



REVIVAL OF ISLAM IN TAJIKISTAN FROM 1991 TO 2014 SPECIAL REFERENCE TO EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research paper is to give an idea about the whole scenario of the revival of Islam in Tajikistan after the independence of the country in 1991. It will mainly focus on the external influences, which create instability in the region with common Islamic cart. Here I will discuss how the major actors Afghanistan and Pakistan fuelled the Tajik civil war. This paper will be having the basic introduction of the country, and I will deal separately the role of major actors like Afghanistan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Uzbekistan, Iran, who initiated the revival of Islam with the making of Madrassas, Islamic University, mosques, and reestablishment of Islamic monuments. It will be having detailed information about the external actor's involvement to spread radical Islamist thought which has affected the young population of the country.

Keywords: *Radical Islam, Tajikistan, Major Actors, Civil war, Mosques, young population.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Tajikistan, one of the five Central Asian countries has an area of 143,100 square kilometers. Sharing its borders with neighbouring countries of China, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyztan, Tajikistan is separated from Pakistan by a narrow strip of Afghanistan's Wakhan corridor. Religion and culture have always played an important role in the traditional society of Tajikistan, where Sunnis of Hanafi Sect are in majority. However, there are some practitioners of Salafism, a fundamentalist sect of Islam. Whereas all these Sunni Muslims practice Islam in their daily life, there is a Shia sect called Ismailis who live in the Gorno Badakshan Autonomous oblast. Tajikistan gained the status of the Union Republic within the former Soviet Union in 1929. Earlier it was the Tajik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within the Uzbek SSR which was established in 1924. During the Soviet period, Tajikistan witnessed modernisation and industrialization and Islamic practices went to the background. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the Islamic Revolution in Iran, both in late 1979, impacted upon the social and political situation in Tajikistan. Now the Afghan Mujahideen started influencing the young Tajiks with their anti - Soviet activities. During Gorbachev's policy of glasnost, Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan was registered as a political party. This party mainly focused on the Islamization of Tajikistan society, and its politicization on the basis of Islam. The Islamist fundamentalists sought to create an Islamist State under the purview of Islamic Caliphate. Islamic fundamentalists in Tajikistan want to practice original form of Islam as in the medieval times. Political Islam gained in popularity and received support from young Tajiks who are disillusioned with the Western thought, and are fed up



with corruption and instability in Tajikistan. “The Islamic thought of Sheikh Muhammad Ibn Abd Al Wahab, Jamal Ud Din Afghani, Ali Shariati, Ayatollah Ruhullah Khomeini- leader of the Revolutionary Party of Iran, Hasan Al Banna- founder of the Muslim Brotherhood and Sayyid Qutb of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt, and Maulana Sayed Abdul Ala Mawdudi of Pakistan the first Amir of the Jamaat e Islami, influenced the religious and political discourse in Tajikistan.” (Warikoo 2011).

Modern concept of democracy and secularism failed to influence the Islamist radicals. During this phase of Islamist revivalism, many mosques were constructed, religious education started spreading, and there was call for enforcing the Sharia in the political and social life, anti - government activities were started against the communist regime. External factors particularly from Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan influenced the developments in Tajikistan. Whereas Iranian Revolution was the main ideological force, rise of Mujahideen and Taliban to power in Afghanistan led to cross border Terrorism in Tajikistan affecting peace and stability in the region. Other regional players like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia started financing terrorist outfits in the region. They played an important role in the spread of radical Islam by sending literature and funds. The radicalised Ferghana Valley also affected the whole territory of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. International organisation like Hizb- ut -Tehrir which is both a religious and political organisation and strongly believes in the formation of single Muslim state based on Islamic Caliphate, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan, actively influenced the socio- political situation in Tajikistan.

Immediately after the independence of Tajikistan, the Islamist forces started fighting against the ruling Communist regime. During this civil war period, the Tajik opposition forces joined to form the United Tajik Opposition and set up their base in Afghanistan from where they started attacking the government forces in Tajikistan and created instability in the region. (Karagiannis 2006). The bloody Civil war, which resulted in death of tens of thousands of people, over a million refugees and huge economic loss running into billions of dollars, lasted upto 1997. Following a series of negotiations, a peace and reconciliation agreement was signed between the Tajik government led by Emomali Rakhmanov and the opposition led by Syed Abdullo Nuri in 1997.

President Rakhman sought to control Islamist activities by restricting the spread of radical Islam and banning the school girls using hijab in schools. BBC Monitoring reported on 29 September 2015 that Tajikistan’s Islamic Rebirth Party is also banned by the Supreme Court. Government is trying to control and to safeguard the people from the radical Islamist thought in Tajikistan. Tajikistan being one of the poor countries in Central Asia where most of the youth are unemployed, the radical Islamic groups take advantage of the situation to increase their foothold in the country. The situation is ripe for the religious extremists and terror groups particularly from Afghanistan to destabilise Tajikistan. It is in this context that this study is being undertaken.



2. INFLUENCE OF THE MAJOR ACTORS

2.1 Afghanistan overview

Afghanistan's geography is basically mountainous, landlocked and desert, which is a kind of similar to Tajikistan. And more importantly it is sharing a huge boarder with Tajikistan, so we can witness in its population some Tajik similarly. More importantly Afghanistan identify itself an "Islamic state", and doing religious practices, it is having majority of the people Sunni Muslims, its figure is 84% which is from Hanafi Sect of Islam, Shi'a Muslim 15%, other 1% likewise Tajikistan which is also having majority of the population Sunni Muslims and Hanafi Sect. Afghanistan is basically having mixed population, in which it has a long history of trade and invasion routes into the central Asia, south and southwest Asia.

During the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan on 1979, majority of the people opposed the communist regime. And most importantly Afghan Mujahidin "Afghan freedom fighters" started getting arms and funding from US and other powers on 1984. The rise of the Taliban imposed Islam on the country. (US dept of State).

2.1.1 The Role of Afghan mujahidin

As I have already mentioned Afghanistan is sharing a porous border with Tajikistan, therefore initially both the countries were having trade and social contacts. But the scenario drastically changed, after arms Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The people of the state thinking, it is like a direct communist attack on Islam and they thought whoever supporting or representing soviet regime is an anti Islam. When we see the history, which is witnessed the anti Soviet Basmachi movement on 1917 – 1921 and most importantly collectivization campaigns in the early 1930's. During this time most of the left the Central Asian Countries, and settled in northern Afghanistan.

There were some major actors who played an important role for disturbing the Central Asian region and most importantly Tajikistan. "In which for example Azad Beg, leader of the Islamic Union of the Northern province of Afghanistan, he was accountable for lot of missions against the Soviet forces. And the next one is Ibrahim Beg, who was one of the leader of the Basmachi movement and closely connected to Azad beg, the last Amir of the Kokand Naseeruddin was maternal great grandfather of Azad Beg. The help of Pakistan government the Islamic Union on 1981 founded in Peshawar. Most importantly former chief of Pakistan's army Mirza Aslam Beg who was a descendent of a Central Asian immigrant (muhajir) and in addition related to Azad Beg, initiated the Pakistan's forward policy in Afghanistan, convinced trans – Oxiana also.", (Warikoo 1995, 195-196)

Central Asian Muhajir who settled in Afghanistan during the Bolshevik revolution, they started jihad (holy war) confirmed with Mohammed Sharif Himatzade, chief of Islamic Renaissance Party, he established his exile in Afghanistan. after the Soviet intervention and Iranian revolution which has taken place same year on 1979, Afghan Mujahidin very easily with their radical Islamist thought started crossing the Tajikistan border, and Tajikistan



radical Islamist activist started welcoming them. Mujahideen leader Masood Khalili disclosed that Soviet soldiers conscripted from Tajikistan, they sold their rifles to purchase the Koran. Jamaat - I – Islami led by Burhanuddin Rabbani and Hizb - I – Islami led by Gulbadin Hikmtyar were very active to enrolling members and they distributed night letters to Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Therefore they got immense response from the educated young Tajik people. An article of May 13, 1988 has given the information of spreading radical Islam by distributing revolutionary literature in thousands and audio cassettes, video films by the Afghan Mujahideen. Apart from this they started two cross border arms attack in Kulyab and Kurgan Tyube regions of southern Tajikistan, smuggling of arms and ammunition and border movement. They were step up the training centres for young Tajik people for religious and military training. (Warikoo and Mahavir 2004, 144- 145)

2.1.2 Taliban

Afghanistan and Pakistan these two countries had a Taliban network, and basically Taliban was a product of the private rural based madrasas. As we know when Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan, during this time these time madrasas played an important role for recruiting the mujahidin, the guerrillas fighting Soviet forces in Afghanistan. Taliban leaders who are basically a product of madrasas and mostly mullahs from Qandahar province recognised with the Deobandi movement together in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The main leader of the Taliban was Mullah Muhammad Omar; he got the title of amir – ul- momineen which means commander of the faithful. He has changed the name of Afghanistan, which was previously Islamic State of Afghanistan to the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan in 1997. He establishes the Ministry of Enforcement of Virtue and Suppression of Vice, which is accountable for the enforcement of all Taliban decrees concerning moral behaviour. The Taliban started claiming after the long anarchy, they establish basis of legitimate authority in Afghanistan. Taliban administration governs as an exploitive police State, government offices were not function properly. When Taliban mujahidin parties were started failing, then it got support from other countries like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. They had given to Taliban financial assistance to maintain an effective military force. Taliban fighting force consists of non Afghans in which nationals from Saudi Arabia, other Gulf States, and China. It is getting incentives and cash payments from former mujahidin groups particularly those connected with Hizb- I – Islami. In October 1998 a breakaway faction of Hizb-i Wahdat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan (Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan), led by Hujjat-al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad Akbari, clubbed with the Taliban. Akbari is a non-Hazara Shi'a as of the Qizilbash ethnic group, with religious guidance in Iran. (Human rights watch 2001)

According to the Eurasia net report, Tajikistan government is planning to open “special reconnaissance units” to safeguard the border with Afghanistan. The units will be division of Tajikistan's State Committee for National Security (known by its Russian acronym, GKNB), which oversees the border, “According to the commander of the border forces, Radzhabali Rakhmonali. The condition on the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border is difficult. The Kunduz, Takhar, and Badakhshan provinces are the hub of Taliban activity. Therefore it's been projected that we restructure the border forces and form special reconnaissance units.” (Kucera 2016)



Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida, which formed in 1988 was also integrated with Taliban. Most importantly Osama bin Laden and his forces shifted in Afghanistan and establish its headquarter. As we know Osama had fought against the Soviet Red army during 1979 to 1989. Osama also marry to Mullah Omar's daughter and made good relationship. "Although some western commentators mentioning some differences among them during 1997-1998", (Sreedhar 2003)

2.2 Pakistan

The Islamic republic of Pakistan, which is sharing its borders with India in the east, Afghanistan in the west, Iran in the southwest, China in the northeast, and it is separated from Tajikistan to the Afghanistan's Wakhan corridor to the west. Therefore its location from the strategic point of view is very important. Pakistan had played an immense role for spreading Islamic movement in Central Asian region, which has effected to Tajikistan population.

Pakistan was very much active to spreading the anti-communist regime to the people of the Tajikistan, collaborating with Afghanistan. After the disintegration of Soviet Union on 1991, the Central Asian republics were started searching their identity, so the neighbouring Islamic countries started influencing to them with their Islamic card. For example Pakistan very famously, its Islamic fundamentalism literature with Syed Abu Ala Maududi's book 'Jihad' circulated, started doing religious propaganda, most importantly with Afghan mujahideen they started smuggling of weapons to the region.

Pakistan was historically linked with the Central Asian region, and Zia Ul Haq was appreciating the revival of links with the region. His intelligence "Chief Lt. Gen Akhtar Abdur Rehman told the visiting US dignitaries- "the holy war in opposition to communist will not stick to Afghanistan only it will spread the whole Central Asia", therefore with this we can say it was the result of destabilisation of Tajikistan, involvement of Islamic Fundamentalist and Pakistan's secret agencies. (Warikoo 1995)

2.2.1 Af- Pak region

Geostrategic position of Afghanistan Pakistan region is very important because these two countries played huge role in establishing instability through the Islamist movement in Tajikistan. Pakistan has very actively supported the Afghan Mujhadeen against the Soviet regime, without their involvement it would not be possible to end in collapse. Apart from this it has given training to Afghan guerrilla forces.

In international platform Moscow was facing universal condemnation from western powers and third world countries, which has given to Pakistan a diplomatic strength to "Pakistan's Afghan policy". And most importantly Pakistan was getting economic and military aid from United States. The Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) were did a lot of job to implementing insurgency operations against the communist regime, and Afghan guerrillas also participated in the important decision making of the ISI. The most important Afghan Commanders Ahmad Shah Masood and Ismael Khan, were operating with the support of the Pakistan, and



its support of arms and ammunition. ISI was supported the fundamentalist group Hizb- I – Islami (Islamic party) of Gulbadin Hikmatyar who was the prime Minister.(Rais 1993)

2.2.2. Tehrik –e- Taliban Pakistan

This organisation is operating the whole Taliban movement in Pakistan. The leader of the Tehrik-e- Taliban Pakistan Baitullah Mehsud was not taken any responsibility of assassination of the former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto with the Pakistan government. In Dec 2007, the organisation was formed in a new manner. This organisations main aim is to ‘enforce Sharia’ clubbed with against the NATO forces in Afghanistan and most importantly perform ‘jihad’ against the Pakistan army. Therefore we can say, Pakistan government who supported the Taliban activity covertly is becoming victim of its own activity. This organisation was in starting supportive organisation of the existing local militant units, which was spread in very huge geographic area, “ with South Waziristan, all of Seven tribal units of FATA and also the Swat, Lakki, Marwat, Bannu, Tank, Dera, Kohistan, Malakand Ismail Khan, Buneer settled areas of the NWFP.”, (Warikoo 2011)

2.2.3 Role of the student organisation

The Islamic revivalism and for Islamic radical movement, Islamic students organisation had played an immense role, and at present scenario Islamic student organisation are spreading their religious ideas in to political power. To the student movement, the religious ideologues and revivalist leaders gave the base for training. Which consist the Islami Jamiat –I Tulaba (Islamic Society of students), a unit of the Jamaat-i- Islami (Islamic Party), its leader was Sayyid Abu'l-A'la Mawdudi, Jama'at- Jamaat which is a oldest wing of the student movement, it has been played a important role for influencing the young minds with their ideology. Jamaat- I- Islami’s political agenda was the Islamization of the Pakistan from the day of independence, and to diversify the social base of the related organisation. Jmaat-i- Islami with its political movement brought down the Ayub Khan and Bhutto regims in 1969 and 1977. Therefore young people had taken active part for the Islamisation of the region, which affected to Tajikistan also. (Nasr 1992)

2.3 The role of Uzbekistan

The Uzbek Soviet Socialist was formed in 1924 by the Soviet authorities and it abolished the Khiva, Kokand, Emirate of Bukhara from the Tsarist regime in 19th century. Now the republic of Uzbekistan is one of the Central Asian countries; it is sharing borders with Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Therefore Uzbekistan strategically is very important. After it got independence from Soviet Union in 1991, it stated to doing economic transformation and strengthening authoritarian regime. The president of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov, has established his power with suppressing the other political parties. Its oppositions were before 1992, “the Birlik (Unity) association established in late 1988 and its founders were Uzbek intellectuals, they were fully influenced by the performance of the Baltic republics. Before formation of the Birlik, some informal groups

were also active in Uzbekistan, in which mostly intellectuals were there; who took part in discussing and producing officially unauthorized work of the artistic. Birlik and Erk (Freedom) party formed the basis of the secular opposition to Islam Karimov's regime. The Islamic Renaissance Party and Islamic fundamentalist groups were active in Ferghana valley which represented the Islamic opposition.”(Vassiliev 2001)

2.3.1 Islamist fertile ground ‘ Ferghana Valley’

Map:2 The Feghan valley



THE MAP DOES NOT IMPLY THE EXPRESSION OF ANY OPINION ON THE PART OF THE AGENCIES CONCERNING THE LEGAL STATUS OF ANY COUNTRY, TERRITORY, CITY OR AREA OF ITS AUTHORITY, OR DELINEATION OF ITS FRONTIERS AND BOUNDARIES.

Source:

<https://www.google.co.in/search?q=ferghana+valley+map&biw=1366&bih=643&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwilhYTY77NAhWHj5QKHRXeDrkQsAQIKQ#imgrc=mhBlrYaQu27DQM%3A>

The influence of the radical Islamist thought has grounded in Ferghana valley, from where most of the movement started. As we can see above the map the valley is sharing borders with Tajikistan and Kyrzstan very closely. Therefore the Movement of the people and their radical thoughts was very much evident. The Ferghana valley “is a home of 31.4 percent of the population, and last 40 years it has been an important role for the national economy. The young people of this area built their dignity with opposing all things linked with the capital. Valley people established their nationalistic root with the Islamic ideologies. This area is focused on not only with their Islamist movement but the opposition secular national Birlik Party, was banned by the Islam Karimov's government. Nevertheless most importantly in this area unemployment increased and people lose job in manufacturing. “In the last decade of the Soviet rule, people started working in neighbouring towns and metropolitan settlements.



These people were highly skilled in the rural labour force”. (Ilkhamov 2001). According to pointed out the “Islamic activities going day by day, many madrasa and mosques constructed recently, number of followers of radical Islam is increasing”, (Sengupt 1999).

2.3.2 Religious opposition groups

During the USSR period in 1990 Islamic Revival party has emerged. It started functioning in Uzbekistan, and Uzbek government has banned the party. After this incident the members of this party continued their work covertly in Uzbekistan. Therefore in 1991 the same party members established the Adolat (Justice) party. And the number of demonstration was function in the Namangan province to establish an Islamic State, people protested against Islam Karimov. After the Soviet disintegration Ferghana valley became the hub of the religious extremism. In 1995, these groups griped the region with the Wahhabist ideology and its leader Tohir Yuldashav became a strong leader in this region. Nevertheless their one of the agenda was to overthrow the Islam Karimov’s secular government. (Gupta 2014)

In 1992 the Tajikistan civil war witnessed the Islamist Movement of Uzbekistan which fought the Tajik government forces. In the end of the 1992 Islam karimov’s secular government banned all the nongovernmental religious groups and taken control of the official Islamic clergy. The civil war in Tajikistan was has given a major concern to the Uzbek government, because Islamism in neighbouring country would boost the Islamic base internally. And the peace Accord of Tajikistan which has taken place on 1997 was set an example of the authorisation of Islam as a force in politics. (ICG 2001)

IMU with the aim of the formation of the Islamic state, in 1999 it attacked Ferghana valley. In 2000 also attack has taken place. The region of Tavildara in Tajikistan has the base to take training for the IMU fighters. There shelter was situated in southern part of Kyrgystan, which is a neighbouring country of Uzbekistan. (Gupta 2014)

Likewise the IMU, Islamic opposition group Hizb ut- Tahrir (Islamic Party of Liberation) formed in 1953 in east Jerusalem, it has come from the Palestinian national liberation organisation with the objective to establish an Islamic rule (caliphate) all over the Muslim world. HT has its main office in London, and it also griped foot in the Middle East, North Africa, south east Asia and Central Asia. It distributed pamphlets in most of the Islamic region and first itswitnessed in 1996. (Akbarzadeh 2004). HT came into force in Uzbekistan in 1990’s to with the non violent way to establish an Islamic Caliphate based on ‘sharia law’. And it has the similar goal like IMU to overthrow the established government of Uzbekistan. Most of the people joined this movement because HT rejects military measures. The secular government banned this movement, and they went underground to operate. (ICG 2001)

2.4 The Role of Iran

Historically Iran has a huge background with the Central Asian region, the southern Central Asian region earlier were called Outer Iran has witnessed the nomadic Iranian Tribes. 7th



century AD, Turkic tribes of the east well settled in northern and eastern Central Asia, and were in a position to control the Southern belt. At the same time the Arab invaders from the south came with their strong goal to convert the region into Islam, they conquered Iran.

In the 16th century Central Asia witnessed the Persian goal to resurface the region. Throughout the Safavid period “Shah Ismail succeeded, he installed the governor of Khwarezm and in the 18th century Nadir Shah occupied the Khanates of Khiva and Bukhara. These incidents have not given challenge to the Turkic (Uzbek Turkmen) domination to Southern Central Asia. In the early Islamic period both Turkic and Persian structure the influence of bilingual tradition. Both languages were in vernacular dialects in common use. Central Asian painting, music, architecture was given the shadow of Persian impression.” (Warikoo 1995)

In the 19th century after the Tsarist Empire when by the end of this century Russia came into force, it extended power throughout the Iran. And importantly it has acquired the political and economic advantages, with a effective step on foreign trade in Khorasan. The central Asia had a political and the cultural ties with the Iran immensely. It has ‘Silk Roads’ connection to the region. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Iran and the Central Asian countries relation has changed radically. Iran witnessed the Islamic revolution in 1979, which has changed the whole scenario, now Central Asian region highly influenced with the Islamic ideology. Therefore it became a threat to the region for its stability and security. (Warikoo 1995)

2.4.1 The ideological effect

The main ideologist from Iran, Ali Shariati (1934- 1977) initiated the present Islamic radicalism. He was a French educated sociologist; during the Shah’s regime he was imprisoned. His ideas for the Islam were followed by many Muslim intellectuals, students and urban working people. His ideas for ‘Islam’ was basically radical social and political revolution, he speeded the ‘Shia orthodox’ values with the opposition of the secular and religious system who was under the influence of the west. By the time many radical Islamist ideologist were doing their operation over underdeveloped world, muslim countries try to mix nationalism ‘Pan Arabism’ with the radical social change, likewise Ba’th in Syria and Iraq and Naseer in Egypt Arab socialism. Ali Shariati was the main ideologist who interpreted Islam to take a side of necessary radical ideology. Shariati stressed on the type of Islam in which Shi’ism challenge the changing conditions, he was given less importance to Muslim priest (Alim). Shariati’s Islamic religiosity was not that clear whether it was for establishing a militant cultural identity or for the revolution. But he was totally against of the established Shah’s regime, westernisation and the official order of the inactive Ulema. (Griffith 1979)

2.4.2 Iranian revolution

Iranian revolution was an Islamic political movement next to the regime and to establish an Islamic State. Politically Ayatollah Khomeini was a prominent Shia militant member to grow the political Islam with a determinate leadership. He was a fundamental personality with his connection political system of clerics was planned. And the clerics can strengthen him with his ideas of Islamic government. Therefore the Shia clerics, started organising their political



position to upbringing a movement in society, in which witnessed the absence of the active political opposition in Iran. Khomeini's followers started operating from the mosques of Tehran and other cities. When Khomeini went to Iraq, large amounts of money distributed in the name Khomeini, and religious personalities of the country accepted this contribution from the representatives of the leader and transmitted to his brother Morteza Pasandideh. These funds were not only used for supporting mosques, clerics, Islamic cultural activities but to influence people for political movement. He also has given the shape of political doctrine of Islamic movement, within Shiism he was the successor of Osuli movement. Therefore he established a political theory against the Shah regime and to establish Islamic State. Most importantly Khomeini and his clerical contacts were operating the movement with the other Shia scholars and intellectuals; they were started 'war of position' against the regime. And they established Shia ideology to correspond the scenario of present Iran. It was attracted the youth of the middle class of the region. Islamic intellectuals at that point of time published lot of Islamic readings, opened the Islamic centres, these all activities has given the birth of the Islamic revolution. The 1960's and 1970's was the period which influenced most of the Islamic country with publication and readings of the Shia literature, it became very much popular. "A survey of 1976 indicate 48 publishers in Tehran alone with the religious text, with it 26 had begun their circulation in the period of 1965- 1975. Most importantly Islamic movement not only spread their thoughts with Islamic propaganda in a traditional way. In mid 1970's, survey reported many recording centres and the distribution of tapes. These religious tapes and cassettes were running immensely during the year, it became the source like institution themselves." (Ashtiani 1994)

2.5 The role of Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia is one of the Middle Eastern, narrow in warding country. It has vast oil resources which makes it one of the wealthiest states. This is a birth place of Muslim Prophet Mohammed, and a structure of Islam. And its ruler rulers are struggling to battle with extremist violence. The nation has witnessed at 18th century ruling of Al Saud family, it has followed the Hijaz region, Al Saud supported a strict implementation of Islam, in the form of Wahhabism consist of strongly Islamic self identity. Saudi Arabia had a king Abd-al-Aziz in 1932 , he was known as the Lion of Najd, he "detained Hejaz from the Hashemite family and combined the state into his family's regulation. Since his death in 1953 he has been succeeded with his different sons. The Al saud's dynasty's control has established the power, and in 20th century following kings were given a shape to country in which it has economic modernisation and developing a nation as a regional power. Saudia Arabia has muslim pilgrimage Mecca and Madena where most most of the people are going for haj, Saudi king has given compensation to most of the Muslim country for pilgrimage.", (BBC country profile).

2.5.1 Wahhabism

Wahhabism was first preached by Mohammad Ibn Abd al- Wahhab in 1740's. He was a native muslim scholar, and the school he founded was given the name of him. It is a principle of Hanafi school of Sunni Islam, wahhabism called the restoration of the Prophet Mohammad's period kind of religious, social, political traditions and most importantly Quran



and the sunna is the only source of the religious behaviour rest of the new concept introduced in Islam will not be acceptable. It has a prime principle of 'oneness of God', it was not a theoretical theological concept, but it has impacted to the people in daily life, nevertheless it is a common phenomenon in Middle Eastern and Wahhabist ideological inspired Muslim countries. "Muhammad Ibn Abd al- Wahab call for the religious and social order has shaken the Najd. Therefore the leaders of local inactive communities took him as threat for the region for its peace and instability. So he was disqualified from other places and life was in threatened. Finally the Amir of Di'iyya , Mohammad Ibn Saud, supported him and became one of his respectful disciples. Al Saud has established his dynasty in the Arabian Peninsula; it has given boost for spreading the Wahhabist ideology. Wahab has given given the shape of 'orthodox Islam' which was giving the shape of state and religion, and without 'sharia' nation became a tyrannical organization. Saudi domain became a Wahhabi state. And religion plays an important role to this country. At present the religious leaders were supporting the Islamic faith are very much concern about the Islamic radicalism." (Nevo 1998)

2.5.2 Pan Islamism

The king Faisal had discussed the Pan Islamist idea, Saudi Arabia during 1960's to 1970's had invested a lot of money to spread the concept of Muslim unity. In 1980's Pan Islamist movement had taken strong position in the form of communication revolution and the figure of war in Muslims against non Muslims. For the Saudi regime it was very difficult politically to avoid inspiration for jihad in the sake of Muslim unity. Saudi Arabia had supported pan Islamist militancy from the 1980's, and it was affected the domestic and political scenario of the nation. It has supported the Afghan jihad which had connection with the Tajikistan instability. It has supported Bosnian jihad, and Sahwa movement was achieving force. In 1990's private support for jihad was growing immensely. It has given full support to jihad and Islamic militancy by the means of financial funding. Many Saudi national has taking this as a positive charitable funding not for terrorism. Pan Islamist sentimental people have admitted that their initiation for jihad in abroad was challenging. In the 1980's and 1990's has. Therefore in 2003 a policy called zero tolerance has implemented, it has increased the security regime in the nation against anti regime violence. (Hegghammer 2009)

2.5.3 Religious views and impact of madrassas

Saudi Arabia in foreign lands has heavily invested in building mosques, madrasas, religious school, sunni cultural centers, Islamic university, simultaneously it has operating these things by sending Saudi clerics. They are giving religious education, religious seminars. Most importantly Saudi has inspired most of the Muslim country with this kind of soft power. And Tajikistan has witnessing the problems with the Islamist radical thought sprayed by Saudi Arabia. As I have already mentioned both countries has a majority of the Sunni people, so the fundamentalist thought of Wahhabism is taking place over it.

Saudi Princes have funded the growth of madrasas in Pakistan and Afghanistan during the Soviet struggle, Tajikistan also benefited with it. The schools of rural area have taught the militant radical form of Islam, they had told to fight for jihad. These students had formed the



Taliban as well as Al Qaeda. It has brainwashed the young people with the fundamentalist thought. (The week)

3. CONCLUSION

In the whole chapter I have focused on how the external major actors have influenced the revival of Islam in Tajikistan. Because of these actors at present people of the Tajikistan are highly influenced with the radical Islamist thought. As I have already discussed Afghanistan with its Afghan mujahidin with anti Soviet sentiment spread the Islamic radicalism. This step has given the birth of Taliban, Al Qaeda. Another major actor Pakistan collaborating with Afghanistan in anti Soviet regime started creating instability in the region with Taliban factor, fertile Af - Pak region for the disturbance in Tajikistan. Uzbekistan from the Fergana valley started operating Islamist movement with IMU, Hizb ut Tehrir. Iran with the very important Islamic Revolution in 1979 has given the direction for Islamic revivalism in Tajikistan, and most visible ideological phenomenon. And Saudi Arabia with the financial assistance, pilgrimage destination, Wahhabism, pan Islamism, role of madrassas, religious fundamentalist thoughts. Therefore Tajikistan youth at present joining the militant groups with the radical thoughts, and these all things has created a huge instability in the region.

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