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THE TRAGEDY OF ISLAM UNDER
COMMUNIST RULE IN THE SOVIET UNION*

Introduction

Over 80 million Muslims are currently living under Communist rule, in three areas of World Communism. These three areas are:-

- 1) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, also known as the Soviet Union - with more than 50 million Muslims;
- 2) The Peoples' Republic of China - with more than 35 million Muslims, including those living in East Turkistan;
- 3) The Balkan States (Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia) and Poland - with ca. 10 million Muslims.

Although the Communist ideology is the same in all three areas, Communist rule, as it affects the Muslims, exhibits different features and ways of doing things in each separate area. That is why it is also so difficult to classify the awareness of the position of Islam in these three areas under one single heading. If we want to study the position of Islam in these three areas of Communist rule, not only for scientific reasons, but also out of a sense of Islamic religious obligation, then we must endeavour to examine how Communist rule manifests itself to the Muslims in each of the three areas concerned, one area at a time.

It is common knowledge that the free Islamic world has not, up till now, been able to found an Islamic International Academic Institute, for the purpose of studying the respective relations between and the combat positions of Islam and

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Communism 1). Nor has it been possible to undertake systematic scientific research into the position of Islam in the Communist sphere of influence. Various publications have, however, emerged from within the free countries of Islam 2). A synopsis of the position of Islam has been obtainable from these publications. But the importance of these works is relatively insignificant, compared with that of the publications emerging from the European countries and the United States of America 3). Strictly speaking, there are no research bodies, either in Europe and the United States of America or in the Islamic countries outside the Communist sphere of influence, where the phenomenon of Islam under Communist rule can be regularly studied.

We are not in a position, here, to express all the problems of Islam and the Muslims within the areas under Communist rule, because we lack the essential qualified source material. Nor do we possess the objective, scientific research results which are necessary for the recognition of the true position in which Islam finds itself. That is why I should merely like to comment on the problems confronting the Muslims within the Soviet Union: in addition, I should add that I have been engaged for years now with the problems of Islam in this area of Communism. If we remind ourselves that Communism became a State power for the first time in the history of Europe in the former Russian Empire, then we can, perhaps, understand why it is from here that the policy of reconquering the Islamic peoples within the sphere of influence of the Russian Empire - a World Empire, which calls itself the Soviet Union - is being pursued. It was precisely in the Soviet Union, the centre of the movement for the expansion of Communist rule in the world, that a radical, irreconcilable and bitter struggle between Islam and Communism began. Communism has been taking action against Islam up till the present day: the ideology of Communism has been used as an instrument of power of Russian imperialism, together with the tools of state force, to take action against Islam

unceaselessly up till the present day.

The Historical Islam countries
In the Soviet Union

The following countries in the Soviet Union can be looked upon as original, historical Islamic countries:-

Turkistan, 3,994,400 square kilometres in area. It shares borders with Tatar-Bashkiria, South Siberia, Mongolia, China, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and lies on the other side of the Caspian Sea from the Caucasus. This Islamic country was won over to Islam in the crusade of Qutaibeh ibn Muslim in the years 705-715. The influence of Islam was carried from Turkistan as far as China, Tatar-Bashkiria, India, the Caucasus and the Crimean Peninsula. Turkistan is referred to in current Soviet Russian terminology by the collective name of "Central Asia and Kazakistan". This collective name, on the other hand, embraces five Soviet Republics (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Kazakistan and Kirghizia).

Bashkiria, 143,600 square kilometres in area. It lies on the Southern foothills of the Ural Mountains and borders directly onto Turkistan and Tataria. This Islamic country is regarded, at the present time, as an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, within the scope of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Tataria, 68,000 square kilometres in area. It borders onto both Bashkiria and, directly, onto the Volga area of Russia.

Daghistan, 50,300 square kilometres in area, 4) in the North Caucasus, it is designated an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Adegey area, 4,400 square kilometres in area. It belongs to the Krasnodar District in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist

Republic (RSFSR).

Abkhazia, 8,700 square kilometres. It has been integrated into the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia; has access to the Black Sea. Suchumi is its capital.

Kabardin-Balkaria, 12,500 square kilometres; is situated within the Northern foothills of the Caucasus and in the left-hand river basin of the Terek river.

Osetia, 13,100 square kilometres in area; is situated in the Caucasus. North Osetia is integrated into the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and South Osetia (3,900 square kilometres) is integrated into the Soviet Republic of Georgia.

Karatchay-Cherkesia, 14,100 square kilometres; is situated in the North of the Caucasus.

Chechin-Ingushia, 19,300 square kilometres, in North Caucasus; is regarded as an Autonomous Soviet Republic and integrated into the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Azerbaijan, 86,000 square kilometres in area; in the Caucasus; and currently referred to as a Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Crimean Peninsula, ca. 26,000 square kilometres in area, on the Black Sea. Is currently an area within the scope of the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine.

It can, thus, be seen, that these Muslim countries referred to above occupy, in toto, 4,400,000 square kilometres of the land area of the Soviet Union. This means that the Islamic countries make up 20% of the entire Post-War territories of the Soviet Union.

We do not want to pursue the historical development of these Islamic countries in any further detail, because the history of the Islamic countries within the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union is so extensive that it cannot be dealt with in a mere couple of sentences. We ought not, however, to forget one historical fact, namely, that the above-mentioned

Islamic countries were conquered by Russia, in the period between the middle of the Sixteenth Century and the end of the Nineteenth Century. The conquest of Turkistan, alone, by Russia, lasted 182 years. Some of the states in Turkistan, however, for example the Emirate of Buchara and the Khanat of Khorezm, were monarchies until 1920, and between 1920 and 1924 Peoples' Republics, independent states, as defined by the State Treaty between Russia and these two states in Turkistan. Certainly, the conquest of the Islamic countries by Russia did not take place within a particular, well-defined period of time; the countries became the victims of Russian Imperialism gradually, in various historical periods (from 1550 to 1924).

All the above-mentioned Islamic countries within the sphere of influence of Russian Imperialism founded their own independent national states after 1917. But Russia's Communists were not prepared to grant the oppressed peoples of the former Colonial Russian Empire their national independence. That is why Russia's Communist rulers conquered the Islamic countries again, with the force of arms, and re-integrated the latter into the Russian Empire, which is represented, at the present time, in the world by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Muslims resisted Communist Russia's reconquest of their countries. The national armed struggle between Communist Russia and Turkistan can be cited, for example: this was carried out intensively between 1918 and 1923 and endured until 1934 in various places. The Russians emerged the victors.

At the time of the first conquest of the Islamic countries by Russia, three factors were of particular significance:- The first factor was that, after the conquest of Istanbul by the Turks, the Russians were entrusted with the continuation of the struggle between Islam and Christianity; the Russian rulers felt themselves to be the successors to the Byzantine Empire.

The second factor was that the Russians were constantly extend-

ing their dominion and they felt themselves called upon to establish an Empire that was to function at the expense of Islam. After Russia had conquered new territories in Europe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, it felt itself a match for the English in a fight against the latter. This was the third factor: that Russia would on no account tolerate further expansion on the part of the English in Asia. As a result of the rivalry between the two powers in Asia, Turkistan became a victim of Russian expansion in the Nineteenth Century.

The German Islam researcher, Professor Becker, commented with good reason in 1914, that "Russia has grown up with the struggle against Islam" 5). The Hungarian Orientalist, Vambéry, said, in 1875, that "Russia is the one and only power which has inflicted considerable wounds upon Islam and which will remain Islam's dangerous opponent, untiring in the work which it has begun" 6). This remark of Vambéry's has, in fact, proved to be true, right up till the present day, and Russia is, and was, Islam's opponent in international politics.

The number of Muslims and
their ethnical affiliations

The Muslims in the Soviet Union can be divided into three racial groups: the Turks, the Persians and the Caucasian group. These groups, in their turn, represent the unity of Islamic civilisation. From 1939 onwards the official Census forms of the Soviet Union have no longer carried any information whereby an individual's religious affiliations can be ascertained. One can, therefore, only establish the number of Muslims according to their affiliation to one of the racial groups which originally belonged to Islam. The last official Census in the Soviet Union took place in 1970. The statistical data which have been gleaned from this Census can also serve as the basis for establishing the number of Muslims according to their ethnical affiliations. We shall reproduce these figures in decreasing order of strength:-

Uzbeks	.....	9,195,000	
Tatars	.....	5,931,000	
Kazakhs	.....	5,299,000	
Azerbaijanis	.....	4,380,000	
Tadjiks	.....	2,136,000	
Turkmens	.....	1,525,000	
Kirghiz	.....	1,452,000	
Bashkiris	.....	1,240,000	
Chechens	.....	613,000	
Ositins	.....	488,000	
Awars	.....	396,000	
Lezgins	.....	324,000	
Kabardins	.....	280,000	
Kara-Kalpaks	.....	236,000	
Uighurs	.....	173,000	
Ingusch's	.....	158,000	
Karachais	.....	113,000	
Adigirs	.....	100,000	
Kurds	89,000	
Abkhas's	83,000	
Turks	79,000	
Cherkess's	40,000	
Dungans	39,000	
Iranis	28,000	
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		34,397,000	7)

From this official report of the Government of the Soviet Union it can be seen that 34,397,000 people can be regarded as Muslims there. It should also be mentioned that these figures never represent the true number of Muslims: before each Census, the persons who are employed to record information about the population are given instructions to record as Russians all those who claim to be Russian. It has, thus, often happened that those Muslims who can speak Russian very well have automatically been classified as Russians. Therefore the figures pertaining to the affiliation of the individual racial

groups which are published by the Soviet authorities should not be regarded as the Gospel truth. The mere fact that since 1939 the Census form has not asked for information regarding religious affiliation and that there are no Islamic religious organisations in the Soviet Union which would be in a position to establish the number of Muslims means that an accurate determination of the number of Muslims is something which will remain obscure. Several of the experts on Islam living in Turkistan reckon, however, that the number of Muslims in the Soviet Union exceeds 50,000,000. A few Muslim ethnical groups, e.g. the Arabs, who used to live in Turkistan, in the area around Buchara, were not mentioned in the Soviet statistics. In 1926, 28,978 Arabs lived in Turkistan 8). These were not mentioned at all.

The determination of the number of Muslims in the Soviet Union is also very confusing. In the Muslim Congress of 1917, it was disclosed that there were about forty million Muslims in the Russian Empire. Stalin announced, in 1920, that there were about 30 million Muslims living within the sphere of influence of Soviet Russia 9). On 10th December 1955, Khrushchev stated, in Kashmir, that there were about fifteen million Muslims in the Soviet Union 10). The Soviet statistics of the year 1970 reveal nothing about the number of Muslims, but indicate the number of persons belonging to the individual racial groups: the number of Muslims can be roughly assessed by means of these figures. The Soviet statistics remain silent on the question of how many people, who were formerly Muslims, have been forced to regard themselves as Atheists.

It ought not to be forgotten, as well, that the number of Muslims has decreased, rather than increased. It should be pointed out that the decrease in the number of Muslims in the Soviet Union can be regarded, above all, as the product of the terror exercised against the Muslims and the influence of the

State-organised atheism.

The attitude of the Communist régime
towards Islam
at the beginning of its Rule

At the time of Czarist Russia, Islam was attacked, not only by those wishing to spread the gospel of Christianity, but also by the Russian Imperialists, whose intention it was to show that they could exert their power. During the Czarist régime, up till 1917, it was forbidden, moreover, to establish a centralised organisation for the Muslims' religious affairs. The Muslims were not allowed to build mosques without the permission of the Russian authorities. The Avquaf lands, which belonged to the medreses (Muslim schools), were left without any material aid. The Russian State and the Christian Church were both anxious to "christianize" the Muslims. Islam was under the control of the Russian State and the Church. The tension which existed between the Russians and the Muslims manifested itself daily. The national uprising in the year 1916, for example, in Turkistan, was one indication of the Muslims' categorical refusal to accept the Russians' rule. But Czarist Russia was not able to impede the impact of Islam completely.

The Communists soon recognised the Muslims' difficult position. The Russian Communists tried to win the hearts of the Muslims for their régime - or at least to curb their anti-Communist response thereto - by means of various declarations and measures. The Communist government of Russia launched its first act of hypocrisy against Islam and the Muslims on 3rd December 1917, with its 'Proclamation to the Muslims of the Russian Empire and the Orient', which was signed by Lenin and Stalin. We would like to quote one or two passages from this Proclamation, in order that the intentions of the Communist régime, which wanted to give the impression of being favourably disposed towards the Muslims, may be recognised for what they really were and that the start of the régime's two-faced tactics may also be revealed. We quote: 'Muslims of

Russia; Tatars of the Volga region and of the Crimea; Kirghiz and Sarts of Siberia and Turkistan; Turkmen and Tatars of Transcaucasia; Chechens and hill-peoples of the Caucasus!
All of you, whose mestschids and dschamis have been destroyed and whose faith and customs have been trampled underfoot by the Czars and the oppressors of Russia! From now on your creed and your customs, your national and cultural institutions, are declared to be free and sacrosanct. You have a right to them ...

Muslims of the Orient: Persians, Turks, Arabs and Indians! All of you, whose heads and property, freedom and country, the avaricious robbers of Europe have used as items of barter; all of you, whose lands the plunderers who began the war (First World War) also want to divide! ... You must organize yourselves and your lives according to your own wishes and tastes! You have a right to do so, because your fate is in your own hands! ... We shall bring the oppressed peoples of the world their freedom on our flags! Muslims of Russia and the Orient! We await your sympathy and support in our search for world revival" 11).

By means of this Proclamation, the Soviet government of Russia intended, in the first place, to win the Muslims of the world over to their cause. It should also be mentioned that the Soviet government made no similar appeal to the believers of other world religions, neither at any earlier date nor at a later one. The Communist régime wanted to placate the Muslims of the Russian Empire with deceitful promises, by means of this appeal, and thus gain the support of the Muslims of the Orient for its Communist Movement. We shall comment elsewhere upon the effect that this Proclamation had.

In December 1917, the Soviet government gave the Muslims back

the only example of the Koran of Karim, which the Calif of Osman (May the Peace of Allah be with him) had used personally and which had been confiscated by the Russians in Samarkand in the year 1866 and taken from thence to Petersburg. The Soviet government even allowed the establishment of Islamic religious administrative agencies. A "Scholars' Council" (Schurayi Ulema) was created, for example, in Turkistan in the year 1919, which was permitted to operate until 1924. In December 1922 it was even allowed to establish Scheriat Courts, which were then dissolved in the year 1926.

The Communists' propagandists informed the Muslims that Islam and Communism were of equal importance. In 1918 the Special Representative of the Russian Soviet government in Turkistan, Klewlijew, declared the following, for the first time:

"I attempted to study the religion and the Koran from a scientific point-of-view. I was convinced that all the teachings of the Muslim prophet Mohammed have a socialist orientation and I recognised him as a Communist, above all, in his teaching" 12).

Several Communist atheists contended that there was a Communist orientation in the Islamic culture.13).

However, such misleading thoughts and steps on the part of the Communist régime, thoughts and steps which falsified the facts and which were intended to flatter the Muslims, were not of long duration. The Communist régime had already made preparations for a struggle with Islam, even though it was ostensibly showing itself prepared to make compromises towards Islam. We can see this if we look at the Act of 23rd January 1918 entitled "The separation of State and Religion". Paragraph 10 of this Act ordains:

"All religious organisations are subject to the State; but they do not receive any support from the State" 14).

The Beginning of the Communist
radical struggle against Islam

The struggle against Islam began already at the beginning of 1918, although Russia's Communist régime did not proceed radically and in a clear-cut manner. The Soviet government proceeded very carefully in its fight against Islam, but also in a single-minded fashion. The policy of displaying both friendship and animosity towards Islam developed into a political target, whose primary objective was to bring the Muslims completely under the rule of Russian Communism. The Muslims of the former Czarist Russian Empire had founded a National Central Council (Millî Merkezi Schurâ), in May 1917, for the purpose of protecting their interests. On 25th April, 1918, the Soviet government of Russia banned this central Muslim organisation. The Muslim groups became isolated from one another, as a result of this step. In order to be able to propagate Communist beliefs and politics among the Muslims, a Commissariat for Muslims' Affairs came into being, under the jurisdiction of the Peoples' Commissariat for Nationalities' Affairs, which was run by Stalin. This Commissariat for Muslims' Affairs was under the direction of Molla Nur Vahitov, who was himself an Islamic priest from the Volga region. Not all Islamic institutions were banned simultaneously. There were, for example, 342 Scheriat Courts in operation in the four regions of Turkistan (Fergana, Zarafschâⁿ, Samarkand and Sir-Darya) in the year 1923. Only 43 of these were still in existence in the year 1925 and in 1926 these last few courts were abolished for once and for all.

The Communist leadership of Russia was anxious to enlist the support of propagandists from within the ranks of the Muslims, in its struggle against Islam. These former Muslims were, then, to carry out a propaganda campaign against Islam. The Soviet government of Russia founded a 'Militant Atheists' Society' in Turkistan in the year 1926. This Society was under the leadership of Nasir Torakul, a former Muslim from the Volga region. The Society first of all organised a slander campaign against Islam and attempted, thereby, to persuade young people to break away from Islam. After 1930 this Society

helped both the State and the Communist Party to execute their radical measures against Islam. The leader of the Atheists' Society in Turkistan, Nasir Torakul, was appointed Soviet ambassador to Saudia Arabia and occupied this post in the years 1923-1930. During this period he tried to organize an Anti-Islam Propaganda Organisation in the Holy City of Mecca.

The Russian Communists and their minions in the Islamic countries tried to diminish the importance of the Prophet Mohammed and to emphasize the role of Lenin, in the years 1922-1926. In 1926, the Communist Atheists in Tashkent asked: "Is Lenin a Prophet?" and called upon the Islamic clergy to give their opinions on this matter. The Atheists and the Islamic clergy went into the buildings housing the theatre in Tashkent and debated the question. The Atheists contended that Lenin was a prophet. The clergy said that Lenin could never be looked upon as a prophet. Even the Soviet press involved itself in this debate and propagated the Atheists' views, whereby Lenin was reputed to be a prophet. The Muslims categorically rejected the Soviet Atheists' notions. A formulation of the question and assertion of the sort propagated by the Soviet Atheists roused a considerable amount of anger on the part of the Muslims. The Soviet leadership was forced to withdraw from the affair. In 1927 the following statement was issued by the leadership:

"Lenin is in all reality a prophet. But the word 'prophet' is used in association with Isaiah, Mohammed and others. For tactical reasons it is, therefore, better not to use this corrupt word" 15).

The Soviet leadership instructed numerous Orientalists to study Islam from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. It was clear, from the countless publications and pieces of research work into Islam in the Soviet Union, that such research had to point the way to the struggle against Islam 16).

The Soviet leadership trained its own cadres within the ranks

of the Muslims for the struggle against Islam. Then it developed Communist control mechanisms among the Muslims. And, finally, in the year 1929, it felt bold enough to proceed in a radical manner against all religions, including Islam.

On 8th April, 1929, an Act was passed pertaining to the religious communities' obligation to register themselves and setting out the rules for the practice of religious duties. The Act stated, among other things, that:

- all religious communities (Muslims who were attached to particular mosques) had to be registered with the Commissariat for Interior Affairs
- the members of the religious communities had to be over eighteen years of age
- at least 20 people had to submit an application containing their signatures to the Minister of the Interior, before a religious community could be registered
- the communities had no right to their own sources of income (i.e. they were not allowed to indulge in trade; were not allowed to possess any land; were not permitted to have any printing presses, industries or any other sources of income. Furthermore, they were not allowed to publish any religious books)
- the members' meetings of the communities were only allowed to take place with the permission of the administrative authorities

It was forbidden for the religious communities:

- to organise relief funds, Schirkats (cooperatives) and manufacturing plants
- to establish children's, youth and women's organisations; to hold evenings for the discussion of religious literature; and to give religious instruction and organise groups and excursions
- to establish libraries, sanatoria and convalescent homes
- to give religious instruction in state, public or private schools
- to display any books in their mosques, churches etc. other than those specifically required for their prayers

Furthermore,

- Religious conventions and the executive bodies elected by them had no power
 - to establish a common purse
 - or of organising collections of money for religious purposes
 - of centralising religious wealth
 - to sign any treaties.
- Churches (mosques) were to be taken over by the state, if required.
- It was forbidden to conduct religious ceremonies in state, public, cooperative and private offices and enterprises (Paragraph 58).
- All religious communities were placed under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior (Paragraph 65).

This Act made it virtually impossible to carry out religious obligations (17).

The Ministry of Finance of the Soviet Union passed an Order on 10th April 1929 whereby the faithful had to pay taxes for the use of their mosques. The Muslims were not able to collect the money for the upkeep of their mosques because they, themselves, were suffering great deprivation. From 1924 onwards the entire assets of the religious communities were confiscated by the State. The mosques did not possess any assets, anyway, from which they might have been in a position to pay their taxes. The Religions Act of 8th April, 1929, had forbidden the religious communities to collect money or organise relief funds. The collection of Zekat had already been forbidden in Czarist Russia in the year 1873. This ban remained in force during the Soviet régime.

The radical struggle against Islam

After the necessary preliminary action had been taken in the struggle against Islam, more radical steps were taken after 1930. There were 24,321 Dschâmis in the Russian Empire before the Communists came to power, of which 12,733 were to be found in Turkistan. There were 45,339 Islamic priests, altogether. The medreses (Muslim schools) in Turkistan played an important part in the training of Islamic theologians. Prior

to the Communist rule there were 650 medreses, including 185 in Buchara, which were known and renowned in all the Islamic countries of the world, owing to their historical tradition. Turkistan was also one of the most important centres of Islamic culture and well-known throughout the major part of the Islamic world for its spiritual life. It should be known to every Muslim that the founder of the Islam sciences, Abu Ali ibn Sina; the collector of the Hadis-i Scherif of the Prophet Mohammed, Abu Abdullâh Muhammed ibn Ismâil Buchâri; the all-round scientist Birûni; the founder of the Islamic philosophy Farâbi; the collector of the Scheriat standard works (legal standard works) under the titles of "Hidaye", Tirmizi etc. were born in Turkistan and went out from thence to become active in the Islamic world. Before the Communist rule, there were 12,499 Imâms, 5,771 Mûderris, 1,526 Sheiks of the Takye; and more than 33,000 persons in the employ of the medreses and mosques (but only in the States General of Turkistan: there is a lack of information from other parts of Turkistan) 18).

The Communist régime's outburst of fury led to the closure of all the Dschâmis, in the period between 1930 and 1937 (many were destroyed and the explanation given was that the State required wood and other materials for new buildings). Those Dschâmis which were not closed were put to a non-religious use (e.g. as clubs, restaurants, prisons, students' hostels etc.). In addition,

- all the copies of the Koran which could be collected in the course of house-to-house searches were burnt in large numbers;
- all the medreses were closed, because it was not permitted to run schools in which religious instruction was given (see the Act pertaining to the religious communities);
- all religious dignitaries: Imâms, Muftis, Mûderris, Muazzems, Ischâns (religious philosophers) were arrested;
- the entire assets of the mosques and medreses (donations and valuable carpets, books, archives) were confiscated;

The following were also forbidden:

- the call to Prayer,
- visiting the Dschâmis for prayers,
- the propagation of the teachings of Islam, whether in public or in private,
- the celebration of religious ceremonies, such as marriage; circumcision; the pilgrimage to Mecca and fasting (Ramadan).

It transpired that only 40-50 of the original 24,321 Dschâmis in the Soviet Union remained in existence following the Communists' brutal action against Islam. It cannot be proved whether these are still actually standing in the Soviet Union. What is known is that there are currently a mere 8 Dschâmis in Turkistan, which the authorities allow to be used for religious services, and these are more accessible for foreign guests and tourists than for the local Muslim population. Many historic Dschâmis were redesignated "Houses of the Atheists". For example, Chodscha Ahmed Yassavi Dschâmi in the city of Turkistan (formerly Yassa), which was built at the end of the XIVth Century and which has remained in good condition right up till the present day. This Dschâmi was turned into a House of the Atheists in 1959 19).

The Soviet leaders managed to smash the outward appearance of Islam. All these ruthless actions against Islam forced the Muslims into keeping up their religious duties at a personal level, within their own hearts. The Communist rulers recognised this state of affairs very soon and began to fight the "spirit" of Islam as well. They made it part of their doctrine of power and their Atheist Movement to slander Islam and to reject Allah, the Prophets and the Koran. The insults, slanderous statements, falsifications, attacks and lies of the Communist régime in the Soviet Union against Islam are extensive; which is why it is impossible to précis the situation. We will only mention a few examples of the ways in which Soviet Atheism attacked Islam and its concepts, so that the slanderous practices of the Communist rulers can be recognised.

What do the Communist Atheists say about Allah?

They say the following quite openly and also try to propagate their concepts within the ranks of the Muslims:

"Who created Allah? Our human phantasy created him. Therefore we also have the right to abolish him" 20).

"The people who invented and developed technology will also get rid of religious dogma and Allah" 21).

How do the Communists slander Mohammed?

They say and propagate the following concepts everywhere:

"Mohammed is not Allah's envoy but the servant of the feudal Arabs" 22).

"Mohammed is a semi-phantastical person. His biography is also unknown" 23).

How do the Atheists lie about the Koran?

They maintain:

"The Koran is used by the exploiting class and reactionary clergy to oppress and deceive working people" 24).

"The Koran was created by a half-barbaric Arab, and was intended for the benefit of Sultans, Emirs and feudal lords" 25).

The Soviets went even further with their falsifications of the teachings of Islam and even maintained that there were both Godly and anti-Godly trends in Islam 26).

We ought to remember that nobody, up till now, whether in Europe or America, in the Soviet Union or in the free Islamic countries, has assembled all the Soviet anti-Islamic concepts in documentary form. It is, therefore, necessary, to assemble at least the main features of all the Soviets' anti-Islamic concepts and examine them critically.

Have the Soviet anti-Islam measures been successful within the ranks of the Muslims? To all outward appearances, yes. The mere fact that the Muslims have no religious instruction, no

Islamic literature and education, no mosques, no trained clergy, no freedom in which to express their faith unhindered, etc. represents a success for the Communists. This only came into being through the exercise of power on behalf of the State, for a Communist state without atheism is not imaginable. Communist atheism has also had a certain success among young people: it is well-known, for example, that many of the young people from Muslim families do not believe in Allah. So a group of non-believers - Atheist youth - was constituted from amongst the ranks of the Muslims. Their influence is, however, not very important. There are sufficient signs that Islam continues to live on in the hearts of the Muslims and that is why the Communist rulers are anxious to carry on their struggle against Islam.

The current situation of Islam in the Soviet Union

During the Second World War, the Soviet Union was forced to consent to the establishment of administrative bodies for all the religions in the Soviet Union. In the year 1941, the following four religious administrative authorities were created for the Muslims of the Soviet Union:

- 1) Religious administrative body for the Muslims of the Volga-Urals region, with its headquarters in Ufa, responsible for the European part of the Soviet Union and Siberia;
- 2) Religious administrative body for Central Asia and Kazakistan (= Turkistan), with its headquarters in Tashkent;
- 3) Administrative body for the North Caucasus and Daghistan, with its headquarters in Bujnask;
- 4) Administrative body for Transcaucasia with its headquarters in Baku.

These religious Islamic administrative bodies are under the direct control of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Ministerial Council of the Soviet Union. The Chairman of this Council is a Russian. It turned out that these Muslim

religious administrative bodies, which were not only tolerated by the government of the Soviet Union, but, even in fact, organized by it, were not in a position to deal with Islam affairs; to defend Islam and to protect the followers of Islam. They became a sort of controlling body within the ranks of the Muslims, as Mawlana Raghîb Ahsân, who once led a Pakistani Islamic delegation to the Soviet Union justly reported 27). Besides this, they became an appropriate instrument for the transport of Soviet politics beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. The religious administration of Turkistan, under the leadership of Mufti Ziyauddin Babachanov, plays an active part in the external affairs of the Soviet Union, because Turkistan offers many of the essential basic requirements for developing contacts with the free Islamic world. The Communist leadership does not want to achieve anything through the agency of the religious administrative body of Turkistan, other than the neutralisation of the Islamic world vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. And it wants to win sympathisers to the Communist cause from among the Muslims of the free world. It ought, therefore, to be clear why the Soviets allowed a demonstrative Jubilee celebration to be held in honour of Ismâil Buchâri and Farabi in Turkistan, at which Islamic representatives from other countries were present.

The religious administrative bodies for the Muslims of the Soviet Union are not allowed:

- to keep the teachings of Islam alive in the Muslims' consciousness
- to circulate literature for the purpose of propagating Islam
- to educate children according to Islam
- to stand up to the anti-Islam measures of terror and to comment upon the vast Atheist propaganda of the Communists: to reject the slanderous concepts of the Atheist state against Islam
- to use the Soviet press and radio stations, as well as other channels of information, in order to defend Islam - they do not have their own channels of information
- to suggest a Law for the protection of Islam and the Muslims

- to train the necessary spiritual helpers for the Muslim faith
- to preserve the religious life (Prayers, Ramadan, pilgrimages, ceremonies, Zekat, etc.); to carry out other Islamic religious ceremonies.

We do not know whether the competent 'Red Muftis' intend doing something for Islam 'on the quiet'. Such intentions have not been known of, up till now, at all events. Perhaps they lack the necessary courage. Who knows how many convinced atheists are, in fact, working for the Communists under the guise of Islam, within the framework of the Islamic religious administrative bodies.

Religious administrative bodies of this sort are still in existence, although they do nothing for Islam, other than officially welcoming Islamic visitors from abroad. The Communist anti-Islam campaign, on the other hand, carries on actively in its entirety. Islamic life and the Muslim way of thinking have, to all outward appearances, shrunk to an appalling degree, owing to the effect of both these anti-Islam campaigns and of the State control. Internally, allegiance to God has remained and it is an encouraging fact that the Muslims still believe in Allah and that they hope that the Almighty will help them. Because of this internalised belief, Islam has remained viable, even today, and it continues to exist as a non-compromising opponent to Communism.

The Communists' new methods in the
struggle against Islam

As we have already mentioned, at the beginning of the Communist régime's struggle against Islam, propaganda was either written or spoken. The use of force then joined this written and spoken propaganda. At the moment, both propaganda and force are being applied jointly against Islam. According to the Soviets, "Islam does not exist as a religion in the Soviet Union" 28). In their opinion, there are only "the remains of Islam". Communist ideologists are closely involved with the question as to why these "remains of Islam" are viable 29).

The Communist régime wants to fight these "remains of Islam" in order to be rid of Islam in future. We can recognise this attitude in the following thoughts of a Soviet author who is well-known as an enemy of Islam:

"(The act of) Separation from religion is a difficult process. It does not consist of mere critical withdrawal from religious beliefs and the liberation from religious dogma. The belief in Allah and the belief in the unconditional performance of Muslim duties and of moral norms must make way for a scientific and materialistic world philosophy and for the conviction that leads to the realisation of our Communist ideals ...

Overcoming the remains of Islam will be a long process and will require a harmonious calculation of all the various factors necessary for a conversion to atheism. Muslim preachers say that Islam is an unending and immortal religion. The historical experiences of the peoples of several republics of the Soviet Union, who formerly believed entirely in Islam, as well as the changes which are taking place in the Islamic communities abroad, as a result of scientific and technical, cultural and socio-economic developments, confirm irrefutably that Islam is not everlasting. Muslim concepts, traditions and customs will, become, purely and simply, part of a non-recurring past, under the pressure of living conditions" 30).

In order that this aim may be realised, the Communists are stepping up their anti-Islamic measures and their propaganda. In 1958 a University for Atheism was founded in the city of Ashkabad for the first time in the entire history of Islam. Further Universities for Atheism of this sort have come into existence since 1958, in the Islamic countries of the Soviet Union. We do not possess any source material, from which the exact number of these universities could be determined. In the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan alone, where the body concerned with the religious administration of the Muslims of Turkistan has its headquarters, 29 Universities of Atheism and 218 Schools for Atheistic Agitators came into being in the years up to and including 1970. In Tashkent a School for the Training of Teachers of Atheism came into existence in the same period of time 31).

It can, thus, be appreciated how much Islam must be suffering under the rule of Communism. The Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union has an Institute of Atheism. There is an Institute of this nature in every Islamic region of the Soviet Union. There is even an Institute for Atheism in the Academy of Social Sciences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This Institute has got branches in the Islamic countries (of the Soviet Union). Tashkent University has got a Faculty of Atheism, where "scientists" are trained for the struggle against Islam. The religious body concerned with the administration of the Muslims of Turkistan, on the other hand, does not possess a Faculty for Islamic Theology. There is merely the so-called "Mir-Arab-Medreseh" in Buchara, which houses 40-50 students. The graduates of this Medreseh are then engaged in the Soviet Foreign Affairs Ministry, in the free Islamic countries of the world, rather than fulfilling functions for Islam in Turkistan.

It is clear, from a perusal of the Soviet press, that there are over 3,000 lectures on Atheism and against Islam held in the Soviet Union daily.

The Atheist Society was disbanded. In its place a Section for Atheism was founded within the Society for the Propagation of the Sciences. Numerous people were engaged to attack Islam by a process of under-mining the Muslim way of thinking. The exact number of these people has not, however, been determined up till now. The mere fact that there were more than 2,000 lecturers, 11,000 political informers and 41,000 agitators engaged in the struggle against Islam in the Soviet Republic of Tajikistan in the year 1976, 32) shows the full extent of the Soviet anti-Islamic practices. The Soviets founded Atheists' Clubs, too, within the ranks of the Muslims. There are, for example, about 2,000 Atheists' Clubs in existence in the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan 33).

One can appreciate the tragic situation of Islam in the Soviet Union from the short description given above. And, yet, Islam continues to exist, despite everything. That is why the Communists are doing everything within their power to stamp out Islam. The Soviet State even had to make a change

in the Religions Act, in order to get near to its objective. The Act relating to religious communities, from the year 1929, was amended in 1975. According to the new Act, it is no longer the Ministry of Internal Affairs in whom the responsibility for granting permission to establish religious communities (communities centred on a mosque) rests, but, rather, the Council for Religious Affairs, which is under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The old Act was redrafted and there are substantial differences in the provisions which it contains. One of the innovations in the Religions Act is the fact that religious ceremonies can be held in the house of a member of the faith, without the permission of the State being necessary, if a person is on his deathbed or critically ill and expressly asks for the ceremonies to be held (Paragraph 59). If Muslims want to build mosques from their own funds, they have to obtain permission from Moscow to do so 34). Finally, we feel it ought to be pointed out that parents who bring up their children in a religious manner are punishable, according to Soviet Law, and can lose parental custody of their children 35).

Further Offences committed by the Communist
Régime within the ranks of the Muslims

We have, up till now, tried to give a short synopsis of Islam's position as a religion. Now we must comment upon the question of the politics of Communism within the Muslim ranks, in order to appreciate the political, social, economic and cultural position of the Muslims.

The political position: The Muslim peoples of the Soviet Union do not enjoy their own national independence. This state of affairs is generally known, throughout the world. The Muslims were distributed among 6 Soviet Socialist Republics (Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kazakistan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia) as far as administration is concerned. These six Socialist Republics are directly under the control of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and are governed by the Central Government and divided into 8 Autonomous Soviet Socialist

Republics (Bashkiria, Daghistan, Kabardin-Balkaria, North Osetia, Tataria, Chechin-Ingushia, Kara-Kalpakistan and Abkhazia). These administrative units, in their turn, are, however, ruled, not direct by the Central Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, but, rather, by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. Abkhazia is controlled by the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia. In the cases of the other Muslim areas, the Crimea is under the administrative control of the Soviet Socialist Republic of the Ukraine; Kara-Kalpakistan is under the administrative control of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic; Adegey and Karatchay-Cherkesia are under the administrative control of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

According to Paragraph 72 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Soviet Socialist Republics (including the 6 Muslim areas) have the right to cede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. But Paragraph 75 of this Constitution states that the territories of the USSR are indivisible and that they are comprised of the territories of the Republics of the Union. In other words, this Paragraph revokes the right to cede from the Union. The Soviet Constitution does not state, either, how the Unions of the Republic can leave the Union. According to Paragraph 74 of the Constitution, all the laws of the USSR are valid in all the Soviet Republics. Paragraph 76 lays down that the Republics of the Union must ensure that the resolutions of the State and its principal executive bodies are carried out in their territories. It can, thus, be seen that the so-called Republics of the Union are merely units of administration of the Russian Soviet Empire. These so-called Soviet Republics, mentioned above, have actually got their own Presidents, Minister Presidents and Ministers, who come from the ranks of the Muslims. But two or three Russians assist them, as deputies.

The following important posts are occupied directly by Russians:

- the Committee for State Security
(Secret Service)
- the Commanders of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union

- the Commanders of the Border troops
- the Directors of the Railway System and the Postal Service, respectively
- Border Control administrative services (Police and Customs).

Experience up till now has shown that the so-called Soviet Republics for the Muslims are merely implements in the struggle against the Muslims' national existence. Any opposition to Russia and the Russians, on the part of the Muslims, is not tolerated and is, in fact, severely punished.

The Economic Policy of the Régime

The economic wealth of the Islamic countries of the Soviet Union enables the Communist Régime to carry out economic politics on a global scale and to strengthen its own economic potential. The oil-fields of Baku, Emba-Eschimbay, Kapetdagh and other fields, which are to be found within the Muslim countries, furnish the Soviet Union with oil. The natural gas of Buchara supplies gas to all the central regions of Russia and also to Eastern Europe.

The Islamic countries' share of the mineral reserves and mining workings of the Soviet Union is 40% in the case of coal; 86% for Copper; 100% for Mercury; 80% for Uranium; 86% for Tin and Lead; about 100% for Bismuth; ca. 90% for Chromium; and 90% for Sulphur. In the Turgay area of Turkistan, alone, 18.6% of the entire Iron and Magnesium deposits of the Soviet Union are to be found. The Islamic countries (Turkistan and Azerbaijan) supply 100% of the Soviet Union's cotton requirements. Turkistan and Azerbaijan produced 8,281,000 tons of cotton in the year 1976 (96% of which came from Turkistan). Turkistan supplies 100% of the Soviet Union's silk. The entire fruit requirements of the population of the Soviet Union are met chiefly by the Islamic countries. The world-famous Karakul furs (also known as Astrakhan) and the most beautiful carpets both come from Turkistan. From this short account of the economic wealth of the Islamic countries, it can be seen that the entire economy of the Soviet Union would collapse, were it not for these Islamic economic reserves.

The Islamic countries continue to be looked upon as the Soviet Union's raw materials' "store cupboard", after the pattern of colonial economic politics. It is a generally known fact that Moscow controls the entire economy (the extraction of raw materials; the manufacturing industries; the manufacture of agricultural products; the direction of the economic administrative bodies, etc.) in a direct and rigorous manner. As everybody knows, all the mineral resources, the soil itself, and the business enterprises (factories, shops, etc.) belong to the State. Consequently, Muslims have become the salaried employees of the State. The economic wealth of the Islamic countries (as ordained by the Soviet Laws) may not be used to meet the national requirements of the Islamic nations concerned. Moscow decides which economic goods are to be used and where and why they are to be used. The Soviet State has created a modern system of State-slavery, in which everybody must bow to the will of the ruler.

The Communist Rulers' Colonisation Policy:

One of the most thorough and dangerous practices in the policy Moscow adopts towards the Islamic countries in the Soviet Union is that of their colonisation of the Islamic countries, i.e. Russian settlement in the territories of the Islamic countries. Colonisation has made great headway in some countries. The following table shows the percentage of the Russians and Muslims (named after their ethnic group) respectively, in the Islamic countries concerned:

<u>Regions</u>	<u>Russians</u>	<u>Ethnic group concerned</u>
SSR Kazakistan	42.8%	32.4% (Kazaks)
ASSR Bashkiria	42.4%	22.1% (Bashkirs)
ASSR Chechin-Ingushia	49.0%	41.4% (Chechin-Ingushians)
ASSR Tataria	43.9%	47.2% (Tatars)
ASSR North Osetia	40.0%	47.8% (Osetinians)
Adegey region	70.4%	23.2% (Adegeys)
Karatchay-Cherkesia	51.0%	33.1% (Karatchay-Cherkesians)
SSR Kirghizia	52.4%	43.8% (Kirghiz)

The historic settlement areas of the Muslims, such as Kabardin-Balkaria and the Crimea were settled completely, by Russians. There are only about 60 Crimean Muslims in the Crimea. The Russian colonisation policy was particularly dangerous as applied to the Soviet Republic of Kazakistan, in the Northern part of Turkistan. According to the Census of 1970, there were 5,500,000 Russians (42.8% of the entire population); 930,000 Ukrainians (7.2% of the population); 198,000 White Russians (1.5% of the population). This means that the Slavic ethnic groups constitute 51.5% of the entire population in this region, which was initially Islamic. The official Soviet statistics reported with pride upon the fact that in the period between 1959 and 1969, 1,200,000 people were sent to Turkistan from the central regions of the Soviet Union. Incidentally, there are more than one million Germans living in the Soviet Republic of Kazakistan, at the moment; Germans who associate themselves with the Russians, not only because they speak Russian, but, also, because they have no opportunity to preserve their own culture. The colonisation of these Islamic countries by the Russians goes on intensively. But the Muslims are anxious to make sure that the number of Russians in their countries does not go on increasing indefinitely.

The Soviet Policy of Genocide:

The whole world knows - and it can be assumed that the Islamic countries of the world are also aware of this fact - that the Autonomous Republics of the Crimea, Kabardin-Balkaria and Chechin-Ingushia were liquidated after the Second World War. The population was deported from its settlement areas. The Soviet policy of genocide hit the Muslim Tatars of the Crimea particularly hard. More than 300,000 Tatars from the Crimea were executed. The rest of the population was sent to Siberia and Turkistan. The Government of the Soviet Union has, right up till the present day, refused to allow the Tatars of the Crimea to return to their own homelands.

A study of Soviet and foreign sources reveals that over 15 million Muslims were victims of the Communist régime in the period between 1918 and 1970: most of these were sentenced to

death and a large number were sent to Siberia, where they could not but die. All of these Muslims were regarded as opponents of the régime. This state of affairs has not been examined, so far, in sufficient detail and with the help of reliable sources.

The Communist régime's Russianization policy:

The Russian Communist leadership of the Soviet Union practises an intensive Russianization policy within the ranks of the Muslims. This is called "internationalism" or the "internationalisation" of the peoples. The policy of Russianization is a subject which is very extensive and it is a policy whose repercussions are very dangerous for the Muslims. We shall go into this subject in more detail another time. We can, however, ascertain that Communism is currently nothing other than one of the implements of Russian Chauvinism and Imperialism. Communism is very closely connected with Imperialism in Russia. That is why a Russianization policy is being carried out under the guise of Communism. This policy would like to lead the nations of the Soviet Union first of all to a process of rapprochement (Sblizhenia) and then to a process of assimilation (Slijanie). Assimilation of the nations means that one Soviet Nation would come into being, with Russian as its language.

Russianization as a policy has as its objective the extinction of the nations and their national languages. One of their predictions is, accordingly, as follows:

"One of the pre-requisites of Marxism-Leninism is the fusion (Assimilation) of the nations and consequently the possibility of being able to speak in one language" 36).

One of the Communist ideologists has written:

"As a result of the progress of Communism, people will forget national development and national relationships. Even the nations will die out herewith" 37).

By the use of such overt targets, an attempt is being made to carry out a process of Russianization among the Muslims. The Russian language was declared the official second native

language. In 1970, 6.95% of the eight largest Muslim ethnic groups (Uzbeks, Tatars, Kazaks, Azeris, Turkmen, Kirghiz, Bashkirs and Tajiks), i.e. 31,158,000 Muslims, stated that their native language was not their own mother tongue. The non-speaking of their own native language is particularly noticeable among the Bashkirs and Tatars. 33.8% of the Bashkirs and 11.8% of the Tatars, respectively, do not speak their own mother tongue 38).

The policy of Russianization has, as one of its aims, the denationalisation of the Muslims. The Soviets have the following to say about this:

"The assimilation of the nations on a basis of reciprocity has a denationalising effect upon the national and territorial Autonomies and even upon the Unions of the Republic" 39).

Soviet Cultural Policy: The overall Cultural Policy of the Soviets has as its aim:

- a) that people should accept the ideology of Communism as an ideal conception; as a belief and as a way of life;
- b) that the Muslims should show absolute submission towards the Russians and remain loyal to them.

There are a great many institutions within the Muslim countries (of the Soviet Union) (universities, colleges, all manner of schools, theatres, cinemas, academies, books, publications, poetry, museums, buildings for the arts and music, etc.) which serve the Communist cause, not only by rendering the Régime's policy comprehensible to the local people, in their mother tongue, but also by securing the supremacy of the Russian culture over the Muslim culture.

The Soviet cultural policy does not recognize independent national cultures as such. It has been maintained, for years now, that there is only pro forma a national culture within the Soviet Union, but that as far as the contents of this culture are concerned, the latter are wholly socialistic. The so-called socialistic culture must, after all, guide all

the peoples of the Soviet Union towards one Soviet Nation under the leadership of the Russians. It should also be said that the Soviet cultural policy, which serves the Russian culture of Imperialism, acts against national cultures. The Régime's cultural policy does not tolerate the existence of a national culture with its historical associations. And it certainly does not permit an Islamic culture to exist, because, in its eyes, Islamic culture is merely a "fairy tale" 40). That is why the Soviet Russians got rid of the Arabic alphabet in the years 1928-1929 and finally introduced Russian letters.

The problems of the Soviet cultural policy within the Muslims (of the Soviet Union) belong to those areas of Islam research which have not yet been examined in detail.

Finally, it can be said that Communist rule in the Soviet Union is constantly striving, not only to get rid of Islam and to make atheists out of the Muslims, but also to abolish the Muslims' national existence in favour of the Russian way of life and of Communism. The Muslims, on the other hand, are anxious to maintain their Islamic belief and way of life and to protect their national existence. This is why Islam and Nationalism are working together, as a unity, at the moment. In this regard, the struggle continues in each camp. Only Allah, the Almighty, knows which side will emerge as the victor of this struggle for life.

Some suggestions for the free Islamic world
as to how the Muslims under
Communist rule can be saved

Before the free world of Islam even begins to involve itself with the problems of Islam under the rule of Communism, every Muslim, and particularly the Islamic leaders, must recognise his duty, which is laid down in the Koran and determined by the Almighty Allah. This duty implies helping his oppressed Muslim brothers and sisters. He must also make a serious effort to help in the defence of Islam. Only the sense of duty of all the free Muslims can solve the many problems of the oppressed who are forced to live under the rule of the atheists. In this

connection, I should like to remind you of the following Appeal, made by Al-Malik Faysal ibn Abdulaziz al-Saud at the Second Congress of the "Rabita al-Alam al-Islam" in Mecca, in the year 1965, an Appeal which is remembered with gratitude:

"We are Muslims and ours is the path of Islam. We can never bow down to the anti-religious ruler and his methods. Why should we apply rules and laws which have been created by men and which are constantly changing, when we have the Koran of Karim and Hadis-al Scherif? We do not need any foreign rules. We are Muslims and it is, therefore, our duty to help all our Muslim brethren".

We ought, also, to remember that the above-mentioned Congress passed a Resolution, consisting of five points, and which was concerned with finding a solution to the problems of Turkistan 41).

We are convinced that the Muslims who live in liberty could do a lot to save the Muslims from Communist rule, if they were prepared to fulfill their Islamic duty and to show sympathy towards their Muslim brethren. We must, therefore, stop to think and try to undertake the following steps:

I) In the Sector concerned with the attempts to gain liberty

- 1) The general public of both the Islamic and the free world must be informed of the tragic situation of Islam and the Muslims under Communist rule, using all public and diplomatic channels.
- 2) The human rights and the national right for self-determination of the Muslims oppressed by Russia and China must be claimed, on the strength of existing fundamental statements and resolutions passed by the United Nations Organisation (UNO). The British UNO-representative put the following question to the Plenary Assembly of this World Organisation on 26th November 1962:

"May we ask when we are going to see the independence of Azerbaijan? ... what is the target date set for the independence of Soviet Central Asia?" 42).

The government of the Soviet Union did not answer this question. It is not important that the Soviet Union answer this question. What is important is that one of the Islamic countries puts forward the question of the independence of the above-mentioned countries for discussion at a General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation and that a discussion is launched in the world, so that the solution to the problem may be pushed ahead.

- 3) The Islamic public should insist, in no uncertain manner, using diplomatic channels, the radio, the press, conferences and delegations to spread their message, on the rulers of the Soviet Union ending their anti-Islamic measures at once. In addition, the dispatching of Russians and other non-Islamic peoples into the Islamic countries should be ended at once.
- 4) The government of the Soviet Union must allow the Muslims of the Crimea, who have been deported from their homeland, to return to their own country, without attaching any conditions. If they do not react to this request, then this question must be put before the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation and the Islamic World Congress.
- 5) The international organisations for Islamic affairs which already exist should set up an Information Office, to deal with the problems of the countries ruled by Communism, in particular the Soviet Union. The Islamic organisations and the individual Islamic countries would then be in a position to inform themselves about the position of Muslims under Communist rule, on a regular basis.
- 6) An Islamic International Foundation, for the liberation of those Muslims oppressed by Communism should be established. This Foundation can

national liberation movement of the Islamic people against Communist rule as it is practised in the Soviet Union. We must finally recognise that the Muslim emigrants abroad, owing to their lack of funds, are not in a position to properly broadcast the voice of freedom, neither abroad nor in the homeland.

II. In the Sector concerning Cultural and Spiritual Life

- 7) It would be both useful and important for the free Islamic countries if an Islamic Central Institute of Islamic Research were to be founded. Should this not be possible, then a well-organised section for dealing with the question of Islam under the rule of Communism ought to be set up within an already existing Islamic Research Institute. This Section would have subsections dealing with 1) the Soviet Union and 2) China.
- 8) Such an Institute should establish a Documentation Centre, where all the publications which were obtainable and relevant to the problems mentioned in Point 7 might be collected. This would make research more simple.
- 9) The Muslims in the Soviet Union must be kept informed about Islam, in their mother tongues, over the radio, by means of the "Voice of Islam" transmission. The situation of the Muslims under the rule of both Russian Imperialism and then of Communism should also, if possible, be explained, using radio as the method of transmission. No such transmissions have taken place, up till now, from the Islamic radio stations. It is unfortunate that the 'Northern Slavonic Religious Mission' (Nordska slaviska Missija) carries out missionary activities inside the Muslim countries of the Soviet Union over the radio: passages from the Bible are transmitted in the Muslims' own languages. Why should we not also fight atheism

and the Soviet Union's struggle against Islam by spreading the doctrine of Islam?

- 10) Professorial Chairs for the History, Culture and Current Affairs of Eastern Islam (in the Soviet Union and in China) should be established in many universities of the free countries of Islam, if at all possible.
- 11) It is necessary to initiate research into the following areas and to publicize:-
 - the history of Islam in the Soviet Union of today,
 - the history of the Islamic countries in the Soviet Union under Communist rule,
 - the history of Islam (both social and contemporary) in the individual countries,
 - a synopsis of all the Soviet anti-Islamic publications,
 - the publication of documentation series of all the anti-Islamic concepts, with critical comments, for the defence of Islam,
 - the compilation of a geographical map of the Islamic countries in the Soviet Union in all the important Islamic languages.

The research reports must be accessible to Western readers, too. The Soviet theses, which are supposedly well-disposed towards Islam, must be fought in the free countries of Islam, by means of this evidence.

- 12) We do not know whether the target of establishing a publishing company, as mentioned in the 'Nizam rabita al-âlam al Islâmi' (Point 3, paragraph b), has been realised. Should this be the case, then this is to be welcomed and one can only hope that its activities can be intensified. If the publishing company has not yet been established, then it is most important that this target be realised.
- 13) Turkistan has an important tradition within the Islam world and is one of the most important centres of Islamic culture. This country can

be regarded as the point of departure for the defence of Islam. That is why it would be very important if we were in a position to establish an Al-Malik Fayzal ibn Abdul Aziz Foundation for the defence of Islam in Turkistan.

- 1) Hs. Shafiuddin, Islam versus Communism, "The Indonesian Times", 20.1.1978, p.3: "For instance there has been no organized international move on behalf of the Muslim world which could pool all its intellectual resources and give it a specialized lead in this regard".
- 2) The following publications can be cited as examples: Muhammed Sami Asyhur, Al-Muslimun fir takht-al s̄hu'iyā, Turkistan, Jeddah 1964; Liberty Turkestan view of Indonesian Leaders, published by the Turkestan Liberation Movement, Djakarta 1971; Dr. Baymirza Hayit, Islam in Turkestan, in "Morning News" (Karachi) 18.4.1958, "The Times of Karachi" 18.4.1958, "Ruznamayi Jang" 19.4.1958, "Anjam" 18.4.1958; ditto, Sovyetler Birliginde Islam tatqiqati masalasi (The Problem of Islam Research in the Soviet Union) in "Milli Turkistan" 1964, No. 103, pp. 16-21; ditto, Sovyetler Birliginde Islam faciiasi (The Tragedy of Islam in the Soviet Union), in "Sabah" (Istanbul) 17.1.1972 - 3.2.1972; Reports from Numan Tasbkendi (after an interview with Hayit), in "Al Nadwa" (Mecca) 27.10.1968, 17.11.1968, 28.11.1968, 29.12.1970, 31.12.1970.

Numerous publications have been published relating to the position of Islam in the Soviet Union and, in particular, in Turkistan. Unfortunately a bibliography of these publications has not been published.

- 3) A few of the publications in the Western world can be cited as examples: Bennigsen, A. - Lemercier-Quellejey, Islam in the Soviet Union, London 1967, translated from the French, G. Wheeler and Hubert Evans; Hans Braeker, Kommunismus und Weltreligionen (Communism and world religions), 2 volumes, second volume, Communism and Islam (Kommunismus und Islam), Tübingen 1969-1971; Baymirza Hayit, Turkestan im XX. Jahrhundert (Turkistan in the Twentieth Century), Darmstadt 1956, (Kampf zwischen Islam und Kommunismus - The struggle between Islam and Communism), pp. 304-310, 354-357; ditto, Sowjetrussische Orientpolitik am Beispiel Turkestans (Soviet Russian Oriental Politics using Turkistan as an Example), Köln 1962, pp. 157-183; ditto, Soviet Russian Colonialism and Imperialism in Turkestan, Köln 1965, pp. 35-38, 41-50; ditto, Documents: Soviet Russia's Anti-Islam Policy in Turkestan, Part I, Düsseldorf 1958, Part II, Düsseldorf 1959; ditto, Sowjetrussland und die Islamvölker (Soviet Russia and the Islam peoples), in "Der Remter", Berchtesgaden, 1960, No. 5, p. 271-276; ditto, Zur gegenwärtigen Lage des Islams in der Sowjetunion (On the current situation of Islam in the Soviet Union), in "Basler Nachrichten" Basel/Switzerland, 23/24.1.1964; ditto, Islam im russischen Imperium (Islam in the Russian Empire), in the book "Die Herausforderung des Islam" (The Challenge to Islam), published by Rolf Italiander, Göttingen, 1965, pp.169-182; ditto, Die Kommunistische Partei der Sowjetunion im Kampf gegen Islam (The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the struggle against Islam), in "Religionen und Atheismus in der UdSSR" (Religions and Atheism in the USSR), München 1971, No. 10, "Dergi", München 1971, No. 65, pp. 64-69, "Osteuropa" (Eastern Europe), Aachen 1972, No. 2, pp.114-118; "Al-Muhadschirun" München 1971, Nos. 29-30, "ABN

Correspondence", München 1972, No. 3, pp.17-21; ditto, Islam in der Sowjetunion (Islam in the Soviet Union), in "Lexikon der Islam" (Dictionary of Islam), Stuttgart 1974; ditto, Ein kurzer Überblick über die Lage des Islam in der Sowjetunion (A Short Summary of the Situation of Islam in the Soviet Union), Report of the European Conference for Human Rights and Self-determination from 15.1.1978; Walter Kolarz, Die Religionen in der Sowjetunion (The religions in the Soviet Union), Freiburg 1963 (pp. 396-442 on Islam); Vincent Monteil, Essai sur l'Islam en URSS, in "Revue des Etudes Islamiques", Paris 1952-1953.

All the publications that have appeared in the West on Islam in the Soviet Union have not been assembled in the form of a bibliography.

- 4) Ejigodnik Bolschoj Sovetskoy Enciklopedii, Moskau 1964, p. 159. According to M.S. Bodnarskij, Slovar geograficeskich nazvanij (Dictionary of Geographical Names), Moscow 1954, p. 95, Daghistan is 38,200 sq. kilometres in area (?).
- 5) Dr. B. Hayit, Turkestan im XX. Jahrhundert (Turkistan in the Twentieth Century), Darmstadt 1956, p.305
- 6) Dr. B. Hayit, Turkestan zwischen Russland und China, Amsterdam 1971, p.125 (Turkistan between Russia and China)
- 7) "Pravda Vostoka", Newspaper, Tashkent, 17.4.1971
- 8) Dr. B. Bayit, Turkestan im XX. Jahrhundert, p.217
- 9) Dr. B. Hayit, Turkestan as an Example of Soviet Colonialism, in "Studies on the Soviet Union", München, 1961, p. 88
- 10) Dr. B. Hayit, They were 40 Million in 1917 and now only 15 Million, in "Young Pakistan", Dacca, 18.2.1971, p.4
- 11) Dr. Baymirza Hayit, Sowjetrussische Orientpolitik am Beispiel Turkestans (Soviet Russian Oriental Politics using Turkistan as an Example), Köln 1962, pp.217-218
- 12) "Revoljucija v Srednej Azii", Omnibus volume No. 1, Tashkent 1928, pp.17-18
- 13) "Novyj Vostok", ^{Journal} Newspaper, Moscow, 1923, No.4, pp.274-275
- 14) For details see: Sobranie zakonov Rabočij Krestjanskij pravitel'stva (Collection of the legislation of the Worker and Farmer government) 1918, No. 18 (Moscow)
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- 37) G.J. Brojdo, Milla ma masala (The national question), Tashkent, 1925, p. 10
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- 40) A. Asimov (President of the Academy of Sciences of the SSR Tadjikistan), Real'nost' protiv mifov (Reality versus myth) in the newspaper "Druzba narodov", Moscow, 1975, No. 11, p.238 and in the newspaper "Sadâi Jarq", Dushanbe 1976, No. 1, p.66, regards the cult of Islam as a fairy tale and writes, among other things, "The wide-spread term Muslim culture, or Islam culture, is met with extensively in the West and in the overseas Orient. Sovietologists who are concerned with the problems of Central Asia use this term ... but a term of this nature is non-scientific. The term Muslim culture is not constant, either, when regarded from the point of view of the development of the culture of the East..."
- 41) For these conclusions, see: "Al-Bilad", newspaper, Jeddah,

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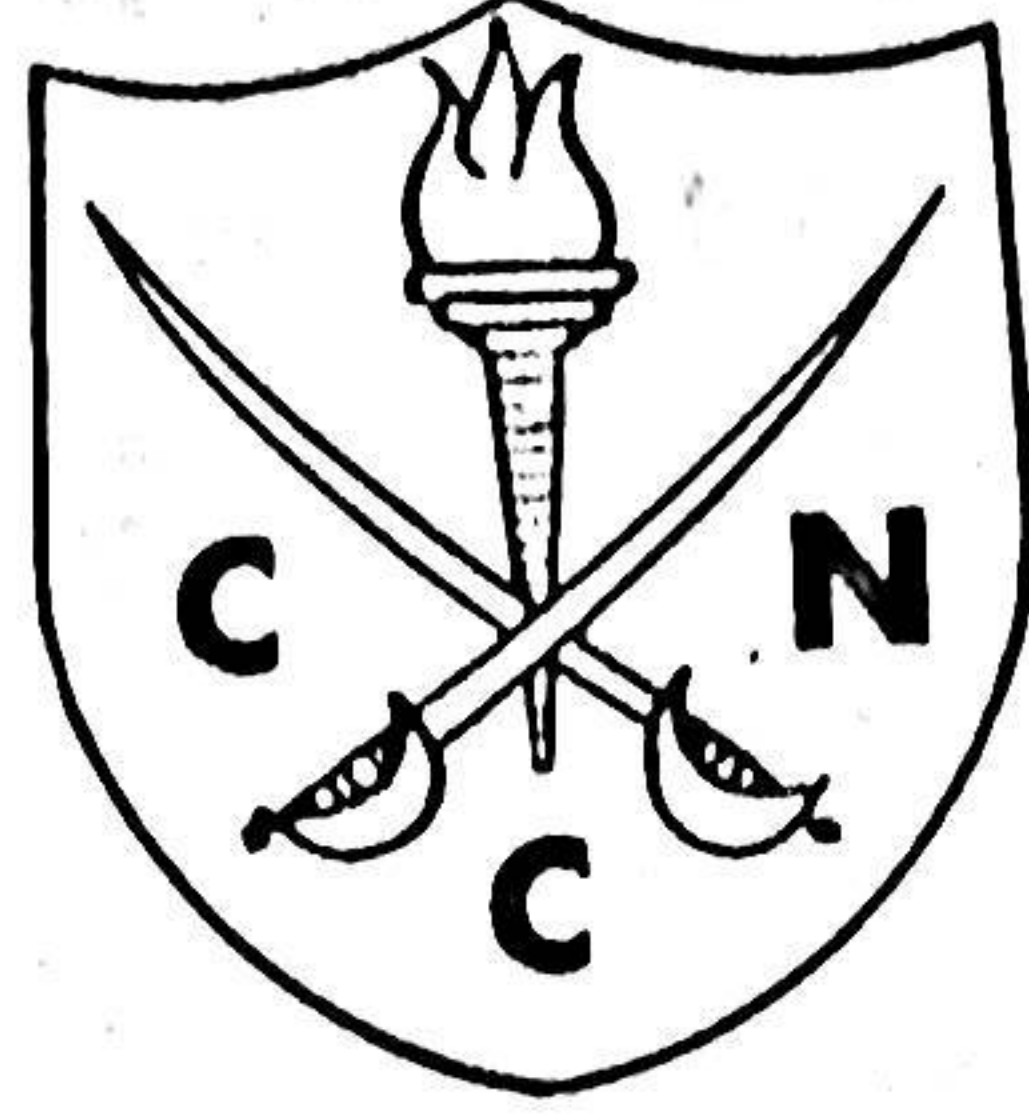
42) For details, see: Colonialism, Statement by Sir Patrick Dean, K.G.M.G., permanent representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, in Plenary, on Monday, 26th November, 1962, pp.5-6

43) "Muslim World League", Mecca Mukarrama 1963, No. 2, p. 18, writes:

"Establishing a publishing house in Mecca, the capital of Islam, which would issue publications of a high literary and scientific standard, devoted to critical and analytical research in contemporary ideologies such as Communism, Socialism, Nationalism and so forth".

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Slovakia
Slovenia
South Vietnam
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Turkestan
Ukraine

Program—Sun., July 18, 1982

9 a.m.—Assemble at 59th St. & 5th Av.

9:15—5th Av. Parade, 59th St. to 50th

10:00—Memorial Mass in St. Patrick's
Cathedral

11:00—5th Av. Parade—50th St. to
Central Park Mall (Band Shell
near 72nd St.)

12 Noon—Ceremonies, honored
speakers, and folklore enter-
tainment at Central Park Mall.

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**Not: Maalesef Bu Esirmilletler Listesinde Doğu Türkis
tan yok. Bugün (7-18-82) Amerikada Esir mi günüdür.**

THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF TURKESTAN FOR THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FREE WORLD

By Dr. Baymirza Hayit

Turkestan, (land of the Turks), which is situated in Central Asia, has an area of approximately 4 million km² and accounts for around 19% of the entire territory of the Soviet Union. 5 of the 15 Soviet republics, (Uzbekistan, Kazakh^kstan, Kirgizistan, Tadjikistan and Turkmenistan) are located in Turkestan.

It is a well known fact that Turkestan is one of the most important centres of civilization, and also the centre of Islamic culture and intellectual life since the 8th century. This country has been referred to as "Middle Asia and Kazakhstan" in Soviet terminology since 1925. The Soviet Russian leadership is in no way prepared to tolerate the use of the term "Turkestan", because its intentions are to turn Turkestan into a laboratory for mixing people and races by doing away with the country and abolishing the national feeling of identity of the Turkestan people for the purpose of using the country as a base for the colonialisation by the Russians.

It is astonishing to find that since 1950 many western researchers have - wrongly - adopted the Soviet term: Central Asia in ^{stead} ~~place~~ of Turkestan, and have thus aided in supplanting the name Turkestan in the minds of the public in the west as well as in the Islamic orient. In doing so no consideration was given to the fact that Turkestan is not Central Asia, but rather that it is located in Central Asia and that in the world's main encyclopaediae the geographic situation is clearly dealt with under the designation "Turkestan", (e.g. The Encyclopedia Americana, volume 27; Encyclopedia Britannica, volume 22, 15th edition, and the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, New York-London 1977, volume 26, p. 458, etc.)

It is particularly significant that the Congress of the USA passed a bill relating to "Captive Nations Week" (Public Law 86-90) in July 1959, in which the name Turkestan is unequivocally mentioned. In spite of this Radio Liberty's directors gave the order in the autumn of 1978 that the term Turkestan was no longer to be employed in the broadcasts, but that the term Central Asia and Kazakhstan were to be used instead. In so doing, an American organisation acted contrary to US law (Public Law 86-90). It would be advisable and also correct for us in the West to use the classical terminology Turkestan instead of the Soviet terminology "Central Asia", in order not to deny the national identity of this country and also to distance ourselves from Soviet influence.

At present approximately 42 million people live in Turkestan, more than 32 million of whom are Turkestanians and Muslims (Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirgiz, Turkmen, Karakalpaks, Uygurs, Tatars, Azerbaijanians and Tadjiks), and the rest of whom consist of Russian colonialists or administrative personnel, military personnel and deported persons, (Ukrainians, Belorussians, Estonians, Letts, Lithuanians, Germans, Armenians, Koreans etc.).

It is common knowledge that the present-day territory of Turkestan was gradually conquered by the Russians during the period between 1715 and 1897. However, despite this it was possible for two states (Bukhara and Khiwa) to retain their independence in internal affairs under Czarist Russia. On the occasion of the invasion by Soviet troops in the year 1920 these states were proclaimed as the peoples' republics of Bukhara and Kharazim (= Khiwa). The government of Soviet Russia recognised by treaty the right of these two states to sovereignty. In the year 1924 these states were then abolished by the government of Soviet Russia by means of war operations, threats and infiltration, and their territories were annexed to

the Soviet Union. The leaders of the Soviet Union do not try to conceal the global political and strategic importance of Turkestan. Its strategic importance is particularly obvious in the following areas:

Turkestan as a stepping stone between Asia and Europe:

The geographic region Turkestan shares a border with the following countries: Tatar-Baschkiria, Siberia, Mongolia, China (with East Turkestan within the framework of the Chinese sphere of influence), India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and the Caucasus. These bordering countries have a total area of 33 million km². When considered together with its neighbouring countries Turkestan, with its 4 million km² assumes the character of an extended region. Turkestan and the neighbouring countries maintain cultural, economic and religious relations with one another. Europe and the countries of the Middle East can be quickly and easily reached from Turkestan. Thus, e.g. Moscow is about 1,000 km by air from the Turkestan border; Kharkow (Ukraine) 770 km; Rostov/Don 710 km; Erzerum (Turkey) 1010; Baghdad (Iraq) 1210; Tehran (Iran) 640; Kabul (Afghanistan) 290; Islamabad (Pakistan) 600; Urumtschi (East Turkestan) 590; and the Persian Gulf about 1000 km. These figures clearly illustrate the favourable communication possibilities between Turkestan and Europe, the Middle East and Inner Asia. The geo-political situation which Turkestan enjoys presents the Soviet Union with the opportunity of initiating actions in all directions.

Turkestan as an important military base for the Soviet Union:

The Soviet military policy in Turkestan and also as regards the neighbouring countries is coordinated by means of two military zones: Turkestan (directly responsible for the Soviet republics of Uzbekistan, ^{Tadjikistan,} Turkmenistan and the Middle East with India and Pakistan), and Central Asia (responsible for the Soviet republics of Kazakhstan,

Kirgizistan and China as well as Mongolia). In the case of x military operations are undertaken from these military zones. According to the opinion of the Soviet military leadership in Turkestan both of these zones are very powerful, being equipped with modern weaponry. These military zones are considered to be the main areas for planning the strategy and tactics of the Soviet Union's military leadership with regard to the Orient. Turkestan is also considered as the Hinterland for all Soviet war plans and measures in the question of the Middle East, Inner Asia and Europe. Since December 1979 the world is well aware of the fact that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was undertaken from the Soviet military zone of Turkestan. Due to its geo-political situation (extended area, alternating landscapes: stepps, oases, plains, mountains), Turkestan is also the main storehouse for Soviet weaponry such as atomic bombs, rockets, aircraft spare parts and army supplies. West and East Turkestan are considered to be the central store for Russian and Chinese atomic bombs, respectively. The Soviet Union's rocket launching base is situated in Baikonur, Turkestan, by the way.

The Soviet Union is capable, if need be, of meeting its war needs from Turkestan. Stalin declared in 1943 that "the middle Asiatic Soviet republics and Kazakhstan (= Turkestan) had become the most important arsenal of the Red Army". Another Soviet publication revealed 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. Soviet reflections of this kind reveal that the Soviet Union is in a position to supply its army from Turkestan, should the need arise. Nor is it ^{not} a secret that the Soviet armed forces in Turkestan are absolutely superior to those of all other countries in the Middle East.

Turkestan - source of raw materials for the Soviet Union:

It is common knowledge, - and the Soviets themselves even admit this openly-, that Turkestan is the main source of raw materials for the Soviet Union. As the main supplier of raw materials this country is of decisive importance for the industry of the Soviet Union. Turkestan claims the following percentage of industrial raw materials of the Soviet Union (USSR = 100%):

Coal, approx. 45%; petroleum more than 60%; earth gas 50%; iron-ore 70%; copper 76%; mercury, approx. 90%; zinc 86%; chrome, more than 80%; nickel, approx. 80%; phosphorous, sulphur, potassium and antimony reserves, more than 75%. There are also plentiful supplies of uranium, gold, silver and platinum in Turkestan. In a report relating to the riches of Turkestan a Soviet news paper gave the following example with regard to the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan: "It is possible in the

Soviet republic of Kazakhstan to produce approximately 120 - 130 million tons of iron-ore, 100 million tons of mineral oil and 35 million tons of steel, annually." Assuming a normal rate of exploiting the mineral resources the raw materials present in Turkestan are enough to supply the entire industry of the Soviet Union.

The agricultural wealth of Turkestan is also common knowledge. Thus e.g. Turkestan produces more than 95% of the Soviet cotton production; 75% of the raw silk; 60% of the fruit; 65% of the rice; 100% of the jute; 100% of the natural rubber and 100% of the karakul furs. This country is also known as the third corn house of the Soviet Union. Thanks to Turkestan's economic riches it is possible for the Soviet Union to follow the political course of a world economic power. It would not be in a position to do this were it not for the economic potential present in Turkestan.

Turkestan as a centre of communist infiltration in the East: *Orient* :

The Soviet Union has announced on various occasions that Turkestan is to serve as the vanguard of Communism in the Orient. The ideas of the Soviet leadership as listed below reveal Turkestan's role in the infiltration of communism in the Orient:

- "Turkestan is the main centre for spreading our ideas in the Orient";
- "Turkestan is to be the carrier of the germ of the communist revolution in the Orient";
- "Turkestan played the role of gateway ~~from~~ ^{from} Asia ~~and~~ ^{to} Europe in world history. It is now Turkestan's role to act as the gateway from Europe (meaning Russia - the author) to Asia";
- "Socialism and Communism are inevitable for the future of the peoples of the Orient".

There are many more such theses held by the Soviet leadership with regard to the use of Turkestan in Soviet policy in the Orient.

It is common knowledge that the Soviets have made much progress in infiltrating and spreading communism in the *Orient* ~~East~~ (particularly in the Middle East). We can mention here as examples the origin of the Soviet slogan "the spirit of Tashkent", organisational propoganda measures, such as organising more than 50 international conferences, symposia of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in Turkestan, where the Soviet system is represented as an "exemplary model" for the development of peoples, and finally the fact that many followers and sympathizers of Moscow communism have been from the ranks of the developing countries. Here one is reminded of the use of oppressed Islam in the Islamic countries.

The Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan shows us that communism was exported first from Russia to Turkestan by means of armed force, where it continues to be enforced in the same way. The appearance of comm-

unism in Afghanistan came about in exactly the same manner as in Turkestan. It is also interesting to note that more than 20,000 Turkestan^{ians} are working as Soviet specialists in the Middle East and who are being used, at the same time, as instruments of Soviet infiltration.

Up to the present our goal has been to provide a general view of the strategic importance of Turkestan for the Soviet Union. It will now be necessary to deal with the country and its importance for Western strategy, particularly as regards the question of promoting freedom and combating Soviet imperialism, and to report its influence in the Orient.

As everyone knows, this country which has been twice conquered by Russia (the first time under the Czars and the second time under the Soviet Russians) does not have the right to lead an independent national existence or to enjoy usual ^{human} rights and liberties. Turkestan is subject to the strict and absolute control of Moscow. The Soviet Union has done all it could to oppress Turkestan. Despite this the people of Turkestan have not lost their will or desire for freedom. This became obvious in the struggle for liberation which took place in Turkestan in the years 1918 - 34, (and particularly up to 1923 on a large scale), also in the resistance of the Turkestan people under the Soviet regime, in their attempts to preserve national customs, culture and traditions, not to mention the effectiveness of Islam in the national struggle against communism and also by the struggle for national liberation in Turkestan during the Second World War. Nor is it ^{not} a secret that thousands of Turkestan^{ians} (Uzbeks, Turkmen, Tadjiks), who are ~~now~~ living in Afghanistan are ~~now~~ fighting in the front rows of the liberation front ^{of Afghans} against Russian expansionism. It is also a well known fact that when the Soviet Army invaded Afghanistan the Soviet soldiers who came from Turkestan were not willing to fight against the Afghans. It appears that communism was not capable of converting these Muslim-Turkestan^{ians} into Soviet ~~citizens~~ ^{patriots}.

Furthermore, it has become known that numerous Soviet soldiers who come from Turkestan have gone over to the side of the freedom fighters (Mujaheddin), and that many of them are now active training Afghan freedom fighters.

By initiating a process of liberation for Turkestan the Western powers and the Islamic countries of the ~~East~~ *Orient* could achieve a strategic position in world politics, particularly in the Middle East. Concerted action calling for national liberation for Turkestan would undoubtedly help, first of all, to effect a reinforcement of national identity. The Western powers and the Islamic countries could take the stage as Turkestans common friend for the purposes of establishing the country's national independence. The founding of an independent state 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 demand for national independence for Turkestan in no way implies interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. The constitutions of the Soviet Union, including those of the Soviet republics offers, even if only formally, the conditions according to which each Soviet republic has the right to secede from the USSR. Even the international Basic Declaration, e.g. the UNO declaration of December 14th, 1960, relating to colonialiam and the right of national self-determination and the international pact of December 19th, 1966, relating to ~~civil~~ ^{human} rights etc. do not deny either a national right to existance or human rights for Turkestan. The congress of the USA in 1959 which proclaimed the Act relating to "Captive Nations Week", in which Turkestan was included as one of the captive nations, was unique in the history of the world. This Act represents a moral basis for the demand for freedom.

The general assembly of the Muslim World League in Mecca/Saudi Arabia adopted a Turkestan Resolution in May 1965, in which it was decided that:

" The Muslim Congress urgently requests all Islamic states and also those states who are in favour of freedom to bring up the problem of Turkestan in the general assembly of the UNO."

The problem of abolishing Russian colonialism in Turkestan and the re-establishment of national independence in this country became ^{the character of} an international ^{affairs} ~~concern~~ through the discussion which took place in the general assembly on the subject of colonialism. The British ambassador to the UNO made the following statement to the general assembly of the UNO on November 26th, 1962:

"In 1815 the whole of Ceylon came under British rule at the same time as Azerbaijan was being occupied by Russia. Ceylon achieved its independence in 1947; when may we ask, can we hope to see Azerbaijan independent? Nigeria and Ghana came under British influence in the middle of the 19th century. Lagos was proclaimed a colony in 1862; a protectorate was declared for the Gold Coast in 1874. The same period saw the Russian conquest of the independent states of Central Asia with their ancient civilization; the last independent Kazakh state submitted in 1854, the conquest of the three Uzbek states of Turkestan was completed by 1876, and the whole of Turkmenia was finally subjugated and annexed in the early 1880's. After nearly a century of British rule Ghana became independent in 1957 and Nigeria in 1960; what is the target date for the independence of the Soviet Central Asian territories?"

That is the main question to be answered! Up to now the government of the Soviet Union has provided no answer to this question. Nor has any member state of the UNO asked the Soviets when they are going to answer this question. Thus the question remains: "What is the target date for the independence of the Soviet Central Asian territories"

(= Turkestan) and the world has the right to obtain a reply from Moscow and thereby to take measures to arrange a date for the independence of Turkestan.