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**PROBLEMS OF REGIONAL AND NATIONAL SAFETY IN COUNTIES  
OF POST SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA IN THE CONTEXT OF  
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGION AND STATE**

*Мақалада дін және мемлекет аралығы контексіндегі посткеңестік Орталық Азия елдеріндегі қарым-қатынас сөз болады. Мақала авторы діннің мемлекет саясатына тигізетін әсеріне талдау жасайды.*

*Makalede Orta Asya devletlerindeki din ve devlet ilişkilerinden söz ediliyor. Yazar ayrıca dinin devlet siyasetine olan etkisini de incelemektedir.*

The question of relationships between state power and religious organizations on the territory of post soviet central Asia is quite difficult and polyhedral. Studying of these relationships demonstrates us problematic zones, which demand deep and comprehensive analysis:

- firstly, it is needed to consider the dynamics of state politics concerning religious organizations, and vice versa: politics of religious organizations concerning state in the post soviet period.

- secondly, characterize joint measures of state organs and religious organizations with traditional forms of denomination, conducted relatively to untraditional movements (sects, destructive cults, archaic forms of belief etc.)

- thirdly, take analysis of antigovernment activity belonging to extrimistically-disposed religious organizations.

- fourthly, reveal the forms of interaction between extremistic religious organizations and progovernmental traditional religions.

- fifthly, reveal main foreign political factors of destabilization of relationships between state and religion.

- sixthly, determine main forms of collaboration among states of central Asia in the fight with radical-disposed religious organizations.

In order to define the most problematic zones in safety maintenance sphere of central Asia, of course in the context of the «dialog» of the religions and organs of state government and power, which was performed before, it is necessary to emphasize the important problems of state scale in five republics of post soviet central Asian space in the Republic of Kazakhstan, Republic of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and the Republic of Tajikistan). But, it worths to be said, that the accent of our attention in this article in this article falls to so-called traditional world religion – Islam, which is professed mostly by representatives of autochtonous population, which is the majority population of post soviet central Asia Republics.

**The Republic of Kazakhstan**

For seventeen years the Republic of Kazakhstan, as all the republics of post soviet, exists in conditions of independent state politics in the sphere of

collaboration and relationships with religion is led in the context of independent internal politics and politics of national safety maintenance.

Pay attention, that followers of Islam in their numerical majority are not orthodox Muslims, however with the time the position of denominational institutes in the society strengthens. In the limits of this process state politics becomes more coordinated [1.] There are a lot of reasons of necessity of state power coordinated politics regarded to religious people. One of the reasons is showing threats to national safety: a) the precedent of using Islam values by as instrument of separatism on the territory of RK in the beginning of 90s in twentieth century [2]; b) an attempt to create so-called Turkistan Halifat by representatives of Uzbekistanian Muslim movement and members of «Hizbut-Tahrir» party, and some of Southern territories of Kazakhstan had to become its part ; c) recruitment by missionary - talibs of Afghanistan, Pakistan, «fighters» and «defenders» of pure Islam out of Kazakhstani citizens for making terror acts on the territory of CIS, including Kazakhstan; danger of political system overthrow in the country. etc. [3.] Another important reason is the factor of inter-regional contradictions (by the way, closely connected with the first reason): Kazakhstan- multi-regional country and contradictions can have negative influence on international relations, and also on foreign policy course in our country.

As it is seen, enumerated reasons have foreign policy character. This means that internal policy components are not shown or are not very important.

Government of the Republic took some of the measures against terror and extremism inside the country and on the level of multilateral diplomacy [4]:

- with the purpose to stop penetration of Afghanistan to the territory of Kazakhstan, the visa regime frontier and custom controle on Southern borders and transport were strengthened;

- on the territory of Kazakhstan took place checking of religious organizations activity, was strengthened controle on migration and tourists flows;

- beginning with 1999, on Southern border were formed frontier groups, covering state border of our country with Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, were made frontier posts on Kazakhstan-Turkmen border, also was built a line of controle and checking posts;

- in the first half of 2000 year was made Southern Military district. On the base of landing-assaulted force was made mobile for armies. In 2001 for military was given 1 percent of gross output.

- with the purpose of international efforts coordination against international extremism and terrorism in 2000-2001, the government held lots of international negotiations.

An important step on the way of building tolerant space of religions interaction on the territory of Kazakhstan were forums of ecclesiastical leaders of world and traditional religions, which were held in Astana in 2003 and 2006.



Basically, government tries to take control over almost all religious organizations and unifications, which work legally and illegally on the territory of Kazakhstan. So called official religious unifications of prostate direction like EAKM (ecclesiastical administration of Kazakhstani Muslims), are not left without any notice too. EAKM protection from secular rulers side «de-facto» defines the activity of Muslim organizations, which are under the EAKM controle. It explains common measures directed to stop the activity of destructive organizations, different sects, which are all extremistically - disposed to state.

### **The Republic of Uzbekistan**

The situation with the «dialog» between government and religious Islamic organizations on the territory of Uzbekistan is a little bit different from in the situation the Republic of Kazakhstan. Beginning with the epoch of middle centuries, Uzbekistan, as central part of Central Asia, is the centre of Islamic culture: Buhara, Samarkand, Hive were the main centers of Islamic dogma. Islamic confession is more politicized, because besides external factors of Islamisation, there are also internal factors:

- Social stipulation of radical Islamisation of population. It is possible to say, that social reasons of Islam politisation are hidden in common system crisis of Central Asia Republics, in difficulties of society economical rebuilding. In income difference between the richest and the poorest, which led to disappointment of people in ruling structure;

- The amplification of Uzbekistan competition (exactly of medrese centers in Buhara and Samarkand) to have the main role in Islamic world with Iran and even Saudi Arabia;

- An attempt to create Islamic state (Batkent events of 1999, inspired by representatives of Hizbut-Tahrir and Islamic movement of Uzbekistan parties);

- Dissatisfaction of Uzbek Umma with placing American bases on the territory of Uzbekistan, etc.

It cannot be left without attention, that the Republic of Uzbekistan, as other central-asian Republics, after USSR collapse faced a lot of serious social-economical and ideological problems [5.] Islamic factor became one of the main moments not only in society life, but it also became an efficient tool in fighting for power.

Uzbekistan was always considered to be the most vulnerable state on the post soviet territory. Islam Karimov got much worse heritage, than contiguous countries – Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan: Uzbekistan has less carbon resources, it has some water and soil problems, obvious overpopulation. In addition it has traditional set of tribal remnants, which is not less strong than in neighbors countries [6.]

The president of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov took lots of measures, which completely changed the situation of government in relations with religion:

- all the ecclesiastical organizations of Republic are taken under controle;

-the clergy entered state organs, related to religious matters, on the rights of state employees;

-the influence of religious organizations is limited on the internal-state level;

-the role of confession is limited by rarely-legal limits

In spite of critical attitude to Islam Karimov «policy and his non democratic behavior, his «non democracy» spreads to the whole elite with the same strength: there is no privileged «family», which can be forgiven for everything, there is no religious separatism of regional hokims, there is no fighting with corruption as form of property redistribution. Besides that, having an example of ruined by civil war Tajikistan, Islam Karimov took winning position related to so-called «politicized Islam».

### **Kyrgyz Republic**

The sovereinization process of central Asian countries in the beginning of nineties in the twentieth century resulted in spontaneous and sometimes uncontrolled process of national self-identification: state sovereignty often supposed the attribute of state limits, which were interstate borders Kyrgyzstan was not an exception: in 1992 from the territory of Uzbekistan to Kyrgyzstan came gang unifications in mass of their uzbek nationality, trying to separate and incorporate to Uzbekistan territorial part of Kyrgyz Republic. Kyrgyzians, who didn't understand till the end all the seriousness of USSR collapse, demonstrated to Uzbek side how they can unite in militias and fight with occupants on their territory. It was a natural process- the process of national self-identification the wave of post soviet republics «sovereignties parade». Only seven years passed and in 1999 the picture of uzbek invasion was exactly repeated as a reproduction. However, kirgizians did not give any resistance. Moreover they gave shelter and foot to uzbek «occupants». What has happened in political sphere of interstate relationships in such short period of time? What influenced the behavior of «occupied» kirgizians ? The answer is simple. Kirgizian government in short period of time let appear to тромболизм and клановость in power structures, but the population of remote, outlying districts stayed without attention from official Bishkek. The Askar Akaev system brought country to poor position, where idea of creating Islamic Halifat became the only alternative of surviving social stipulation of Islamic radicals fighting with official government in Batkent in 1999-2000 exactly identified the situation of state social and economical policies. Left Islamics tried to take their destiny and the destiny of their country in their hands. The idea of creating Turfan or so-called Turkestanian Halifat on the territory of present Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and southern territories of Kazakhstan put under the danger not only national but regional safety too.

### **The Republic of Tajikistan**

It should be marked, that the theme of state and religion «interaction» in the Tajikistan was not reflected on the pages of scientific newspapers for a long time, not only in regional context, but also in the context of national safety inside the country.



The evolutionary steps of interaction between government and Islamic radical flows can be seen in some stages. The first stage was characterized by confrontation between so-called supporters of «Pure Islam» and traditional Islam. The representatives of «Pure Islam» positioned themselves as fighters for cleaning Islam from «Bida-a», which means innovations, which was in their operation overused by traditionalists. The «pure» Islam unification was quite spontaneous and organized and non programmed. In parallel was formed the front of moderated Muslims, whose political ambitions were directly connected with recreation of social management institutes and power in the republic, also with legalization of religious organizations activity. The main power of moderated Muslims became «Islamic party of Tajikistan revival» (later IPTR), which had about 20000 members by December 1990. During this period IPTR tried legally to participate in the political process as parliament party, realizing the necessity of long, enlightening work to recreate Islam in the country [7.]

The second period of relationships between government and Islamic religious movements happened during the civil war, which started in 1992 and lasted till 1997. Islam came forward as mobilized power against foreign and internal policy of official center. The civil war was an insurrection of less developed Islamic South against modern prouzbek, prorussian North. It demonstrated as easy economical, social and religious conflicts get a religious meaning [8]. In general, during the civil war happened a great transformation of Islamic position from extremistic forms of fighting to political, peaceful.

The third period is characterized by appearing of some opposite-disposed religious flows, not only related to Rahmanov system but also to IPTR.

That is why, the government made some cardinal changes in their internal policy:

- there was a cardinal review of previous model of ruling the state from following the balance of different political powers interests to the building of hard authoritative system;

- changed the common conception of ruling the state, which raised the effectivity of ruling mechanisms of political and social institutes from political elite side.

So, Antiislamic Company, which got hard character -during last years, became a characteristic feature for both Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

### **The Republic of Turkmenistan**

Inspite of the fact that Islamic Republic Iran is a contiguous state of Turkmenistan, where the religious institutes of denominational have orthodox character, Turkmenistan in the Central Asia frames does not position itself as a religious country.

Probably, this peculiarity is dictated by the difference in denominational of state population: Iranians are Shiites, turkmenians are Sunnites . Besides that, the political system in the republic of Turkmenistan, in the base of which there is a strong authorized president power, and also closed internal state policy do not let

the appearing of any radical-disposed Islamic religious movements or flows of Islamic meaning, undermining the authority of the President power or opposing it.

Beginning with Saparmurat Niyazov and finishing with his adopted – Gurbanguly Berdymuhamedov, in the country are culled the bases of strong president powers. A kind of measuring of President cult first of all became a famous novel of Saparmurat Niyazov «Ruh-nama». Actually, the quintessence of the Niyazov's novel was God choosing and socrality of president power. The person culting of dead Turkmenistan president came to absurdity: «Ruh-Nama» was learnt and sung even in Islamic religious places as Koran.

In this case, the regular scene is the fact, that it is not necessary to talk about the activity of non traditional religions, different sects and modern religious organizations Firstly, the Muslims of Turkmenistan very hardly accept the appearance of any missionary in their sphere, especially from the side of other confessions.

By the way, it makes successful the interaction between government and so-called «traditional structures of Islam» in the fight with activity of different sects, terroristical organizations and so on.[9.] Secondly, Muslim clergy is, the object of powerholding structures close attention. In Turkmenistan there is a strict state control over the religious activity (although in the state power of religious cases muftiy and bishop are included), but this is the practice of all central- Asian countries [10]

It should suppose the change of interpolitical situation, because of coming to power after Saparmurat Niyazov's death more liberal in Turkmenistan foreign policy, Gurbanguly Berdymuhamedov. We can suppose, that the isolation neutrality will be kept. Which presses the support of traditional ecclesiastical values, or will be made the rate on big political and economical, which means also ecclesiastical opening.

So, it is necessary to ascertain the increasing role of Islam all the central- asian region. It should be noted that the «dialog» between government and religious organizations on the post soviet central-asian territory becomes more and more needed from year to year, as in the context of political, economical and socialy-cultural development, so in the context of foreign policy.

### COMMENTS

1. In Alexander Halmuhamedov's opinion (the works of Russian Institute of strategic searchings) «On the whole territory, populated by turkian people (from Turkey to Yakutiya) the popularity of orthodox Islam is quite low. Here the Pan-Turcic traditions are traditionally strong»//quotation:Alexander Halmuhamedov «Islamic factor»: uzbek variant // <http://www.tatword.ru/article.shtml?article=149&section=0&heding=0>

2. Studying the first Constitution the first Constitution of Republic of Kazakhstan in 1993, the representatives of Uighur Diaspora BC Kazakhstan not

only once touched the question about building the uigur autonomy on the territory of Kazakhstan on federative bases.

3. There are a lot of presidents of political systems changes, characterized by making theocratic states not only on the territory of central –asian region, but in the whole world too.

4. The policy and interests of world powers in Kazakhstan  
/Sultanova.-Almaty

5. Oleg Sidorov. The policy of Islam in the Central Asia//  
<http://www.religare.ru/print9037.htm>

6. Andrei Grozin. Radical Islam in the Central Asia //  
<http://www.cainfo.ru/article/opinions/629>

7. Olimova S. Political Islam and conflict in Tajikistan.//  
Центральная Азия и Кавказ, 1999 - №4 (5). – С.138.

8. Tukumov E.V. Main stages of extremism evolution in Tajikistan.  
// Аналитическое обозрение, 2004 - №5 – С.16.

9. Kamiljan Kalandarov. Islam in Turkmenistan: suppositions  
and reality//<http://www.easttime.ru/analytic/1/2/136.html>

10. <http://www.krugosvet.ru/articles/122/1012249/print.htm>

## РЕЗЮМЕ

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### **ПРОБЛЕМЫ РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ И НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ В СТРАНАХ ПОСТСОВЕТСКОЙ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЙ АЗИИ В КОНТЕКСТЕ ВЗАИМООТНОШЕНИИ МЕЖДУ РЕЛИГИЕЙ И ГОСУДАРСТВОМ**

В статье объектом научного исследования выступает взаимоотношения религии и государственной власти в странах постсоветской Центральной Азии. Автор статьи проводит анализ религиозного влияния на государственную политику в конфессиональной области.