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JPRS L/10296

2 February 1982

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 3/82)

Soviet Studies of Religion and Nationality:

Fifteen Years of 'PROBLEMS OF SCIENTIFIC ATHEISM'



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USSR REPORT
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS
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SOVIET STUDIES OF RELIGION AND NATIONALITY:
FIFTEEN YEARS OF 'PROBLEMS OF SCIENTIFIC ATHEISM'

Moscow PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO ATEIZMA in Russian No 2, 1966; No 10, 1970;
No 14, 1973; No 17, 1974; No 22, 1977

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SOVIET STUDIES OF RELIGION AND NATIONALITY: FIFTEEN YEARS OF 'PROBLEMS OF SCIENTIFIC ATHEISM'.

CONTEMPORARY ISLAM MODERNIZATION PROCESS CHARACTERIZED

Moscow PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO ATEIZMA in Russian No 2 1966, pp 322-334

[Article by: Yu.G. Petrash and R.M. Khamitova: "Toward a Characterization of the Process of the Modernization of Contemporary Islam in the USSR"]

[Text] Islam long ago proved its ability to adapt to changing conditions and to one or another concrete situation. In this it in no way differs from all other religions. A study of the changes in Moslem ideology, especially the changes which are taking place in the contemporary epoch, is one of the most important problems of Islamic studies. Unfortunately, these changes have not yet been studied sufficiently deeply. In some cases science simply does not possess the necessary materials. In particular, the current state of Islam in the USSR is known only in the most general features. The authors of this article have set themselves the task of acquainting the reader with certain facts which characterize the process of the modernization of Islam in our country. The material being presented shows basically the kinds of positions taken by the clergy as it reforms dogma and ritual. The article was written chiefly on the basis of the materials of Kirghiziya and Bashkiriya.

In speaking about the views of present-day Moslem ideologists in our country it should not be forgotten that reformist teachings among the Moslems of Russia took shape as early as the end of the last century. One of these currents was Djadidism. Its basic idea consisted in a rejection of the medieval methods of teaching in Moslem educational institutions and in the introduction of a Europeanized system of teaching with a mandatory study of general educational subjects. The reformist ideas attracted definite strata of the national intelligentsia of the peoples among whom Islam was widespread also during the first years of the existence of Soviet power. The struggle between Djadidist and Kadimist currents in Mohammedism had not ceased when the October Revolution occurred and, to a certain extent, continues to exist in our day also.

This has to be kept in mind when we are dealing with the questions of the present-day ideology of Islam in the development of whose official cannons the top Moslem

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clergy takes part. The process of renewing and adapting Islam to changing social conditions already has certain traditions. This is an objective process which reflects the progressive movement of the development of society.

What are the basic features of official Islam in our day?

First of all, loyalty to the Soviet state. After suffering defeats in open actions against Soviet power, the clergy quite rapidly began to state its devotion to socialism. The decisive role here was played by the feelings of the broad masses of believers who approved the socialist transformations in our country. There are known facts showing that many representatives of the clergy sincerely welcomed Soviet power, seeing in it a defender of the interests of the workers.

Loyalty to the Soviet state is based on the fact that every state power is from God, sent down by Him "as He understands."

In their sermons, especially those of a didactically moral character, the mullahs attempt to convince believers to piously perform their civic duties to their homeland, for, in carrying out the orders of the authorities and supporting the policies of the Soviet government, believers perform their "Moslem duties" to Allah.

Not so long ago in one of his holiday sermons the Imam of the Dzhalal-Abad mosque (Kirghiz SSR) said, addressing his parishioners: "We, like true Moslems, in keeping with Allah's commands, have to honestly observe the order which has been established in our country and be disciplined in production and honest citizens of our country. We have to be ready to carry out all of the orders of the Soviet government, for they are directed toward strengthening the might of the Soviet Union and towards the attainment of cherished goals. Our Holy Book al-Koran teaches us to obey Allah, his Emissary Mohammed, and our leaders--those who have power." We have had occasion to hear similar sermons in other mosques--in Moscow (from the lips of the Imams Mustafin and Salikhov), Alma-Ata, Osh, and Ufa. The clergy presents religion as the natural ally of Soviet power, equally responsible for the fate of the people.

The Moslem clergy supports the peace-loving policy of the Soviet government. The theme of peace is constantly present in sermons; the struggle for peace is connected with the teachings of Islam. The mullahs find passages in the religious books and see in them a statement of the necessity to maintain peace in the entire world.

The Moslem clergy attempts to identify communism and Islam, saying that the ideals of both teachings coincide. More than that, one can hear that the doctrine of communism was already being disseminated by the ancient prophets, and that Mohammed who formulated Islam in the most harmonious way sought throughout all of his prophetic work to realize communist principles. The Arabs, led by Mohammed, are said to have struggled for a universal "communist kingdom," but the material and cultural level did not permit its realization. Now, however, all of the conditions exist for this, and the efforts of the workers have to realize the "ideals of Mohammed" --to build communism. "The goals of Mohammed and of communism are the same;" "We, Moslems, are the continuers of the work of the Prophet Mohammed;

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communism is our dogma." All of this can now be heard from authoritative representatives of the Moslem clergy. The words of the Osh mullah K. in a personal conversation are curious: you, Marxists, simply do not understand the deeply communist essence of Islam. If you think about the meaning of Mohammed's teachings, it will become clear that we, Moslems and Marxists, are going forward shoulder to shoulder--for the realization of the ideals of Mohammed." K. believed that in the not too distant future misunderstandings will be dispelled and the alliance of Marxism and Islam will be realized.

It has to be said that such arguments exercise an influence on believers. Frequently one can hear from ordinary believers that the mullahs "are probably communists." To the question of why they think so, the answer follows: "But you listen to what Imam so-and-so says about communists!" Frequently believers try to prove with enviable conviction that Islam is a necessary means in the struggle for the construction of communism.

When it attempts to present Islam as a communist teaching the clergy bases itself on the moral and ethical side of religion. Nowadays in the mosques there is considerable restraint in speaking about the miracles of the prophets and the pious. More attention is given to the questions of morality. The preachers and activists in the local parishes seek to convince the simple believer that the moral principles of the builders of communism are in full accord with the moral prescriptions of the Koran and the Sunna. The clergy compares certain passages from the sacred books with the norms of morality which are accepted in our society; hence, the conclusion regarding the identity of Moslem and communist morality. Under the influence of these sermons, many believers today reason as follows: "In our Koran everything was long ago said that is in the moral code of the builders of communism. Islam teaches us only the good...." Frequently Islam is understood by believers in general as a universal moral system which embraces the moral code of all of mankind.

Today literally not a single sermon takes place in which the Imams do not touch upon the questions of morality and do not seek to convince believers of their duty to observe the "Moslem laws" and the rules of behavior which have been approved by Soviet society. The ministers give praise to the Communist Party and the Soviet government for seeking to achieve so firmly and consistently the complete triumph of "true" morality whose basis is made up of the teachings of the Koran. In one of his sermons the Imam-Khatib of the Moscow mosque Salikov reminded his parishioners of the harm of alcoholic drinks which are prohibited to Moslems. "It is necessary," he said, "to give every welcome to the measures of the Soviet government which are aimed at a struggle against alcoholism. This corresponds entirely to the demands of the Prophet Mohammed."

Approximately the same presentation is given in the sermons of the activities of the Soviet government which are aimed at strengthening labor discipline, improving the everyday life of the workers, and so forth. The clergy summons Moslems to honest labor and production and to strengthening the family. According to the mullahs, any labor for the good of society is as compulsory and good a deed as reading prayers, maintaining fasts, and the other prescriptions of religion. Honest labor by Moslems will be evaluated by Allah no lower than God-serving acts.

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In a word, if one believes the sermons, Moslem morality is the most humane and just morality; it is an all-embracing moral code by which people will always be guided. The renewed Shariat does not contain divergences from Soviet laws and is in full accord with the interests of strengthening the Soviet family and developing communist relations among people. Islam allegedly cultivates honesty, mutual respect and a feeling of comradeship in people and promotes spiritual perfection; the morality of Islam helps to cultivate feelings of patriotism in Soviet people. From all of this it has to follow that the education of the youth carried out in accordance with the principles of Moslem morality can only yield good fruits.

What is one to do with those religious prescriptions of the Koran whose reactionary nature and medieval cruelty are clear to everyone? The clergy either passes over these prescriptions in silence, or interprets them in such a way that gives them a completely new meaning. For example, the calls to wage an implacable war (jihad) against those who believe in other faiths and against non-believers are interpreted as calls to struggle against all kinds of evil, deceit, and insincerity which violate Moslem piety. The preaching of the exclusiveness of Moslems which is clearly expressed in the Koran is explained in the same spirit. We see that the clergy here, without giving up the letter of the "eternal" and "immutable" Koran, undertakes direct falsifications of individual propositions in it. It is not accidental that one is able nowadays to hear that every word of the Koran allegedly has 70 meanings. At the same time, the clergy asserts that the Koran is inaccessible to the understanding of the "unfaithful" and of doubters, and that the secret meaning of every word and every letter in it can be understood only by a deeply believing Moslem. In confirmation, reference is made to an ayat of the Koran: "He is for those who have believed guidance and healing; but those who do not believe have deafness in their ears, and he is for them blindness." (41, 44)

It should be noted that, unfortunately, the attempt to depict Islam as a complete collection of general human morality finds support among a substantial section of believers.

The present-day theoreticians of religion devote a large amount of attention to smoothing over the contradictions between science and Islam. Basically there are two conceptions here. The first: the Koran contains everything that is known or will be known to science; one only has to be able to understand this. Today many people assert that Islam provides answers to all of the questions posed by life or by science. The other conception is more modest: Islam is presented as a "true ally" of science. It should be noted that in defending both of these theses the clergy tries to keep itself informed about scientific achievements: it is no longer possible to close one eyes to the gains of modern science. How are these conceptions proven? In the traditional way: the preachers use individual passages in the religious books as arguments. For example, the mullahs and imams go into raptures over two ayats from the chapter of the Koran "Galyak" ("Clot"). The ayats begin with the word "Read!" This call is interpreted in the spirit of Lenin's behest: "Learn, learn, and learn." The beginning of these ayats is presented as an immortal motto for all mankind. In Ayat 179 of Chapter 7 there is nothing resembling calls to engage in science; however its meaning is interpreted in such a way that Allah is allegedly calling Moslems to strive for knowledge and

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for science. The words of Ayat 101 of Chapter 10--"look at what there is in the heavens and on the earth!" --which call for signs of Allah to be seen in the phenomenon of nature are presented as an order to scientifically study the earth and the cosmos.

All of the achievements of science are explained by the clergy as the charity of Allah. Man only comprehends what has been established by Allah, comprehends the wisdom and might of Allah. For example, the launching of space ships with men on board gives rise to such opinions: Allah is so great and merciful that he had permitted (and helped) the launching of artificial satellites and missiles. Individual representatives of the clergy who are acquainted with the latest scientific theories are inclined to also recognize the existence of other worlds besides our galaxy. And if science comes from God, is it possible for a Moslem to deny the achievements of science? In his 1960 fatwa the Mufti of the Spiritual Administration for Moslems of the European Part of the USSR and Siberia (the city of Ufa) welcomed the flight of Yu. A. Gagarin into outer space and emphasized that only our country was capable of accomplishing such a feat.

In his address at the festive meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Mufti the chairman of the Spiritual Administration for Moslems of the European Part of the USSR and Siberia, the Mufti Khiyalitdinov, said: "The happiness of man in real earthly life consists in physical health, the mastery of knowledge, of science and technology, in the all-round enlightenment of himself, and, in accordance with our greatly revered morality, in the defense of peaceful life." "But in the life in the other world," the Mufti continued, "happiness and bliss can be secured for a man through an unqualified knowledge of the great Allah and his Prophet Mohammed, the precise performance of the rituals and customs of the Prophet Mohammed which have been established by Allah and which are mandatory for Moslems, and, finally, through absolute submission to the great Allah."

Thus, the contemporary clergy attempts to prove that both scientific knowledge and a belief in God are necessary for complete happiness.

The clergy is not inclined to speak about the fact that religion is being reformed. In every fatwa the Spiritual Administration for Moslems of the European part of the USSR and of Siberia emphasizes that it is guided by the Koran and the sayings of the Prophet Mohammed. "The strict and absolute fulfillment of the precepts of the Koran and of the teachings of our Prophet Mohammed has been and remains for us, orthodox Moslems, a sacred duty," it is stated in the fatwa of 18 June 1961. "Any deviation from these norms will be regarded as a gross violation of the laws of the Sura." The necessity for the explanations which are contained in the fatwas results from the fact, it is said, that the Spiritual Administration "is guided by the demands of every epoch and of every period regarding the judiciousness of rules of behavior."

The silent "cleaning up" of dogma from the absurd views which have been left over from the early Middle Ages is one of the widespread methods of modernization.

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Here is an interesting example. The Mufti of the Spiritual Administration Khiyalitdinov has published an abbreviated exposition of the Koran in the Tatar language under the title of "Islam and Cult" (Ufa, 1958). Here we do not have the myths of the Koran about the creation of the world and of man by God, the Fall of the first people, and the activities of the first prophets. The Koran's directions on the attitude toward the unfaithful, toward women, and toward private property and exploitation are also missing here, and there is no description of Heaven and Hell and of the threat of Judgment Day.

The content of the seven ayats of the first sura is basically set forth in a single sentence which praises Allah. Of the 286 poems of the second sura, the incomplete contents of only several of the first poems are taken. All of them carried through the idea that only the God-fearing believe in the fact that the Koran is from God and that it points to the way to truth. God-fearing people believe in Heaven and, by carrying out all of God's directions, they will get into Heaven, and not into Hell. All of the rest--ancient notions of the world, tales of the cruelties of God toward the unfaithful--is omitted. While he sets forth the basic duties of Moslems in detail, the author remains silent about the "jihad" --the Holy War against the "unfaithful." One of Allah's features--his punishing cruelty--is not noticeable in the mufti's book. Allah here is an absolutely perfect and good being and a just judge.

The mullahs state that Islam is an enemy of prejudices and that it has nothing in common with ignorant superstitions (this was said, for example, in one of his sermons by the Imam-Khatib of the Frunze mosque M. Dzheyenbekov). The mufti of the Spiritual Administration writes: "If someone becomes sick it is absolutely necessary to take measures for treatment, since our Prophet prescribed that when there is an illness a doctor must be seen. The treatment of sicknesses by means of senseless charms and talismans and various kinds of writing on paper and plates, or the making up of love talismans and a belief in their action is a belief in polytheism. This makes Allah angry."

In this way, the Moslem clergy tries either to ignore everything that does not correspond in the Koran to modern scientific knowledge or to present it as an allegory. Nowadays it would be difficult to convince believers that man is made of clay, that the dome of the sky is a solid, the vault of the seven heavens, and that earthquakes occur when the bull who carries the earth throws it from one horn to another. However, it is still possible to convince believers, especially those with a low cultural and educational level, of the fact that the Koran contains all of the wisdom of the world and that it is only necessary to know how to correctly understand it. This is the role which is taken by the clergy in order to preserve in the believers a feeling of reverence for Moslem dogma.

All of the aspects of Moslem dogma are undergoing reform. Here, for example, is how the concepts of "Heaven" and "Hell" are interpreted by certain representatives of the clergy. In reply to the question as to whether it is possible to believe in the existence of that Heaven and Hell with which the Koran frightens and entices the orthodox, it is sometimes possible to hear the following in discussions with the clergy: "Only ignoramuses understand the holy al-Koran in such a literal manner." Heaven and Hell, it turns out, are spiritual states of man. If some-

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one experiences bliss because of his good deeds he is in Heaven; if he is tormented and suffering he is in Hell.

It is known that Moslems are prohibited from using alcoholic beverages. In this connection, we have a curious reply from the mufti of the Spiritual Administration to the question: "Is it correct to have funeral rites for a deceased person who died from drunkenness?" The mufti said that the "use of alcohol or death from drunkenness still does not mean that a person became an unbeliever. For this reason, such rites are permitted. These funeral rites will become a prayer to God to forgive the sinner" (reply to the third question in the 22 December 1963 fatwa).

The clergy permits appreciable indulgences in the observance of the rites which are prescribed for Moslems. On 8 March 1957 the Central Asian Spiritual Administration for Moslems published a fatwa on the 30-day fast during the month of Ramadan. The fatwa contains an order to imam-khatibs to explain to believers who are employed in production that "the observance of the fast by them must not have a negative influence on the performance of their work. They have to be told that in necessary cases they can make use of the releases which are granted by the Shariat."

In the fatwa of 18 June 1961 the mufti of the Spiritual Administration for Moslems of the European Part of the USSR and of Siberia writes: "The performance of the fast during the month of Ramadan is not obligatory for adults in the following groups: nursing mothers, men and women workers employed in factories, plants, transportation, and agricultural production, and, finally, sick people." Every believer who has not performed the fast for the reasons indicated in the fatwa has to beg God to forgive his sin by means of performing philanthropic actions and prayer. By philanthropic actions is meant the giving of alms to the poor and the unfortunate; however, the mufti writes in the fatwa of 18 June 1961 that "there are absolutely no such people in our state and, therefore, to give charity to loafers and simulators is forbidden by the Shariat of Islam." The following conclusion is drawn from this: philanthropic actions are monetary gifts to the mosque and the Spiritual Administration. This kind of interpretation has been advantageous for the mosque. Now during the holidays of uraz-bairam collections have been increased by several times, and by means of these offerings the believers "cleanse their consciences."

The clergy is careful to see to it that services in the mosques are not a reason for lateness by believers to work and do not get in the way of work. For example, local mosques try to conduct holiday services a bit earlier, before the beginning of the work day. And the Friday and other daytime services are timed to the dinner break in production (from 1:00 to 2:00).

In the 10 May 1952 fatwa of the Central Asian Spiritual Administration for Moslems the arrangement of a festivity on the occasion of circumcision is recognized to be non-mandatory. This fatwa was later supplemented by an information notice on 24 January 1955 which explains that circumcision is not a fard, that is, a mandatory establishment for Moslems. The Spiritual Administration for Moslems in the European Part of the USSR and Siberia takes the same view of the rite of circumcision. To the question asked by believers--"would it be correct to marry people who have not undergone the rite of circumcision if such a person affirms that

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he is a Moslem?" --The Mufti answered: "It would be correct, for the absence of circumcision does not mean that a man is not a believer" (reply to the fifth question in the 1963 fatwa).

A fatwa of the Spiritual Administration for Moslems for the European Part of the USSR and of Siberia already regards blood sacrifice during the holiday of Kurban-bairam to be non-obligatory. The sacrifice can be made in the form of money.

The position of the Moslem clergy in the woman question has also changed. It is well known that during the early years of Soviet power the clergy opposed equal rights for women. In particular, the clergy was against the destruction of the parandja. According to incomplete data, in the Uzbek SSR in 1928 alone the mullahs instigated the murder of 270 women who had opposed their rightless situation and had thrown off the parandja. With time the mullahs became more conciliatory. They already proposed that women cover their faces only in the presence of men. Then the opinion became established that it was sufficient for a woman to cover only her head. And in a decree adopted on 27 October 1952 by the Second Plenum of the Central Asian Spiritual Administration for Moslems it is stated that "the going of women with an open face is, according to the Shariat, correct and possible." At the same time, the plenum decided to issue an explanation in which it is stated that women have the right to participate in public and state affairs and that those wishing to dissolve a marriage can do so not in accordance with the Shariat, but through the Civil Registry Office.

And here is a curious extract from a reply in the fatwa of 22 December 1963 of the Spiritual Administration for Moslems of the European Part of the USSR and of Siberia to the questions of believers. The Mufti writes: "As has become known to us, in certain places women and girls are being prohibited from going to evening courses. Our holy Prophet said: An endeavor to master knowledge is obligatory for men and for women. The prohibiting of women to go to educational institutions at any time of the day under the pretext that this contradicts Islam and the sayings of the Prophet is an unforgiveable sin before God."

Today, when most of the believers are women, in many places they have been permitted to go to the mosques together with men (although during the prayers they are located separate from the men so as not to distract them). The mullahs commission certain women to talk with female parishioners in order to strengthen their religious faith and see to it that they perform the essential religious requirements punctually.

Let us note one more interesting detail.

In Bashkiriya during the first years of Soviet power the clergy prohibited playing on the accordeon, mandolin, and guitar and prevented the development of the theater and youth entertainment in clubs. This, incidently, is reflected in the novel by G. Ibragimov "Young Hearts" and in the play by G. Kamal "Theater." Now, however, the clergy is a supporter of art and music. Let us turn to the replies of the Spiritual Administration for Moslems of the European Part of the USSR and of Siberia to the questions of believers in the fatwa of 22 December 1963. A believer asks: "Is it correct to buy and to keep at home musical instruments, for example, an accordeon, a phonograph, violin, radio, and so forth?"

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This is the reply: "All of these instruments are works of art invented on the basis of science and enlightenment. We have not seen any proof either in the Koran or in the sayings of the Prophet that their use is a sin. But the opposite proof exists. Once, after a holiday morning prayer our holy Prophet was sitting in the home of his close friend Abu Bakr. At that time Abu Bakr's wife Gaisha began to play on the kuray a national melody of that time. Abu Bakr grew angry with her and said: "Stop playing, show some shame in front of our Prophet." Then the Prophet said: "Every tribe has its joyous day. And for us today is also a great and joyous holiday." This saying, it seems, clearly proves the permissibility of the use of musical instruments. If it were a sin, the Prophet would not have permitted the playing."

What is the attitude of believers to the modernization of religion? The most fanatical section of the Moslems, especially amongst those who are literate and know the dogmas of Islam, is dissatisfied with the latest interpretations and does not agree with them, regarding the innovations as an arbitrary handling of religion. Some of them believe that all of these attempts at adaptation have been leading to the fact that "today real faith is being extinguished." It is for this reason that some believers withdraw from active participation in the life of the mosques and prefer to perform their personal obligations as a Moslem chiefly at home. But the great majority of believers simply does not notice that Islam has changed and accepts the fatwas of a modernizing character and the various new interpretations of a number of theses of Islam for the true word of religious authorities which must be carried out.

How should the process of modernization be appraised? It would be to the greatest extent untrue to think that the religious reforms have been caused solely by the calculating aspirations of a far-sighted clergy. Of course, it can not be denied that in certain cases the propaganda of religious ideology is engaged in by people who are prepared to preach anything at all.

We believe that the modernization of religion is an objective process caused by the tremendous changes in the social life of the country, the achievements of science and technology, and the higher cultural level of the masses. As a result of this, both believers and the clergy itself are unable to maintain their religious views in their previous form. They attempt to bring traditional religious ideas into correspondence with the changed conditions of life. Conversations with representatives of the clergy have convinced the authors of this article that many mullahs sincerely believe in the correctness of their modernized religious views and do not believe that they have departed from the fundamentals of dogma. Cases are well known in which the process of the rethinking of one's views goes so far that people (including representatives of the clergy) reject their former ideas and break with religion.

The fact that a substantial number of believers adhere to religious views in their modernized form has to be taken into account in our scientific atheist propaganda. Our argumentation has to be more convincing so that believers can become convinced of the correctness of the scientific materialist worldview.

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NATIONALITIES, RELIGION QUESTIONS SOLUTIONS SOUGHT

Moscow PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO ATEIZMA in Russian No. 10, 1970 pp 167-186

[Article by R.N. Nishanov: "The Solution of the Nationalities Question in the USSR and the Overcoming of Religion in the Light of Lenin's Teachings"]

[Text] The great Lenin left behind the richest ideological heritage. Soviet people and all progressive mankind turn again and again to Lenin's works, drawing from them strength and inspiration for the successful struggle for the construction of a communist society.

Among the very important and fundamental problems of the communist transformation of society, V.I. Lenin gave an exceptionally profound scientific substantiation to the positions of our Marxist party and state regarding religion and the church.

Proceeding from the dialectical principle of the interconnection, interaction, and inter-determination of social phenomena, V.I. Lenin pointed to the organic unity of the solution of the national, state, and ideological problems of a number of national outlying districts, including questions concerning atheistic activities by the party.

The nationalities question had always troubled the minds of the advanced people of many generations. However, under the system of exploitation it was impossible to solve it. The ruling classes strove to increase national oppression, to sow discord and hostility among peoples, to isolate them, and to oppose the interests of one nation to another so as to distract the attention of the workers from the joint class struggle. Bourgeois ideologists tried in every way to prove the racial and national inferiority of enslaved peoples. The thousand-year dominion of the exploiting classes sowed distrust, a pathological intolerance, and discord and hatred in the relations among peoples. Truly titanic efforts were needed to change this.

The national minorities were subjected to the largest extent to persecution and oppression by the stronger nations. National oppression in Tsarist Russia which,

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in Lenin's definition, was a "prison of peoples"¹ was especially severe and sophisticated. The non-Russian population of the national outlying districts was doomed to poverty, a lack of rights, and darkness. The representatives of the ruling classes scornfully called the inhabitants of these districts "aliens" and carried out a policy of victimization, oppression, and persecution.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution in the national outlying districts, particularly in Central Asia, the questions of national state construction and of economic and cultural transformations were closely interwoven with those of ideological and, first of all, atheistic work. Moreover, all of this had not a narrowly local, but an all-union significance and was closely connected with the construction of socialism in the USSR.

Socialism in our country could only be built over its entire territory, including those outlying districts which were the so-called domestic colonies of Tsarism. All of this demanded the involvement in socialist construction of Russia's national districts which had not gone through the capitalist stage of development.

The equalization of the economic, social, and cultural levels of all of the peoples of the USSR could only be achieved in one way--through the elimination of actual inequalities amongst peoples and through bringing backward peoples up to the level of advanced ones by unprecedented rates which are unattainable for capitalism.

One of V.I. Lenin's greatest services consists of the fact that he worked out and formulated a theory of the transition of previously backward countries to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development, and pointed out the class, economic, and cultural preconditions and paths for this transition.

In a number of articles on the nationalities question V.I. Lenin stated that after the victory of the socialist revolution the advanced socialist nations would give comprehensive economic and cultural aid to previously backward countries and a fraternal socialist commonwealth of free peoples would be really created such as the world had not yet known. He wrote: "We shall try to give these backward and oppressed, more than we, peoples 'disinterested cultural aid'... That is, to help them to move on to the use of machines, the easing of labor, and to democracy and to socialism."²

Putting Lenin's plan for the construction of socialism into practice, at the 10th, 12th, and other congresses our party worked out the concrete tasks in the field of nationalities policy.

What were the tasks?

The rallying and unification of the working masses of the eastern districts around the Soviets, and in the development and strengthening of Soviet national statehood in forms which corresponded with the national life conditions of the peoples of the Soviet East.

The rallying of all of the workers around the Communist Party on the basis of proletarian internationalism and of a resolute struggle against anti-party currents

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and groupings and manifestations of bourgeois nationalism, great power chauvinism, and bourgeois ideology.

The creation and development of a national industry in the districts by means of the organization of new and the shifting of old industrial enterprises to raw materials sources and consumption markets and the creation on this basis of an industrial proletariat as the chief bulwark of Soviet power.

The economic organization of the workers for the purpose of changing over from backward economic forms to higher ones--from nomadic life to settled land cultivation, from shop and home crafts to factory-plant production, and from small-scale farming to the planned public cultivation of the land.

The realization on a wide scale of a cultural revolution embracing all of the spheres of the spiritual life of a people and the creation of a culture national in form and socialist in content. The liberation of the women of the East and their active involvement in production and public political life was of paramount importance.

By destroying social inequality and exploitation the Great October Socialist Revolution at the same time eliminated national inequality and all forms of national oppression. The victory of the socialist method of production was the basis for the correct solution of the nationalities question in the USSR, for the elimination of national distrust and national narrow-mindedness, and for the strengthening of the friendship and fraternity of Soviet peoples.

The historical experience of the peoples of Uzbekistan, like that of any other Soviet republic, is one of the proofs of the correctness and vitality of the theses of Marxist-Leninist theory and of the CPSU Program on the nationalities question.

Socialism eliminated economic and cultural backwardness in previously oppressed nations. The peoples of the backward districts of former Tsarist Russia put an end once and for all to their patriarchal-feudal system and, bypassing the capitalist stage of development, took the path of socialism and formed into socialist nations. This is the way, for example, the Uzbek, Turkmen, and other nations arose.

During the years of Soviet power striking changes have occurred in all of the fields of the economic, public political, and cultural life of the national districts of Russia. This can be clearly seen in the example of the Uzbek SSR.

Uzbekistan has become a sovereign Soviet republic with solidly established socialist production relations. In the past industry was represented here only by several dozen semi-home craft enterprises, while today this is a republic with a powerful industry which includes more than 100 branches of industry and more than 1,200 large enterprises.

Uzbekistan has become the basic cotton base of the Soviet Union. For four years in a row the republic has been giving the country more than four million tons of "white gold," which comprises more than two-thirds of the all-union production

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of this highly valuable raw material. In addition to cotton, in 1966 Uzbekistan provided 53 percent of the silk cocoons, 92 percent of the kenaf, 35 percent of the astrakhan, and 17.5 percent of the rice produced in the country.

Uzbekistan's share in the USSR economy for the production of industrial output is also substantial. According to the data for 1966, the republic occupies first place in the country for the production of cotton harvesters, cotton tractor sowers, pile cleaners, and cotton ginning equipment; second place for the production of cotton textile fabrics; third place for the production of vegetable oil; and fourth place for the production of electric energy, coal mining, and the production of mineral fertilizers and cement. There is not a corner in the country where Uzbekistan's output is not used. And there is not a republic in the USSR whose workers would not make gifts to Uzbekistan of the fruits of their labor.

The Soviet peoples are united by their efforts in economic construction. Together they create irrigation complexes and power systems, build electric power stations and water reservoirs, construct canals, petroleum and gas pipelines, and railroads and highways, and open up new lands. Shoulder to shoulder, the peoples of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan built the Great Fergana Canal, developed the Vakhsh Valley, and erected the Farkhad and Kayrakkum hydro-electric power stations. In fraternal collaboration the workers of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan created the large Lake Collector which made it possible to drain hundreds of thousands of hectares of swampy lands on the territory of both republics. The workers of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan and the representatives of many other nationalities of the country are participating in the development of the Golodnaya Steppe. The world's largest gas pipelines--Bukhara-Ural and Central Asia-Center--have been laid through the efforts of the workers of many republics.

The borders of the union republics are amended for the purpose of making more efficient use of natural resources and in the interests of international tasks. In 1959, on the basis of a mutual agreement, the Uzbek SSR gave Tajikistan 50,500 hectares of land in the Golodnaya Steppe, and in 1956 the Kazakh SSR gave Uzbekistan Bostandykskiy Rayon. In January 1963 the Kazakh people performed still another notable act, giving the Uzbek SSR more than 3,000,000 hectares of arable and pasture lands bordering on the Uzbek Republic and the kolkhozes and sovkhoses located on them. Only peoples educated in the ideas of internationalism and in the spirit of Leninist friendship and fraternity can act like this.

Their participation in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in Tashkent was a vivid demonstration of the fidelity of the Soviet peoples to the ideas of indissoluble friendship and proletarian internationalism. From every corner of the Soviet Union reports came of a readiness to help Tashkent. A month had not passed since the first destructive underground shock, when construction trains from the fraternal republics and trains containing construction materials, equipment, and machinery began to arrive in the capital of Uzbekistan. Construction workers from Moscow, Leningrad, and many other cities of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kirghizistan, and Turkmenistan took part in the creation of the new Tashkent. In a short period of time Tashkent was reborn from its ruins and acquired a completely new look. A little more time will pass and

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and it will become one of the most beautiful cities in the country. Tashkent will stand forever as a magnificent monument which personifies the power of the Leninist friendship of the Soviet people.

The culture of the Uzbek people, national in form and socialist in content, is flourishing. Every socialist nation selects from the cultures of other peoples everything that is best and acceptable for it, absorbs progressive forms, and transforms them into a component part of its own natural culture. This, for example, is how there appeared in the culture of the Uzbek socialist nation the genres of the novel, story, essay, ballet, opera, choral and multi-voice singing, symphonic music, and cinematography which in the past the Uzbek people did not have.

The contemporary Uzbek reader is able to read in his native language the works of many writers from the fraternal republics. All of the best has been published in the Uzbek language that was created by Pushkin and Gogol', Tolstoy and Gor'kiy, Sholokhov and Fedin, Shevchenko and Rustaveli, Ayni and Abay Kunanbayev, Kerabayev and Aytmatov, Raynis and Yakub Kolas, Mirzo Tursun-zade, and many other masters of literature. Plays and musical works which have been created by the writers and artists of the fraternal peoples are successfully produced in Uzbek theaters. Every year the "Uzbekfil'm" film studio dubs into the Uzbek language a large number of films released by the studios of Moscow, Leningrad, and the union republics. This helps the Uzbek people to gain a knowledge of the treasures of world culture and enriches its spiritual life. In their turn, the works of Uzbek writers, composers, and film makers are extensively translated and dubbed into Russian and the languages of the other peoples of the USSR and become the property of all of the socialist nations.

The traditional reciprocal ten-day period and weeks of literature and art play a great role in the development of the cultures of the peoples of the USSR and in their mutual enrichment. They develop into a vivid demonstration of the indisruptible friendship of the Soviet peoples and into a review of their achievements in economic and cultural construction.

The process of the coming together and mutual enrichment of the cultures of the Soviet peoples, their international growing together, is closely connected with such an important form of social intercourse as language. All languages in the USSR have equal rights. Every person may speak and bring up and educate his children in any language.

The Russian language is one of the most widespread and richest languages of the world. It serves as a very important means of inter-national intercourse and cooperation and of providing each nation with access to the cultural achievements of all of the peoples of the USSR and to world culture. V.I. Lenin emphasized the progressive character of the voluntary study of the Russian language by non-Russian peoples. He wrote: "...we, of course, are in favor of having every inhabitant of Russia have the opportunity to study the great Russian language.

There is only one thing we do not want: the element of coercion."³

This Leninist instruction has been embodied in life. Soviet peoples of all nationalities study the Russian language voluntarily and lovingly, regarding it as their second native language.

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The social structure of the Uzbek people changed in a fundamental way during the process of socialist construction. An Uzbek socialist nation was formed. A modern advanced working class has arisen, a kolkhoz peasantry has taken shape, a national intelligentsia has formed, and the everyday lifestyle of people has changed. The genuine revolution which has occurred in the minds of millions of workers has been a remarkable victory for Leninist nationalities policy. Socialist ideology has been victorious fully and completely.

The creation of the material and technical base of communism leads to the even closer solidarity of the Soviet peoples and to the unification of their efforts in the struggle for a further growth of their international economy. The composition of the population becomes more multi-national and, then, international, which intensifies the direct economic, political, and cultural intercourse of the different nations which are united together by a single goal, ideology, and by the leadership of a single multi-national party of internationalist communists. All of this leads to a further growth of the spiritual community of the workers of the different nations and to the formation of international features in their social psychology.

A struggle against the survivals of the past in the consciousness of people and, above all, against the ideology of Islam was a component part of the solution of the nationalities question in Central Asia.

The difficulties which arose in the struggle against religious survivals and in the normal process of the departure of believers from religion during the period of socialist construction in the Uzbek republic were connected with the following factors:

the many centuries of dominion in pre-revolutionary Uzbekistan of the feudal method of production, economic, cultural, and daily life backwardness, and the retention of the most backward forms of class enslavement and oppression;

the social structure of the region's population in which the basic mass was the peasantry; the almost complete illiteracy of the broad strata of the popular masses. As V.I. Lenin pointed out, "it is impossible to build a communist society in an illiterate country;"⁴

the enslaved condition of women and their isolation from public political, production, and cultural life. The backwardness and oppressed condition of women showed itself in a blind reverence for the dogmas of religion and for the extremely reactionary norms of the Shariat;

the reactionary role of the Moslem clergy in social, political, and cultural life;

the complex interweaving of orthodox Islam with pre-Islamic beliefs, rites, and customs.

The ideology of Islam had a decisive role in the republics of Central Asia. The Moslem religion regulated not only all of social and political life, but also embraced all of the aspects of the daily life of the people: it told them how they

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must pray and work and provided a family code which included not only the legal and everyday relationships between family members, but also the most intimate aspects of the life of spouses. All of this was instilled in the psychology of the people over a period of centuries, established itself in its daily life, and became interwoven with national customs.

The religion of Islam has attempted and continues to attempt to play the role of an expressor of national customs and traditions and enkindles feelings of national exclusiveness, and nationalism frequently hides behind a religious form. We have here a direct endeavor to groundlessly identify the concept of "Moslem" with national membership.

It is not accidental that V.I. Lenin demanded a more careful and attentive approach in performing atheistic educational work with peoples who professed the Moslem religion. At one time it was only necessary to make a criticism of the Moslem clergy and it would begin screaming about national oppression and the infringement of national interests, skillfully identifying religious concepts and national ones.

V.I. Lenin demanded maximum attention and carefulness in the nationalities question in order to overcome the distrust of previously oppressed nations for the workers of the nation which had oppressed them; in Central Asia this applied in full measure to overcoming religion. He recommended that anti-religious propaganda be conducted in the republics with a Moslem population with regard to local conditions. This required from local party organizations that in performing anti-religious propaganda they skillfully separate genuinely national customs and traditions from religious features.

However, there were definite difficulties here. The struggle against religion in Central Asia had not only an educational but also a political character with respect to the Moslem clergy which with its reactionary activities violated revolutionary laws and openly opposed all measures by the Communist Party for the socialist transformation of society. Local party organizations had to skillfully unmask the alliance between the Moslem clergy and such reactionary political currents as Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism. It is not accidental that when he became acquainted on 13 June 1920 with a draft decision of the CC on the tasks of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in Turkestan, V.I. Lenin proposed that "special work be done on developing methods of struggle against the clergy and Pan-Islamism and against the bourgeois nationalist movement...."⁵

V.I. Lenin sharply condemned the attempt by the national deviationists to justify Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism. As is known, the national deviationists led by T.R. Ryskulov attempt to revive the nationalistic theses according to which reactionary Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism had allegedly lost all of their nurturing soil under the conditions of Soviet Turkestan.

Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism not only gave political nourishment to Islamic religion, but were also a definite ideology. For this reason, a resolute struggle against the reactionary ideology of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism was of great importance for unmasking the essence of the religion of Islam.

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Before the revolution the Tsarist government which had turned Central Asia into a colony and which conducted a policy of Russification in a number of aspects of the life of its peoples did not touch upon the questions of the religion of Islam. In Central Asia the Orthodox Church adhered to a policy of comprehensive support for the Moslem clergy in order to keep the people obedient and cooperate with the local feudalists and bais who in essence were the executors of the Tsarist administration's will and its faithful accomplices. It is for this reason that the Turkestan governor-generals who were Christians ordered the Moslem population under the threat of severe punishment to strictly observe Islam and to follow the orders of the clergy in everything.

After the October Revolution the situation changed in a fundamental way. Soviet power which was interested in the education of the people, in the development of science, and in effecting a cultural revolution could not but clash with the reactionary Islamic religion.

V.I. Lenin called especial attention to the pursuit of flexible tactics by the communists of Turkestan under such difficult conditions. Speaking at the Eight Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1919, he said; "What then can we do with such peoples as the Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Turkmen who to this day are under the influence of their mullahs? After long experience with priests, our population in Russia helped us to overthrow them.... Can we go to these peoples and say: "We will get rid of your exploiters"? We cannot do this because they are completely under the subordination of their mullahs. Here we have to wait for the development of a given nation, for the differentiation of the proletariat from bourgeois elements which is inevitable."⁶

V.I. Lenin warned against a blind and mechanical copying of the tactics and politics of the Russian communists in the national districts where the conditions were essentially different from the conditions of Central Russia. He condemned attempts to carry out revolutionary transformations which had not yet reached the point of readiness in the backward districts and opposed "leftist" excesses in this question.

An address by the Council of People's Commissars "To All Moslem Workers of Russia and the East" stated: "Henceforth your beliefs and customs and your national and cultural institutions are declared to be free and inviolable. Arrange your national life freely and without hindrance. You have the right to do so. Know that your rights, like the rights of all of the peoples of Russia, are protected by the full might of the revolution and its organs, the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies."⁷

Among the specific characteristics of the situation in Central Asia one must list the fact that, in contrast to Central Russia, in Central Asia before the October Revolution the necessary preconditions for the dissemination of atheism did not exist. Due to the absence of an industrial proletariat, there did not exist here a more or less powerful and influential revolutionary social democracy which would have been able to conduct effective work among the Moslem workers.

Whereas in Central Russia atheistic ideas became increasingly widespread among the proletariat of the city and the village, in the national republics they could not

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be disseminated. The proletariat, when it came to power, rapidly eliminated the remnants of the Middle Ages.

Even before the revolution a majority of the Russian workers and the advanced section of the peasantry saw in the clergy faithful accomplices of autocracy, the bourgeoisie, and the land owners. In the national republics such views were extremely weak, although atheistic ideas and free thought existed in the works of the progressive thinkers of the people of Central Asia and, in particular, of the Uzbek people--Beruni, Farabi, Navoi, Mukumi, Furkata, Khamzy, and others.

After the October Revolution, when the reactionary part of the clergy allied itself with the Basmach movement and came out against land and water reform, the liberation of women, and industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, atheistic ideas became widespread.

Decisions by the party which were adopted during the first years of Soviet power were of great importance in the struggle against religion and religious survivals in everyday life. They include, in particular, the political directive "Toward Work Among the Peoples of the East" which was adopted on 21 February 1920 by the CC of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the resolution of the 12th Party Congress "On the Organization of Anti-Religious Agitation and Propaganda," and others.

Guiding themselves by the instructions of V.I.Lenin to the effect that a successful struggle against the clergy and for the minds of the popular masses demanded above all the unmasking of the connection between the class interests and class organizations of the contemporary bourgeoisie and the organizations of religious institutions and religious propaganda,⁸ the communists of the Turkestan directed especial attention toward unmasking the class essence of the Moslem clergy and of those social strata whose interests it represented. In 1923 the agitation and propaganda section of the CC of the Communist Party of Turkestan distributed to all party cells the theses "On Anti-Religious Propaganda in Turkestan." On the basis of a large amount of factual material, the class roots of the Moslem religion were revealed in the theses. Later a letter was sent to the localities--"On the Struggle With Ishanism and Other Religious Currents" --in which the reactionary essence of Ishanism was unmasked and the real nature of the Khodzhey and anti-popular activities of the Maddakhs was explained.

In time the struggle against religious prejudices took on a mass character. The special conditions under which the communists of Central Asia had to wage their struggle against religious prejudices dictated specific methods. Thus, beginning with the end of 1925 a cycle of natural scientific lectures with an anti-religious bent was given in Tashkent.

Party and government workers had to show especial vigilance with the clergy which used every opportunity for religious agitation. Thus, in August 1927 there was a powerful earthquake in Khodzhent and there were deaths. The clergy hastened to declare this earthquake to be a "payment for lack of faith." Public lectures and reports explaining the character and nature of an earthquake were organized.

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At the end of the 1920's and the beginning of the 1930's wide use for atheistic propaganda at the residences of workers was made of the red chaykhany /teahouses/ which in Uzbekistan were not only a place for spending leisure time after the workday, but also the place where lively discussions on various topics were held. Taking account of this, local party organizations began to use the chaykhany for loud readings of newspapers and magazines and for discussions on natural scientific topics which forced the formation of a materialist worldview. Visual agitation was organized especially successfully in the chaykhany.

Work in the mosques was one of the specific forms of the agitation and propaganda work of local party organizations. The mosques played a much larger role in the life of the Moslems than houses of prayer. After the divine services there were often meetings here, various questions were discussed, and so-called local public opinion was formed. In view of this, during the first years of Soviet power party and government workers came to the mosques so as to participate in the discussions there and explain the policies of the Communist Party and of Soviet power. Thus, in 1920 in a mosque in Bukhara a large meeting was held at which around 6,000 people were present. V.V. Kuybyshev and workers from the "Red East" agitation train spoke at the meeting and explained the tasks of Soviet construction in Turkestan and the attitude of the party and Soviet state toward religion.

We know that the clergy connected most of the national customs, traditions, and holidays of the Central Asian peoples with the Koran. In this connection, the board of the People's Commissariat of Nationalities of the Turkmen Republic which carried out the party's nationalities program found it to be very desirable to establish, in addition to the existing religious holidays, national and national-revolutionary holidays of the native peoples of the Turkmen Republic. Many workers began to take greater part in revolutionary holidays which soon became genuinely mass holidays. At the same time, the influence of religious holidays decreased.

Party organizations increased their work during the month of Ramadan--the long Moslem fast. Long before the onset of Ramadan the local party organizations together with associations of the poor outfitted the red chaykhanys. During the holiday crowded meetings took place at which there were discussions of the political and economic measures of Soviet power and of local problems.

Anti-religious work which was interesting in form was conducted in Uzbekistan. In Central Asia there was the widespread institution of the so-called gap--traditional men's clubs in which in the past religious books were sometimes read and various questions of public and family life were discussed. From the very first days of Soviet power the "gap" began to be used for anti-religious propaganda and for unmasking reactionary customs and their concrete carriers.

There were also certain shortcomings in the anti-religious work in Uzbekistan. Thus, in 1919 the clergy's lands were confiscated, Shariat courts were prohibited, and religious schools--maktaby were eliminated. As life showed, these measures were premature, and on 14 October 1921 the CC of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted a decree in accordance with which the Shariat courts and religious schools were restored in Turkestan and the lands were partially re-

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turned. Once again the correctness of V.I. Lenin's instructions regarding the impermissibility of haste and administrative methods in solving a number of problems in the national districts was confirmed. Other forms, chiefly persuasion, were necessary here.

In March 1923 the communists of Khodzhent conducted an "education week" during which public examinations for the pupils of the old and new schools were organized. After one of the exams on the Uzbek and Russian languages which took place on the premises of the Dzhami mosque the teachers of the religious schools were compelled to admit their defeat. Frequently the local population appealed to the People's Commissariat of Education to eliminate the religious schools. Such examinations were held repeatedly and were very effective. The same fate overtook the Shariat courts which had lost their influence and finished their activities towards 1928. When the workers of the districts had begun to build a socialist economy the Kaziyskiy court with its Shariat law became a foreign body in the system of social relations. At the end of the 1920's the conditions ripened for the confiscation of the clergy's lands which came to 35,000 hectares. In this way the economic base of the Moslem clergy was undermined.

In 1925-1930 in Uzbekistan a number of decisions were adopted by party congresses and CC Plenums on the struggle against religion, conferences were called, unions of atheists were organized, the extensive publication of atheistic literature was begun, and mass meetings and debates and other measures were conducted aimed at unmasking the reactionary activities of the Moslem clergy and at the complete liberation of ordinary Moslems from the influence of religion. The rapid development of an atheistic movement in the national republics began. Of great importance was a special decision of the 12th Plenum of the Central Asian Bureau of the CC of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in January 1927 which discussed the question of the struggle against the Moslem clergy. All of these decisions and instructions were reinforced by practical deeds.

Party organizations began to give more attention to the training and retraining of atheistic cadres. In Uzbekistan anti-religious universities and faculties and divisions at vuzes were opened, and seminars, courses, and circles were created.

During the course of the industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture, and the carrying out of the cultural revolution the collapse of the economic, social, and domestic-family foundations of Islam took place. The solution of the nationalities question in the USSR on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism united all of the peoples of our homeland into a single fraternal family. The anti-popular and anti-humane idea of the "national exclusiveness" of Mohammedanism and of the peoples of Islam crashed to the ground.

In the republics of Central Asia, as in the country as a whole, religious ideology was bankrupted and the prestige of religion and the clergy fell. The victory of the materialists and scientific worldview over the reactionary ideology of Islam became a fact. The peoples of Central Asia achieved enormous successes in the field of science and culture; they are equipped with Marxist-Leninist ideology, and their psychology is collectivist, based not on religious ethics, but on the principles of the moral code of the builder of communism.

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However, it would be premature to regard all of the tasks in the field of the struggle against religion as being accomplished. The facts show that clergy, including the Moslem clergy, is even today struggling not only for the preservation, but also for the expansion of its influence.

In the republics of Central Asia there are instances of the observance of certain religious rites at the time of marriages, the birth of a child, and funerals, the income of certain mosques has been increasing, there are unregistered Moslem associations, and in certain places wandering mullahs and ishanys are active. There are cases of the worship of so-called Holy Places and of various kinds of Mazaram. Various kinds of charlatans and religious crack pots are active at the "Holy Places."

To this day individual representatives of the intelligentsia observe religious rites and customs which have outlived themselves. Thus, in 1968 in Andrizhanskaya Oblast among the performers of various religious rites there were 70 workers from public education agencies, 62 students, and 10 doctors. There are also cases when individual communists show a tolerant attitude toward churchmen and even themselves sometimes observe religious rites.

After discussing the question of the state of and measures to improve scientific atheistic propaganda in the republic, the CC of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan condemned the facts and demanded from party organizations a strict observance by all communists of the party Charter. The Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR adopted a special decree: "On Intensifying the Struggle Against Violations of the Soviet Laws on Cults."

At the present time, when the profound revolutionary changes in the life of society and the achievements of science have undermined the foundations of religion, the clergy has been compelled to work with especial zealousness on "cleaning it up." They try to "prove" that religion does not contradict modern scientific, moral, and social progress and they strive to make its broken down dogmas up to date.

Striving to preserve its influence on the masses, especially on the youth, the Moslem clergy resorts to various kinds of tricks. Attempts are made to temporarily get rid of the most reactionary slogans of Islam and even to find something in common between them and communist ideals. Religious ideologists are performing a large amount of work to modernize the dogma of Islam, are adapting its ideology and tactics to the spirit of the time, are making use of the humane principles of Soviet law on cults, and are making a careful study of the needs and interests of believing Moslems.

The modernistic-minded Moslem clergy, like its like-minded colleagues from the camp of Christian theologians and bourgeois religious scholars, assert that religion has always been and continues to be a source of morality. Proceeding from this, the muftis in their fatwas, the imam-khatybs in their khudbys, and the mullahs in their sermons place the chief emphasis on the moral commandments of Islam (be honest, do not commit adultery, work honestly, respect your elders, be patient and humble, do not resist evil, and so forth). Speculating with these moral precepts which are taken from the arsenal of general human morality and have been

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treated by religion, the Moslem clergy tries to preserve its influence on believers.

The work experience of the party organizations of Uzbekistan has shown that the scientific worldview has become widespread among the masses. Never before in the history of mankind has it been proven with such fullness and clearness, as has been the case in the history of the peoples of our country, that the social and personal life of an individual does not need religious sanctification and sanctions, but, on the contrary, liberation from this speeds up social progress.

The work of the Communist Party and Soviet state convincingly testifies to the great importance for social development of the mass dissemination of scientific and political knowledge and the propaganda of an atheistic and materialist worldview.

The Moslem clergy today does not openly come out against the ideas of internationalism and of the friendship of peoples, seeing in that an indestructible and unshakeable force. However, religious prejudices continue to remain to one degree or another a reason for throwbacks to nationalism which manifest themselves in localism and national narrow-mindedness. Religious survivals hinder the growth of the socialist homogeneity of nations, the development of common and international features in the spiritual makeup of socialist nations, and a profound perception by all Soviet citizens of the common nature of their goals--the construction of communism.

The current period of the struggle against religious ideology is connected with the accomplishment of the tasks of the complete overcoming of nationalist and religious survivals and the education of all Soviet people in the spirit of internationalism and in the spirit of a materialist worldview. This presupposes the wide development of a struggle against religious prejudices and the creation of a deeply thought out system in the organization of scientific atheistic propaganda among the population.

In Uzbekistan a large amount of work is being conducted on the atheistic education of the workers. A number of measures have been carried out to strengthen scientific atheistic propaganda among the population, stricter control has been established over the activities of churchmen, mullahs, and the unofficial clergy and over their observance of Soviet laws on religious cults, and especial attention is devoted to the training and retraining of cadres of atheists.

In view of the fact that most of the traditions, customs, and holidays of the native population had a religious coloring, the republic's party organizations attribute enormous importance to celebrating new, civic customs and rituals.

Soviet reality has given rise to new traditions in family and domestic relations. New civic rituals are entering into life. In Uzbekistan it has become a tradition to hold komsomol-youth marriages and to make presentations of birth certificates and worker and mechanization specialists documents; the number of international marriages is increasing.

The introduction of new traditions is frequently discussed at party committees and at the ispolkoms of local Soviets. In Uzbekistan councils on the introduction of

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new rituals and customs and on raising the cultural level of people, especially of the rural population, operate on a voluntary basis. Especial attention is given on improving atheistic education at places of residence and among students and pupils.

Party organizations enlist teachers and the party, government, and Komsomol aktiv in participating in the atheistic education of the population at places of residence. The assignment of communists to large residential buildings and dormitories for the performance of atheistic work is practiced. In cities and workers' settlements atheistic propaganda is conducted by Makhallin committees. All of this provides positive results.

Work connected with the international education of the workers promotes the formation of an atheistic worldview. These purposes are served by the evenings of international friendship, the ten-day periods of fraternal cultures, and the exchange of radio and television broadcasts which are held in the republic.

Definite experience has been gained by the republic "Znaniye" Society which successfully makes use of such forms of work as lecture cycles on atheism, patronage over schools of scientific atheism, meetings with scientists and engineers, question and answer evenings, oral magazines, traveling planteteriums, the organization of atheist houses and corners and of universities of scientific atheistic propaganda. Along with oral propaganda, wide use is made in the republic of printed and graphic scientific atheistic propaganda. Movie houses and theaters and radio and television are used for the purpose of strengthening atheistic education.

The historical experience of the USSR is the property of all Marxist-Leninist parties and all peoples which have taken the path of the construction of socialism. The program of struggle for the construction of communism in our country is the general property of mankind, for Marxism-Leninism and its practical realization is the international duty of all workers and of all of the fraternal communist and workers' parties.

The 23th CPSU Congress once again confirmed the enormous importance of the great transforming force of the Marxist-Leninist teachings and of the practical solution of the nationalities question in the USSR. At the present time enormous social transformations are being carried out in a number of Asian and African countries. The processes of the renewal of social and economic life in the different countries are occurring in different ways. The countries which are taking the path of a struggle for national freedom and independence, for the creation of national economies, and for democratic transformations and spiritual liberation are making their contribution to the movement toward social progress.

The power of socialism is great and the ranks of our friends are growing. And the stronger the world socialist system becomes, the more maliciously our enemies attack socialism. Under these conditions it is the duty of all honest scholars to unmask all forms of anti-scientific ideology and to wage an active and aggressive struggle against the idealistic and religious worldview.

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FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 25, p 66.
2. Ibid, Vol. 30, p 120.
3. Ibid, Vol. 24, p 295.
4. Ibid, Vol. 41, p 315.
5. Ibid, Vol. 41, p 436.
6. Ibid, Vol. 38, pp 158-159.
7. "The Formation of the USSR." A Collection of Documents. 1917-1924, Moscow-Leningrad, 1949, pp 21-22.
8. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol. 17, pp 415-126.

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SOCIALIST NATIONS' ROLE IN OVERCOMING VESTIGES OF ISLAM

Moscow PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO ATEIZMA, in Russian No 14, 1973 pp 23-40

[Article by I.M. Dzhabbarov: "The Coming Together of the Socialist Nations and Its Role in Overcoming the Survivals of Islam in Everyday Life"]

[Text] In a developed socialist society two interconnected progressive tendencies actively manifest themselves in the nationalities question: there occurs a flourishing of the socialist nations and peoples and a rapid growth of all of the aspects of their economic, political, cultural, and social lives, and, at the same time, on the basis of proletarian internationalism and as a result of an intensification of the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of the different national cultures and of fraternal mutual assistance and friendship there occurs a coming together of nations and peoples. "Socialism," V.I. Lenin wrote, "by organizing production without class oppression and by ensuring the well-being of all of the members of the state thereby provides a full amplitude for the 'sympathies' of the population and precisely because of this facilitates and enormously accelerates the drawing together and merging of nations."¹ Both tendencies operate, develop, and intensify at the same time, since they are two aspects of one and the same process. Thanks to the realization of Lenin's nationalities policy in the USSR, in a brief historical period not only was a gigantic leap accomplished in the economic and cultural development of the previously backward and oppressed peoples of Tsarist Russia, but a new historical community of people has taken shape--the Soviet people.

The basis of the formation of the new historical community in the economic field was the elimination of private property over the implements and means of production, the establishment of socialist public ownership and of a socialist economic system, the elimination of the actual inequality of peoples, and the complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR; in the political field--the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the elimination of exploiting classes, the solidification of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and the unification of the Soviet republics to a single union state--the USSR; and in the ideological field--the victory of the Marxist-Leninist worldview and of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the ideological defeat of great power chauvinism and local bourgeois nationalism. "On the basis of a community of economic and social interests," it is stated in the Theses of the CC CPSU "Fifty

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Years of the Great October Socialist Revolution," "in the socialist nations international features are actively developing and the general Soviet traditions of the builders of communism are being established. A unity of goals and of Marxist-Leninist ideology, devotion to the cause of communism, a respect for national dignity, and friendship and fraternity--these are the characteristic features of the workers of our single and, at the same time, multi-national socialist society."²

The Soviet people as an international community of socialist nations and peoples which has a single socialist fatherland, a single all-union socialist state, a common social structure, a single ideology, and common goals and interests represents a specific social phenomenon which is characteristic of the new communist socio-economic formation which arose at the first stage of its development.

Since it is a community of people at higher level than a national community, it has absorbed all of the best and most progressive from every nation and people which inhabits our country, has been enriched with all of the achievements of general human culture, and has created its own way of life which is characteristic only of Soviet people. Having appeared on the basis of the common nature of the socio-economic, political, and ideological interests and goals of the nations and peoples of our country the Soviet way of life exercises an important influence on the development of specific national features, including national everyday life, greatly enriching and supplementing them.

The process of the establishment of international and common Soviet features in the culture and life of the socialist nations occurs on the basis of continuity and of the use of all that is positive and progressive in the specifically national.

The changes in national life and culture which arise as a result of the increased exchange of material and spiritual riches between nations and peoples strengthen the international and the national. The strengthening of the international and general Soviet in the contemporary life of the individual nations does not decrease the role of national characteristics, but leads to their leveling off and smoothing out. Thanks to the Soviet way of life, the international and the national is established with the retention of the most important and typical features of the national. Thus, in the process of the formation and functioning of the new historical community of people in each Soviet socialist nation and people international and common Soviet features in the material and spiritual aspects of their culture and everyday life are established.

A very important characteristic of this process is the fact that it is connected with the freeing of society from all kinds of religious influence. As research shows, a further development of the Soviet way of life and the reorganization of the everyday life of the Soviet people on a communist basis serves as an active factor promoting an intensification of the secularization of the entire mode of life and of family and domestic relations. Even such stable elements of everyday life as housing, clothing, food, family and marriage relations and rites and rituals, when they become subjected to the influence of the process of internationalization and of the Soviet way of life, gradually become free of religious survivals. As a result of the internationalization of social life and of culture

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and everyday life there occurs a substantial weakening of the connections and then a complete break between the religious and the national moments, which can be observed on the example of the peoples of the Soviet East, particularly Uzbekistan.

The practice of socialist construction and the experience of the transition by the peoples of the Soviet East to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development, has proven that religion, contrary to the assertions of bourgeois ideologists, not only does not express the interests of national community, but, on the contrary, promotes a strengthening of nationalistic tendencies and is a brake upon the social development of a nation. These tendencies manifested themselves clearly during the first years of Soviet power in Central Asia when the party was compelled to wage an implacable struggle against Pan-Islamism, Pan-Turkism, and other varieties of bourgeois nationalism.

In the current ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism bourgeois ideologists make wide use of the religious forms of philosophy and of certain traditional social and everyday institutions which are most frequently given out to be national institutions.

The national characteristics of everyday life, as is known, have a very stable character and manifest themselves in the national psychology of peoples and in the relationships of people. Pursuing anti-communist ends, the defenders of imperialism try in vain to "scientifically" validate the identity between a religious community of values and national and religious psychology--national psychological and everyday relationships--and thereby prepare the soil for the propaganda of bourgeois nationalism among the peoples of the Soviet East.

Distorting the essence of atheistic propaganda in our country, Walter Kolarz, a vehement preacher of anti-communism, tries to prove that "nationality and religion are almost identical in the eastern provinces of the Russian Empire, as everywhere in the East," and therefore "the struggle against religion in these territories was a struggle against national culture and also national traditions."³

Of course, many national traditions in the past (and some now also) appeared in a religious form, but bourgeois ideologists because of the faultiness of their methodological principles are unable to draw a separating line between the national and the religious. Metaphysically carrying over to socialism the characteristics of the interaction between the national and the religious which took shape under the conditions of feudalism, they attempt to discredit the nationalities policy of the CPSU in Central Asia. It is difficult for them to understand that the interaction between the religious and the national moments during different historical periods has its own specific characteristics. It is determined by the content and functions of the basic economic and political social structures, and also by the position and development of each of the two above-mentioned moments.

Bourgeois ideologists would like to return their pre-revolutionary past to the peoples of Central Asia and to establish again the complete dominion of Islam in their social and family lives. Very characteristic in this respect is the collection "The Current Situation of Islam in Russia" which was published in Istanbul

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in 1966 by the so-called "Society of West European Moslems."⁴ The authors of this anti-Soviet book believe that "the principle of red ideology with respect to religion consists in denying it and recognizing atheism as the state religion."⁵ In their opinion, Islam for the Central Asian peoples allegedly is an inalienable part of their national life. "Religion and the national customs and traditions of the Turkestan (that is, Central Asian--I.D.) Moslems are so interwoven and interconnected, that attempts to divide them will be unsuccessful.... Islam in Turkestan serves as a national fortress which defends the Turkestans against Sovietization and Russification."⁶ In the opinion of the authors, the vitality of religious-national and everyday rites and customs as a form of the manifestation of nationalism is a characteristic property of all of Turkestan.⁷

However, these religious idealistic and nationalistic conceptions of the defenders of Islam cannot withstand criticism. Thanks to the rapid development of the economies and cultures of the peoples of Central Asia and their unprecedented social progress, there is occurring not only a natural secularization of all society, but also a gradual liberation of national elements from their connection with religion, which is weakening at the same time both religious ideology and nationalism. Moreover, the dying away of Islam and of its attributes promotes the development of the nation and the enrichment of its life and culture and opens the way to social progress for previously oppressed peoples.

Bourgeois ideologists understand that nationalism and religion are two ideological phenomena which are capable of playing a substantial role in social and political processes and in the life and culture of peoples. Substituting for the concept of the "coming together" of nations the concepts of "blending," "dissolution," and "Russification," they are conducting a ferocious attack against the basic principles of Soviet nationalities policy and against the theory and practice of national relations in our country.

Especial activeness is shown in this direction by the "Committee for the Unity of National Turkestan" which was created by the Nazis in 1942 and which has its own magazine, MILI TYURKISTAN. From issue to issue this magazine preaches the ideas of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism which were long ago rejected by life itself and consigned to oblivion. Advancing the far from new anti-national conception of the "unification" of all of the peoples and nations of the Moslem faith into a single religious and spiritual community--"Moslem-Turks," --it puts forward unceasing propaganda for anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, and bourgeois nationalism. Unsubstantiated assertions run through almost all of the articles like a red thread to the effect that national antagonisms in daily life and culture on a religious basis exist and are constantly growing stronger in Central Asia, theses regarding national inequality and discrimination are put forward, the still existing differences between the individual republics and nations for a number of indicators of socio-economic and cultural development are absolutized and falsified, and so forth.

The theses of the identity of nationality and religion and of the unchanging religiosity of the peoples of our country is not only one of the chief directions of anti-communism, but also the basis for all other constructions both theoretical and propagandistic. It is used to strengthen the shaken positions of modern Islam

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and for a purposeful interpretation of the role and place of Islam in the social and spiritual life of the peoples of the East.

The theory of the identity of religion and a nation is also the basis for the reactionary idea of the "unification" of all of the people and peoples of a single "Moslem" faith, but of different nationalities, into one "unified" Moslem "nation," which found its completed expression in the ideas of Pan-Islamism with its various branches.

The Moslem clergy not only identifies religion and the nation. In its sermons it makes efforts to bring the dogmas of Islam into "agreement" with the present day, with the economic and political circumstances in a country, including Uzbekistan, thereby attempting to impart to all reactionary religious traditions, rites, and customs the appearance of a national and "folk" tradition. The Islamic clergymen assert that only the Moslem religion makes a person a highly moral person, and attempt to prove that belief in Allah is the true source for a man's morality and for his correct behavior in daily life and in society while, on the contrary, the reasons for the amoral actions of people are rooted in retreats from the demands of Islam. Certain non-believers who think that religion allegedly has a favorable influence on the behavior of people and on their manners and relationships and holds them back from bad actions are also prisoners of these harmful conceptions.

The confusion of morality, religious rites and customs, and national traditions sometimes give life to nationalistic feelings among the backward part of the population. The data of research conducted in the republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus testifies to the interweaving of national and religious prejudices. Thus, for example, A.V. Avksent'yev writes that in the Northern Caucasus a part of the population perceives the prescriptions of Islam as national features and folk traditions.⁸ "Under present-day conditions the survivals of Islam," N. Kuliyeu (Turkmen) observes, "are interwoven with survivals of nationalism, with survivals of tribal-kin relationships, and also with survivals of localism."⁹ M.M. Sattarov (Azerbaijan) writes: "...The defenders of Mohammedanism attempt to present religious traditions as folk and national ones. It should be noted that not only ordinary believers, but also certain representatives of the intelligentsia fall under the influence of these arguments and in practice do not distinguish which traditions should be classified as religious and which as national."¹⁰ Similar phenomena occur in Uzbekistan also.

The First Secretary of the CC CP of Uzbekistan Sh. Rashidov writes: "Connected with religion is the observance by a certain section of the population of various kinds of old rites and backward family customs and an incorrect attitude toward women. Frequently the representatives of the clergy, appealing to the religious feelings of people, try to present the reactionary customs of the past as national traditions, and the struggle by the public against their customs as an attempt to infringe upon the national feelings of the people."¹¹

We know that inter-national relations as a specific expression of the full aggregate of socio-economic, cultural, and psychological relations is a very subtle and complex sphere of human intercourse. "Its complexity is explained above all

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by the overall character of the problem of national relationships which have never existed and do not exist in pure form, but are always interwoven with diverse social, class, geographical, ethnographic, cultural, ideological, and psychological factors." It is here, perhaps more than in any other sphere of human intercourse, that historical traditions, views and habits inherited from past times, and other subjective factors make themselves felt.¹²

Due to the fact that the question has been little studied it is sometimes still difficult to explain the reasons why the burial of the dead in accordance with religious ritual is widespread both in the cities and in the rural areas of the Central Asian republics. The reason is hardly in the absence of new rituals which correspond to what is specifically national, although this is of great importance in overcoming the old rites. A definite role is probably played here by deeper national psychological factors which can be discovered through concrete sociological studies of social psychology.

From the data of sociological studies it has been established that a substantial number of inhabitants of Ferganskaya, Bukharskaya, and Kashkadar'inskaya oblasts still recognize circumcision as mandatory. Moreover, many people explain the mandatory nature of performing this rite by the fact that it is allegedly an attribute not so much of religious as of national membership. Frequently such religious rites as "Nikakh" (religious marriage), concealed forms of Kalym, cases of giving minor girls in marriage which can still be encountered, and other harmful customs and rites are presented as national customs and rites (or rather, are ascribed to them).

Attempts to consolidate or revitalize old and obsolete national forms of life and certain religious rites are not only a testimony to the national narrow-mindedness of individual people who have fallen prisoner to these ideas, but also hinder the introduction into life of everything that is new which does not fit within the framework of the old traditions. Such attempts create obstacles to the international education of the workers, to the formation in them of new communist relationships, and to the emergence and development of common international features in the everyday life and spiritual makeup of the Soviet nations which unite and bring them closer together. For this reason, any custom which holds back the natural process of the renewal of life and which hinders the introduction of the new and progressive into the daily life of the workers merits not support, but condemnation. The dignity of any nation consists not in preserving everything old only because it is connected with history, but in an aspiration for progress and for mastering the achievements of modern civilization.¹³

The culture and everyday life of every people which inhabits our country is now developing on the basis of a single communist ideology and is permeated by a spirit of the indestructible friendship and fraternity of the socialist nations and peoples. These factors ensure the complete flourishing of the culture of all of the peoples of the USSR, on the one hand, and the formation of a single multi-national Soviet culture and way of life, on the other. The higher the level of a national culture and the richer its content and more perfected its forms, the more the number of aspects and properties in it thanks to which it becomes increasingly understood by and close to other nations and peoples. As the nation-

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al cultures develop there occurs not a strengthening of their differences, but, on the contrary, their growing together and the formation and strengthening of common international features and traditions which are free of the influence of religion.

The distinctive characteristic of the process of the growing together of national cultures which is occurring at the present time consists not in the disappearance of the diversity of their forms or of their specific coloring, but above all in a constant strengthening of their interpenetration and mutual enrichment, in the overcoming in them of obsolete archaic elements which limit the sphere of their interaction, and in the increasing development and strengthening in them of those highly moral and highly artistic (and for this reason common human) international features and traditions thanks to which each national culture and life becomes increasingly capable of satisfying the cultural needs of people from other nationalities.

"In the diversity of the national forms of Soviet socialist culture," it is noted in the report by L.I. Brezhnev "On the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," "common international features are becoming increasingly marked. The national is becoming increasingly enriched by the achievements of other fraternal peoples. This is progressive progress. It corresponds to the spirit of socialism and to the interests of all of the peoples of our country. It is precisely in this way that the foundations are laid for a new communist culture which does not know national barriers and which serves all people of labor in equal measure."¹⁴

The existence in their everyday life of similar and related aspects is an important condition for the internationalization of the life of the socialist nations and peoples. The centuries of economic and cultural inter-national relations between the peoples of our country which are especially close in their ethnogenesis, language, culture, and natural and climatic conditions have fostered the formation of common historical-cultural types and the establishment of similar features in their psychology and everyday life. As a result of many centuries of close communion the peoples of Central Asia, for example, show a similarity in their clothing, housing, domestic utensils and furniture, cuisine, and family rites and customs. The process of the internationalization of life takes place in the direction of the dying out of old outmoded forms and features which are under the influence of religious ideology, and in the creation of new types and forms which correspond to modern conditions by means of the assimilation of the best achievements of the national and a strengthening in it of common international features.

As is shown by the research of ethnographers and sociologists, compared to the spiritual and especially the psychological, the material side of life is the most internationalized.¹⁵ Despite the fact that national life is very stable and conservative, as has already been noted, the exchange of material and spiritual values among the Soviet nations and peoples inevitably leads to an organic combination in it of the best and most progressive elements which have been developed through centuries of practice with new contemporary motifs. Thus, for example, in housing construction standard houses of the urban type are being intensively developed and introduced in all of the Central Asian republics and in them certain

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elements of national architecture are preserved; however, these houses no longer have divisions into ichkari and tashkary which are connected with the former seclusion of women that resulted from Islam.

In order to combine the national and the international, in the present-day architectural structures of Uzbekistan there is basically an overall combination of construction materials and layout, a sensible adaptation to local natural and geographic conditions, the use of national ornamentation and national esthetic devices, and so forth. In present-day Uzbek houses, both multi-storey houses and cottages, the standard solutions which are characteristic for the entire country are combined with traditional national styles which take account of the distinctive features of national architecture, decorative art, and natural conditions, the experience of national craftsmen, traditional construction methods, and the use of local natural materials (frame masonry, wood cutting, ceramic facing, colored stucco, and so forth). This has been reflected in the newly risen post-earthquake Tashkent which has become a symbol of the international friendship of peoples.

According to the data of sociological studies, the process of the secularization of everyday life in the different districts of Tashkent which differ from one another in the national composition of their populations is occurring in a variety of ways. Among the Uzbeks in the new housing construction districts where the representatives of many nationalities live together religiosity is substantially less than in the Makhalli where a population that is more homogeneous in its national composition lives.

The greatest conservatism is characteristic of the ethnic features and differences in the interior of housing. The original features of the traditional culture of everyday life can be traced more clearly in the decoration of the house, and in the character of the use of things, the placement of furniture, national coloring, and ornaments. But even here there is occurring an active interpenetration of cultures which manifests itself in the combination of the traditional national forms of home decoration with new forms, with the decoration of other, especially neighboring, peoples. Frequently in houses there are rooms which are furnished in a new manner, and rooms in whose interior the national traditions have been completely preserved. In almost all of the apartments in multi-storey houses in which Uzbeks live one can find trunks or cupboards containing carefully folded quilts for bedding, the traditional decoration of the living room with a rug or syuzan, carpeted floors, and other national elements of decoration. And even today new household goods are not always and not everywhere used for their direct purpose, but serve as adornments or are designated only for the reception of guests.

At the present time, thanks to the final formation of an Uzbek socialist nation, with the Uzbeks, as with other nations, local characteristics in the material forms of everyday life have not only greatly disappeared or been leveled out, but have been replaced predominately by national elements. This is witnessed by the appearance in the vocabulary of the Uzbek language of many new everyday terms which have been borrowed from the Russian and from other languages of the peoples of the USSR and which are connected with clothing, housing, and domestic decoration. Moreover, the linguistic borrowing which demonstrate a substantial enrich-

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ment of all of the aspects of everyday life do not affect everyday religious terms, which indicates the positive influence of this process on strengthening the secularization of life.

In this connection it is interesting to note that during the years of Soviet power thanks to the rapid development of the economy, unprecedented social progress, and the mutual influence and enrichment of the cultures of the different nations and peoples which inhabit our country (the representatives of more than 100 nationalities live and work together in the republic), the Uzbek language has been greatly enriched. Whereas in 1927 the first scholarly Uzbek-Russian dictionary had 9,000 words, and on the eve of the war it included 17,000 words, the latest unabridged dictionary of the Uzbek language contains 60,000 words.¹⁶

At the same time, a process of the mastery of the Russian language as a means of inter-national communication is going forward intensively. Around 80 percent of the adult urban population of the republic speaks conversational Russian within limits which satisfy the needs for labor and everyday intercourse. The percentage of people who know the Russian language among the rural population is also high.

Sociological studies and historical ethnographic data show that the relationships of different nations and peoples in the sphere of spiritual culture exercise the most intensive influence on the process of freeing everyday life from religion. The formation of international convictions and habits in the consciousness and behavior of Soviets at work and in everyday life is occurring in organic connection with the assimilation of the achievements of Soviet and world culture and is inseparably connected with the establishment of a communist morality and with the realization of the humanistic ideals which have been developed by all of progressive mankind.

In present-day Uzbekistan there is not a single enterprise, sovkhov, or educational institution which is not represented by people from dozens of different nationalities.

The Tashkent Textile Combine has the representatives of 41 nationalities working at it, the Chirchik Chemical Combine--32, the Uzbek Metallurgical Plant--30, the Bekabad Cement Combine--30, the Plant imeni the October Revolution--27, the kolkhoz imeni K. Tursunkulov--18, and the kolkhoz "Savay"--18. Students representing 47 nationalities are studying at Tashkent State University, 42 at the Tashkent Polytechnical Institute, 28 at the Tashkent Institute of the Economy, and so forth.¹⁷

The mutual influence and enrichment of the spiritual world of people from different nationalities and the formation in them of new communist relationships and new cultural, moral, and everyday features is achieved most intensively and directly in these unified international Soviet collectives in joint work and study.

With the construction of socialism and communism the appearance of international collectives in industry, agriculture, and other branches of the economy and culture is an objective law. We know that during the course of industrialization and especially during the years of the Great Patriotic War and during the postwar period in a number of union and autonomous republics, including Uzbekistan, at the

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same time that there was a substantial natural increase in the native population, the number of inhabitants increased on the basis of an influx of people from other republics. This was connected with the re-basing to the east of many industrial enterprises, with the development of extensive industrial construction, and with the opening up of virgin and unused lands. The objective migrational process has occurred and is occurring on the basis of the voluntary organized resettlement of people from different nationalities into areas with large construction projects which have become the common work of the workers of the entire country. The representatives of various nationalities, especially the youth, voluntarily go to places where the front line of the struggle for the creation of material and technical base of communism can be found: to the virgin lands, to shock Komsomol construction sites, and to new industrial areas.

The Communist Party of Uzbekistan--one of the fighting detachments of the CPSU-- is a genuinely international organization. As of the data for 1 January 1970, the republic's Communist Party had in its ranks the representatives of 82 nations and peoples, including Uzbeks--54.9 percent, Russians--20.6, Tatars--5.3, Kazakhs--4.4, Tajiks--2.8, Ukrainians--2.6 percent and so forth. This multi-national army of communists is an active transmitter of the communist party's internationalist policy.

The party organization of Uzbekistan organized all of its ideological educational work with regard to the multi-national composition of the republic's population, being attentive to national characteristics and showing care and sensitivity in deciding questions of national relations. Children are taught in the republic in eight languages, newspapers are published in seven, and radio and television broadcasts are conducted and national concert teams work in six languages (excluding foreign ones).¹⁸ Studies in the system of party education are conducted in the languages in which the students wish to work.

The process of the secularization of everyday life is also influenced by the fact that the best models of multi-national Soviet and of Russian and world classical and present-day progressive literature translated into the Uzbek language are distributed in enormous editions among the Uzbek population. In five years alone (1960-1965) translations into the Uzbek language were published for around 400 works by writers from the fraternal republics and the countries of socialism and also progressive writers of the world in a total edition of 7.6 million copies.¹⁹

Inter-national marriages, the number of which is steadily increasing, is one of the important factors promoting a strengthening of the process of the secularization of everyday life and of family relationships. During the prerevolutionary period such marriages were almost impossible on account of national and religious prejudices which were fixed in state legal norms. According to the data for 1936, the proportion of mixed marriages in the cities of Uzbekistan came to 17.3 percent of the total number of marriages, and in rural areas--9.6 percent. Whereas in 1936 mixed marriages in Samarkand came to 26.5 percent and in Tashkent to 18.3 percent,²⁰ in 1950 such marriages in the two cities came to more than 35 percent of the total number of registered marriages. In 1965 the number of children born in mixed marriages came to 14.2 percent of the total of newborn children.²¹

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Interesting data has been obtained as a result of a study of an increase in the number of inter-national marriages in two rayons of Tashkent. The new Kuybyshevskiy Rayon has long been regarded as a mixed one with respect to the national composition of its population, while the old Oktyabr'skiy Rayon is basically populated by Uzbeks. However, compared to 1926, in 1963 the number of mixed marriages in Kuybyshevskiy Rayon increased approximately by two times, while in Oktayabr'skiy Rayon it increased by 3.5 times.²² Special note should be taken of the fact that today not only in the cities but also in remote settlements marriages with representatives of other nationalities have been registered.²³

According to the data for 1967, over a period of five years mixed marriages came to 15 percent in Paktaaral'skiy Rayon and around 10 percent in Dzhetyysayskiy Rayon, both of which were previously in Syrdar'inskaya Oblast, and in the city of Yangiyer of 71 respondents, 22 people wrote in reply to the question on the national composition of their families that their families contained representatives of two nationalities, that is, their families were formed from mixed marriages. In almost two-thirds of the questionnaires there is the statement that nationality is not important in marriage, but that love, respect, and mutual understanding are important.

Serving as a vivid testimony to the elimination of previous national alienation as a result of the coming together of the socialist nations and peoples, mixed families frequently perform the function of transmitters of the new relationships between family members, for the skillful family education of children, and for more advanced forms of domestic life, and thereby exercise a positive influence on the family life of neighbors. Being free of religious prejudices, most such families foster the formation of a single spiritual community of people and of communist social relations, thereby strengthening the process of the secularization of everyday life.

In order to educate the workers in a spirit of internationalism the republic's party organizations make wide use of various forms and means of ideological influence. Evenings of friendship and the reading of lecture cycles devoted to the friendship of peoples are widely practiced. International education is reflected in the work of the people's universities, in the organization of visual agitation, and in the work of political information officers and agitators and of the local press and radio broadcasts.

The international education of the workers is promoted by performances by creative collectives and individual performers from the fraternal republics, film festivals, and meetings with Soviet and foreign writers and scientific and cultural figures from other republics.

Concrete sociological research has demonstrated the enormous changes in the spiritual world, national character, and psychology of all of the strata and national groups of the population. In questionnaires workers have cited the names of around 100 of their favorite writers and poets who represent the various literatures of the people of the USSR and the world and have noted that they receive esthetic pleasure from the canvases of painters, the works of composers, and the performances of artists from our multinational homeland. To the question--"Which customs

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and traditions of our nation and of other nationalities do you like? "--A substantial number of the respondents in the city of Yangiyer stated that they were impressed not only by their national customs, but also by many of the customs of other nationalities. Many representatives of different nationalities take note in their questionnaires of the progressive folk customs of Uzbeks and other Central Asian peoples, particularly, hospitality, mutual assistance, a respectful attitude toward old people, and so forth.

Special note has to be taken of the fact that the process of the internationalization of such stable aspects of life as national everyday traditions and family and marriage relationships which were especially dominated by Islam for centuries occurs more intensively in those places where there is purposeful, systematic, constant, and active work by ideological organizations and institutions. And, on the contrary, in those places where they perform this function of theirs poorly the way is opened up for the penetration into family and personal relationships of religious and nationalistic ideas which hinder the process of the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of national cultures and of their coming together.

V.I. Lenin wrote that the differences between nations and countries "will maintain themselves for a very very long time even after the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the entire world..." and for this reason, he taught, that in order for the socialist revolution to be victorious and for the new society to be built it is necessary to "investigate, study, seek, guess, and grasp the specifically national in the concrete approaches of every country to the solution of a single international problem..."²⁴ One of the most subtle and complex elements in the specifically national is national character and psychology without a concrete study of which it is impossible to understand the complex processes of the secularization of culture and everyday life which are occurring under present-day conditions.

The emergence within the new historical community of people--the Soviet people--of a new way of life and of new family relationships, and of social labor and everyday traditions which are completely free of religious prejudices and have been formed on the basis of the assimilation and creative reinterpretation of all that is best in the national cultures and national psychologies of all of the Soviet socialist nations and peoples serves as the basis for the formation of communist everyday life.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol.30, p 21.
2. "Fifty Years of the Great October Socialist Revolution," Decree of a Plenum of the CC CPSU. Theses of the CC CPSU, Moscow, 1967, p 38.
3. Walter Kolarz, "Russia and Her Colonies," New York, 1952, p 18.
4. "Rusyada Islamiyetin Bugunku Durumu," Beyazit-Istambul, 1966.
5. Ibid, p 9.

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6. Ibid, p 25.
7. Ibid, p 12.
8. A. Avksent'yev, "Islam and Everyday Life," Stavropol', 1964, p 40; B. Kh. Tsavkilov, "The Morals of Islam," Nal'chik, 1967, pp 194-195.
9. "Materials of the Scientific Conference' the Modernization of Islam and the Important Problems of the Theory of Scientific Atheism'." Theses of Reports, Moscow, 1968, p 107.
10. Ibid, p 25.
11. Sh. Rashidov, "The Banner of Friendship," Moscow, 1967, p 146.
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23. S.M. Abramzon, "Reflection of the Process of the Coming Together of Nations on the Basis of the Family Lifestyle of the Peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan," SOVTSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No 3, 1962, p 25.
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CHECHENO-INGUSH ASSR SUBJECT OF SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

Moscow PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO ATEIZMA in Russian No 17, 1974 pp 310-319

[Article by V.G. Pivovarov: "A Sociological Study of National Life in the Checheno-Ingush ASSR"]

[Text] As a result of the use of sociological methods, in recent years scientific studies of the problems of religion and atheism in the USSR have been enriched with new theoretical and practical conclusions. The data of sociological research has made it possible to gain a deeper understanding of the state of religiousness and of the special characteristics of the process of secularization in socialist society. The use of an overall methodology for the gathering of primary information and the employment of high-speed equipment for processing it has made it possible to operate in theoretical work with fundamentally different than in the past masses of sociological information and to move on to a study of large objects--oblasts and autonomous republics.

In 1970-1972 overall sociological research was carried out in the Checheno-Ingush ASSR on the topic of "The Everyday Life, Culture, and National Traditions and Beliefs of the Population of a Republic" by the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CC CPSU and the Laboratory of Sociological Research at the Checheno-Ingush obkom of the CPSU which was created on a voluntary basis for the performance of joint work.

Along with the general principles and directions which characterized the sociological study of the problems of research and atheism which was performed by the Institute of Scientific Atheism and its support points at all of the previous objects (for example, in Kazan', and in Penzenskaya, Voronezhskaya, Ivano-Frankovskaya, and other oblasts), the study in the Checheno-Ingush ASSR had a number of special characteristics.

First, this was the first attempt at a mass study in a new region--one of the autonomous republics of the North Caucasus. The process of the formation of the spirit-

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ual culture of the peoples of Checheno-Ingushetiya was complex. It could only be deeply penetrated with an historical approach to the problem and a comprehensive study of the activities of party organizations in the communist education of the workers and of the entire population of the republic. For this reason, a characterization of the development of the economy and the culture of Checheno-Ingushetiya both in its historical and in its contemporary aspects was a necessary component of the sociological study.

Secondly, the researchers made an attempt to perform an overall study. In our view, the criterion of overallness in a study of the problems of religion and atheism is the kind of approach in which an analysis is made of the full aggregate of social relations and dependencies in which mass atheism and religiousness as phenomena of social life are included. Therefore, in this study characterizations of everyday life, culture, national traditions, and so forth occupied a substantial place.

And finally, thirdly, a distinctive characteristic of this study was the exceptional diversity of the objects and groups of the population which were studied: industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, populated points both in rural and in urban areas and in mountainous and flat areas, all of the social groups and categories of the population, representatives of all of the nationalities inhabiting the republic, and among believers--representatives of the different faiths, including the followers of Islam who are united into Murid fraternities.

Along with the traditional methods of sociology (questionnaires, observation, an analysis of documents and statistical data, and a study of the work experience of party and public organizations), the method of expert appraisals was employed in this study. The groups of experts consisted of workers from party and public organizations and scientific institutions and workers, peasants, and members of the intelligentsia. With their help research tools were perfected, the character of religiosity in one or another locality was refined, and a preliminary evaluation of the effectiveness of various forms of atheistic work was made.

In conducting the questionnaire-interviews especial attention was directed toward observing anonymity and holding conversations with the respondents in their native language. The performance of interviews after the appropriate preparations was entrusted to people whose age, nationality, and life experience disposed the respondents toward a frank conversation.

The task of the given study was to disclose on the basis of a concrete object both certain and general processes in the field of religion and atheism which are characteristic of all of the republics of the North Caucasus and specific problems which are characteristic basically of Checheno-Ingushetiya. Especial attention was directed to the process of the rapid development of the culture of the socialist nations in the republics of the Northern Caucasus, to the place of atheism in their spiritual life, and to a study of the experience of party organizations in atheistic work. A deep study was made of the ideology, activities, and social makeup of the Moslem Murid fraternities and of the specific nature of the interconnections between religiousness and survivals of nationalism.

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The study which has been performed has placed at the disposal of party and scientific organizations a large amount of sociological information which permits judgements about the dynamics of the spiritual culture of the population of Checheno-Ingushetiya. Some of the materials have already been published or are being prepared for the press.¹ The scientific treatment of the sociological information which has been obtained is continuing and because of its large amount will still require considerable time and effort. In the present article we shall deal with a characterization of only some of the most general results of the study.

The sociological study of everyday life, culture, and national traditions and beliefs was performed in the republic for the first time.

The fundamental changes which have occurred in the life of the people of Checheno-Ingushetiya during the years of Soviet power are reflected in the materials of the study. The socialist transformations and the triumph of the Leninist nationalities policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state were the basis for the liberation of wider and wider masses of workers from the influence of religion and for the internationalization of their spiritual and everyday lives.

During the years of Soviet power Checheno-Ingushetiya has become a republic with a highly developed industry and a large mechanized agriculture. The amount of industrial production during this period has increased by almost 50 times. The petroleum industry which is the leading branch of the republic's economy has developed at especially rapid rates. Large enterprises in machine building, chemistry, instrument making, and electric energy have been built, and the food and light industry is developing. A fundamental reorganization of agriculture which is now equipped with powerful modern equipment was carried out on the basis of the highly developed industry.

These transformations have changed the social structure of the population in a decisive way. By the end of 1970 the republic's economic branches employed 50,300 specialists with higher and secondary specialized educations.

Enormous progressive changes have occurred in the cultural development of the peoples of Checheno-Ingushetiya. Whereas before the revolution the Chechentsy and Ingushi did not have their own writing and almost the entire population was illiterate (there were nine literate people per 1,000 rural inhabitants), at the present time the number of pupils in the republic's general educational schools has increased by 22 times. The number of teachers and educators in the schools has increased by 30 times.² In recent years there has been a substantial rise in the educational level of the entire population. Out of 1,000 workers, there are 54 with a higher education, 87 with a secondary specialized education, 115 with a secondary general education, and the total number of people with a higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education comes to 516 per 1,000 workers.³ At the present time 360,000 people, or every third inhabitant of the republic, is studying in 2 vuzes, 12 secondary specialized educational institutions, 470 general educational schools, and other educational institutions.⁴

The formation in the broad masses of workers of a materialist worldview is inseparably bound up with the decisive overcoming in the consciousness and behavior

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of people of the survivals of the past, including religious survivals. Party organizations and ideological institutions in the Checheno-Ingush ASSR conduct active and well-directed atheistic work among the population, making use of the diversity of its forms and methods with regard to local conditions. One of the tasks of the study was a study and generalization of this experience.

Along with the traditional forms of the work (lectures and reports on atheistic and natural scientific topics), the use of literature and films and of radio and television broadcasts, and the dissemination of new Soviet customs and traditions in the republic, home lectures became widespread. In every village there are several houses in which, in accordance with established tradition, neighbors and relatives gather for meetings with the lecturer. This form of social intercourse between the lecturer or agitator and the population makes it possible in an unconstrained atmosphere which is customary for the listener to bring the word of the atheist to aged people, housewives, and mothers with many children who for various reasons infrequently go to clubs, libraries and movie theaters where such measures are carried out.

Schools of popular knowledge for mountain women have become another form of mass propaganda. These schools are directed, as a rule, by teachers who plan their work with regard to their classes, the needs of their students, and so forth. All of this promotes the political growth of the mountain women and the development of their public activeness.

Rural meetings are a widespread form of the development of the social activity of inhabitants and of the directed formation of public opinion. At them the concrete tasks which face a kolkhoz or the inhabitants of a village are collectively discussed. One of the important tasks which are successfully accomplished by rural meetings is the struggle against conservative public opinion and against obsolete mores and customs which are based on the laws of the Shariat and the Adat. A deeply grounded explanation of the common nature of the fundamental social and political interests of believing and non-believing workers and of the importance of their joint contribution to the successful fulfillment of a collective's production assignments promotes the creation of a situation of mutual trust and takes away the basis for the propagation of religious intolerance which is spread about by certain fanatics. As a rule, the most respected people in the village take the floor at such meetings. Special commissions which control the precise execution of all of the points of the decisions adopted at such meetings are created for the execution of the decisions which have been adopted. The surveyed population and a group of experts made up of propagandists of scientific atheism placed a high value on the role of these meetings in overcoming patriarchal-kinship and religious survivals.

All of these mass measures have a direct influence on increasing the public activeness of village and city inhabitants and on activating the positions of atheists in their daily practice and intercourse with the people around them.

The studies showed that most of the believers had a respectful attitude toward the activities of the lecturer and the propagandist of scientific atheism. This indicates that the propaganda of scientific atheism is conducted skillfully and

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tactfully, that the forms and methods of atheistic education are successfully put into the work on general communist education.

The materials of the study registered the changes which are occurring in the consciousness of believers. Religious ideas which correspond most fully with the dogma and mythology of Islam are, as a rule, characteristic only for the believing older and aged population. Believers of middle and, especially, youthful age are characterized by the fragmentariness and imprecision of their religious ideas.⁵ A more or less argumented and conscious acceptance of religious dogma is characteristic approximately for one-half of the believing Chechentsy and Ingushi. The others perceive their religiousness rather as a tradition, an element of everyday life, and frequently as a characteristic feature of their national membership. In this respect, the participation of the respondents in religious rites and holidays is especially instructive. Thus, the observance of fasts is a customary phenomenon for believing Chechens and Ingushi. They are observed by practically all believers.

A very important characteristic of present-day religiosity which has been registered by the materials of the study is the tolerant attitude of believers toward non-belief or toward the different beliefs of other people.

As has already been noted above, the Murid fraternities are a characteristic form of religious associations for those who profess Islam in Checheno-Ingushetiya. More than one-half of the believing Moslems who live in the republic are members of them.

In its dogma Moslem Muridism is a branch of Sufism which includes two currents: the Kodyrit and the Nakshabandiya, which in their turn are divided into a large number of interpretations (wirds).

Among the Chechentsy and the Ingushi the most widespread teaching is the Kodyrit current, which is otherwise called Zikrism (from the Arab exclamation "Zikrullyakh" --"remembrance of Allah" and from the demonstrative performance of the Zikr--a ritual dance). The dissemination of Zikrism in Chechna and Ingushetiya goes back to the middle of the 19th century.

The essence of Zikrism is in the following interpretations of the basic dogmas of Islam: periodically, when there is a weakening of faith, Allah sends to the earth, to the real world, holy sheikhs in order to revive orthodoxy and to put those who have erred on the true path. In the opinion of the Zikrists, the Sheikh-Ustaz, as a mediator between Allah and believers, takes upon himself the responsibility for his myurid, a true follower of his tarikat, and "makes him comfortable" in the life beyond the grave until the day of universal resurrection, is entirely responsible for him, and on the day of judgement brings all of his myurids into heaven. For this reason, for the myurid the controller of his fate in life and in eternity is his ustaz, or myurshid, to whom he has entrusted his life in both worlds. A sacred duty of the true myurid is faithfulness to the ustaz of his wird, and the strictest fulfillment of its prescriptions which allegedly removes responsibility before God from him. In the opinion of the "holy" ustazes (most frequently in the person of certain sheikhs: Kunta-Hadji,

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Bamat-Girey-Kadji, Batal-Hadji, and so forth) individual wirts obtained their names.

The preachers of Zikrism strive to direct the will and all of the aspirations of myurids toward the observance of the principles of the Tarikat and to dissolve the human essence in the mystical fog of superstitious prejudices.

With the previous unlimited dominion of religion, for example, in prerevolutionary Checheno-Ingushetiya Islam and its ideology regulated almost all of the aspects of the life of the "orthodox" mountaineer. These memories are still alive among the people of the older generation. For this reason, the ideologists of modern myuridizm actively include in the arsenal of their methods of influencing the believing section of the population national traditions and customs, hoping to spread their influence on the youth with the help of the believers of the older generation. The purveyers of Islam seek to find a support in the national feelings of people.

A study of the ideology and activities of the myuridin fraternities of different sects on the territory of Checheno-Ingushetiya shows that the Moslem groups, which are an historically developed type of religious organization for believing Chechentsy and Ingushi, are not limited, however, solely to the celebration of a religious cult. Basing themselves on the authority of kinship relationship, the leadership of the myuridin communities and groups tries to actively intervene in the family life of the mountaineers and to form a religious public opinion. In this way, the activities of the myurid fraternities and of their leaders represent a serious barrier to the international and atheistic education of the Chechentsy and Ingushi.

The study made it possible to arrive at a clearer idea about certain reasons for the vitality of religious survivals and old reactionary customs and traditions among some Chechentsy and Ingushi. The highest level of religiosity was established in groups of the population which were poorly connected with public production, among elderly people who had a low general educational level, and among women engaged in household work.

Remnants of patriarchal-kinship relationships among the Chechensy and Ingushi also have a negative influence on the process of overcoming religiousness.

Conservative group opinion which stands for the preservation of harmful traditions and customs is a restraining factor in the process of the withdrawal from religion and its traditions, especially in the villages. Under its pressure, certain non-believers conceal their atheistic convictions from their relatives and acquaintances. So-called religious authorities which seek to regulate family relationships according to the laws of the Shariat and the Adat play an active role in the formation of this kind of conservative group opinion.

The interconnection between religion and the survivals of nationalism plays an especial role in maintaining the religiosity of a part of the population. It finds various forms of expression: the endeavor to present harmful traditions (Kalym, blood vengeance, the giving of minor girls in marriage, and so forth) as

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national traditions, attempts to present Islam as a preserver of the national, moral, and cultural values of the Chechentsy and Ingushi, as a force which promotes the preservation of the national independence of the mountain peoples in the complex difficulties of their historical fate, and in an endeavor to depict a negative attitude toward religion (toward the "faith of our fathers") as national renegadism, and so forth.

A deep analysis of the materials of the study, in particular the study of the reasons which promote the preservation of religiousness among a section of the population of the republic, will make it possible for party organizations to increase the effectiveness of their system of atheistic education.

Especial attention should be turned toward the ideological and educational effect of this study. It is not only a matter of the enormous sociological information which equips party organizations and ideological institutions with a profound knowledge of the state and tendencies of overcoming religiousness. The very fact that the representatives of party and public organizations who took part in the questionnaire addressed questions about the needs, feelings, views, traditions, and so forth of many of the inhabitants, held discussions in the unconstrained atmosphere of families and places of residence, and had a large ideological response in the mass of the population promoted a greater mutual understanding and trust between the republic's aktiv and the masses of the multi-national population of Checheno-Ingushetiya. These conversations helped to make clear a number of important issues which are connected with the conditions of the production, daily, and cultural life of people.

The materials of the overall sociological survey of the population of the Checheno-Ingush ASSR provided party organizations with the possibility of posing, along with the problems of atheistic education, a large number of practical problems in the development of economy, culture, everyday life, and communist education. An example of this is the holding by the Checheno-Ingush obkom CPSU with the participation of representatives of the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CC CPSU, the "Znaniye" Society of the RSFSR, the scientific research institutions and educational institutions of the Checheno-Ingush and Dagestan ASSR's, and others of a scientific practical conference on the topic of: "The 24th CPSU Congress and the Problems of the Further Development of Spiritual Culture and of Education in Internationalism and Socialist Patriotism."

During the preparations for and the performance of research in the republic a sector of sociology and scientific atheism of the Scientific Research Institute of the History of Language and Literature at the Council of Ministers of the Checheno-Ingush ASSR was created.

It also has to be noted that the very process of the sociological work helped party, trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations in improving their atheistic education and increasing its effectiveness. As a rule, the preparations for the study were discussed in the party raykoms, in party primary organizations, at party and Komsomol aktivs, and at meetings of the intelligentsia. During the study concrete plans for the performance of atheistic work were made up and cadres of lecturers and propagandists were trained.

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The results of the work which has been done have become the property not only of scientific and party workers. Thanks to the radio, the press, television, and the efforts of lecturer-propagandists and agitators, they have entered into the social consciousness of the widest strata of the population.

FOOTNOTES

1. Materials of the Practical Scientific Conference 'The 24th CPSU Congress and the Problems of a Further Development of Spiritual Culture and of Education in Internationalism and Socialist Patriotism', Groznyy, 1974; "Sociology, Atheism, and Religion," No 1, Groznyy, 1972; "Sociology, Atheism, and Religion," No. 2, Groznyy, 1974; M.M. Mustafinov, "Zikrizm and Its Social Essence," Groznyy, 1971; V.G. Pivovarov, "At the Stages of a Sociological Study," Groznyy, 1974. In 1975 an additional two issues of "Sociology, Atheism, and Religion" on the results of the sociological studies of 1970-1972 were being prepared for publication.
2. "Fifty Years of the Autonomy of Checheno-Ingushetiya," Statistical Handbook, Groznyy, 1972, pp 194-195.
3. Ibid, p 194.
4. Ibid, p 196.
5. The characteristics of believing Christians living in Checheno-Ingushetiya which have been obtained as a result of the study basically repeat the tendencies and laws for a change in religious consciousness which are already known from studies in other areas.

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ISLAMIC STUDIES PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Moscow PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO ATEIZMA in Russian No 22, 1977, pp 267-276

[Article by R.R. Mavlyutov: "Urgent Problems of Islamic Studies"]

[Text] The decrees and documents of the CC CPSU in recent years on the problems of communist education have played an important role in the development of all of the directions of research and propaganda work in the field of scientific atheism. They have also had a great and fruitful influence on Soviet Islam studies.¹ Works have appeared which respond to the growing needs of the time, the range of scientific research has been broadened, and it has become more closely connected with the practice of party work in communist education and in overcoming the survivals of the past, especially in the sphere of national and everyday relationships. The range of directions in scientific research has become more diverse, the analysis of the survivals of Islam has taken on a differentiated character, and more attention is being devoted to the situation of Islam abroad. The increase in the number of specialists in the various fields of Islam studies in the national republics of our country must also be noted as a gratifying phenomenon of recent years.

Of the monographic works of recent years note should be taken of the book by N. Ashirov "The Evolution of Islam in the USSR" (Moscow, 1972, 1974) which has come out in two editions, his work "Islam and Nations" which was published in 1975, the collection under the editorship of G.P. Snesarev and V.N. Basilov "Pre-Moslem Beliefs and Rites in Central Asia" (Moscow, 1975), and the book by N.P. Lobacheva "The Formation of the New Rituals of the Uzbeks" (Moscow, 1975).

In the republic publishing houses the general theoretical problems of atheism have had works devoted to them by Isa Dzhabbarov "Social Progress, Everyday Life, and Religion" (Tashkent, 1973); A. Kh. Khashimov "The Formation of New Family Relationships Among the Peoples of Central Asia" (Dushanbe, 1972); R.M. Madzhidov "The Overcoming of Religiousness under the Conditions of the Transition to Socialism, Bypassing Capitalism" (Dushanbe, 1973); I.A. Makatov "Islam, the Believer, and the Present Day" (Makhachkala, 1974); R.G. Boltanov "Sociological Problems in the System of Scientific Atheistic Education" (Kazan', 1973); M.M.

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Mustafinov "The Anti-Scientific Nature of the Idea of the Identity of the National and the Religious" (Groznyy, 1975); K. Sh. Shulembayev "Magicians, Gods, and Reality" (Alma-Ata, 1975), and others.

It should also be said that during the last five years the publication of books on the problems of scientific atheism in the national languages has become activated. First of all, note should be taken here of the good teaching aid "New Life--New Traditions" which was published in the Uzbek language in Tashkent in 1973 under the editorship of M.M. Khayrullayev, E. Yusupov, D.N. Ganiyev, N.G. Ganiyev and R. Rakhmanov. It generalizes the experience of Uzbek public workers--communists, komsomol members, and non-party propagandists of atheism--in introducing new Soviet customs, rituals, and traditions and raises important questions connected with the development and strengthening of new social and family relationships during the period of developed socialism. The authors' ideas on national coloring in the new rituals deserve attention in this book.

In speaking about the publication of atheistic literature in the national languages one would like to note its generally higher scientific level. Take, for example, the monograph by G.I. Mustafayev "The Ideology of Islam and the Criticism of It in the Beginning of the 20th Century in Azerbaijan" (Baku, 1973). Islam is studied in it as an ideological system which was widely used by bourgeois and land owning circles in the beginning of the 20th century as a weapon in their fight against Marxism-Leninism and as a means of distracting the masses from genuinely democratic and revolutionary ideas. This book which contains a critical analysis that is performed on the basis of good quality factual material has undoubtedly played a positive role in the struggle against contemporary bourgeois-clerical ideology. Its strikes against the Musavatists who have dug themselves in in Turkey and unmasks the slanderous fabrications of such clerical anti-communists as F. Kyazimzade, B.M. Mamedzade, M.E. Rasulzade, and others who in their writings and radio essays intended for Azerbaijan falsify the social role of Islam, present its place in the spiritual life and culture of the people in a false light, and spill tears about the "lost values" of Moslem religion. In uncovering the reasons, character, and directions of the modernization of Islam and its specific characteristics and manifestations in Azerbaijan, the author takes note of a contradiction which stands out very clearly in the ideological life of the foreign countries of the East. This is the contradiction between attempts to achieve a rebirth of "pure" Islam as a philosophical, social, and political teaching uniform for all Moslems, on the one hand, and the desire to strengthen it on a national soil by means of the modernization of individual dogmatic and cult aspects, on the other, which because of their orthodoxy clearly stand in the way of social and cultural progress.

The works by M.A. Usmanov "Dogmas and Rites of Islam" (Tashkent, 1975, in the Uzbek language), L.I. Shaydullina "The Modernization of Islam and the Women's Question" (Kazan', 1975, in the Tatar language), and D.G. Shigayev "Islam Before and Now" (Ufa, 1971, in the Bashkir language) are of great educational and scientific importance.

Important successes have been achieved by our specialists on the East in work on the problems connected with a study of the place and role of Islam in the

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political and social life of present-day foreign countries. Note has to be taken here first of all of the collections published under the editorship of Academician B.G. Gafurov of the Institute of Eastern Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences "The Religion and Social Thought of the Peoples of the East" (Moscow, 1971), "The Religion and Social Thought of the Countries of the East" (Moscow, 1974), and also the book "Ideological Currents in the Countries of Tropical Africa" which was published by a collective of authors from the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Moscow, 1969). These books examine questions which concern the forms, essence, and evolution of current ideological trends and conceptions which are characteristic of the developing countries and the connections between nationalism and religion, reveal the role of Christianity, Islam, and traditional cults in such underdeveloped regions as, for example, tropical Africa, and analyze the conceptions of "Islamic," "African," and other national theories of social development which are widespread in the "third world" countries.

On the basis of a large amount of factual material it is demonstrated in these works that "under present-day conditions the ideological demarcation of the forces of progress and reaction and, in the final analysis, of the forces of a socialist and bourgeois orientation is made difficult in the countries of Asia and Africa by the fact that the consciousness of the masses which have lived through an epoch of colonial slavery is burdened by stable nationalistic and religious notions."² The dislodging of these notions is taking place under the very difficult conditions of a struggle against domestic reaction and neo-colonialism which allies itself with clericalism and is attempting to use the religiousness of the masses in its own interests. The success of the atheistic and internationalist education of the workers in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries convincingly shows that the conditions for a complete liberation from religious and nationalistic prejudices are only created in a society in which there have been profound socio-economic and cultural transformations.

Quite a few works by Soviet scholars are devoted to a critical analysis of the contemporary ideology of Islam on the basis of the materials of concrete countries. Such, for example, are the works by A.F. Korobkov "Bourgeois Socio-Political and Philosophical Thought in Indonesia" (Moscow, 1972), A.I. Ionova "Moslem Nationalism in Contemporary Indonesia" (Moscow, 1972), M.T. Stepanyants "Islam in the Philosophical and Social Thought of the Foreign East" (Moscow, 1974), Z.I. Levin "The Development of the Basic Currents of Socio-Political Thought in Syria and Egypt" (Moscow, 1972), and Ye.A. Doroshenko "The Shiite Clergy in Present-Day Iran" (Moscow, 1975). Note has to be taken, however, of the unevenness of the concentration of scholarly forces by regions. Thus, the socio-political and religious thought of Pakistan and Indonesia is being worked upon by many well-known scholars, which is reflected in the publication of a large number of articles and books. We have less research for the countries of the Near East, and even less for the Sudan, Somali, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, and Mauritania. Unfortunately, we have almost no interesting and substantive books about the struggle of progressive scholars, public figures, and communists in the countries of the East for the spread of science, enlightenment, and a democratic path of development, and about their

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methods of overcoming religious and nationalistic barriers in the way of the international solidarity of the workers of different countries. There are too few texts for a study of the atheistic legacy of the outstanding thinkers of the East. A study and use of the atheistic thought of the peoples of the countries of the East is all the more necessary in that the conviction is quite widespread abroad that allegedly all of the cultural and spiritual values which have come down to the present-day eastern peoples as their heritage from the past are the result of the favorable influence of Islam. It has to be said that the atheistic thought of the peoples of the republics and oblasts of the Soviet East has also been far from fully studied.

Islamic specialists who work in the field of the dissemination of scientific materialist knowledge and atheistic education in our country and scholars who work in the field of studying Islam in foreign countries have to work in close contact. To date they have been meeting with one another quite rarely and irregularly and on occasion. Their meetings, mutual exchange of opinions, and discussions have to have a more systematic character, and the results of their joint research efforts have to be embodied in collective works which could provide substantial assistance to our propagandists and to everybody who is working in the field of the atheistic and international education of the workers.

In this respect the experience of recent years of periodic meetings between party organization workers and propagandists of atheism and scholars is worthy of imitation. In 1973 there was a conference of the ideological workers of the republics, oblasts, and krais of the Northern Caucasus on the problems of strengthening the atheistic education of the population. Atheism propagandists and scientific research institution workers took part in it. Such important issues were discussed as the theoretical and practical aspects of the process of internationalization and its influence on overcoming religious survivals; the specific characteristics of the ideology and activities of religious societies; the relationship between the national and the religious in present-day Islam and the special characteristics of the propaganda of scientific atheism among the followers of Islam; the ideology and activities of contemporary Muridism and Christian sectarianism; and a study of the religiosity of the population of the Northern Caucasus by sociological methods. In their talks the leaders of party organizations described their work experience in educating the workers in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and of an implacable struggle against religious-nationalistic manifestations. In 1976 the "Soviet Russia" Publishing House published the book "Experience and Problems of International and Atheistic Education." Its value is in the fact that it generalizes the enormous experience which has been gained by party organizations over a period of many years. This generalized and critically interpreted experience is now returning to practice, helping to improve and perfect the work in the atheistic and international education of the workers.

In 1976 the "Kazakhstan" Publishing House published the collection "Important Problems of Atheistic Education." The idea of creating this collection arose during a scientific practical conference on the important problems of atheism which took place in June 1975 in Alma-Ata. Its authors are party workers, scholars, and atheism propagandists. In its two sections--"Scientific Fundamentals of

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atheistic work" and "Atheistic Education: Experience, Methodology, Problems" -- there is a discussion of the contemporary tasks of the atheistic education of the population, of the role of sociological research in increasing the effectiveness of atheistic education, the importance of developing and introducing new rites, the special characteristics of the ideological and cult activities of Moslem religious organizations under present-day conditions, the evolution of religious sectarianism, atheistic propaganda at enterprises and in institutions, the scientific atheistic education of pupils and students, and others.

It can be seen from the review of Islamic studies and atheistic literature which have been published in the last few years that quite a bit has been done. But life races ahead raising new problems before the workers of the atheistic front.

Our party is devoting a large amount of attention to increasing the efficiency of work in all spheres, including the efficiency of measures connected with the atheistic education of the population. The quality and efficiency of the latter is connected in the most direct and closest way with a profound and concrete knowledge of the object which we wish to influence and which we wish to change. Concrete data about the religiousness of the population can be extracted from the experience and from the practice of party organizations in their work among the population and from sociological research. Quite a bit of this kind of research has already been performed and is being performed in the different republics, oblasts, and rayons of the country. But it has to be said with all frankness: the generalization of the results of concrete sociological research and the application of its conclusions in practice is clearly still lagging behind its dimensions.

If we are to speak about research on such an important problem as the evolution of Islam, then here we base ourselves, as a rule, on the sermons and articles of the Moslem clergy: the mullahs, akhunds, muftis, the rescripts of the spiritual administrations, and articles in religious periodicals. But how this evolution is occurring among believers, how it is perceived by them, and how under the influence of this evolution there are changes in their eschatological and cult ideas, their attitude toward moral norms, and their behavior in everyday life and in the collective and so forth we have a far from concrete and sufficient knowledge. The question of the evolution of Islam in our country, of the attitude of ordinary believers toward its modernized dogmas, ritual and cult system, and morality and of the attitude of believers and of the non-believing mass toward its survivals can only be fully answered through a further development of sociological studies.

Such a phenomenon of our reality as mass atheism in regions whose population in the recent past lived under conditions of clearly expressed social and economic and cultural backwardness, in the captivity of religious ideas, is also worthy of profound study in all respects. As yet there are no special works devoted to mass atheism in places of the former undivided dominion of Moslem ideology.

The tasks of researchers are still far from exhausted also in the field of the study of the social role of Islam. Frequently in contemporary imaginative and journalistic literature we encounter an excessive magnification of its import-

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ance in the history of peoples. At the same time, in a number of articles and books it is possible to find overly abstract and, for this reason, incorrect comparisons between Islam and other confessions, and conclusions to the effect that Islam is "the most reactionary of all of the world's religions." A scientific approach to evaluating the place and role of a religion in the life of a people demands the consideration of the full complex of concrete conditions in which it exists.

K. Marx had a deep understanding of the specific nature of Eastern religions, including Islam, and of their role in the history of peoples suppressed by despotism. At the same time, he warned against a one-sided approach to evaluating the role of the religious factor in the life of a society in general and in the Eastern question in particular. Thus, here also an enormous field of activity is open for Soviet scholars.

There are a few works in the atheist literature which are devoted to a study of the influence of pre-Moslem beliefs on the consciousness and behavior of religious people. Meanwhile, this question is important. "When you become more deeply acquainted with the forms of religious survivals among the peoples of Central Asia in our day," G.P. Snegarev writes, "a very noteworthy and, at first glance, even paradoxical phenomenon comes to light and consists in the fact that the survival which goes back genetically to pre-Moslem beliefs shows greater stability in everyday life than the survivals of orthodox Islam whose degradation takes place at more rapid rates."³ As observations show, to one or another extent this conclusion of a well-known ethnographer is in effect for all of the regions where Islam is widespread and, therefore, it has to be considered in atheistic work. Relic phenomena in the field of family relations and in everyday life very often do not have a direct relation to orthodox Islam and to its dogmas and cult. The present-day Moslem clergy does not leave this circumstance without attention. In the part reconciling itself with pre-Moslem beliefs and the survivals of pre-Islamic cults, today, in keeping with modernistic tendencies, it opposes all kinds of absurd superstitions and is for "the purity of true faith." This aspect also must be taken into account in the criticism of modernized Islam. Nor can it in any way be ignored in the solution of the problems connected with the introduction of new non-religious rituals. Thus, here also there is still, one may say, a lot of work for our scholars and propagandists of scientific atheism.

The introduction of new Soviet civil rites and holidays is closely connected with the criticism and dislodgement of religious rituals. Unfortunately, we do not yet have solid monographic texts on this question. The existing literature takes insufficient account of the specific nature of Islam, and also of the national characteristics of the peoples who for a long time were under the influence of the ideology and ritual and cult practice of Islam. There has been no study with sociological efforts of the reasons for the vitality of such phenomena as the nikah, sunnet (khatna) or ritual circumcision, kalym, and the employment in everyday life of certain Adat and Shariat norms. The existing articles, pamphlets, and books do not contain sufficient material and the necessary information on these matters which could be used by propagandists of atheism in their practical work. The dislodgement of old, survival rites and rituals and their replacement with new ones is a complex process. Party organizations and Soviet public-minded

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people are performing a large amount of work in this direction. It is the duty of our Islam specialists to give them all of the assistance they can.

As is known, survivals, including religious survivals, have their roots in the distant past and bear the strata of different epochs. They have taken deep root in the consciousness of the people, in its habits and customs. It is now sometimes very difficult to separate them from genuinely national values and eject them from the consciousness and life of people. An overall approach is essential here. Take, for example, the kalym. Removing it is closely connected with the struggle for actual equal rights for women, and with educating them in the spirit of communist ideas about love, marriage and the family, family happiness, friendship, faithfulness, and comradeship.

The accomplishment of this task is at the same time a contribution to improving social relations. This example shows that the problem of survivals takes on a multi-aspect character and that posing and solving it has not only a purely scientific but, above all, a practical goal.

Propagandists who conduct work among the followers of Islam have more than once noted the necessity for the creation of solid text-books containing a scientific criticism of Moslem morality, of incorrect ideas concerning the connection between the national and the religious in the psyche and in culture, and of modernist interpretations of the social role of religion. For a number of these problems there are books, articles, and pamphlets. However, Soviet Islam specialists have a great debt to our atheistic public activists. We do not have fundamental works on the problems of morality, on a scientific criticism of the Koran, modernist interpretations of its precepts, and on a study of Shariat norms and their role in the philosophy and behavior of people who have been subjected to the influence of Islam. Nor do we have books criticizing such an important source for Islam as the hadiths. It is not to be excluded that to a certain extent this explains the widespread, especially during sermons, "free" hadith creation by present-day mullahs for the purpose of modernizing Islam.

In recent years Soviet scholars have done, as has already been said, a considerable amount in the field of studying Islam and criticising its survivals. However, the tasks facing them, both with regard to volume and to difficulty, are still very substantial. Their accomplishment will require the application of the coordinated efforts of all of our Islamic specialists.

FOOTNOTES

1. N.A. Smirnov, "Fifty Years of Soviet Islamic Studies," VOPROSY NAUCHNOGO ATEIZMA, No. 4, 1967.
2. "Religion and Social Thought in the Countries of the East," Moscow, 1974, p 3.
3. G.P. Snesarev, "Relics of the Pre-Moslem Beliefs," Moscow, 1969, p. 18.

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