weapons, they will have a chance, but it will be very difficult in any case. The Soviets know that if they leave Afghanistan, then Turkestan, Poland or Czechoslovakia will rise up next and give them trouble. For this reason they will never want to give up Afghanistan.



# Captives coolly determined in summer heat

By BRUCE CHADWICK

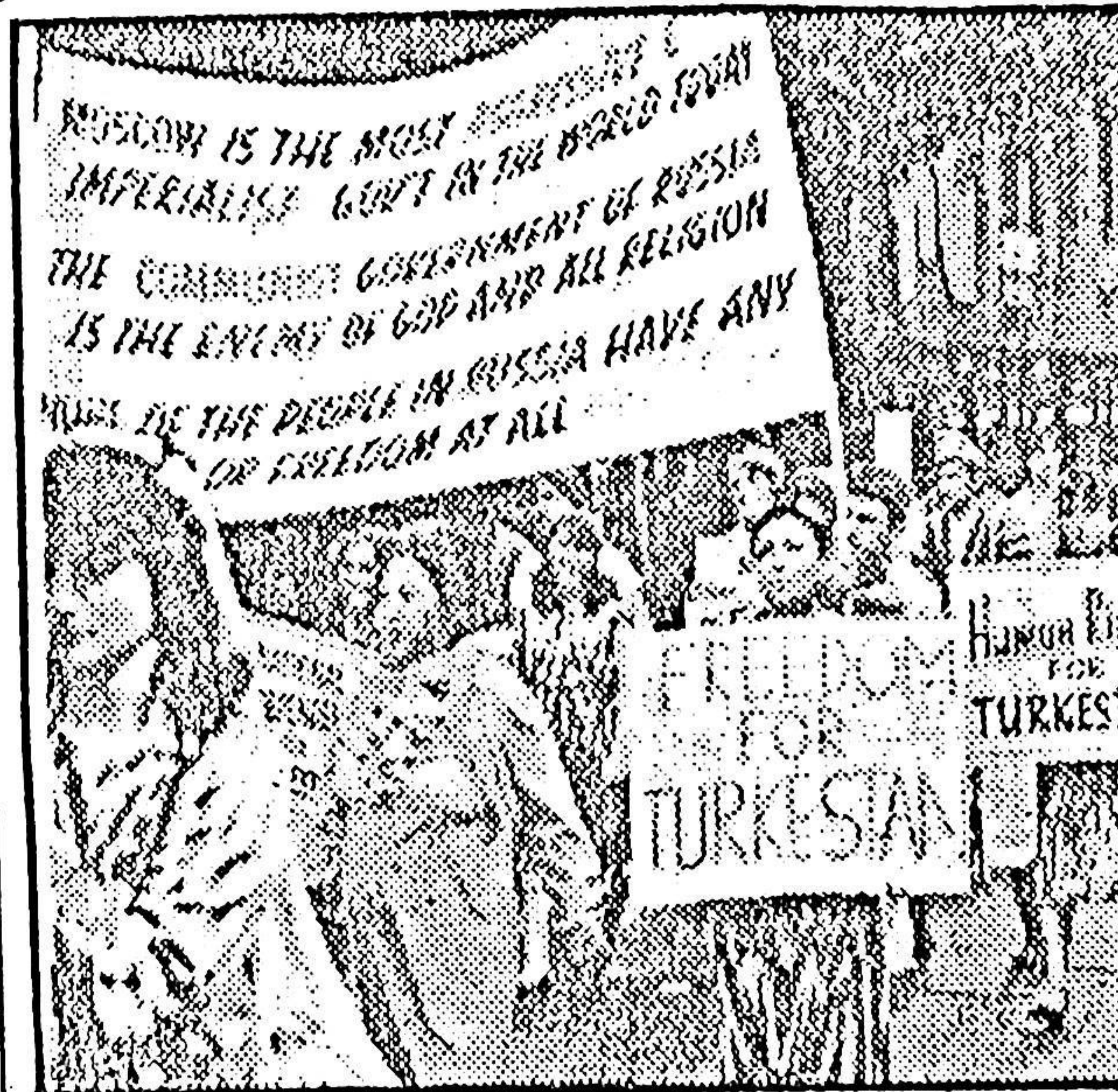
**R**EPRESENTATIVES of 35 nations with Communist governments braved oppressive heat to march up Fifth Ave. to Central Park yesterday in the 24th annual Captive Nations Week parade.

The parade, which followed a memorial Mass at 10 a.m. at St. Patrick's Cathedral, is held each summer to focus attention on hundreds of millions of people living under some form of Communist government.

The grand marshal of this year's parade, which kicked off Captive Nations Week, was Rep. Larry McDonald of (D-Ga.), who flew in especially for the event.

The march attracted sparse crowds, which sponsors said were held down by the heat.

At 1 p.m., when marchers reached the band shell in Central Park at E. 72d St., leaders of the various organizations read letters and proclamations from President Reagan, several governors and other officials.



TOM MONASTER DAILY NEWS

Demonstrators march up Fifth Ave.

"This message of hope (Captive Nations Week) is founded in the belief that free men and women will ultimately prevail over those who deny individual rights...and in the conviction that the human spirit will ultimately prevail over the oppressive ideology of totalitarianism," said Gov. Carey in his proclamation.

New Jersey Gov. Thomas Kean declared in his message that "nations look to the United States as a citadel of human freedom and leadership in the continuing struggle for the liberation of captive nations and restoration of individual liberties and freedom."

Among the nations and peoples represented in yesterday's parade, as listed by sponsors, were:

Afghanistan, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cambodia, China (mainland), the Crimean Tartars, Cossackia, Croatia, Cuba, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, East Germany, Hungary, Idel Ural, and Karatchays.

Also Laos, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, North Caucasus, North Korea, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Tibet, Turkestan, the Ukraine and Vietnam.



# The Globe Eagle

Volume 2, Number 2 An American People's Countervoice to Communism

July 1, 1982

## PARADE IS JULY 18 • GEORGIAN IS GRAND MARSHAL •

By HORST A. UHLICH

President, Captive Nations Committee, Inc.

Dr. Larry McDonald, U.S. naval officer and representative from Georgia to the Washington, D.C., House of Representatives, along with other prominent officials, will lead the annual Captive Nations Parade along New York's Fifth Avenue on July 18.

The Sunday morning assembly time is 9 a.m. at 59th Street and 5th Avenue.

At 9:15 a.m., the Parade will move to 50th Street for a Memorial Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral at 10.

### Parade after Mass

Following the church service, the Parade will proceed up 5th Avenue to the Central Park Mall Band Shell near 72nd St., where ceremonies will feature an array of dignitaries and folklore entertainment.

From Afghanistan and Albania to the Ukraine and Vietnam, the Captive Nations will process in alphabetical order along the traditional route.

### Presidential Proclamation

With a Freedom-loving Administration in Washington, the President's proclamation of Captive Nations Week will be read with particular fervor. The tri-state area Gubernatorial proclamations will follow, and all in attendance will be treated to colorful folk dancing and other spectacles at the Band Shell.

## "SPECIALS" ARE SUPER-SPECIAL TO SOVIETS

The so-called "office of special investigations" has been targeted as a servant of Soviet wishes in a letter to President Reagan. The letter's text is on page 12, and the White House response will be found on page 3.

Among the nations marching for Freedom will be Afghanistan, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cambodia, China mainland, Crimean Tartars, Cossackia, Croatia, Cuba, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Idel Ural, Karatchays, Laos, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, N. Caucasus, N. Korea, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Tibet, Turkestan, Ukraine, and Vietnam.

I would like to thank all representatives for their outstanding participation during the past year, and for their efforts in helping to organize this most important rally. First, thanks to Secretary Elmar Lipping, for his good work; then, Dr. Edward Rubel for his great knowledge; Miss Frederike Tanner for organizing the folklore program during the Captive Nations Rally. Of course, Dr. Ivan Docheff, our Honorary President, for his continued activity and interest in the fight for Freedom being carried on by the Captive Nations Committee. Thanks also to Peter

Nikoloff and Troiko Gogoe from Bulgaria; Mytrofan Nesuta, D. Jarmolenko and M. Jarmar of the Ukraine; great freedom fighter from Afghanistan Habib Mayar; Marie Blumrich of Germany for her concern for our work; Abdulla Kwaja, great leader of Turkestan with one of the greatest groups among the Captive Nations participants; Dr. Alexandru Bratu, brave fighter against communism from Rumania, and his compatriot, Viorel Chirila; big thanks to the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, Count and Countess Eugene Esterhazy; also congratulated for their good work must be Ernest, Michael and Beatrice Hoka; thank you very much to the Latvian leaders, Dr. A.K. Bogdanovics, Mrs. Helga Ozolins and Margerieta Bu s; to our Slovak representative, John Kulhan, George Kantor and Tom Dudrick; for Tibet, Cynthia Hyler; and a big, special, thank you to a fearless anti-communist fighter Major General Nikolas Nazarenko, who was long of the opinion that the "Office of special investigation should be demolished and the crimes of the communists who have murdered over 140 million human beings should be investigated and punished.

For Byelorussia, Walter Pielesa and Miss Rosa Stankievic. From the Freedom

Continued on page 12

## Larry McDonald to be Grand Marshal

U.S. Representative Larry P. McDonald of Georgia's 7th District has accepted the invitation to be Grand Marshal of the 1982 Captive Nations Parade in New York City.

Despite a heavy schedule—which includes the necessity of his presence in California the previous day, Mr. McDonald has assured the Committee that his flight plans will be arranged to insure his presence in New York in time for the annual event.



Rep. McDonald was born in Atlanta on April 1, 1935. He completed pre-medical training in 1953 and was accepted to Emory University School of Medicine in Atlanta prior to his 18th birthday. He received his Doctor of Medicine degree from Emory in 1957.

Dr. McDonald spent four years in the U.S. Navy, receiving the Air Force Commendation Medal for his service. He currently holds the rank of Captain in the Naval Reserve.

Dr. McDonald is a member of several medical associations, including the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Association of Clinical Urologists, Medical Association of Georgia, Medical Association of Atlanta, and the Atlanta Urology Society. He served on the Georgia State Medical Education Board from 1969 to 1974, as acting chairman and vice chairman.

Dr. McDonald is on the National Board of the Movement

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KEEP THE PARADE AND THE GLOBE EAGLE GOING. SEND YOUR DONATION TODAY!



appeasement and by cringing in the face of challenges.

For more than fifty years, the Republic of China has learned, through painful experience, the real nature of Communism. They understand every move of the Communists' endeavor to conquer the world. The tragedy is that the lesson of Chinese experience is so often disregarded by some major Western powers who seem to want to learn their lesson the hard way.

I was told by The Rev. Mr. Anerum of Brooklyn that "Communism is spiritually wrong and scientifically false and thus it has failed everywhere." In order to halt Communism's drive to dominate the world it must be clear-eyed in the face of Communism's subterfuges and doubletalk. It must not be lured into straying into the easy pathways of appeasement. And the free world should refrain from supplying financial and technological assistance to the Communist regimes so as to check their ambition to communize the whole world.

My dear friends, we of the Republic of China are doing our utmost to hold our sector in this great struggle. We have unquenched faith that, whatever the tribulations ahead, we will eventually prevail. With the help and understanding of the freedom-loving people, the victory over Communism in Asia, as in the world, will be certain.

I thank you.

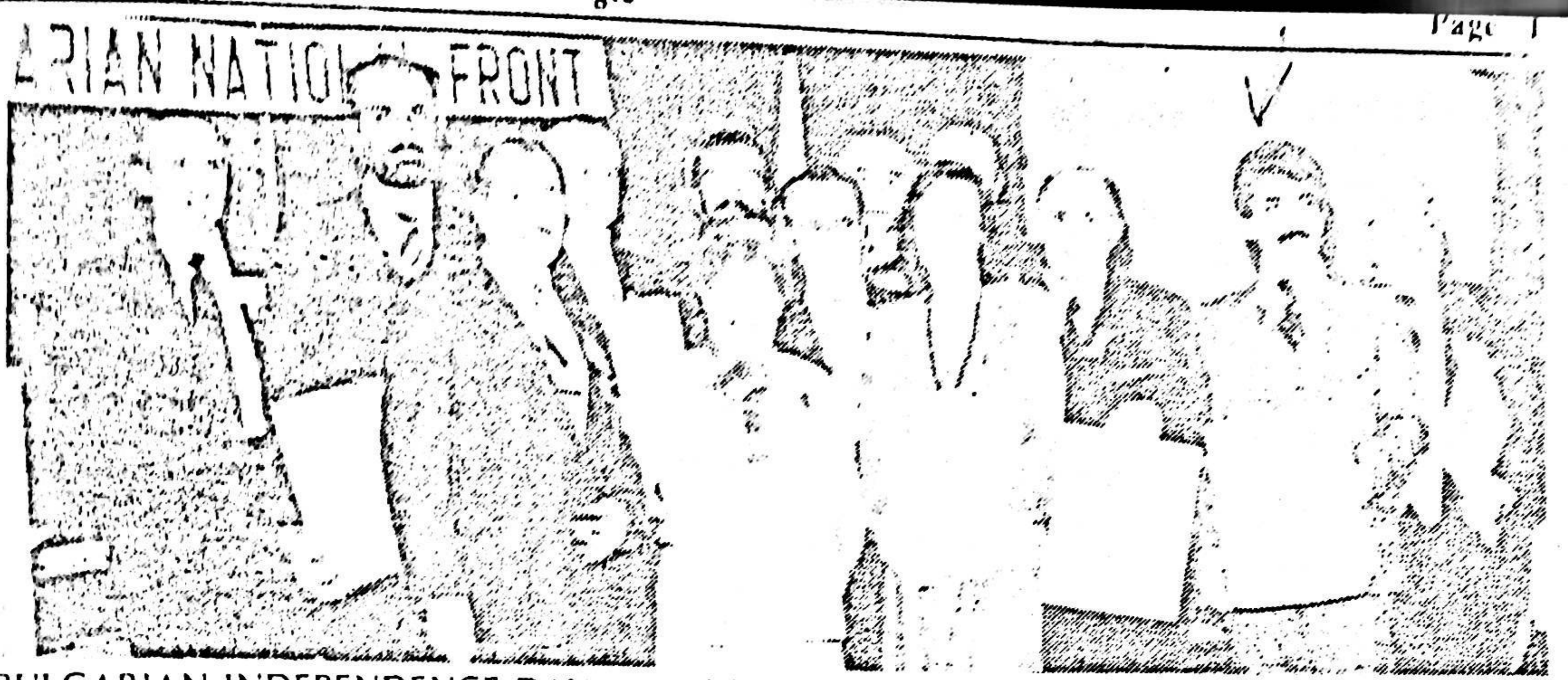
## MILLIONS FOR FREEDOM!

If everyone in America from a Captive Nation would send \$1, our Committee would have many millions for the fight to free our Homelands.

This would mean tremendously increased influence in Washington and abroad.

Is it worth your dollar? And one from each person you know who is from a Captive Nation or descended from such immigrants?

All contributions should be sent to: Captive Nations Committee, Inc., P.O. Box 540, New York, N.Y. 10028.



BULGARIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY was celebrated in March 1982 at New York's Doral Inn Hotel under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ivan Docheff, Honorary President of the Bulgarian National Front (Dr. George Paprikoff, President). At the event, the following outstanding Freedom Fighters were awarded the Medal of the Bulgarian National Front: Dr. Maria Garcia of Cuba, President of the World Anti-Communist Action Front; Ernest Hoka, President of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters; Habib Mayar, President of the Afghanistan Freedom Fighters; Dr. Edward Rubel, President of the Estonian War Veterans; Dr. Alexander Bratu of Rumania; Dr. Aurelios Bagdanovisc of Latvia; John Kulhan of Slovakia; Eva M. Uhlich of the German American National Congress (DANK); Iskender Nesef, Azerbaidjan; Thai Trung Luong, Vietnam; Steve Basic, Croatia; Viteli Cierpicki, Byelorussia; and Abdulla Kwaja, Turkestan.

## Conservatives hold Dinner

The Conservative Party of New York County held its 15th Annual Washington's Birthday Dinner on Friday, Feb. 19, at the 7th Regiment Armory in Manhattan.

Featured speakers were candidates for Governor of New York State James L. Emery, Minority Leader of the N.Y. State Assembly, Lewis E. Lehrman, Chairman of Rite-Aid Corporation, Edward V. Regan, State Comptroller, and Richard M. Rosenbaum, Republican National Committeeman.

A highlight of the event were the remarks of Howard Lim, Jr., whose ready wit and well chosen words brought an enthusiastic response from the crowd.

The program included singing of the National Anthem by Constance B. Christopher, the Invocation by Father Thomas P. Kennette, leading of the Pledge by Kenneth M. Levy, Mr. Lim's Greetings and Introductions, a Welcome from the State Chairman J. Daniel Mahoney, Remarks by Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, Introductions by Joseph A. Lavezzo, Michael R. Long, John O'Leary, Thomas Bolan, and Stuart Avrick, remarks by the gubernatorial candidates, the Benediction by The Rev. Roger Fulton, and singing of "God Bless America" by Miss Christopher.

## McDonald

Continued from page 1

to Restore Decency (Motorede) and a member of the Georgia Right to Life Committee. He is also a member of the Advisory Committee of Christian Voice, Inc. He is also a member of the National Pro-Life Political Action Committee. Dr. McDonald received the 1980 Christian Statesman Award from Christian Voice. He also belongs to the Committee for Freedom of Choice in Cancer Therapy, for which he serves as legislative advisor.

Dr. McDonald is a member of the National Rifle Association, the American Pistol and Revolver Association, Advisory Board of the National Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, Gun Owners of America, National Advisory Council of the Second Amendment Foundation, Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms and the Citizens Legal Defense Fund for the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

This year's Grand Marshal is also a member of the National Advisory Board of the Committee for a Free China, and National Advisory Council of the Conservative Party of New York State, he has been appointed a member of the Congressional Advisory Board of Conservatives Against Liberal Legislation (CALL), and serves on the Membership Committee of the American Civil Defense Association—a committee which

includes Dr. Edward Teller, the father of the hydrogen bomb.

In 1979, Dr. McDonald was recognized by the National Taxpayers Union as the "Most Frugal Member of Congress" for his voting record against wasteful and inflationary government spending. He is a life member of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, an honorary member of the National Aeronautical Association, a member of Smithsonian Associates, Friends of the Davidson College Library, and holds numerous other memberships and honors. He has been named a Knight of Honor in the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Knights Hospitaller.

### In Free China

Dr. McDonald was the United States' representative to the World Freedom Day Rally in Taiwan in January 1976 at the request of the World Anti-Communist League. More than 50,000 people attended the event.

He has also received the highest award which can be bestowed by the Anti-communist government of Chile, the Bernardo O'Higgins Award, in October 1977. O'Higgins is remembered as the "George Washington of Chile."

In 1980, the Anti-communist Bulgarian National Front in New York presented Dr. McDonald "with merit," the Order for the Fight for Liberty in Bulgaria. The same year, he was presented the Naval Reserve Associations' national Distinguished Service Award.



## Letter to President Reagan

March 5, 1982

President Ronald W. Reagan  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear President Reagan:

During our meeting at the Estonian House in New York City on February 25, 1982, a resolution was passed expressing our deepest appreciation and full support of your realistic and firm stand against the Communist-inspired political deterioration which has been spreading throughout the Caribbean since the arrival in power of the Soviet puppet, Fidel Castro of Cuba.

In fact, our hopes are raised at your understanding of Soviet expansionism on a worldwide basis—firstly, in Europe where Moscow intends to keep its grip on the Captive Nations; and secondly, in Afghanistan which is slated to be added to the growing list of enslaved Nations.

In America, the Office of Special Investigation, a Sub-Committee of the U.S. Justice Department, is conducting a nationwide hunt for Anti-Communist activists under the pretense that they are Nazis. All of the leaders of the Captive Nations Committee realize that this Sub-Committee is doing the work of the Soviet Secret Police known as the KGB. It is hoped by all of our membership that you, the President, will have this Sub-Committee abolished, and hopefully start to investigate the crimes committed by the Communist Party International.

We also discussed our willingness to form a special Task Force and to join in the fight wherever the cause of freedom from Communism requires such action.

On behalf of all of our membership, I would like to congratulate you on your choice of staff—especially General Alexander Haig, who has the correct attitude and capability for the state of crisis created by the Communist Party International's greed for world power.

In greatest appreciation for your courageous commitment to our mutual cause,

Yours most respectfully,

Horst A. Uhlich  
President

## Parade is July 18 from p. 1

loving Croatians Ivan Matonivice, Cains Boer, and Tony Teskena; a long-time friend from Azerbaijan Iskender Necef; and thanks to Robert Posey; for the Crimean Tartars Riza Gulum; thank you to all the Cubans, especially to Dr. Maria Garcia for her courageous fight against communism; thanks to a proven anti-communist fighter, Thai Trung Lung and T. Hao of Vietnam; to M. Razgaites of Lithuania and Helen von Kulber; and last, but not least, the Catholic War Veterans especially their representative Nicholas Rywak.

Of course, many will have been forgotten. But to you who have helped the effectiveness of our committee, may you all be blessed for all your work for the people behind the Iron Curtain and for helping Americans see the truth.

### ONE COMMITTEE, ONE CAUSE

*The Captive Nations Committee, Inc., and no other group, is the official organization to organize the Captive Nations Parade and Rally in New York during Captive Nations Week July 18—25.*

*The Captive Nations Committee, Inc., is recognized by the President of the United States, the Governor of New York State and the Mayor of New York City.*

## Captive Nations an important political force

General Emil Köstring was long-time German Military Attaché in the Soviet Union. He was captured by the U.S. forces in Germany in 1945. To his interrogator he said the following:

In the war against the Soviet Union we received a valuable capital in Russia by so many national volunteers, including Russian volunteers joining us in fighting Communism. Unfortunately, we did not know how to use that

capital. Now we turn that capital over to you. I wish that you might be more prudent in using these people who are ready to continue to fight the Kremlin that is as dangerous to you as to us."

There was a deep silence on the part of the interrogators.

The West did not know how to use that valuable capital. Moreover, the West helped to destroy that capital in handing over those hundred thousand anti-Communist soldiers. That Western treachery has been described by Count Nikolai Tostoy in his famous book "The Secret Betrayal 1944—1947."

Nowadays there are again millions of people in America who are eager to continue the fight against the Kremlin's global hegemony. These millions of members of the Captive Nations build a tremendously strong political force for America and for the Western World. Let us hope that the policy makers take into consideration said force and put it on the side of our political assets.

Elmar Lipping

## Turkestan, still Russian colony, of great strategic importance

A center of Islamic culture since the 8th century, Turkestan is a country of 4 million square kilometers and, as a centrally-located arsenal for Soviet atomic bombs and other military resources, not a nation the Kremlin bosses would like

to see gain its independence in the near future.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit, in a recent speech entitled "The Strategic Importance of Turkestan for the Soviet Union and the Free World," reveals that "during the year 1942 the same amount of war material was produced in Turkestan as in the entire remaining territory of the Soviet Union before the Second World War," and that the Red empire-builders can "supply its army from Turkestan, should the need arise."

In a thorough review of the country, Dr. Hayit notes that "since 1950 many western researchers have—wrongly—adopted the Soviet term *Central Asia* instead of Turkestan...."

He contrasted the 18th-to-19th century Russian conquest of Turkestan to the fate of British colonies taken in the same period. The latter were independent within a century or so, whereas the Kremlin has yet to give a satisfactory answer to the question: "What is the target date for the independence of the Soviet Central Asian territories."

Dr. Hayit observed that the independence of Turkestan would mean that Russia and China would be separated from one another; there would no longer be a danger of Russian expansion in the Middle East; the security of the peoples of the Middle East would be guaranteed; Turkestan would return to being one of the Oriental, Islamic communities of the free world, and the world economy would have access to the economic potential of Turkestan.

THE GLOBE EAGLE  
P.O. Box 540  
New York, N.Y. 10028

FIRST CLASS



# SURVIVAL OF THE FAITH

'Bourgeois ideologists do not understand, or rather do not want to understand, that the popular masses of Central Asia have together with the USSR's other fraternal peoples — above all the Great Russian people — in the course of building socialism and communism under the leadership of the Communist Party long regarded the ideas of Marxism-Leninism as their guiding star... Today, the vast majority of Soviet people and of all the nationalities are atheists, and their minds are fed by science, not religious fables'. This extract from an article contributed by two Soviet scholars and propagandists appeared last September in the *Turkenskaya Iskra*, the mouthpiece of the Communist Party in Turkmenistan in central Asia and southern USSR, in one of the most sensitive regions bordering Afghanistan.

The words, of course, are nothing new. All that seems to have changed recently is that considerably greater dynamism has entered in the Soviet effort in the area of Islam, indicating that the authorities are more worried than they have been in the past about the possibility of religious feelings undermining the Soviet system and giving comfort to the enemy. There is little doubt that the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan has added to this problem.

Karl Marx himself wrote in the last century: 'Religion must disappear in a world where socialism is developing... education plays a crucial role in this'.

Thus, religion is one of those 'enemies' which a good communist regime must fight, alongside the illiteracy, disease and poverty. Religion like all those other evils will disappear, but the duty of a communist is to speed up the process, particularly by education. Soviet communists would not have done their duty had they not substantially reduced the incidence of religion (according to Soviet statements, of course).

Thus, the Large Soviet Encyclopaedia of 1972 sums up the traditional communist view according to which 'in the USSR and other socialist countries where the social roots

of religion have been undermined, Islam, like other religions, is increasingly turning into a relic of the past'.

In Soviet view religion is essentially a function of backwardness. But springing from such negative roots Islam can nonetheless have 'positive' role, ie help Soviet foreign policy. The article in the *Turkenskaya Iskra* from which we have quoted goes on to state that 'in conditions where the popular masses are culturally and politically backward, where an anti-popular despotic regime holds sway and there are no legal opposition parties (sic), a situation may arise where the clergy, traditionally having strong influence among the masses, performed, albeit temporarily, the role of leader in the struggle against imperialism and the monarchy. Such circumstances occurred, for example, in the 1978-79 anti-imperialist anti-Shah revolution in Iran. However, the religious flavour of that revolution cannot obscure the real motivating force — the working class, the working intelligentsia and the student body'.

It all, of course, depends on the attitude of the Iranian regime towards the Soviet Union, or, alternatively, on the damage such government can cause to the enemies of the USSR, notably the USA. In fact, as Leonid I. Brezhnev himself admitted, 'a liberation struggle may develop under the banner of Islam. But the reaction, by stirring up counter-revolutionary rebellions also employs Islamic slogans'. So, as the late Soviet leader put it, 'everything rests on the actual content of the particular movement'.

Pursuing such opportunist policy the Soviet Union has welcomed the self-avowedly radical and anti-western regimes in Iran, Libya, Algeria and elsewhere as convenient allies in the struggle against 'imperialism'. But even then 'scientific socialism' must stay opposed to Islam as a 'religious form of social awareness'. In other words, the USSR knows all the answers and there can be no intellectual fraternisation or give and take with Islam, or any other

religion, although for tactical reasons religion can even be regarded as an ally, albeit only on a temporary basis and with all reservations retained.

This posture inevitably reduces the significance of ideological weapon that the USSR can employ to advance its power political aims. It cannot very well promote Marxism-Leninism in countries where only a small minority might possibly be won over for the creed while the large majority would easily be offended. Promotion of fellow communists can only be done with utmost tact and circumspection. After all, the Soviet Union has repeatedly made clear its intention of supporting the Non-Alignment Movement which in its vast majority is anti-communist and often under religious influences, especially Islamic.

One may be justified in asking why should not Soviet ideologists and strategists simply accept the developing nations as they are, in their entirety, as potential and actual allies and friends, regardless of the character of the regime in those countries. Soviet theoreticians could explain such attitude by referring to peculiar social, cultural and political conditions in the countries concerned. This would, of course, mean giving up any idea of worldwide communist revolution for the foreseeable future. But there is no evidence anyway that the Soviet leaders are actively working for such revolution as a practicable programme.

It appears that the stubborn and dogmatic refusal on the part of the Soviet manipulators of minds to give any real legitimacy to religion as a form of human emancipation is due to internal political reasons. How could the Soviet rulers explain their totally negative attitude to religion at home if they at the same time justified religion as a genuine social force elsewhere?

In this respect a simple dilemma is faced at the very start of any discussion. According to Soviet theory there should be no reason for the survival of religion after 60 years of socialism and many and powerful attempts to

destroy. Yet religion persists in the USSR. How strong is it, how many practise it? This must be one of the most closely guarded secrets in the USSR. We can only guess, with the help of a few indicators, mostly supplied by the Soviet authorities themselves. When a western journalist recently asked an official Soviet imam how many people in Central Asia were believing Muslims the reply was: 'I have no idea. But Allah will know how to count them'.

The assumption is that a very substantial number of people of Central Asia continue to adhere to Islam. Then, we know that there are about 45 million such people in the Soviet Union, making the USSR the 5th largest Muslim-populated country in the world after Indonesia, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh.

Most of these communities are found in six federal republics in southern USSR: Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan. Other Muslims live in northern Caucasus while the Tartars, deported by Stalin from Crimea at the end of the last war, are now mainly settled in eastern Russia. A large majority of these people, or some 70 per cent are of Turkish race, with a Turkic culture and language. Most of the Muslims are Sunni, although there are small communities of Shi'a in Azerbaijan and some Ismailis in Pamir, in the extreme southeastern corner of the USSR bordering on Pakistan.

According to the Soviet official picture the 'relics' of Islam are now organised under four Boards, each of which catering for believers in the respective geographical area. The official Islamic establishment itself has no single central organisation, but the head of the Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan based in Tashkent assumes a position of preminence and is often called upon to speak on behalf of the USSR's entire Muslim community. The Board based in Tashkent is the only one engaged in publishing (*Muslims of the Soviet East*, a quarterly; 5 editions of Qur'an in the past 25 years; and some lunar calendars). The four Boards together control between 2,500 and 3,000 officially registered imams and khatebs working in between 200 and 500 mosques (compared with over 25,000 before the Revolution). ■



## II. TIGHTENING THE SCREWS

The tightly controlled official Islam of course bears no relationship to the true survival of the faith and its development in spite of so many years of repression and discrimination. Yet the religious officials that the authorities allow to function are no mere stooges. They are by all accounts believers with fairly good educational backgrounds, somewhat 'liberal' in their approach but nonetheless sound and well-meant. They justify their cooperation with the authorities by pointing out that it is better this way than not to have any mosques or religion being practised at all in public. They hope that if they persist times may eventually change and their role become much more important.

But official Islamic leaders also perform valuable services to the State, by endorsing Soviet policies in regard to nuclear disarmament, Third World and other matters (although it is not suggested that they do not do this out of their conviction). They also provide a respectable façade for the claim that the Soviet authorities not only respect the freedom of worship but positively assist them in performing their duties. This is calculated to impress foreign Islamic countries and their leaders, and the officially sponsored Muslim dignitaries also usually act as hosts to outside delegations which may enquire about the fate of Islam in the USSR.

These arrangements can never be foolproof, except in the eyes of the most guillible observer. When the Soviets were trying to use their official Muslims to gain international support for the invasion of Afghanistan the manoeuvre pitifully misfired. It will be recalled that the invasion gave rise to a special session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference in Islamabad in January 1980 which condemned the intervention. Hoping no doubt to turn attention away from this condemnation the Soviets organised their own International Islamic Conference in Tashkent in September 1980, using as hosts the Muslim Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. But the conference, which was boycotted by majority of Muslim countries, ended in

disarray when foreign delegates opposed a final declaration echoing the Soviet foreign policy.

But a great deal is going on in Russia's Islamic world that eludes the carefully structured safety valve of the four official Boards. For information on these developments we are indebted mostly to the Soviet authorities themselves. Anxious to identify and pillory these uncensored developments and mobilize the nation's forces for the combat the authorities often provide revealing evidence of the strength and resourcefulness of Soviet Muslims.

Separate from the official Muslim establishment are significant religious 'underground' movements. Particularly worrying to the authorities are the religious discipleships *Tariqas*, deeply rooted in the Caucasus and Central Asian regions. It is believed that more than half the Muslims in the northern Caucasus are so organised in religious and national traditions. They are resolutely anti-Soviet as well as anti-Russian.

An article in the magazine *Zhurnalist* revealed in 1980 that an alleged 'fascist band' in Chechen-Ingushia, and Islamic region of northern Caucasus, had murdered a total of over 40 Party activists. Similar, if less dramatic cases have been reported from Central Asia and several students of Soviet affairs have suggested that the Prime Minister of Soviet Kirghizia (bordering on China), Sultan Ibrahimov, reported murdered in 1980, might have died at the hands of dissident Islamists, the so-called Hairy Ishans.

Soviet politicians and propagandists have frequently been complaining about the survival of religious practices, including the Ramadan fast, Muslim marriages, circumcision and pilgrimages to holy places (but few, except officials, Muslims are permitted to travel to Mecca). Soviet press has singled out the case of a school in the Bashkir Autonomous Republic in which only 5 out of 100 children thought religion was evil. What better proof of 'faulty' education!

An official Soviet survey, *Islam i Obshchestvo* (Islam and Society) published in Moscow in 1978 noted that even among university graduates and secondary school leavers in

Islamic areas 10 - 15% were believers. And an article in the magazine *Agitator* in 1980 on conditions in the Karakalpak Autonomous Republic admitted that a survey of 300 villagers declaring themselves as unbelievers showed that some 20% of them took part in religious ceremonies — on the grounds that these were part of national tradition.

Events in Iran and Afghanistan clearly lent a new sense of urgency to Soviet anti-religious machine. The Turkmen institute of Scientific Atheism opened in early 1981 to train lecturers for struggle against Islam. In Tajikistan, a Republic bordering on Afghanistan, more than 4,000 lectures were given as well as dozens of conferences and question-and-answer evenings held in the first half of 1980 as part of a campaign against religion. According to a noted French expert on religion in the Soviet Union, Prof Alexander Bennigsen, the number of anti-religious books and pamphlets printed in the USSR in 1981 totalled 200, compared with 150 in the previous year. The percentage of this literature aimed specifically against Islam has increased noticeably and now accounts for almost a quarter of the total.

Promotion of atheism is undertaken mainly by the Institute for Scientific Atheism which is responsible to the Academy of Social Sciences — directed by the Party Central Committee. The Institute coordinates the work of a large number of subsidiary atheist bodies, such as those in colleges of various kinds, publishing houses — and even the Moscow Planetarium.

The brunt of the argument against religion is that this is incompatible with science and much is, for example, made of the apparent absence of any visible sign of God in space. This approach to religion is evidently based on the primitive Russian Orthodox traditional belief of 'heaven' being literally an area in the skies, evidenced by numerous church paintings of angels and saints floating on clouds. It is significant that the crude boasts of the Krushchevian era that because the cosmonauts did not see God on their missions He does not exist were later criticised by Soviet agencies. But an article

in the Army newspaper, the *Red Star*, on 17 January 1982 included the assertion that space travel and creation of artificial satellites had become 'one of the most important atheist factors in the scientific revolution of today' — man could be seen as successfully 'storming and taming the so-called heavens, without any divine retribution!

Faced with failure to make any impact on people's minds, Soviet authorities have often advised their propagandists to be more 'tactful' and warned against 'hurting the believers', especially in the Muslim areas of the USSR. But the latest campaign, waged in the wake of the Afghan war, has assumed a harsh and brutal edge. The party journal in Kazakhstan, the *Gazaqstan Komunisti*, has called on all 'honest citizens' to conduct 'a merciless struggle against mind-poisoning religion'.

It has been noticed that one of the holy places mentioned by the Soviet propagandists as being visited by pilgrims was the fortress of Dinli Qala, the scene of the last stand and massacre some hundred years ago of one of the Turkmen tribes fighting against the invading Russian Army. It is clear that attachment to religion in Islamic areas is inextricably linked to sentiments of national tradition and resistance to continued colonialism of Moscow.

Claims that Islamic people enjoy higher standards of education and general development than their neighbours in places like Afghanistan may be partly true, but they have a hollow ring. Just the same as one can say about similar claims by other colonialists, eg the French in Algeria before that country's liberation or for that matter by the whites in Rhodesia. In fact the Afghan Muslims are currently providing the Russians with an eloquent lesson on this score. ■

Cover: Panorama of Muslim life under Soviet rule: (Clockwise): The Mausoleum of Tamerlane Gur-e-Amir in Samarkand; A street beggar in the same town; East German troupe performing in the forecourt of Samarkand's largest Mosque where the great Hadith scholar Imam Tirmizi used to teach; Street scene in Bukhara, a picture of underdevelopment; and five Crimean Tatar families forcibly deported from their homes in the Belogorsk and Nizhnegorsk districts of Crimea and dumped at Ust-Labinsk railway station.



## MUSLIM PILGRIMAGES REMAIN POPULAR IN THE SOVIET UNION

SPR.S. Pilgrimages to Muslim holy places are not well viewed officially in the Soviet Union. In spite of this, however, they have always been very popular, and this causes the authorities considerable annoyance. The Soviet press and radio, as well as some scientific publications, frequently inveigh against the phenomenon. Insufficient ideological education and inadequate atheistic propaganda are said to be responsible for these "anachronistic rituals", which do not fit in with the socialist world-view.

A recent issue of a Soviet magazine, 'Sociological Research', contained a study of religious beliefs in the Uzbek Republic and particularly in the city of Samarkand. It says that 60% of the population are Muslims. It adds that the goal of freeing the peasants from the influence of religion has not yet been attained. The study considers that the big role played in every-day life by pilgrimages and rites like religious funerals are evidence that Islam lives on, and it calls for new anti-religious measures.

Most of the Muslim pilgrimages are to the graves of saints and religious figures who are held in respect locally. The Soviet republic of Turkmenistan is particularly rich in these graves. Two of the most important are those of Ak-Ishan, or the White Sheikh, near Archman, and Kurbanmurad, at Geok-Tepe.

Ak-Ishan studied theology in Khiva at the beginning of the nineteenth century and went on to become a famous philosopher and teacher. In a travel report in a recent number of the newspaper, 'Turkmenskaya Iskra', it was stated that pilgrims to Ak-Ishan's grave offered up sheep and camels to the holy man, which shows how popular this place of pilgrimage still must be.

The grave of Kurbanmurad has been studied and described by the researcher, S.M. Demidov. He went there during a particularly cold winter ten years ago. Even then, there were pilgrims every day. He learned that the pilgrims went there for help in illness and childlessness or in fulfilment of an earlier promise to Allah or to the saint. The pilgrims spoke of Kurbanmurad as "a saint who was always on the side of the people".

Kurbanmurad was in fact a resistance leader. He was the chief of the Turkmen people in the defence of the fortress of Diuli-Kala against the invading Russian army in 1879 to 1881. This was one of the most important episodes in the Muslim resistance to the Russian conquest of Turkestan.

There are a good number of Muslim shrines in the Soviet Union where religious feeling is intertwined with national symbols. A year ago, a prayer-house for pilgrims was established without official permission near the Dargan Baba fortress, and the local Communist Party protested very strongly. Dargan was the second biggest



city in the once independent Khanate of Khoresm and possessed a mosque which was famous as far back as the tenth century.

In the year 1958, the officially-backed Council of Religions of Central Asia and Kasakhstan issued a "fatua", or religious decree, which condemned pilgrimages. The Council is one of four such organisations responsible for the religious affairs of Soviet citizens. The decree seems to have gone rather unobserved, although it has been renewed twice, in 1973 and 1981.

Orders against pilgrimages given by Communist Party authorities seem also to have been totally without effect. At the end of the 70s, the Communist Party of Turkmenistan ordered local Communist authorities to see that pilgrimages were seriously cut down. But the local authorities have not succeeded in doing this.

Attempts are also made to discredit the places of pilgrimage themselves. It is asserted that the grave in question is not in fact the burial place of the saint, or efforts are made to discredit the life of the saint himself. The newspaper, 'Turkmenskaya Iskra', said recently that Ak-Ishan was a rich cleric who had no particularly important deeds to his credit and certainly performed no miracles. Kurbanmurad was condemned as a fanatic who opposed the peaceful unification of his country with Russia and therefore caused unnecessary bloodshed. He was also described as duplicitous and contemptible.

A report in the same newspaper on January 9th complained that, in spite of all the orders which had been given, a prayer-house had been built in memory of Kurbanmurad and was visited by thousands of pilgrims. So we see that in spite of all the efforts of the Communists pilgrimages remain part and parcel of the religious faith of Soviet Muslims. In spite of the power of the state's atheistic propaganda, they remain as popular as ever.