

**OPPORTUNITIES OF HIGHER EDUCATION
IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA, 1950-1970**

HAIDER ALI

Dissertation submitted for the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
of the Jawaharlal Nehru University
School of International Studies

**NEW DELHI
1981**

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Preface	
Chapter I: Introduction	1 - 8
II: Traditional Heritage	9 -27
III: System of Higher Education in Soviet Central Asia.	28 -65
IV: The Impact of Soviet Education System on Central Asian Society	66 -83
V: Conclusion	84 -90
Bibliography	91 -99

List of Tables

<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. Education Levels of Population of the Union Republics	38
II. Ratio of Male and Female with Higher and Secondary Education/ Difference in the education level between town and country	40
II. Number of Pedagogical Institutes in the USSR and Union Republics	45
IV. Number of students attending secondary specialised educational institutions at the beginning of the academic year	50
V. Number of students in Secondary Specialised educational institutions per 10,000 head of population at the beginning of the academic year	51
VI. Number of students graduating from secondary specialised educational institutions per 10,000 head of population	52
II. Evening and Correspondence Students as percentage of total number of students attending secondary specialised educational institutions at the beginning of the academic year	53
II. Distribution of Persons Attending Higher and Secondary specialised Educational Institutions according to the Nationalities of the Union and Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions	54 - 54a
X. Number of Scientific Personnel in Union Republics	56
X. Increase in the number of Scientific workers from among the indigenous Nationalities of the Union Republics	56a
I. Percentage of Women among specialists with Secondary specialised education employed in the economy on 15 November 1964 (By Nationalities)	58

	<u>Page</u>
XII. Network of Universities in 1971 by Central Asia and Kazakhstan Republics	59
XIII. Development of Vocational-Technical Educational System, 1950-60	61
XIV. Academy of Sciences and Branches at the end of 1971 in USSR and Union Republics	63 a
XV. Specialists in Central Asian Economy	78
XVI. Nationality Composition of the Labour Force in September 1964	79 a
XVII. The Level of Russification of the largest Non-Russian Nationalities	82 a

PREFACE

Education has played a significant role in the evolution of human civilisation. It is considered necessary as much for preservation of social order as in the process of social change. Development and spread of secular education has brought about revolutionary changes in the structure of the world in modern times. Those societies and nations which adopted and encourage the development of secular education have overtaken the others which have resisted the penetration of secular education. Here, we need not go in the history of these developments. However, one thing which is very clear is that the Islamic countries which were once the centre of world civilization have receded into the background on account of a religious and dogmatic resistance to the spread of secular education. Muslim Central Asia was not an exception in this respect. During the late 19th century when most of Central Asia had come under the colonial yoke of Tsarist Russia, a small group of native intelligentsia known as Jadids did try to popularise the secular education. However, due to various reasons which we have described in the first part of our study, they could not make much success.

In the meanwhile, Bolshevik revolution changed the entire socio-political environment. Bolsheviks were ideologically committed to put an end to the social, national inequalities so as to create a new society. For this

Bolsheviks made use of education as an important instrument. They used it both for bringing about radical change as well as preservation of new political order. In this study, we have made a modest attempt to understand how far the Soviets have succeeded in their objectives.

At the outset, I am indebted to Dr. Shams Ud Din, my supervisor for his guidance throughout my work. He gave his valuable time and suggestions at every step of my M.Phil. Programme.

I gratefully acknowledge the cooperation that I received from my teachers in the Centre for Soviet And East European Studies, School of International Studies and Professor S.C. Shukla of Zakir Hussain Centre for Education Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University.

I am also very grateful to our Library staff who always remain very cordial and helpful to me.

However, I alone, am responsible for the remaining errors, if any.

Haider Ali

(HAIDER ALI)

Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Education has played a great role in the development of human civilization. It is one of the most important instruments of social progress. The opportunity for the study of higher education in Soviet Central Asia would provide a unique example of modernization, socio-economic changes and the process of political development in a traditional society. Like the medieval Europe, Central Asia till the outbreak of October 1917 revolution had all the characteristics of a feudal society. The religious institutions performed and monopolized educational institution such as maktab and secondary educational institution such as mudrasah were regulated by the age-old policies of the clerical elite. Such education were meant to successfully protect the feudal norms and a process of socialization for the preservation of Islamic culture and tradition which ultimately went in favour of traditional elite. During the colonial period a reformist group called the Jadidists and the colonial administration did try to lay the foundation of modern secular education but they could not make any significant dent on account of the stiff resistance offered by the traditionalist known as the Qadimists.

Soon after the Bolsheviks came to power, they started propagation of a new social theory. The Bolsheviks leadership firmly believed that socialist system can only be established

- - -

by removing all kinds of traditional myths and social inequality. Towards this objective programmes for eradicating illiteracy by conscious efforts were initiated. A network of Soviet system of education: thus, came into being in the post-revolution period. For this, the Soviet government devoted massive resources for the development of primary education, secondary education, adult and public education to generate and popularise the Marxist-Leninist world view. The aim was creation of new social basis for consolidation of political power by the new rulers.

In this study it will be our endeavour to survey the educational development during the period 1950-1970 as it was only in the post-second world war period that the Soviet government paid increased and concentrated attention for the development of higher education in Soviet Central Asia. Each republic established its Academy of Sciences, pedagogical institutes, technikums, medical institutes, and a number of Rabfak (Worker's faculty), and various other institutions of secondary and specialised education. A number of educational institution for women were also established. Each Soviet Central Asian Republics by then had one state university except Uzbekistan which had two universities. These institutions served effective channels of social mobility and transition from traditional society to a modern one.

The ideology of Marxism-Leninism provides the philosophical foundation to the Soviet system of education. On the ideological basis the Soviets claim to have achieved their goal of bridging the social and national inequalities that existed between the Asian nationalities and Great Russians. As against this, the Western Sovietologist have branded the Soviet education system as an institution of Russification meant for liquidating the traditional Islamic culture of the Central Asian peoples. It will be our endeavour to portray the real character of the Soviet system of education in Central Asia. The study would be an attempt to find out as to what extent the Soviet Central Asian society has undergone social transformation and what structural changes have occurred in the region.

By adopting historico-analytical method, we propose ✓
to test the following hypotheses:

- (1) That like in other societies, educational development is considered as an indication of social progress in the USSR as well.
- (2) That the Soviet education strives to delimit the nature and scope of religion and helps in reducing orthodoxy and religious dogmatism.
- (3) That the Soviet educational system provides ✓
— equal opportunities to different strata of Soviet society.
- (4) That the Soviet pattern of higher education is oriented to fulfil the need of Soviet economy and Soviet society.

The overall study would be divided into three chapters. In the first chapter the researcher would trace the nature and scope of traditional system of education and its impact on Central Asian society. Since the educational system in Central Asia was basically developed and influenced by Islamic culture and traditions during the Muslim rule, the researcher would analyse the role of the traditional system of education in the development of society and political processes. We would elaborate on the classification of educational institutions and their social relevance. It would help us to understand the prevalent socio-economic structures and the political systems. Since the Khans and Emirs constituted the traditional elite, we would also strive to analyse their role in the management of the traditional system of education.

During the Tsarist period, the educational system in Central Asia went through certain marginal changes. There emerged two types of new schools. The Russo-native schools were started by the Russians and New Methods schools by Jadidists in most of the urban towns of Russian Turkestan. The Tsarist government did try to reform the educational system but their efforts did not bear any fruit. The natives by and large were not inclined to join the schools opened by the Russian missionaries. A group of native intellectuals however recognized the need of educational reform and

developments. As a result the Jadidists' movements came into being in Central Asia. The Jadidists not only devoted their attention to the educational reform movement, but they also politicised the masses and sought to imbibe the feelings of pride in the native culture and traditions. The activities of the Jadidists were perceived as potential threat by the Tsarist colonial administrations and it gave support to the Quadimists who were also opposed to the Jadidists.

We shall further proceed to study the Tsarist educational policies and programmes and the changes occurred during the colonial period. Finally, we shall give a brief account of the nature and development of the Soviet system of education that was established after the October Revolution.

The second chapter would be devoted to the study of the system of higher education in Soviet Central Asia during the period 1950 to 1970. Particularly the researcher would try to comprehend the Soviet policy in this regard as enunciated in the Party Congresses and by the Ministry of Education. Secondly, it would be also our attempt to know if any diversification in the field of higher education, such as opening up new universities, pedagogical institutes, medical institutes, and institutes devoted to particular field of specialization took place. What were the policies

pertaining to the ethnic composition of teacher and students. To what extent native women benefitted by the Soviet system ✓ of education.

The researcher would try to evaluate the Soviet admission policies. Even after 30 years of October Revolution a considerable size of bureaucratic, administrative and technical positions were held by the Russians, Ukrainians and others belonging to non-native nationalities, as the native continue to lack technical and higher education and which could make them competent to operate their own economy and political system. In the wake of successful national liberation movements in other parts of Asia and Africa, the native leadership of Soviet Central Asia increasingly felt that even after 30 years of revolution in the Soviet Union. They have not so far been allowed to be masters of their own socialist society. They reiterated their discontent in various party congresses and criticised and lopsided development in the USSR at the cost of Central Asian interests. The demand for the centralization of economy and more power and opportunities for political participation in the decision-making processes sharply grew during the period 1950 and 1960. They felt uncomfortable due to the Russians hold over their educational institutions. Secondly, after the death of J.V. Stalin there was a general upsurge

in political activities alongwith the dondemnation of excesses perpetuated during the Stalin period. All these factors provided lubricants to the native leaderships in their efforts for nativisation of socio-political system in Soviet Central Asia. They demanded increasing opportunities for the development of technical and specialised education for the native peoples in all the higher educational institutes of Soviet Central Asia. Such development in the Soviet policy, in the later decades helped to accelerate the processes of nationalisation of not only educational institution but other sectors of Central Asian economy and political institutions as there was now a rapid growth of trained and highly educated personnel belonging to the native nationalities of Central Asia.

The problem of racialism, nationalism and nativization to a greater extent was solved by the policies and role of higher education in Soviet Central Asia during the period under study. The Soviet leadership propagated that the native culture and languages should be preserved, but these should be impregnated with the spirit of Soviet brotherhood and socialism.

The Third chapter would be devoted to the analysis of the impact of Soviet education system on Central Asian society. An overall assessment of the achievement, analysis of socio-economic reforms, the degree of social mobility will be examined in this chapter. We shall further analyse

What were the impact of the Soviet system of education on the life style of Central Asian, in their social values and political culture. It would be our endeavour to find out whether the natives have retained their cultural identity or they have been Russified as some of the Western Sovietologist claim.

The last chapter would constitute a summing up of the study and would project the achievement as well as the shortcomings in the field of higher education in Soviet Central Asia.

Chapter II
Traditional Heritage

Chapter II

TRADITIONAL HERITAGE

The contemporary developments in Central Asia have brought about many structural changes in the traditional heritage and cultural ethos of the peoples of Central Asia. Historically, Central Asia has been one of the oldest centres of civilization. Due to its geographical and strategic importance for European trade and availability of raw materials, the regions of Central Asia has always attracted the attention of powerful neighbours. From the period of Ceythians (600 to 174 B.C.) and Huns (300 B.C. to 300 A.D.) to the days of October Revolution (1917), culture, language and social norms and customs of the peoples of Central Asia has been influenced by different socio-cultural streams. Till the establishment of Turkish Empire in Central Asia, the traditional social structure was typical nomadic. Most of them were Payans or believed in Shamanism. Some of them also followed the religions of Zorostrian, Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism. From 8th Century onward influence of Islam rapidly grew.

Penetration of Arabs during the beginning of 8th century A.D. led to a radical change in the life style of Central Asians. Arabs did not only wage their struggle for political domination but successfully propagated Islam. In the beginning resistance was shown against Islam but

by the 9th century the people of Central Asia inherited almost all the Islamic culture which then prevailed in other Islamic countries of the world. By the 10th century Central Asia produced many religious scholars, philosophers, geographers, astronomers, scientists, mineralogists, ethnographers, historians and poets.

Among the religious scholars, one of the most pious and the greatest interpreter of Hadith (Practice and saying of Prophet Mohammed) Imam Bukhari (194-256 of the Hijra) belongs to this region. Leaving aside a small segment of population which continued to be Christian and Jews, during the early period of Muslim rule a large majority of the peoples of Central Asia became Muslim.

Among the materialists, Abu Nasr Al-Farabi (died 950 A.D.) has been placed very high in the history of knowledge. He is called Aristotle of the East for his writing of philosophical commentaries. He manifested a materialistic outlook and was persecuted by the mullas. A renowned scientist Abu Ali Abu-Sina (990-1037 A.D.) was inspired by him, who wrote several books on philosophy and medicine. One of his famous book Canon of Medical Science was translated into Latin in the 12th century which provided an authoritative guidance for the physician of the East and West for approximately half a dozen centuries. Another great figure, Al-Biruni (973-1048 A.D.) of Khorezm

was born in a village which is situated today in Kara-Kalpak Autonomous SSK. His towering work, History of India has no parallel in medieval literature. He is known as a great encyclopadist, geographer, astronomer, mineralogist, ethnographer, historian and poet. He vehemently criticised the conquerers for their cruelty and fascinated the culture of other people .

The spread of Islamic culture led to the establishment of developed educational system. The education was very much linked with the faith of Islam. The primary schools (Maktabs) and higher schools (Madrasahs) were structurally the same as those were in other Muslim countries. During the Muslim period in Central Asia secular education also received considerable attention. A number of scholars of Central Asian origin made significant contribution to the development of astronomy, mathematics, philosophy and medicine. As a result a number of Central Asian towns, such as Khiva, Bukhara and Samarkand became famous as seats of learning. The work of Plato and Aristotle were known to the scholars of Turkistan. Scholars of Central Asia exhibited considerable interest in the properties of minerals and astronomical observations. However, the development of secular education received a setback on account of growing

1. See Devendra Kaushik, Central Asia in Modern Times, (Moscow, 1970), pp. 17-18.

influence of religious fundamentalism and scholastic traditions which prevented the growth of rational enquiry. During the 19th century, there existed only two types of educational institutions, viz., the maktab and madrasah which were meant primarily for religious education.

2

The Maktab

Like in all Muslim countries, the maktab of Central Asia were usually attached to the mosques, although in prosperous areas private schools might exist. The accommodation allotted to the maktab consisted of small cells which lacked proper ventilation and provision for light. It was a manifestation of poor resources devoted to public education. In fact, for finance, education was dependent on donations and income from haqf.

The usual classroom furniture consisted of long, low, narrow benches on which pupils placed their exercise books. While the teacher sat on the floor by the wall facing the entrance, the pupils sat on the feet matting facing the teacher in rows forming a half circle.

The teachers (darualla) were usually the local Imams or Azamchi (muazzin); often men of little knowledge. The teachers usually came from poor background and took up this occupation solely to augment their meagre earnings. They

2. For detail information see I.S.M. Williams, "The Traditional Muslim Schools of the settled Regions of Central Asia during the Tsarist Period", Central Asian Review, Vol. XIII, 1964, pp. 339-48.

were appointed by the parish of the mosque to which the maktab belonged. In Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan the teacher's remuneration were decided by parish on an annual basis, in large town the teachers used to receive private offerings from parents of the pupils at certain stages during their studies. If there happened to be a haqf, the teacher was entitled a small part of the haqf income. After the retirement or death of a teacher, his son used to get the post provided he had sufficient education.

Sessions and Attendance in the Maktab

The maktab remained in session all the year round except two breaks during two Muslim festivals. The holiday used to begin a week before the festive day and ended a week after the festival. There was no fixed date for admission in the maktab as there was no well-defined course. There was no concept of class, division of groups, and they were given individual instruction which helped the boys to enter school at no fixed period of time.

Studies and Courses

The primary aim of education in maktab was to learn the Koran by heart, that is, learning by rote without having understood the meaning of the text. The first lesson contained three short prayers, one in Persian and two in Arabic. The pupil used to take from two days to a month for learning such prayers depending on his ability. The second stage was the learning of Arabic alphabet using a plato. The third

stage began with the learning of Koran by heart which could take from one to three years time. The fourth or the final stage or task concerned the knowledge of religious rituals consisting of ablutions, prayers, alms, fasting, and the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. These used to be done by practice, writing and learning. A successful student thus, could be promoted to higher school, the madrasah.

The critics generally pointed out that the pupils after so many years of schooling remained quite illiterate, they are not taught the native language, even they could not be able to read or write Arabic and Persian, Pupils could recite the whole of Koran without understanding the words. And they were not given any technical education or a knowledge of trade. While criticising Ostroumov accepted the fact that the maktab gave their pupils a certain decorousness of behaviour accompanied by modesty and deference and this made the Central Asian pupils far exceeded Russian children. Such education did not undermine traditional beliefs, and the system provided help to family ties and public order.

THE MADRASAH

The madrasahs were the only higher educational institution. Structurally they combine both the higher schools and colleges. The successful graduate from such institution could aspire for the highest position in the society. The graduate could qualify the post such as judges (Kazis), mufti, teacher (mudaris) and Imam (priest) etc.

Structure

Unlike the maktab, the mudrasah used to have a separate building of its own. The building usually of a quadrangle shape having a courtyard which contained cells for the accomodation of students (mulla) and some time teachers (muddaris) couple of classroom and a mosque. The walls were made of brick having ornamented doorways, towers and a cupola. The tiles were often a coloured one. The roof of classroom and mosques were vaulted and of brick when the cells had a wooden roof. Three to five students were allotted in each cell which seldom lacked ventilation and light. The students need to cook their own food as the common dining hall and kitchen were not available.

Administration

The staff or the personnels consisted of mutauli (the caretaker) who had no power to interfere in the business of teachers and Imam, one Imam and azanchi attached to the mosque, and few teachers. The mutavali provided the link between the madrasah and the Waqf.

The teachers and mutavali were appointed by Khan directly or by local governor (Hakim) might undergo a selection test conducted by a group of Kazis (Judges). The teachers could never be dismissed as old age regarded as great wisdom which further added the madrasah's reputation.

The officials appointed by Kazis and Sheik-ul-Islam dealt with close supervision responsible to Kazis and Sheik-ul-Islam. The persons who looked after the general supervision both reading and administrative side drew remuneration from Khan's treasury, the hakim (governor) who was appointed in every town, supervised the activities of the madrasah received one tenth of the Waqf income.

The Waqf income went in part to all who attached to madrasah including the students who received five-tenth of the waqf income, one-tenth shared by mulauali, three-tenth to teachers, one-tenth to the Imam, azanchi, gate-keepers and other employees. These income were shared after deducting the general expenditure for upkeeping the madrasah. The students were divided into three grades, grade I received twice as much as grade II, grade II received twice as much as grade III. Sometime the share of student divided among the students who occupied cells and grades were not taken into consideration. The income was so small that a pupil could not carry his studies without any private income, the poor students seldom served the rich student to meet his expenditure. The teachers income was sometimes augmented by offerings from the students.

The most peculiar aspect of Central Asia madrasah was that cells could be disposed of or be rented, and many persons could occupy the cells to get the waqf income and

used to enjoy the cells while having other occupation outside madrasahs.

Admission, Session and Courses

There was no formal qualification required to seek admission in the madrasah. Anyone who approach the teacher (or teachers) could get the admission as according to Sariats the teacher could not refuse admission to any one. Admission to the cell also needed teacher's approval, a pupil could study in the madrasah while staying outside the cells. In some madrasahs the students needed to pay some fees.

There were no fixed session or duration of the courses. One is required to complete the age of 15 to get admission in the madrasah. The students could leave the madrasah at their will and could join other madrasah or private teachers. The students attend four days in a week: Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday and in addition they could enjoy two long holidays during the Muslim festivals as enjoyed by Maktab pupils.

The courses were consisted of various text books on the discipline such as etymology and syntax of Arabic, logic, the basis of Islamic faith, philosophy (consisting of theology and medicine), arithmetic, a small amount of planimetry and Persia and Turkish language. History and natural science were not included in the courses. The courses were

divided into sections, and the pupils to be promoted to higher section after the completion of certain prescribed books. Further, the students were divided into 3 groups corresponding to the stage they had reached in the course. The students did not require a fixed period of time to be promoted to next group, it depended on merits and students ability but normally it could take three to four years. For each working day the time of class or lecture was not more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours.

Other types of schools

There were some other educational institutions besides Maktab and madrasahs. They played the same role and purposes and designed more or less same as maktab and madrasah having some peculiar feature of their own.

Maktab for Girls (Atun bibi)

The primary schools for girls is the maktab for girls (Atun bibi). They were organised on the same line as maktab but usually situated in the home of the teacher always a woman (Atun bibi). These institutions numbered a quarter of the corresponding boy's maktab, in town, but they had no existence in the villages. The pupils included the small boys who are often the girls brother. Peoples preferred to start education of their child with a woman teacher (Atun bibi). Their courses, duration, session and holidays are the same as done by maktab. The girls after completing the

maktabs studies could aspire to marry the Imam or the teacher, generally the wives of Imam or teacher are found as women teacher running a girls school.

Qari Khans

These institutions of Qari Khans looked like a small version of a madrasah and they ran on the same fashion. The sole aim of this institution was learning of Korean by heart. The students were generally adults mostly blind, crippled or idlers. After the completion of course, the student could be called as Qari (recitor). They demanded to recite Koran for the dead, or on some holy occasion.

Dalai - Khans

These institutions are meant for adult education. They taught Arabic language, a collection of tales about the Prophet Mohd. and a number of religious poems. They used to produce the professional recitors and story-tellers. These institutions were very rare, a few were existed in Tashkent, and some 4 to 5 were seen in Andizhan and in Fergana Valley.

The Extent of the Muslim System

The overall statistics is not available to estimate the extent of traditional system of education. Though various inspection was conducted during the early conquest of Russians. The following figures are given in 1893 from Russian sources. In Central Asia excluding Samirochiya and Transcaspia oblast, the madrasah and maktabs were numbered

6,446; number of pupils 90,933, whereas population of the school age was 500,000 in 1899.

In the early 1890, V.P. Nalivkin, inspected 189 madrasahs founded before Russian conquest, in the Syr Darya- 21, Fargana- 118, and Samarkand - 50. Nalivkin further reported that during the annexation of Russia, various older madrasahs fell into ruin.³

Russians Attitude Towards Traditional Educational System

Russians unlike the other colonial powers did not pay any attention to educate the Central Asian people, rather they intended them to carry their traditional system of education. This was peculiar to Tsarist policy to carry their oppressive rule. They did opened few Russo-native schools in the towns mainly taught Russian language to serve their purpose. On the other hand, they remained always critical to traditional education system. They often called them barbarian, nomad and the most uncivilized and illiterate people and further aimed at keeping them away from modern education. One dignitary of the Tsarist regime declared, "I am not impressed by the wild dreams of philanthropists who want to civilize the Kirgiz (i.e., Kazaks), to educate them to the level of European nations. I wish from the bottom

3. L.S.H. Williams, "The Traditional Muslim Schools of the Settled region of Central Asia during the Tsarist Period", Central Asian Review. Vol. XIII, (1961), pp. 301-04.



of my heart that the Kirgiz for ever remain nomad shepherds, never sow corn and have nothing to do with learning or even with craftsmanship".⁴

Secular Educational Institution during the Tsarist Period

Unlike the other colonial power, the Tsarist could not replace the traditional culture to a colonial one till the 19th century. Though by the fall of 19th and early 20th century, there emerged three distinct group of intelligentsia who started gathering strength. These groups of intelligentsia some way or the other helped in the formation of a structural change in the educational system. Let us examine the characteristics of these groups:

1. The intellectuals among Muslim who could study in Russo-native school, a major faction among them supported the idea of Russo-native schools and sought change through socialisation of Russification. There emerged great scholars and authors among them. The most popular among them were Furkat, Gurbat, Nodim, Mukhimi and Hamza Hakimzada Naizi, among the Uzbek native Said Akumed Azizi, among the Tadjiks, Chokan Valikanov, Ibrahim Allynarin and Abai Kununbace; among the Kazakhs. These people played a role in bringing cultural awakening but it remained ineffective as they could gather no support from the general masses.

4. Kazakhstankaya Pravda, 25.9.1968, quoted from Central Asian Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1959, p. 312.

Diss.

T, 4. 48 N70 ← N50
M)



TH-884

2. Secondly, the group of intelligentsia belonged to Khadimists (Traditionalists). The intellectuals among Khadimist tried to preserve their traditional culture. At one end they were hostile to Russian or European culture, on the other, even they were more hostile to the reformist called Djadidist. This group had a mass base and gathered support from every corner of rural population and Muslim clergy, landlords, wealthy merchants and a vast peasant population. They vehemently criticised the other two groups and had a history of militant resistance against the Tsarist rule.

3. Third, and the most progressive force initially emerged among Tatar inhabitation called Djadidist. They ought to fight the religious fanaticism and obscurantism with the help of secular literature, developing European type of schools. They launched a struggle against religious and scholastic system of education replacing it to a secular system of education.

Russian Schools

The Russians took no interest with the maktab, only by the beginning of 20th century they provided considerable assistance to madrasah in bringing some changes in their curricula. This was motivated again the growing strength of New Method Schools founded by the Djadidist. To serve their

5. See R. Vaidyanath, Formation of the Soviet Central Asia (A Study of Soviet Nationalities Policy), 1917-1936, PPH (P) Ltd., New Delhi, pp. 51-53.

political and administrative purpose, to fill the clerical post and to acquaint the Muslim children with the Russian culture, and to counter the growth of new method they started three types of educational institutions.

- (a) the institutions for the training of interpreters;
- (b) Schools for the Russian inhabitants in Central Asia where a few seats were reserved for the native children;
- (c) the so-called Russian-native schools, having native language as a medium of instruction.

These institutions could benefit a negligible percentage of peoples of Central Asia. And they played no significant or effective role. There were very few teachers available to teach in these institutions and for Russian teachers it was beyond their dignity to teach in these institution. Therefore, this half-hearted initiative of Russians amounted to a total failure. Moreover, these institutions has no existence in the rural areas or among the agrarian population of Central Asia.

The New Method Schools

Djadidist by the fall of 19th century laid the foundation of a system of educational institutions called "New Method School" (Usul-i-Jadid). The objective of these type of schools was to bring reform in educational system which had been stagnated for centuries. They (Djadidists) intended to introduce European education. In addition to this goal they

simultaneously wanted to preserve Islamic tradition, so the religious links were also included in the curricula of New Method Schools. The emergence of New Method Schools coincided with the Russo-native school, and while they came into competition the new method school gained much more popularity. In 1910, there were only 8 Russo-native school in Tashkent, whereas the number of New Method School was 16, in 1911 Kokhand had 2 Russo-native schools with 162 pupils, whereas there were 8 new method schools with 530 pupils. The growing influence of these new method schools, the Tsarist regime came to an unholy alliance, with Khadimists, which has aptly described by V.V. Barthhold.

The alliance of Russian conservatism with old-style Islam completely changed the (Russian) attitude towards the old Muslim schools. In 1876, it seemed that 'Russian influence in the East was confronted with an important and lofty task - that of breaking the intellectual shackles of Mohammedanism and of bringing the natives into the orbit of a human existence; in 1867 the Muslim schools could be compared with the ancient Russian Christian school; the madrasah course was recognized as 'a very serious one' compatible with the real requirements of the people's life and as only susceptible of gradual and cautious extension in the sense of the introduction into it of 'elements of modern knowledge', and not of radical dismemberment. With the

victory of the Revolution, conservative aims, in the sphere of school, as in all other spheres, were replaced by other aims, which have not yet produced definite results.

The new method schools received a setback and it was arbitrarily banned in many places. But the move was strongly resisted by the Emirate of Bukhara who supported the Jadidist movement, viz., Shamsuddin Mahmud Shahin (1859-1893), Abdul Qadir Savdo (1823-73), Murza Hezal Sahpo (1850-1918) and Siddiq Khan, in Kazan Abdul Nazir Kursari was accompanied by Shababuddin Merjani, Hussein Feits Khan (1826-1866) and Abdul Qaiyum Nasyri (1824-1907) and the most popular among them was Ismail Beg Gasprinskly (1851-1914) who published a daily called Taninuman (The interpreter) which highlighted the ideas of secular politics and new method of education. In addition to it, their periodicals, Taraqqi (Progress), Shuhrat (News) and Shura (Counsel) propagated their educational ideas.

The description of the traditional system of education help us to conclude that such system provided a double edge sword, it helped in socialisation of peoples of Central Asia on the line of Islamic tradition and at the same time it required the necessary conditions to preserve the Islamic Culture.

6. V.V. Barthold, History of the Cultural Life of Turkistan pp. 143-44.

7. Shams Ud Din, "Reformist Movement among the Muslims of Tsarist Russia", Islam and the Modern Age, November 1979.

The degree of literacy was extremely low. In Kazakhstan only 2% of the native population were literate, in Turkestan the figure was 1.8%, with interesting local variations, while in Kirgizia it varied between 1-2%, in Turkmenistan it was 8 but 0.7% and in Tadzhikistan 1% in two hundred was literate. These were the figure till the outbreak of October Revolution.

The October 1917 revolution brought a dynamic trend of development in the field of education in Soviet Central Asia. And such development in the field of education to a greater extent served the basic purpose of transition of traditional society to a socialist one. The majority of Central Asians was not ready to undergo such changes in the native socio-cultural institutions. Therefore, the Soviet leadership adopted a gradual policy of change and development.

During the post-revolution period 1917-27, Soviet leadership perceived the importance of general literacy in Central Asia. Therefore, they laid great emphasis on the development of primary and basic education, to remove illiteracy. Alongwith the policy of eradication of illiteracy the Soviet pursued a policy of gradually undermining and ultimately liquidating of traditional system of education. Soviets also initiated certain concrete steps for eradication of illiteracy, from among the women who were the most backward section of Central Asian society. A number of women schools,

8. Central Asian Review, Vol. VII,
p. 314.

Women polytechnic etc. were opened in major cities of Central Asia.

In later decades when a considerable percentage of peoples of Central Asia achieved primary and basic education, Soviets devoted massive resources for further development of secondary and higher education.

The above measures helped the Soviet Union to consolidate its power, by attracting the masses towards its progressive and materialistic oriented programs. Simultaneously it provided for opportunities and appropriate institutional channel for the dissemination of the Marxism-Leninism among the different sections of the people. As these were supported by various incentives like provision of stipends, scholarships, free distribution of books, job opportunities, the Soviets were able to overcome the resistance put up by the traditional elite.

Chapter III

**System of Higher Education in Soviet
Central Asia**

Chapter III

SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

The system of higher education in Soviet Union in general and in the Soviet Central Asian republics in particular has been structured after the October revolution, on the ideological framework of Marxism-Leninism. The study is an attempt to understand the operational aspect of the establishment and development of unified system of education which the Soviets have established in one of the most backward and traditional society of Central Asia.

In pursuance of socialist goal, the Soviet system of education had various political and fundamental objectives. The most fundamental objectives were the question of creating a new man, the implementation of Lenin's idea, the training of bureaucrats, technocrats and administration, the public education to remove illiteracy and the establishment of unified curricula based on the theory of dialectical and historical materialism. The political aim behind the system of education was to solve the nationality question by nativization of socio-political structures.

Before we discuss the system of higher education in Soviet Central Asia and evaluate its significance it is important to define the ideological framework, and to state the fundamental and political objectives.

The ideological task was first defined by Lenin when he pointed out that "we say that our work in the sphere of education is part of the struggle for overthrowing bourgeoisie, we publicly declare that education divorced from life and politics is lies and hypocrisy".¹ Lenin's idea was further developed by two eminent educationists: Lenin's wife Nadezhda Krupskaja 1869-1939 and an Ukrainian named Antou Makarenko.

Krupskaja advocated the need of development of pre-school education, public nurseries, children's home, with provision for public education providing free lunch. She took the typical Marxian line of combining academic learning with productive work. Thus she was of the opinion that:

The population is interested in one common goal for elementary, secondary and higher schools: education of many sided people, with conscious and organised social instincts, having an integrated, developed world view, clearly understanding the natural and social life around them; people prepared in theory and practice for all types of labour - physical, as well as mental, with the capacity to build a rational, full, beautiful and joyful life. (2)

Makarenko in his thesis emphasised the role of education in individual's submission to collective entity. He was of the opinion that education should be oriented to the values of discipline and duty among the students. He proposed

1. V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol.28, pp. 87-88.
2. Quoted from his collected writing in Pedagogicheskaja entsiklopedija, Vol. 2, pp. 535; Cited by Seymon M. Rosen, Education and Modernization in USSR (Addison-Weeley publishing Co. 1971) p * 33

to specialise the youth with a military type of discipline. To achieve this objective he suggested the development of education system on the pattern of military organisation. He opined for a concrete and continuous task for the youth to whom he had deep sympathy.

Hence the Soviet system of education had strong political contents. It has been framed to completely liquidate the traditional values, and ethos and the old pluralistic socio-political culture so as to give birth to what the Marxist-Leninists described as new society, which theoretically stood for the abolition of the decaying feudal value system and emerging capitalist world outlook in the country. The Soviet leadership had to fight out with those forces during the period of War Communism (1918-1921) when the Soviet system of education was in the initial stage of its formation. During this period the Bolshevik leadership issued various decrees in the spheres of education. And these early steps and declarations provided political and ideological foundations to the Soviet systems of education.

A major change was brought about by the decree of the Council of People Commissaries of 23 January 1918 when the schools were separated from Church and Church from the State. This decree was designed to secularise the system of education. Promotion of the use of native languages as

a medium of instructions by the national minorities was a sort of concession so as to lessen the harshness of secularisation programme in a traditional society. Likewise the grant of equal right to women in all educational institutions was meant to curb the transmission of old values to the future generations as women play a vital role in the process of socialisation. In October 1918 the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of the Council of Deputies declared the Soviet aim of establishing a uniform schooling for workers. And all the schools were to be socialised. Lenin signed a decree on 2 August 1918 on the Entrance Rules to higher schools. Following this every Soviet citizen was guaranteed the right to higher education after the age of 16, and all the tuition fees were abolished. The 8th Congress of CPSU held in March 1919 dealt with the fundamental aims and principles of Soviet education system. These consisted pre-schools education to compulsory schools for both the sexes and right to University and higher education were given more emphasis. On 11 September 1919 by the decree of the People's Commissariat of Education the Workers Faculty (Rabfaks), a form of higher vocational schools came into existence. On 26 December 1919 Lenin signed a decree of the People's Commissars for the elimination of illiteracy and following this in 1920 over 12,000 literacy centres (likpunkty

- 5 -

were founded in European part of RSFSR. A voluntary society, whose motto was "down with illiteracy" (Solov negramotnost), was formed in 1927 to eradicate illiteracy (likbez)

These decrees and measures explain the development of education system during War Communism. The end of War Communism, led to New Economic Policy (NEP) during 1921-27. During this period many significant changes took place. In February 1921 institution of Red professors in Moscow and Petrograd was established to train professors and teachers; in September 1921 the institution of higher learning in RSFSR was founded. It was meant to fulfil the aims and tasks of higher education, the introduction of universal primary education and Pavel Bousky's Labor School (Tru dovaya Shokola) followed by the work of N. Krupskaya.

The third stage of development in Soviet education occurred during the first three Five Year Plans: During the First Five Year Plan 1928-32, the development in education was conditioned by industrial growth. And the same process of development of Soviet education continued during the Second Five Year Plan (1933-37). A major change took place during the Third Five Year Plan 1938-42 when the Soviet government introduced universal ten-year education in towns and seven-year education in the rural areas.

4. J.J. Tomiak, The Soviet Union (David & Charles Newton Abbot, 1972), pp. 11-14.

5. Ibid., p. 14.

During the period 1950 to 1970 which coincided with the successful implementation of fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth Five-Year Plans, Soviet system of education received considerable attention. A brief account of the achievement made during this period in the field of education would help us in understanding the system of higher education in Soviet Central Asia. The first major change was occurred in December 1958 with the publication of Krushchev's reform thesis.

According to the thesis seven-years universal and compulsory education was replaced by eight-year universal and compulsory education. Henceforth complete secondary education from the age of fifteen or sixteen was to be given along with the production work. This was done in three types of schools.

1. Young factory workers and workers in cooperative farms and State farms were offered part time schooling in out-of-work hours.
 2. The secondary general labor polytechnic schools offered full-time education for three years.
 3. The specialised and technical school on a full-time and part time basis were established.
 4. Production training in nearly industrial enterprise and the training on collective and state farm organised workshops in schools for instrumentorial production.
-

The particular task of teachers and students who were involved in vocational schools, specialised secondary schools and VUZ⁶, were also defined.

In the later decade (1961-70), education policies and programmes were discussed in the 22nd Congress of the CPSU in October 1961. They aimed at fulfilling the following tasks.

1. the solving of the 'cardinal social problem of the elimination of substantial distinction between mental and physical labour;
2. the introduction of universal compulsory secondary education for all;
3. the public upbringing of children of pre-school institutions and boarding schools of different types;
4. the creation of conditions for a high standard of instructions and education of the rising generation.
5. the expansion of higher and secondary specialised education.⁷

The Statute on Higher Education Establishment of the USSR of 1961, required all the institution in the higher education to do the following.

1. To train highly qualified specialists educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, well versed in both the latest achievements of science and technology at home and abroad.

6. Ibid., p. 24.

7. Ibid., p. 24.

and in the practical aspect of production, capable of utilizing modern technology to the utmost and of creating the technology of the future.

2. To carry out research that will contribute to the solution of the problem of building communism.
3. To produce textbooks and study aids of a high standard.
4. To train teachers and research workers.
5. To provide advanced training for specialist with higher education working in the various fields.
6. To disseminate scientific and political knowledge among the people.
7. To study the problems connected with the utilization of⁸ graduates and with improving the quality of their training.

The enumeration of above listed Soviet policy decisions explain the fundamental objectives which the Soviet system of education was meant to achieve. These objectives were equally applicable to the educational institutions located in the Soviet Central Asian republics. However, Soviet Central Asia had certain specific problems such as the need of nativization of state apparatus. Development of Soviet education and removal of illiteracy in Central Asian republics was considered necessary for political stability and creation of conditions necessary for giving equal opportunities to the otherwise

8. 22nd Congress of the CPSU, The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Soviet Proletet No. 83, (London 1961), pp. 81-82.

backward section of native population in those regions. Education and specially the higher education was to become an important strategy devised by Soviet leadership to overcome the political resistance. As these republics had pro-capitalist economic condition and the consolidation of Soviet power was much harder task without bringing a proper level of consciousness among the masses of Central Asia where the percentage of industrial proletariat was negligible. Therefore much attention was needed to educate the masses in Central Asia as a measure to transform the traditional Muslim society into a socialist one.

During the early years of Soviet government, the government adopted the policy of having Russian as a medium of instructions which was considered easier than teaching through native languages on account of shortage of teachers who could teach through native language medium. Secondly the government thought it better to have one language to bring the national minorities closer to the Great Russians. Despite many efforts made by the Soviet government to introduce Russian language as medium of instruction at all levels the natives of Central Asia showed no inclination to do that. Particularly there was very poor response in rural areas and only a small section of population in the urban areas could learn Russian. Therefore by the end of 1920s the Soviet government started showing its interest in the native languages of Central Asia. Thus all the native languages were

recognised as official languages and efforts were directed to improve them so that those could become effective medium of instructions at all levels. They were recognised as first language in the respective nationality. But practically, despite the constitutional recognition to the native languages Russian alone continued as language of instruction in Universities and higher educational institutions.

Through the educational policies of Soviet government and the tremendous allocation of resources in the field of education in Soviet Central Asia the nationality question was considerably resolved, as on account of a radical development in the educational system of Soviet Central Asia the Soviets were able to create new social bases of political power.

Before we go into detail analysis on various dimensions of educational change which would give us a total picture of the educational system in Soviet Central Asia, let us first of all examine the educational level of the population in Soviet Central Asia in comparison with the other Union Republics. At the time of revolution in 1917, the percentage of literacy in Central Asia was around two to three per cent in urban areas and in rural areas there were almost no institution so far as higher education is concerned. Immediately after the revolution, efforts were directed to undermine the importance of the traditional schools which were attached to the mosques and waqfs.

Table I

Educational Levels of the Population
of the Union Republics
(According to Data of Population Censuses)

	Number of persons with higher or secondary education (complete or incomplete) per 1000 persons 10 years of age or older			Number of persons with higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education per 1000 persons employed in national economy		
	1939	1959	1970	1939	1959	1970
USSR	108	361	483	123	433	653
Ukrainian SSR	120	373	494	139	438	668
RSFSR	109	361	489	124	440	656
Belorussian SSR	92	304	440	113	331	594
<u>Uzbek SSR</u>	55	354	458	61	447	663
<u>Kazakh SSR</u>	83	347	468	99	447	654
Georgian SSR	165	448	554	163	492	711
Azerbaijan SSR	113	440	471	122	473	674
Lithuanian SSR	81	232	238	--	250	496
Moldavian SSR	57	264	397	--	280	508
Latvian SSR	176	431	517	--	502	661
<u>Kirgiz SSR</u>	46	342	452	56	429	643
<u>Tadjik SSR</u>	40	325	420	45	407	602
Armenian SSR	128	445	516	135	527	697
<u>Turkmanian SSR</u>	65	387	475	78	497	682
Estonian SSR	161	386	506	--	448	660

Source: Selected Statistics from the National Economy of the USSR, quoted from Soviet Education, vol. XVI, nos. 11-12, Sep.-Oct. 1974, p. 67.

Table I shows the educational levels of population of the Union Republics, both the numbers of persons with higher or secondary education (complete or incomplete) above 10 years of age and number of persons with higher and secondary education, employed in the national economy in the year 1939, 1959 and 1970. On the other hand, the table shows that there were radical changes in the pattern of educational development in all the Union republics. (When) on the other hand it is very much evident that the ratio of development in Central Asian republics is more except Moldavian SSR where the ratio is almost same. For example, in the USSR as a whole, population with higher and secondary education from 1939 to 1970 rose 4.51 times, in Uzbekistan it rose 8.3 times, in Kazakh SSR the increase was 5.60 times, in Kirgiz SSR it was 9.80 times, in the Tadjik SSR it was 10.50 times, in the Turkmanian SSR 7.50 times. As against this, we find that in one of the most advanced republic of Ukrain SSR the developmental ratio was only 4 times. And almost the same ratio of increase has been in the level of population employed in national economy.

Table II

RATIO OF MALE AND FEMALE POPULATION WITH
HIGHER AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

	Census		
	1939	1959	1970
Males	127	392	522
Females	90	338	452

Source: Calculated from Narkhoz, cited by Ann Sheehy, op.cit. pp. 66-67.

For every 1,000 persons (Males & Females) of 10 years or older, the number of persons with higher or secondary (incomplete or complete) education was: as above. ⁽¹¹⁾

There was also a reduction in the difference in the education level between town and country... "For every 1,000 inhabitants the number of persons with education was:

	Census		
	1939	1959	1970
Town	218	469	592
Country	52	256	332

Source: Calculated from Narkhoz, cited by Ann Sheehy, op.cit. pp. 66-67.

In Table II we see the ratio of female and male population with higher and secondary education. Whereas in 1939 only 90 women were there in 1000, the number of males

11. ~~Ibid.~~, pp. 66-67.

was 127. In 1970 the difference between the two figures became negligible as males number was 522 and the number of females was 452, per thousand.

To begin with there was also a sharp difference in population with higher and secondary education between town and country. In 1939 the difference was 218 (town) and 52 (country) whereas in 1970 the country had 332 persons per thousand and the town had 592. This shows that more attention was paid towards the development of education in rural areas.

The above discussion gives an overall picture of the system of education in the USSR. Whereas it has been clearly shown that Central Asia drew more attention in this field, so far as system is concerned Central Asian republics are no exception to the system of education. Nevertheless we view it differently for two reasons: Firstly, Soviet Central Asia was relatively more backward and secondly for its radical transformation from a static and traditional society to a modern one. Such structural change need to be examined in terms of opportunities given to the natives. First of all during the period under study opportunities were given in every field of studies. However, at every level internalisation of socialist spirit by all the aspirants of education was essential.

Let us now examine the various fields of study in Central Asian republics and the opportunities given to the people of Central Asia which would help us to know the

education system in Soviet Central Asia during 1950-70. By 1970 the Soviet Central Asian republics had all kinds of higher and secondary educational institutions. Besides various technical and specialised institutions of learning, every Union republics of Soviet Central Asia had one state University except the Uzbek SSR which had two universities, one in Tashkent and the other in Samarkand.

Methods of Teaching, Experiments and Pedagogical Institutions

The modern education in Soviet Central Asia was bound to develop a scientific methods of teaching as well. This methodological development was achieved both by the experiments done by the native teachers at the behest of the directives and measures taken by the CPSU as well as by the respective organs and ministries in each republics. In the period of formation, Soviet Central, in fact, had no trained teachers and the requisite number of the Russian or European pedagogists and teachers was not available to cope up with the increasing demand of trained teachers in Soviet Central Asia. Therefore the emphasis was laid to train the native teachers. A large number of native teachers were admitted to Moscow Pedagogical Institute and Teacher Training Institutes in Union Republics of RSFSR and Ukrain which had advanced centres of Pedagogical Institutions. During the 1950s these institutions produced a good number

teachers from Soviet Central Asia to carry out the task in Central Asia. For a long-term and permanent solution of the problem of shortage of trained teachers Pedagogical Institutes were established in all the republics of Central Asia in the 1960s.

As stated earlier the policy with regard to methodology was formulated by the CPSU. It was based on the classical Marxian theory of Dialectical and historical materialism. The teachers of Soviet Central Asia were also directed by the Party to adopt this scientific methodology.

This followed a macro level study on national and international problem in relation to theoretical propositions, scientific advancements and as such the development in the studies of various disciplines. The micro level study concerned the regional and native problem and study of the development of their own local lore, which were not in disharmony with the Soviet objective of consolidation of communist power in the country.

Let us examine such experiments done in Kazakh SSR. In the field of history, N. Kalkmatov, a Kazakh teacher in one of the schools in Semipalatinsk was assigned to teach such courses as 'The February Bourgeois Democratic Revolution', 'Kazakh during the Socialist reconstruction of the national economy, 'Kazakhstan during the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union (1914-45) and 'Kazakhstan in the period of

foreign military intervention and the civil war (1918-23). All these courses were taught on the basis of materials supplied by the all-Union Republics. On the other hand, the micro level study dealt with local issues, for instance, in the same school of Semipalatensk, the said teacher assigned the pupils to collect materials on the construction of the Turkestan Siberian Railroad which is one of the largest construction projects in the Semipalatinsk during First Five Year Plan. The students themselves seem to find various unique material on the topic from local⁹ museum and libraries.

By the late 1960s there had emerged a large number of Pedagogical schools and Pedagogical institutes in Soviet Central Asia. In the year 1966 and 1967 all the Central Asian Republics had Pedagogical schools and Pedagogical institutes more than any union republics except RSFSR which had 261 schools and 107 institutes, and Ukrainian SSS had 40 schools and 32 institutes out of the total schools was 381 institutes was 206 in the USSR. In Table III, we can see the position of Pedagogical schools and Pedagogical institutes in the USSR and all the Union Republic. Leaving out the figure of RSFSR and Ukrainian SSS, the Central Asian republics had 46 pedagogical schools and 37 pedagogical

9. "From the Experience of Teachers in Kazakhstan SSR (Survey of Articles)", Soviet Education, Vol. XV, No. 10, pp. 55-67.

Table IIINumber of Pedagogical Institutes
in USSR and Union Republics

	Pedagogical Schools	Pedagogical Institutes
USSR	381	206
RSFSR	261	107
Ukrainian SSR	40	32
Belorussian SSR	7	8
<u>Uzbek SSR</u>	13	14
Kazakh SSR	16	16
Azerbaidjan SSR	12	3
Georgian SSR	1	8
Lithuanian SSR	3	2
Moldavian SSR	5	2
Latvian SSR	1	2
<u>Kirgiz SSR</u>	5	3
<u>Tadjik SSR</u>	8	3
Armenian SSR	4	4
<u>Turkmanian SSR</u>	4	1
Estonian SSR	1	1

Source: Soviet Education, vol. XI, no. 2, p. 8.

institution whereas the other 8 union republics had 34 such schools and 30 such institutes. One obvious reason for relatively large number of teachers training institutions in the Central Asian republics was that they lacked the trained teachers very much whereas the other union republics were far more advanced in the matter of trained teachers. Moreover the peoples of these republics could take training easily from the schools and institutes of RSFSR and Ukrain where they had the same medium of instructions as they had in their own republic. Whereas it was quite difficult for a teacher or a fresher from Soviet Central Asia to go to RSFSR or Ukrain for the teacher training as their mother tongue differed from Russian.

Public Education in Soviet Central Asia

In Soviet system of education public education was given a paramount importance as the success of most of the social reforms depended on the spread of general mass literacy. The theme behind public education was to eradicate illiteracy and ignorance. Soviet leadership devoted much attention to the study of general public education in Soviet Central Asia. In the beginning more emphasis was paid to primary education with special attention to the girls education. After the publication of Khaushchevo's thesis on general social reform in all the republics of Soviet Central Asia, all out efforts were made the Party and Soviet organs of

respective public education to introduce eight year compulsory education in 1959. It was a change from seven-year compulsory education to eight-year compulsory education. Two important factors seems to have been responsible for this change. First seven years of compulsory education perhaps did not quite successfully achieved the objective of socialisation of children who continued to exhibit strong influence of traditional values. Secondly it also lessened the pressure for admission for vocational and higher education and ultimately on the state to provide jobs to those who have completed their education.

The network of schools in Uzbekistan during the period under study reached 600 schools and in the same period, the number of pupils increased by 1.5 fold in the elementary grades, 2.5 fold in secondary grades, and by 20% in the upper grades. In 1965 the number of graduates from 8 years secondary schools doubled as compared with numbers of 1958. Approximately 70% of the graduates of eight year-schools students continued their studies in upper grades of secondary schools and secondary specialised and vocational-technical schools. Thus, there still remained about 30% drop-outs at this stage which was quite high as compared with the rate of drop-outs in other Soviet republics.

10. S.Shermakhamedov, 'Uzbekistan Party Organization Solicitues for Public Education', Soviet Education, Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 40.

Such trend of development to a lesser degree were there in all other republics of Central Asia, Since the Soviet education sought an education which has some productive value, so the education was given more on the line of the native resources and economic mood. Soviet scholars assert that on the one hand, through the public education they wanted to improve the overall qualities in man and on the other hand it was also designed to improve the national economy. This is why education was combined with the productive work. For example in Kirgizia, the livestock breeding was the chief agricultural activity, special attention was paid to the training of children of livestock breeders for whom special schools were opened on remote winter pastures. Thus, 39 such schools were operated in the 1945-55 school year; one secondary, 14 seven-year school and 24 were primary schools. The boarding schools of livestock were built in remote pastures areas given priority to the admission of the children of livestock breeders. During 1955-56 school year, 1,463 children of livestock breeders were enrolled in budgetary - Boarding schools and 313 out of them was supported by private contribution.¹¹

In addition to these developments, public education were also sought to develop the recreational activities, for instance, the facilities of Television, Park, Photography,

11. T.K. Tasherskaya, "The Development of Public Education in Kirgizia (1927-57)" Soviet Education, vol.I, No.3, p. 58.

music, dance, sports etc. and social services such as erecting new hospitals, railroads, roads, telecommunication, nurseries and pre-school education.

Public education also included the teaching of Russian language in these republics which the Soviet leadership believed would help in improving their relationship with Russians and help the native to go for higher education. In other words, the Soviet system of education at every level was inter-linked with the Soviet economy and political culture on the state regulation and success of Soviet education system depended the survival of Soviet political power.

Secondary Specialised Education in Soviet Central Asia

The secondary specialised education provides the intermediate qualification for all sectors of economy. The centre for such studies are the secondary specialised educational institutions and technikums (technical colleges). These institutions used to produce technicians, agronomists, accountants, constructors, agricultural scientists, transporters, and administrators. The secondary specialised education also included many medical and pedagogical colleges which produced nurses, mid-wives, medical auxiliaries, writers and teachers and so on. Any one could be admitted to the technikums upto the age of 30. There are also various correspondence and evening courses where student could be

admitted without any age bar. The required qualification was incomplete seven or eight year or ten-year secondary education to compete for the entrance examinations. The extraordinary students with silver or gold medal, ex-service men and person with ten years work experience were given preference in these polytechnics. The course content was relatively shorter for those joining after completing their secondary school. The students were also given stipends. With satisfactory progress the students get 20 rubles per month and with an excellent performance one could get 25 rubles a month¹². These stipends were given to almost every students.

A flexible or easy admission policy and provision of stipends to the students led to a radical trend of development of secondary specialised education in Soviet Central Asia. The tables IV & V could show the development trend.

Table IV

Number of Students attending secondary specialised educational institutions at the beginning of the academic year.

	1959/51	1960/61	1965/66
Kazakh SSR	41,900	86,000	169,900
Uzbek SSR	40,400	53,000	103,900
Kirgiz SSR	10,600	17,200	31,800
Tadjik SSR	10,800	11,500	23,000
Turkman SSR	7,600	12,300	21,900
Total	111,300	180,000	350,500

Source: Markiz 1968, p.692. Cited by Ann Sheehy, "Secondary and Specialised education in the Central Asia and Khyakhs SSSR", Central Asian Review, Vol. 15, No. 3, p.220.

¹². Ann Sheehy, "Secondary Specialised Education in the
(contd..)

Table V

Number of students in Secondary Specialised educational institutions per 10,000 head of population at the beginning of the academic year. (14)

	1950/51	1960/61	1965/66
USSR	71	95	158
Kazakh SSR	62	84	140
Uzbek SSK	62	60	98
Kirgiz SSR	10	77	120
Tadjhik SSR	69	56	89
Turkman SSR	62	76	115

§

Source: Narkhz 1965, pp. 578-9. Cited by Ann Sheehy "Secondary and Specialised Education in the Central Asia and Kirgiz SSRs", Central Asian Review, vol. 15, No. 3, p. 220.

Both the tables show that in every ten years in all the republics 40% to 70% students were enrolled. The maximum percentage of students were added during 1960s. It was so because the emphasis till the 1950 were given to primary or public education.

The result of such intake could be seen in Table VI.

(last page f.n.contd...)

12. Central Asian and Kazakh SSRs", Central Asian Review, Vol. 15, No. 3, p. 219.

Table VI

Number of students graduating from Secondary specialised educational institutions per 10,000 head of population

	1958	1960	1964	1965
USSR	27	23	25	27
Kazakh SSR	23	20	18	20
Uzbek SSR	23	17	19	17
Kirgiz SSR	19	18	18	18
Tadzhik SSR	20	15	11	13
Turkman SSR	26	21	17	17

Source: Calculated from Narkhoz, p. 690, Cited by Ann Shochy, op.cit.

There is no doubt that there was considerable development but in relation to the intake the result was very much disappointing as in most of the cases the number of students graduating from secondary specialised educational institutions was relatively decreasing when number of students admitted to these institutions had a dynamic increasing rate of growth. Obviously this means that a large number of students dropped out before completing their technical education. The factors responsible for large drop-outs are usually not given.

The opportunities given to evening and correspondence courses had also a developmental trend which can be viewed in the table given below (Table VII)

Table VII

Evening and Correspondence Students as percentage of total number of students attending secondary specialised educational institutions at the beginning of the academic year

	1958/59	1960/69	1965/66
Kazakh SSR	32	40	47
Uzbek SSR	31	41	46
Kirgiz SSR	33	38	41
Jadjsuk SSR	27	36	39
Turkman SSR	31	37	38

Source: Calculated from Narkhoz, pp. 692-94.
Cited by Ann Sheehy, op.cit.

A considerable percentage of students received education through evening and correspondence courses. These were largely meant for persons who were already employed in national economy and such institutions helped them employed persons to seek further higher education and aspire for upward social mobility.

The statistics of the later decade could be seen in Table VIII both in Higher and Secondary Specialised educational institutions. Almost 100% increase in the number of students took place except in Estonian SSR which had a very poor development.

Table VIII

Distribution of Persons Attending Higher and
Secondary Specialised Educational Institutions
According to the Nationalities of the Union
and Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions

(At the Beginning of the School year;
Thousands of Person)

	Students attending Higher Education Institutions		Pupils attending Secondary Speciali- sed Educational Institutions	
	1962-63	1970-71	1962-63	1970-71
Total	2,943.7	4,580.6	2,667.7	4,388.0
Of which, by Nationality:				
Russian	1,803.8	2,729.0	1,696.1	2,702.9
Ukrainian	426.9	621.2	422.4	674.0
Belorussian	85.0	130.2	87.1	149.5
<u>Uzbek</u>	70.1	150.7	40.2	96.7
<u>Kazakh</u>	51.8	100.3	34.3	71.4
Georgian	58.5	87.8	76.0	45.9
Azerbaijan	35.6	86.0	39.1	57.5
Lithuanian	31.8	48.8	38.2	56.4
Moldavian	15.9	30.8	12.6	31.1
Latvian	19.8	21.8	18.4	19.7
<u>Kirgiz</u>	11.9	26.4	7.3	15.6
<u>Tadjik</u>	13.5	28.1	7.4	17.7
Armenian	44.6	81.5	38.9	61.1
<u>Turkmanian</u>	11.8	22.0	7.8	14.6
Estonian	15.4	17.9	16.0	15.5

contd.../..

Table VIII (contd.)

Abkhazian	1.3	1.9	0.5	1.0
Balkarian	0.8	1.5	0.6	1.2
Bashkir	8.3	14.8	7.2	15.5
Buriat	6.2	11.2	3.9	6.3
Ingush	1.3	1.9	0.7	1.4
Kabardian	2.8	5.5	2.4	3.7
Kalmyk	1.3	3.0	1.9	3.2
Karakalpak	2.6	4.6	1.7	4.1
Karelian	1.1	1.6	1.1	2.4
Komi	3.5	4.6	4.3	8.4
Mari	3.1	4.3	2.7	6.6
Mordavian	6.2	11.6	5.7	15.8
Nationalities of Dagestan	9.9	20.3	11.5	19.2
Osetian	7.8	13.4	6.4	7.8
Tatar	51.1	78.0	45.8	98.8
Tuva	1.3	1.8	0.9	1.9
Udmurt	4.4	7.0	4.3	8.7
Chechan	2.5	4.7	2.6	5.7
Chuvash	11.5	16.0	10.6	21.0
Lakut	3.5	6.4	2.9	5.0
Adygei	1.3	2.5	1.3	2.0
Aitai	0.5	0.9	0.5	1.0
Jewish	79.3	105.8	47.2	40.0
Karachay	1.7	2.5	0.5	1.0
Khakass	0.6	1.1	0.5	1.4
Cherkess	0.5	1.1	0.3	6.6

Source: Vestnik Statistiki, 1973, no. 5, quoted from
Soviet Education, vol. 16, nos. 11-12, pp.141-43.

Specialist employed in the National Economy

The technicians of higher and secondary education made the man more productive, their overall growth and increase helped the Soviet economy to a greater extent. Before the revolution and even till the early 1920s there were few indigenous citizens of Soviet Central Asia who had higher and technical education. As a result most of the technical personnel and engineers needed for the economy, developing institutions had to be recruited from European parts of Soviet Russia. Consequently they also dominated and occupied the top managerial position creating serious problems for the Soviet policy of nativisation of State apparatus and national economy of Soviet Central Asian republics. Therefore under increasing pressures from the native communists efforts were redoubled to expeditiously create technical institutions where the natives could be trained in large numbers. Thus during the period of 1950-70 technical and specialised education dominated in the overall sphere of education in Soviet Central Asia. And such development helped in rapid nativisation.

Tables IX and X show the number of Scientific Personnel, and Scientific workers in the Union republic respectively.

Table IX
Number of Scientific Personnel in
the Union Republics

	(in '000)		
	1950	1960	1960 in % of 1950
USSR	162.5	354.2	218
RSFSR	117.7	242.9	217
Ukranian	22.4	46.7	209
Belorussia	2.6	6.9	260
<u>Uzbekistan</u>	4.5	10.3	227
Kazakhstan	3.3	9.6	291
Georgia	4.9	9.1	189
Azerbaijan	3.4	7.2	215
Lithuania	1.4	3.3	237
Moldavia	0.7	2.0	268
Latvia	2.2	3.4	153
<u>Kirgizia</u>	0.8	7.3	275
<u>Tadjikstan</u>	0.7	2.2	3 times
Armenia	7.0	4.3	214
<u>Turkmania</u>	0.7	1.8	280
Estonia	1.02	2.2	180

Source:

Vestnik Statistiki, 1973, no.5, quoted from
Soviet Education, vol. IV, no. 8, p. 8.

Table X

Increase in the Number of Scientific Workers
from among the indigenous Nationalities of
the Union Republics

	(Number in '000)		
	1950	1960	1960 in % of 1950
Russian	98.9	229.5	232
Ukrainians	14.7	35.4	241
Byelorussian	2.7	6.4	234
<u>Uzbeks</u>	0.8	3.7	4.4 times
<u>Kazakhs</u>	0.7	2.3	3.1 times
Georgians	4.3	8.3	195
Azerbaijanians	1.9	5.0	267
Lithuanians	1.2	3.0	224
Modnavians	0.1	6.6	4.7 times
Lithuanians	1.5	2.7	181
<u>Kirghiz</u>	0.1	0.6	6.2 times
<u>Tajiks</u>	0.2	0.9	5.2 times
Armenians	3.9	8.0	207
Turkmen	0.1	0.7	5.5 times
Estonians	1.2	2.2	166

Source: Vestnik Statistiki, 1973, no. 5, quoted from
Soviet Education, vol. 16, nos. 11-12, p. 9.

The table shows that in almost all the republics achieved a remarkable development but almost in a similar ratio of development where as Kazakh SSR and Tadjiks SSR had topped the list when the development between 1950 and 1960 is almost three times.

The Table X shows that a rapid increase in the number of scientific workers from among the indigenuous nationalities took place during the period from 1950-to 1960. Moreover the rate of increase of such trained persons of Soviet Central Asian 'origin was relatively higher than those of others. For instance the ratio of development of such persons belonging to Uzbek was 4.4 times, Kazakh 3.1 times, Kirghiz 6.2 times, Tadjiks 5.2 times, and Turkman 5.5 times whereas in the case of Lithuanian 4.7 times, Russians 2.32 times and Ukranians 2.41 times during 1950 and 1960.

Women in Secondary Specialised Education

The percentage of educated women in Soviet Central Asia remained very negligible even after the October revolution as the Muslim of Soviet Central Asia did not like such education for the women. But gradually the traditional resistance lessened and the Central Asian women started getting admission to the secondary specialised institution and other institution of higher education. Table XI gives us such picture.

Table XI

Percentage of Women among Specialist with
Secondary Specialised education employed
in the economy on 15 November 1964 (by
Nationalities)

USSR average	63
Russians	66
Uzbeks	29
Kazakh	36
Kirgiz	34
Tadzhiks	19
Turkmans	10
Kara-Kalpak	19

Source: Based on: Narkhoz, p. 582. Cited by Ann Sheehy, op.cit.

This table clearly shows that even after 47 years of October Revolution the Central Asian women continue to lag behind very much in specialist education. Though this modest achievement in this field is significant yet one cannot overlook the fact that even the percentage of Central Asian men having received specialised education continue to be very very low during the said period. (See Table XIII)

Table XII

Network of Universities in 1971 by Central Asian Republics

	Number of students	Students attended	Specialists graduated
<u>Uzbek SSR</u>			
Samarkand Alisher Navoi State University - Total	11,749	1,907	2,099
Of which: Daytime division	4,743	1,076	946
Evening division	2,383	382	206
Correspondence division	4,623	449	947
Tashkent V.I.Lenin Order of Labour Red Banner State University - Total	15,450	2,877	2,270
Of which: Daytime division	7,462	1,525	1,317
Evening division	3,936	657	468
Correspondence division	4,052	695	485
<u>Kazakh SSR</u>			
Kazakh S.M.Kirov State University Total	10,082	2,064	1,460
Of which: Daytime division	5,240	1,193	836
Evening division	1,281	246	163
Correspondence division	3,561	625	461
<u>Kirgiz SSR</u>			
Kirgiz State University - Total	13,370	2,246	2,154
Of which: Daytime division	6,268	1,378	922
Evening division	1,054	137	289
Correspondence division	6,048	731	943
<u>Tadjik SSR</u>			
Tadjik V.I.Lenin State University Total	12,467	2,448	1,880
Of which: Daytime division	5,551	1,247	846
Evening division	2,348	460	325
Correspondence division	4,568	741	709
<u>Turkmenian SSR</u>			
Turkmenian A.M.Gorkiy State University - Total	10,124	2,119	1,470
Of which: Daytime division	5,298	1,218	894
Evening division	1,049	216	109
Correspondence division	3,777	685	467

Source: Selected figures from Vestnik Statistiki, 1973, No.5,
Soviet Education, vol. XVI, nos. 11-12, pp.129-30.

University Education

The first University, known as Turkestan State University in Soviet Central Asia was found in September 1920 which in 1924 was named as Lenin State University of Tashkent. Another University came up in 1936. Thus, by 1970 all the Union republics of Central Asia had one University each except the Uzbek SSR which had two. The significance of the second University in the Uzbek SSR which is located in Samarkhand was that it was equipped to teach all subjects through the medium of Uzbek languages and it was created to accelerate the higher studies among the natives at a time when they were clamouring for rapid process of nativisation in the Central Asian republics.

Vocational-Technical Education System

The vocational technical educational system has a unique characteristics in the Soviet Union. Such system of education was oriented for the purpose of rapid industrialization and for making education more productive. The adult population with incomplete secondary education was given the opportunity to pursue vocational training programs. Such training schools are called Habfaks or Workers Faculty. The Habfaks were started in 1920 in the USSR along the European parts of the USSR and in non-European regions these were established in later decade. By 1950 all the Union republics had such institutions. As a result there was a massive growth in vocational technical educational system.

Table XIII

Development of Vocational-Technical Educational System, 1950-60

	1950		1966		1966 as compared to 1950 in %	
	Network	Enrolment ('000)	Network	Enrolment ('000)	Network	Enrolment
USSR	3,019	665.7	4,067	1,436.0	134.8	216.1
RSFSR	1,956	443.0	2,474	867.4	126.5	193.5
Ukrainian SSR	637	134.48	698	270.3	109.6	201.0
Belorussian SSR	77	13.2	114	52.0	148.0	393.9
Uzbek SSR	36	9.1	84	24.0	233.3	263.7
<u>Kazakh SSR</u>	110	20.09	314	114.8	288.2	571.4
Georgian SSR	36	7.8	41	12.3	113.9	157.6
Azerbaijan SSR	38	10.68	44	14.6	265.0	136.7
Lithuanian SSR	20	4.5	53	16.2	263.6	260.0
Moldavian SSR	11	1.7	29	10.5	175.0	617.6
Latvian SSR	28	7.6	49	14.1	354.5	185.5
<u>Kirgiz SSR</u>	11	2.0	39	13.1	410.0	655.0
<u>Tajik SSR</u>	10	1.8	41	11.9	240.0	661.1
Armenian SSR	15	2.8	36	10.6	218.2	378.5
<u>Turkmenian SSR</u>	11	2.0	24	7.5	214.3	375.0
<u>Estonian SSR</u>	21	3.4	24	6.7	112.4	197.0

Source: Vestnik Statistiki, 1973, no. 5, Soviet Education,
vol. XI, no. 6, p. 11.

Table (XII) would show the development of the vocational-technical training educational system during 1950-66 in the USSR and in the Union republics.

In 1966 the figures radically went up in case of all the Union republics and relatively much more in case of Soviet Central Asia. In the USSR the development was 134.8% in the network and 216.1% in the enrollment which was more than the development that took place in RSPSR, Ukrainian SSR and Georgian SSR. Among all the republics the Soviet Central Asia marked the highest ratio of developments Azerbaijan and Latvian SSR also underwent almost equal development. The Kirghiz SSR shows the maximum number of development in the network as well as in the enrollment which is 410.0% and 655.0% respectively. Then comes the Latvian SSR where the percentage of development was 354.5% in the network and 617.6% in the enrollment. The Kazakh SSR was third in rank and had 288.2 percentage of development in the network and 571.4% in the enrollment. The rest of the three republics of Soviet Central Asia had over 200% of development both in the network and in the enrollment of the students.

Thus there can be no two opinions that Soviet Central Asia has been given a tremendous resources for the development of vocational technical educational system. For example, whereas at that time of the formation of Central Asian

Socialist republics the specialist and technocrats were borrowed from other republics to Central Asia to carry out the normal services whereas today Soviet Central Asian republics not only fulfil their own requirement of specialists and technocrats, but they supply trained manpower also to other parts of the Union.

The Academy of Sciences

The Academy of Sciences is one of the oldest institution in Tsarist Russia. It was first founded in 1725 as a Central institution of the Academy of Sciences. After the October revolution the Soviet government made efforts to establish such academies in all parts of the Union and by 1961 all the Union republics had such academies. Besides the establishment of academy of Sciences the Soviets have also established Academy of Arts, Agricultural science, Medical Science - Pedagogical Science in all Union republics. Soviet scientists including Scientists from Central Asian republics have made considerable contribution to the field of scientific knowledge.

The Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR was founded in 1943, in Kazakh SSR in 1945, in Kirgiz in 1954, in the Tadzhik SSR in 1951, in the Turkmenian SSR in 1951. In all the other republics the Academy of Sciences were founded during the same period except the Ukrainian SSR and Belorussian SSR where these were founded in 1919 and 1928 respectively.

Table XIV
Academy of Sciences and Branches at the End of 1971
in USSR and Union Republics

Name of the Academy	Year founded	No. of Academi- cians, Members & Corresp. Members	No. of Scientific Instns., belonging to Academy	Scientific Workers in them (exclu- ding persons holding more than one job	With the Academic Degree of Doctor of Science	Candidate of Sciences
Academy of Sciences of USSR	1725	675	246	36,777	3,044	15,174
" Ukrainian SSR	1919	262	76	10,712	635	4,256
" Belorussian SSR	1928	114	32	3,817	127	955
" Uzbek SSR	1943	100	30	3,343	134	1,259
" Kazakh SSR	1945	109	36	3,172	140	1,198
" Georgian SSR	1941	108	41	4,438	276	1,360
" Azerbaijan	1945	93	31	3,691	227	1,367
" Lithuanian SSR	1941	30	12	1,285	37	517
" Moldavian SSR	1961	36	20	721	46	414
" Latvian SSR	1946	51	16	1,558	48	577
" Kirgiz SSR	1954	48	18	1,232	56	442
" Tadjik SSR	1951	39	18	1,008	35	347
" Armenian SSR	1943	89	35	2,286	145	752
" Turmenian SSR	1951	43	60	727	29	360
" Estonian SSR	1946	38	15	811	42	409
Academy of Arts of the USSR	1947	103	7(1)	358	13	124
All-Union V.I.Lenin Order of Lenin						
Academy of Agrl., Sciences	1929	161	162	8,193	346	3,740
Academy of Medical Sciences, of USSR	1944	264	36	4,362	680	2,666
Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, USSR	1944	129	15	1,429	95	623
Academy of Public Utilities of the RSFSR	1931	--	5	448	9	184

Source: Testnik Statistiki, 1973, no.5, Soviet Education, vol. XI, no.6, pp. 94-95.

The Table XIV shows the overall position of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Science Academies of the Union Republics and Branches by the end of 1971. So far as the number of Academician, members and corresponding members of the respective academy is concerned the Uzbek and the Kazakhs are placed in the status of the most advanced republics. On the other hand, the Kirgiz SSR, the Tadjik SSR and Turkmenian SSR can be placed almost equally among such republics as Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian and Estonian republics.

The same ratio of development is seen with regard to the number of scientific institutions belonging to the Academy, scientific workers in them, and the holders of the academic degrees of candidates of Science and Doctorate of Science.

To sum up, the system of Soviet education in Soviet Central Asia has been designed to achieve certain political objectives. The major prevalent issues which sought to resolve were nationalisation of state apparatus and the creation of a new Socialist culture by the State sponsored institutions of political socialization. As during the post-World War period there was widespread discontent among the natives of Soviet Central Asia because of extremely slow process of nationalisation. The Soviet were forced to devote more attention for the development of higher education which till then had

received half-hearted attention. The reasons were obvious: at the time of October 1917 revolution when there was general illiteracy, the people of Central Asia were deeply religious. The Soviets gave more emphasis on primary education, public education and vocational training to remove the illiteracy and to make the population more responsive to the Soviet regime. Having consolidated their power, the Soviet leadership after the World War II devoted massive resources for higher education especially for the technical and specialised education. Such attempts did accelerate the development of higher education. Yet a comparison of the figures of highly educated personnel of different republics shows that Central Asian continue to be at the bottom. This is, however, not to negate the developments in the field of higher education. In the coming decades however the Soviets have to further accelerate the development of higher education to keep the increasingly political conscious segment population of Soviet Central Asia contented.

Chapter IV

The Impact of Soviet Education System on Central Asian Society

Chapter IV

THE IMPACT OF SOVIET EDUCATION SYSTEM ON SOVIET CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A numerous works have been done by a number of social scientists on the impact of Soviet education system on Central Asian society which appears as a mosaic picture. The Western Sovietologists and the Soviet scholars do not see eye to eye when they express their opinion on this aspect of Central Asian society. The Eastern Sovietologists have also evaluated the impact of Marxism-Leninism on native culture. The researcher would try to review some of the literature of the authors who have been taking keen interest in the transformation of traditional Islamic society of Central Asia.

Let us first of all review the opinion of the Soviet authors who belong to Soviet Central Asia. An Uzbek scholar R.A. Tuzmuhamedov has tried to counter what the Soviet scholars call the "Anti-Soviet propaganda" made by many Western Sovietologists. He asserts that:

The 1970 census contains data about languages showing that what is actually taking place in Central Asia is neither assimilation nor Russification but a voluntary drawing together of nations, characteristic solely of Soviet society. This is manifested by the fact that the number of nationals who have given their name to a particular republic and who consider its language as their native language has increased in all the republics. The corresponding figures for 1959 and 1970 (in per cent) are: Uzbeks 98.4 and 98.8, Tajiks 98.1 and 98.5, Turkmenians 98.9 and 98.9, Kirghizos 98.7 and 98.9, Kara-Kalpakos 95 and 96.6 and

(contd...)

Uighurs 85 and 86.5. At the same time the number of nationals speaking fluent Russians is growing. In 1970, there was (per cent of the total): Uzbeks 14.5, Tajiks 15.4, Turkmen 15.4, Kirghizos 19.1, Kara-Kalpak 10.4 and Uighurs 35.6. (1)

The author has tried to show that the problem of nativization has not only been solved but the indigenous culture and language have developed. Side by side, the natives have exhibited the tendency of voluntarily mixing with other non-natives which has helped to Sovietise the Central Asian society. Secondly, he figures out the percentage of natives who are fluent in speaking Russian which is taken as an indicator of modernity of Central Asia. It seems to be half truth as he has not shown the percentage of Russian speaking peoples in other Soviet society. Commenting on the question of social mobility Tuzmuhamedov stated that:

.... growing proportion of these peoples who have been attached to their land for centuries is now selling down outside of Central Asia. As of January 15, 1970, a total of 75,000 Uzbeks (0.8 per cent) lived outside Central Asia and Kazakhstan; 490,000 (478,000 in the RSFSR) Kazakhs (9.2 per cent); 27,000 Tajiks (1.2 per cent); 37,000 Turkmen (2.4 per cent) and 21,000 Kirghizes (1.5 per cent). (2)

The present Chairman of the Muslim Religious Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Mufti Ziyauddin Khan Ibn

-
1. H. Tuzmuhamedov, How the National Question was solved in Soviet Central Asia (A reply to the question), (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973), p. 192.
 2. Ibid., Estimated on the basis of the 1970 census (Izvestia, April 16, 1971), p. 192.

Ishan Babakhan has recently given a detailed account of the Muslims of the Soviet Union in his book, "Islam and the Muslims in the land of Soviet". Mufti Ziyauddin Khan opines:

Optimism about the future of Islam is also reinforced by studying the experience of more than half a century of our religion in the conditions of socialist society. This experience testifies that socialism and Islam can not only coexist, but can also cooperate for the good of humanity. There is no doubt that such possibilities will be preserved and extended in the future. People may change, there may be and will be a raising of their educational, technological and cultural levels, superstitions will recede into the past, but the spirit Islam and the traditions of Islam will, shed unfading light on ever new generations. Raising their prayers to All-high Allah, the Muslims of the land of Soviet are determined to continue following strictly the straight road mopped out for us by Allah and His Prophet Mohammad - peace be upon Him: - the road of good and prosperity, of peace and friendship, of honest work for the happiness of Man and the raising of his material and spiritual level, for the establishment of a just peace and lasting security on earth. (3)

On September 12-14, 1979 in Dushanbe a symposium of the four Muslim Religious Boards was organised. Besides more than 100 clerics of Soviet origin, the clergy of 25 foreign countries participated in the symposium. One of the guest from India, Minnatulla Rahmani, General Secretary of the Civil Law Board of Bihar, stated in his speech:

3. Ziyauddin Khan Ibn Ishan Babakhan, Islam and the Muslims in the Land of Soviet, Translated from Russian by Richard Dixon, (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970), p. 175.

I thank all the religious figures of Central Asia for their efforts, the great contribution they have made to the flourishing of Islam, as did their ancestors in the past. Muslims, wherever they live, should spread Islamic culture, combining it with the demands of the times. Here the Muslims have a very prominent place, they are masters of their republic and contribute immensely to the development of their Motherland They follow exactly the teachings of the Holy Koran, train the future clergy, and carefully study the Islamic heritage. (4)

Many Indian scholar and statesmen have visited the Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan and given their assessment of the emerging trends in the culture of Central Asian people. The review of these accounts may give us an objective picture as they being the inhabitants of Asia could be more authentic than the Western scholars.

Very recently Mr. Jaswant Singh, a member of Indian Parliament visited many cities of Central Asia. After his visit he wrote:

In Soviet Central Asia, Islam is alive. I make that assertion not because the modes of dress of the peoples of these lands have resisted change and are still colourful as of old. Or because the forms of greetings essentially Islamic Nor am I basing my conclusion on the strength of the existence of the four "official" Islamic Boards in Tashkent, Ufa, Baku and Makhchakala. Nor indeed to the officially vetted, approved and Sovietised Ulema, most of whom are young. My concern is not with the outer manifestation Sixty years after the great revolution, the "chama" of Islam has not entirely

(contd...)

4. Ibid., pp. 173-74.

dried up. ... In sixty years, the powerful impulse of atheistic, dialectical materialism has not yet been able to provide that alternative It would be mistaken, however, to think that merely because these republics are fundamentally Islamic, therefore, they are automatically antagonistic to the Soviet regime. Here one comes across a kind of an Asian ambivalence in attitudes. Simultaneously, the people of these lands are able to combine an exteriorized subscription to the dry theories of Marxism-Leninism, while retaining, as an inner certainty, a deep and abiding faith in the essentials of Islam. Soon after the revolution, all across the face of this vast hinter land of Islam, mosques had been boarded up and the muezzins had fallen silent Madrassas were closed. That did not achieve what it was meant to. Deep resentment grew in the minds and the psyche of the people. (5)

Another Indian author observes:

A very remarkable socio-cultural transformation has been effected in the lives of the peoples of Central Asia by Soviet rule - during a historically brief period of about half a century. All that remains of the old views and values of life are the pernicious survivals in some peoples' minds. But these survivals are tenacious and the Soviet power is working relentlessly to eradicate them. (6)

Thus, in other words the author concedes the continuation of Islamic and traditional influences on the people of Soviet Central Asia though because of ideological commitments he describes it as 'pernicious survival'. Likewise discussing

-
5. Jaswant Singh, "Islam in Soviet Union", The Hindustan Times (New Delhi, November 5, 1981), p. 9.
 6. Devanara Kaushik, Central Asia in Indian History: A History from the Early 19th Century (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970), p. 250.

the impact of Soviet education K.R. Sharma believes that the Soviet system of education has only marginally impact on Central Asian society by creating a new Sovietised intelligentsia. He writes:

... one may infer the 'spread effect' of education. Many new libraries and reading rooms had been set up, even in remote villages, thereby rendering it possible for the general masses to enrich and widen their mental-cultural horizon. But equally obvious and more significant was the fact that a new basis was laid for the emergence of a socialist intelligentsia. A whole new generation of intelligentsia dedicated to the cause of rebuilding their society had been formed. And it was this socio-political group which was further extended in the post-war period. Most members of the new intelligentsia had risen from former intellectually and culturally backward social groups, and as such were intensely devoted to the promotion of the interests of the wider section of society.

In other words, the social distance between the masses and the intelligentsia was greatly reduced, and a more living culture came into being. The indening of the opportunity for social advancement through education had tended to proletarianise the intelligentsia. (8)

On the strategy and objective of cultural change adopted by the Soviet leadership Shams Ud Din, views deserve our attention.

Liquidation of traditional pattern of socialisation and anti-religious propaganda constituted important aspect of the Bolshevik strategy of secularisation of political culture in Uzbekistan. After creating a wide-spread network of new bases of political power in the form of various subordinate party organization, such as Koshchi, Komsomol, Trade Unions

(contd...)

-
8. K.R. Sharma, A Marxist Model of Social Change: Soviet Central Asia: 1917-1940. (The Macmillan Company of India Ltd. Meerut, 1979), p.201.

and Soviet institutions for imparting general political education, the Bolshevik launched the programme of liquidation of traditional patterns of socialization. It consisted of emancipation of women, anti-religious campaigns and cultural transformation programmes. (9)

In spite of these concerted and long drawn planned measures Shams Ud Din on the basis of his year-long field observation in Soviet Central Asia stated that the Soviet have not been quite successful in liquidating the influence of Islamic culture and mode of life. Though he conceded the ritual aspect of religion of Islam has gradually suffered atrophy.

The Western Sovietologists have always been vocal on the subject. Though they remain always critical to the Soviet system, their observations are not totally biased, notwithstanding the contradictions which abound in their writings. There are many such scholars, but we shall try to review the views of some important authors who have been pioneers so far as the promotion of studies on Soviet Central Asia is concerned.

Alexandre Benningsen who has written numerous books and articles on Islam in the USSR, in his recent article observes:

As a result of a half a century of anti-religious campaigns, Islam in the USSR lost a portion of its believers. Some became indifferent, while others (more rare) turned into authentic atheist.

(contd...)

9. Shams Ud Din, Secularisation in the USSR (Vikas, New Delhi 1981) In press.

Islam also lost, more or less completely its hold on the economic and political life of the believer's community. In many ways, Islam became a "Private affair", and its administrative structure was modified to fill in better with the realities of the Soviet regime. (10)

Despite the political constraints and the Soviet policy of undermining the status of religion, Alexandra Benningsen further holds that,

..... Islam has in no way been contaminated either by Marxism or by secularism. From the standpoint of Islamic law and theology, Islam in the USSR is the same unadulterated, pure religion that it had been before 1917, and its leaders, though formally submissive to the Godless Soviet regime, have never been accused by anyone - friends or adversaries - of heresy (Shirk), Infidelity (Kufr), or even innovation (bida). Paradoxically, nowadays, Islam in the Soviet Union appears more conservative, more traditionalist, and less modernised than the creed practised in many Muslim countries of the Middle East or the very progressive Islam of pre-revolutionary Russia They observe the same religious rites and social customs. They have the same dietary traditions, wear almost the same clothes, and display the same attitude of deeply rooted mistrust towards the non-Muslim West (represented by Americans and Europeans in the Middle East and by Russians in Central Asia). (11)

So far as the impact on the material life is concerned, the observation of Geoffrey Wheeler deserves our attention:

-
10. Alexandra Benningsen, "Soviet Muslim and the World of Islam" Problem of Communism, Vol. X, No.2, March-April 1980, Washington, p. 38.
 11. Ibid., p. 39.

As regards their (Central Asian peoples) material condition there can be no doubt that during the forty years of the Muslim republics of Central Asia there has been a remarkable advances in public health, industrial productivity, cotton output, communications and the standard of living. In all these matters the Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia are far ahead of those of any non-Soviet Muslim countries and indeed of any Asian country with the exception of Japan and Israel. (12)

Secularization of Society

The socio-economic changes that have occurred during the period of our study had an over all impact on the institution of socialization. A typically traditional society was sought to transformed by the state-sponsored and Centrally planned measures. As a result the traditional institutions started loosing their strength. The old social institutions of effective social control now under severe constraints, though performs ceremonial functions, the traditional cultural ethos survives. However, with its emphasis on imparting definitely provided significant opportunities for upward social and occupational mobility which was not available before. This has considerable impact on the social structure of Central Asian society thereby changing the roles of many traditional institutions. For example, family, as the most basic and primary social unit has been now losing its patriarchal character due to the spread of woman's education

12. G. Wheeler, "Soviet Central Asia" The Muslim World, October 1966, No.4, pp. 240-41.

and increasing opportunities for their employment in the national economy. However, in rural areas the institution of joint family still survives and the familial bonds continued to be very strong. Moreover, the people of Central Asia have not exhibited any favourable trend for physical social mobility.

The system of marriage to a greater extent is still endogamous, as the natives prefer to marry in their own community, though there have been certain exceptions to this in metropolitan cities like Tashkent. However, it has also been reported by numerous authors that the Central Asian as a rule do not marry their daughters with non-natives, particularly with the Europeans.

Education of Women

As soon as Bolshevik consolidated their political power, they started a massive campaign for the education of women of Central Asia, various public schools and technical educational institutions were opened for women as Muslim women were hesitant to study in a co-education institution. By 1950 a considerable percentage of women successfully completed the secondary and specialised education. By 15 November, 1960 as shown in Table XI a considerable percentage of women of Central Asia and Kazakhstan were employed in the national economy. The percentage of women among specialist with secondary specialised education employed in the economy on the average in USSR was 63, the percentage of Russian women was 66,

Kazakhs had 36%, Uzbek had 29%, Kirgiz 34%, Tadjiks, Turkmen and Kara-Kalpaks all had 19%. This has resulted in relative prosperity of the Central Asian society.

With the spread of higher education there has been a general awareness of the importance of science and technology and their role in the development of society. Coupled with the spread of higher education development of modern industry has also left its mark on their behavioural pattern making them more and more materialistic. The sum total of all these had led to what Shams Ud Din describes as secularisation of native culture. There is very little dispute among the scholars that they have retained their religious belief and the practice of religious taboos in their private life. At the same time the process of modernization has taken firm roots.

As far as the changes in the Central Asian economy are concerned, these could without exaggeration be described as revolutionary. The entire means of production have not only been nationalised there has been rapid industrialisation particularly during the period under study. This has increased the demand for trained and skilled man power. Before the October 1917 revolution a large majority of administrators, teachers, skilled and trained personnel came from Russia as there were hardly any natives who were qualified to take up such jobs which required special education and

and training. Even after the October 1917 revolution this trend continued thereby increasing the percentage of Russian population in Central Asia. Moreover, this adversely affected the Soviet programme of nativisation and there were subtle and sometimes open protest against the increasing flow of the Russians to control and manage the economic and educational institutions of Soviet Central Asia. This trend has now been checked to a significant extent with the development of higher and technical education in the Soviet Central Asian republics. There are certain other factors such as the high birth rate of Central Asian and extremely low birth rate of the Russians and increasing demand of trained personnel in Siberia and Soviet Far East, which have considerably reduced the inflow of the Russians to Central Asia.

By 1960s the Soviets educational institutions in Central Asia had started producing a new class of specialists and technicians of native origin. However, their number was still negligible as compared to the increasing demand by the developing economy of Central Asia. Moreover almost all the key posts in every field of economy were held by the Russians or the peoples from other nationalities. (See Table XV).

Table XV on the one side show the percentage of native and the Russians inhabited in the territory of Soviet Central Asia, and on the other side it depicts the percentage of specialists, belonging to both the natives and Russian origin. For instance in Uzbekistan in the year 1959, the indigenous population was 62.2 per cent and Russians constituted 13.5 percentage of the population. While in the economy the percentage of Russians was as high as 30.2 per cent whereas the Uzbeks were 36.9 per cent. In Kazakhstan, the percentage of Russians population was about 27.7 per cent that is, only 2.3 per cent less than the native Kazakhs but in the economy as specialists 53.2 per cent posts were held by the Russians and the Kazakhs were only 24 per cent. The Union Republic of Kirgizia SSR had a slight variation in the constitution of its population as there were 10.6 per cent Uzbeks, 40.5 per cent Kirgiz and 30.2 per cent Russians. Among the specialists employed in the economy: 30.0 per cent were Kirgiz, 46.0 per cent were Russians and 4.6 per cent Uzbeks. The indigenous population of Turkmenistan has the highest ratio of population vis-a-vis the Russian but again they too were disproportionately represented in the economy. In Tadjikistan the situation was still worse where the Russians though constituted more positions of power than warranted by their total numbers in the republic was 13.3 per cent of the

Table XV

Specialists in Central Asian Economy

(in per cent)

	Population 1959	Specialists in Economy 1960
<u>Uzbekistan</u>		
Uzbeks	62.2	36.9
Russians	13.5	30.2
<u>Kazakhstan</u>		
Kazakhs	30.0	24.0
Russians	27.7	53.2
<u>Kirgizia</u>		
Kirgiz	40.5	30.0
Russians	30.2	46.0
Uzbeks	10.6	4.6
<u>Tadzhikistan</u>		
Tadzhiks	53.1	34.0
Uzbeks	23.0	10.7
Russians	13.3	35.9
<u>Turkmenistan</u>		
Turkmens	60.9	44.0
Russians	17.3	32.7

Source: Central Asian Review, vol. X, no. 3 (1962), p. 229. The population figures are taken from the 1959 official Soviet Census returns. The percentage of specialists is based on figures in Vyssheye Obrazovaniya v USSR (Moscow), 1961, cited by Vislet Conolly, Beyond the Urals: Economic Developments in Soviet Asia, London, 1967, p. 110.

Table XVI
Nationality Composition of the Labour Force
in September 1964
(in per cent)

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Nurek hydro-station</u>	<u>Dushamba textile mill</u>
Tadzhiks	27.8	15.2
Uzbeks	1.7	10.1
Russians	51.8	55.7
Ukrainians	7.3	2.3
Belorussians	1.9	1.0
Tatars	4.2	7.4
Mordavians	1.0	2.4
Others	<u>4.3</u>	<u>5.9</u>
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: V.I. Perevedentsev, "The Influence of Ethnic Factors on the Territorial Redistribution of Population", Iz. AN SSSR Seriya Geograficheskaya (1965), No. 4, pp.31-39. A translation of this article is published in Soviet Geography (American Geographical Society, New York, October, 1965), pp.40-50.

population but in the economic sector constituted 39.3 per cent of the total specialist employed in the economy.

The data comprises the position of hydro-station in Nurck and textile mills of Dushanbe. The hydro-station at Nurck had 27.8 per cent Tadjikistans, 1.7 per cent Uzbeks, 51.8 per cent Russians, 7.3 per cent Ukrainians, 1.9 per cent Belorussians, 4.2 per cent Tatars, 1.0 per cent Mordavians, and others were employed. The percentage of the natives if we calculate from the above figures, come to 34.3 and the rest of 65.7 per cent were non-natives when Russians alone constituted 51.8 per cent of the total labour force.

The data on textile mills at Dushanbe show a slight variation in the composition of the natives constitution in the labour force. The Uzbeks were on the third position as in earlier case it was Ukrainians, the other ratio of percentages were the same as in hydro-station plant of Nurck. Though there ^{is} ~~one~~ more exception that Russians were still in a better position as they constituted 55.7 per cent of the total force.

Such data clearly show that the entire economy was controlled by the Russians, their numerical strength were sufficient enough to control the economy of Soviet Central Asia. Two reasons were generally given by the Soviet press.

First of all it was argued that the level of educated population continued to be very low among the natives and secondly, the rate of dropouts remained very high in comparison to the other nationalities. Both the reasons are plausible but at the same time this does not justify why even after about half the century of Soviet rule the natives' conditions could not be improved to the level as they could control their own socio-economic system. It is still a matter of controversy among the scholars that such conditions are prelude to the intention of the Soviet leadership. Our analysis which is mostly based on Soviet sources clearly shows that the Central Asian economy was tremendously improved but the status of the natives has changed only marginally.

In short, we find that in spite of the development of higher institutions of education and technical and vocational training centres, the natives continued to lag behind. As the political consciousness during the corresponding period has also sharpened, this created serious problems and the natives in Party Congresses. A number of native scholars also wrote critically of the Soviet nationality policy and the policy of nativisation of the socio-political apparatus. A number of independent observers of the Soviet scene have reported that during the sixties the situation started changing and in the seventies more and more natives were inducted in the

government and administration of affairs in their republics. The first hand data on the subject is however lacking and it is proposed to be further investigated in our further advanced research programme.

On the impact of Soviet system of education, a group of scholars and researchers has pointed out that the pace of Russification has considerably increased during the period of ^{Soviet} rule. However, there were another group of Soviet scholars who hold that despite the Soviet efforts of culture change in Central Asia, the natives still continue to retain their traditional cultures, only economically they have been Sovietised but culturally they remain as Muslims. It can not however be denied that due to the spread of universal education, political propaganda and also development of higher education through the medium of Russian language. Russian culture has made considerable inroads into the native society. Whether it could be termed Russification is highly controversial because as we know spread of Western education in all the countries of Asia and Africa has unleashed a process of cultural change described under such concepts as Westernisation, modernisation and Russification. In fact, in Soviet Central Asia there has been a reverse process as well which is appropriated conceptualised as Uzbekification. Leaving the polemical issue aside we do notice that there has been a

Table XVII

The Level of Russification of the Largest
Non-Russian Nationalities (1970 Census)

Nationalities	Population	Russified Proportion
Ukrainian	40,753,243	14.3
Uzbek	9,195,093	5.3
Belorussian	9,051,755	18.9
Tatar	9,930,670	10.2
Kazakh	6,298,818	1.6
Azerbaijan	4,379,937	1.3
Armenian	3,559,151	7.6
Georgian	3,754,200	1.4
Moldavian	2,697,994	4.2
Lithuanian	2,669,944	1.5
Jewish	2,150,707	78.2
Tajik	2,135,883	0.6
German	1,846,317	32.7
Chuvash	1,694,315	12.9
Turkmen	1,525,284	0.8
Kirghiz	1,452,223	0.3
Latvian	1,429,844	0.2
Dagestan	1,354,649	1.9
Nordvian	1,262,670	22.1
Bashkir	1,239,681	4.5
Polish	1,167,523	20.7
Estonian	1,007,356	4.4
Osset	707,328	17.2
Chechan	612,674	1.2
Abkhaz	598,628	8.6
Ossotian	498,039	5.4
Komi	321,894	17.2
Komi-permyak	163,451	14.1
Koryak	357,505	31.3
Bulgarian	351,168	24.4
Greek	335,869	49.5
Buryat	314,621	7.3
Yakut	296,244	3.7
Kabardian	179,928	1.8
Karakalpak	235,009	0.4

Source: 1970 Census, Part IV, Table 4, pp.20-21, cited by Petr Dostad and Hans Krippendorf, "The Russification of Ethnic Minorities in the USSR", Soviet Geography Review, Translation, Vol. 20, no. 4.

growth of Central Asians who know Russian language well as is shown in the Table XVII.

Thus, the Table XVII clearly shows the number as well as the percentage of non-Russian nationalities who have been Russified in the limited sense of the term as explained above. The impact of Russification was considerably more intense and widespread in the people of non-Russian European nationalities than on the Central Asians. For example, 78.2 per cent of the Jewish was Russified. The other nationalities such as Greek, Polish, Belorussian, German and Koryak were Russified at a fairly high rate. Whereas the impact of Russification on the natives of Soviet Central Asia is very low. For example, acquisition 5.3 per cent Uzbeks, 0.6 per cent Tadzhik, 0.8 per cent Turkmen, 0.3 per cent of Kirghiz and 1.6 per cent of Kazakh were Russified.

Acquisition of proficiency in Russian language also helps in accelerating the pace of social and occupational mobility. One reason therefore of relative backwardness of the natives of Soviet Central Asia is concerned is that they have not shown much inclination for learning Russian language as fast as other non-Russian nationalities have shown.

Chapter V
Conclusion

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the opportunities of higher education in Soviet Central Asia, during the period of our study had been a question of pride among the Soviet scholars and a point of criticism among the Western Sovietologists. The Western Sovietologists have been trying to show the growing economic and social problem in Soviet Central Asia due to lack of initiative on the part of Soviet leadership for giving the natives of Soviet Central Asia adequate opportunities of higher education. The Soviet scholars on the other hand have tried to show the opposite picture by taking into account the census data and the logic of statistics. To us but both the views seem politically motivated. We have in this study made a modest attempt to analyse the real situation on the basis of materials available from both the Soviet and other sources. To have a clearer insight of the problem we have prefaced our study with the status of education in the past in Soviet Central Asia, so that we could reach to the historical causes of such problem.

Accordingly at the outset we have discussed and defined and also elaborated ideological-theoretical formulations of the Bolsheviks towards the educational policy of the new regime. Having done that we devoted our attention to the status of education in Central Asia before the October Revolution the scope of our research. Until the outbreak

of October 1917 revolution, the opportunities for education to a greater extent were the privilege of a very small group of people whom we described as the traditional elite of Central Asia. The society was more or less controlled by the members of this elite. In the last decade of the 19th century, a new group of intelligentsia was emerging on the scene. Known as the Jadidists they wanted to introduce modern or secular education. In addition to this goal, they also wanted to bring social reforms. They sent numerous delegation to Cairo which was then a seat of Islamic learning. It was meant to revitalise the Islamic culture which they believed had been deformed and polluted by the Mullahs of Central Asia. Ismail Bay Gasprinsky and few other social reformers who were the leading members of the Jadidist movement opened New Method schools in various urban areas of Russian Turkistan and the Emirate of Bukhara. They also published a few dailies and weekly journals in native language. Soon they started getting popularity which was considered dangerous by both the Traditionalists as well as the Tsarist colonial Administrations. Although in the beginning the Jadidists movement had no political overtones as it was purely a cultural movement the Tsarist Government considered it enimical to its long term interests and therefore supported the Qadimists who also felt threatened by it.

With the support of the Qadimists and the foudal Khans the colonial Administration did succeed in putting a check on the reformist activities of the Jadidists.

Tsarist administration itself initiated certain programmes of creating new educational institutions such as, (1) the institutions for the training of interpreters, (2) schools for the Russians who inhabited in Central Asia where a few seats were reserved for the native children, (3) the so-called Russo-native schools, having native language as a medium of instruction. In addition to this they did not interfere in the business of traditional educational system such as Maktabas, the primary schools and Madrasahs, the secondary schools.

Hence, the traditional system of education remained the dominant system of education which meant to socialise the peoples of Central Asia. Till the days of October 1917 revolution, as according to various sources, about 2 per cent of the population were literate. Secondly, the traditional system of education provided the ultimate support to the traditional culture and ethos, and the society more or less remained static till the early 20th century. As the Tsarist government did not have any conscious programmes to change the traditional way of life in Central Asia, rather it was difficult on their part to take such steps as the traditional culture was very deep rooted and the natives were themselves very much orthodox.

After the Bolshevik overthrew the Tsarist rule, they had a difficult time in consolidating their power in Central Asian region because of the civil war and the Basmachi revolt. The immediate problems before the Bolsheviks were the nationalization and the liquidation of the power of traditional elite and the influence of religion. Therefore the Bolshevik faced stiff resistance offered by the traditional elite and the majority of Central Asian peoples. As they were not ready to accept the Marxist-Leninist ideology propagated by the Bolsheviks. After the period of War Communism, the Soviet leadership planned a more conscious programme during the period of New Economic Policy (NEP). Before taking steps for the development of higher system of education Soviet devoted their attention and resources for the development of primary, secondary and public education. Moreover, they effected sweeping changes in the languages and scripts of native languages.

In the third chapter, while discussing the Soviet Central Asian system of higher education, we have tried to explain at length the ideological or theoretical basis of education and how they were implemented by the Soviet leadership. Secondly, we discussed in this chapter the network and the structure of higher education system in Soviet Central Asia. During the phase of development there were

serious differences on the strategy and pattern of educational development between the natives and the Soviet government. The most severe among them was the problem of language, as in the beginning the Soviet leadership wanted to introduce Russian language as a medium of instructions. This culminated severe problem of national minorities.

The Soviet views of the nationality policy could be summed up by Stalin in the phrase: national in form; and socialist in content. Following this Soviet introduced the native language as a medium of instruction at every level of studies. But despite this, the educational condition of the native could not be improved in the early phase. As for all the practical purpose the native did not have enough teachers to teach in native language neither there were substantial number of books to be supplied to the natives children. And Central Asian continued to be lagging behind far from the other nationalities so far as education was concerned.

In the earlier phase, when there was general illiteracy among the peoples, the Soviet gave emphasis on primary and public education and the education of women population, though attention was also devoted towards the vocational-technical education. Although the pace of development was slow due to various constraints but a dynamic trend was discernible as shown in Table I Chapter 3. The Soviet Central

Asia produced a considerable number of technical man power till the 1950s. It was only after the Second World War the Soviet devoted more attention towards development of higher education. Most of the Universities were set up between 1940 and 1955 except in Uzbekistan already had two Universities.

During the period of our study most of the network of higher educational institution were established. Since 1950 onwards the number of enrolment of students grew and so was the case with the natives employment in the national economy. However in relation to the other nationalities such as the Great Russians and Ukrainians the condition of the natives remained backward. On the other hand, whatever development was being achieved in the field of higher education, the natives and the Russians were both benefited. The opportunities of higher education not only produced the technical and specialised persons to be employed in the economy but it also created a very small group of new intelligentsia which supports the Soviet system.

The Soviet policy and the Soviet system of education delimited the nature and scope of religion and it helped in reducing orthodoxy and religious dogmatism. The practice of rituals has completely declined. However so far as the Islamic cultural and spiritual ethos are concerned there continue to be a matter of great concern to the Soviet leaders.

The natives retained their national-cultural identity and the emerging culture of Central Asia and Kazakhstan society shows no indication of Russification.

The opportunities of higher education during the period of our study could not be seen as adequate to meet the growing demand of native society. Moreover, Russians continue to get the lion's share of opportunities in every walk of life in Soviet Central Asia. Unless this relationship is reversed this could at a time of crisis can take a serious turn in the region. It appears from the study of contemporary literature that the Soviets are alive to this serious problems and efforts are being made to build a more harmonious relationship between various nationalities living in the Soviet Republics of Central Asia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Asia in Soviet Studies, Academy of Science of the USSR, Moscow, Nauka Publication House, 1969.
- Allworth, Edward (edited), Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule, New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.
- Allworth, Edward, and others, Soviet Nationalities Problems, Columbia University Press, New York, London, 1971.
- Allworth, Edward, The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1973.
- _____, Soviet Asia; Bibliographies: A Compilation of Social Science and Humanities sources on the Iranian, Mongolian and Turkic Nationalities, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1975.
- Alexander G. Park, Bolshevik in Turkistan: 1917-27, New York, 1957.
- Anderson, C. Arnold & May J. Bowman (eds.), Education and Economic Development, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965.
- Ashraf, Jaweed, Soviet Education: Theory and Practice, New Delhi; Sterling Publishing house, 1978.
- Azrael, Jeremy R.(ed.), Soviet Nationality: Policies and Practices, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978.
- Bacon, Elizabeth, Central Asia under Russian Rule, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966.
- Bartold, V.V., Mussulman Culture (Translated from Russian by S. Sahrawordy), Calcutta: Univeristy of Calcutta, 1934.
- _____, Four Studies on the History of Central Asia (translated from Russian by V. Monarsky and T. Minorsky), Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1962.
- Baskakov, N.A., The Turkic Languages in Central Asia: Problems of Planned Cultural Contacts, Oxford: St. Anthony's College, 1969 (translated from Voprosyazykoznania, June 1952).

- Bates, E.S., Soviet Asia: Progress and Problems, London: Right Book Club, 1942.
- Becker, Seymour, Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Bennigsen, Alexandre & C.L. Quelquejay, Islam in the Soviet Union, London: Paul Mall Press, 1967.
- Bereday, George Z.F. & Juan Pennar (eds.), The Policies of Soviet Education, New York: Frederick Praegu, 1960.
- Bilinsky, Yaroslav, Education of the non-Russian Peoples in the USSR.
- Caroe, Olaf, Soviet Empire: The Turks of Central Asia & Stalinism, London: Macmillan, 1953.
- Charques, H.D., Soviet Education: Some aspects of Cultural Revolution, London: L. & V. Woolf, by Hogarth Press, 1934.
- Chauncy, Henry, Interviews with Soviet Educators on recent developments & the current status of education in the USSR (Mimeographed unpublished Report), May 1965.
- Clarke, M.L., Higher Education in the Ancient World, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971.
- Coombs, Philip H., The World Education Crisis: A System Analysis, New York: Council on Foreign Relations and Harper & Row, 1964.
- Deana Leavin, Soviet Education To-day, London: Staples Press, 1959.
- Deineko, M., Public Education in the USSR (translated by David A. Myshane), Moscow: Foreign Publishers, 1963.
- Devitt, Nicholas, Cost and Returns in Education in the USSR, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, Photographic Copy by author, Cambridge: 1962.
- Devitt, Nicholas, Education and Profession Employment in the USSR, Washington: National Science Foundation, 1961.

- Dewitt, Nicholas, Soviet Professional Manpower: Its Education, Training and Supply, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, National Science Foundation, 1955.
- Eskar, Frank A., Translation in Asia: Uzbekistan under the Soviet, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan.
- Geertz, Clifford (ed.), Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa, New York: Free Press, 1971.
- Goldhagen, Erick, Ethnic Minorities in Soviet Union, New York: 1963.
- Grant, Nigel, Soviet Education (Revised Edn.), Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1968
- Harper, Samuel N., Civic Training in Soviet Russia, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.
- Hellwald, Frederick Von, The Russians in Central Asia, London: H. King & Co., 1974.
- Holdsworth, Mary, Turkestan in the 19th Century: A Brief History of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva, Oxford: St. Anthony's College Press, Central Asian Research Centre, 1959.
- Hudson, Alfred, E., Kazakh Social Structure, New Haven: Yale University Press, Publication in Anthropology, No. 20, 1938.
- Kalinin, M.I., On Communist Education: Selected speeches and articles, Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1949.
- King, Beatrice, Changing Man - The Educational System in USSR, New York: The Viking Press, 1937.
- Kliver, George (ed.), Soviet Education, New York: Columbia University Press, 1957.
- Kolanz, Walter, Islam in the Soviet Union, 1917-1960, Karachi-Dacca: Pakistan Committee Congress for Cultural Freedom, 1966.
- Kolanz, Walter, Religion in the Soviet Union, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961.

- Korol, Alexander, Soviet Education for Science and Technology, Cambridge: The Technology Press of MIT, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1957.
- Kantaissoff, E., Literacy Campaigns in the USSR, Fundamental and Adult Education, 1952, No.4.
- Krader, Lawrence, Peoples of Central Asia, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963.
- Kaushik, Devendra, Central Asia in Modern Times: A History from the early 19th Century, (ed.) by N. Khalifin, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970.
- _____, Socialism in Central Asia: A Study in the Transformation of Socio-Ethnic relations in Soviet Central Asia, Bombay, Allied, 1976.
- Lerner, Daniel, The Passing of Traditional Society, London The Free Press of Glencoe, Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1964.
- Lonin, V.I., Collected Works, Vol. 28, Moscow, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1972.
- Makarenko, A.S., Road to life: An epic of education, Tr. by Ivy Litvinov and Tatiana Lillinov Moscow: Progress, 1973.
- Munnich, Karl, Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning, New York, Oxford University Press, 1950.
- Mathews, W.K., Languages of the USSR, Cambridge: The University Press, 1951.
- Medlin, W.K.F., Carpenter and W.L. Cave, Education and Social Change: A Study of the role of the school in a technically developing society in Central Asia (Cooperative Research Projects Nos. 7474 & 2620) Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1965.
- Medlin, W.K.F., W.L. Cave, and Finlay Carpenter, Education and Development in Central Asia: A Case Study of Social Change in Uzbekistan, London, E.D.Brill, 1971.

- Medlin, W.K. M. Levit, Filigo & C.P. Bodner, Teaching in the Social Sciences & the Humanities in the USSR, "Studies in Cooperative Education", Washington, U.S. Dept., of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, 1959.
- Medlin, W.K. Clarence B. Lindquist, Marshall L. Schmitt, Soviet Education Programmes: Foundations, Curricula, Teacher Preparation, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Health Education and Welfare, Bulletin, 1960
- Novo, Alec. & J.A. Nowth, The Soviet Middle East: A model for Development: London George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1967.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Economic Aspect of Higher Education, Paris: OECD, 1964.
- Pinkovitch, Albert P., New education in the Soviet republic, Tr. by Nucia Perlmutter, ed. George S. Counts, New York, John Day, 1929.
- Pipes H., Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and nationalism 1917-23, Rev. ed. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Piper, Don C. & T. Cole (ed.), Post-Primary Education and Political and Economic Development, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1964.
- Romennikov B, Zhittsov Y, and Obukov V., The USSR: Education, Science and Culture, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978.
- Rosen, Seymour M., Higher Education in the USSR, Washington U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1963.
- _____, Education and Modernization in the USSR. Reading, Addison-Wesley, 1971 (Addison-Wesley series in comparative and international education. Ed. by M. Kazamias. 1971).
- Rytkin, Michael, Russia in Central Asia, New York Collier Books, 1963.
- Rudman, Herbert C., Structure and Decision-making in Soviet Education, Washington U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1964.

- Shalaby, Ahmed, History of Muslim Education, Beirut: Dar Alkashaf, 1954.
- Shams Ud Din, Secularisation of Politics in the USSR, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1981) in press.
- Sharma, R.R., Marxist Model of Social Change: Soviet Central Asia: 1917-1940, Delhi: Macmillan, 1979.
- Shimonaik, W., A Study of Soviet Policies in Uzbekistan and their Implications for Educational and Social Change. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1963.
- Tawney, R.H., Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972.
- Timoshenko, S.P., Engineering Education in Russia, New York/Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959.
- Tomiak (J.J.), Soviet Education, Newton Abbot; David & Charles, 1972 (World Edn. Series I).
- Tuzmahemedov, R. How the National Question was solved in Soviet Central Asia, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973.
- UNESCO., An Asian Model of Educational Development, Paris: 1966.
- _____. , Economic and Social Aspects of Educational Planning, Paris: 1964.
- _____. , Educational Planning, Paris: 11 E, 1965.
- Vaidyanath, The Formation of the Soviet Central Asian Republics (A Study of Soviet Nationalities Policy), 1917-1936, New Delhi: PPH (P)Ltd., 1967.
- Wheeler, Geoffrey, The Modern History of Soviet Muslim Asia, New York - Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964.
- _____. , Racial Problems in Soviet Muslim Asia, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1962.

- Zenkovsky Serge A., Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia, Cambridge - Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Sinovyov, M & A., Pleshakova, How Illiteracy was Wiped out in the USSR, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.
- Ziyauddin Khan Ibn Ishan Babakhan, Islam and the Muslims in the land of Soviets. Translated from Russian by Richard Dixon, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1980.

Articles

- Adam, Don, "The Study of Education and Social Development", The Comparative Education Review, vol. 9, No. 3 (Oct.), 1965.
- Ann Sheehy, "Secondary and Specialised Education in Central Asia and Kezabh SSR", Central Asian Review, vol.15.
- Benningsen, A, "The Moscow Intelligentsia in the USSR", Soviet Survey, No. 28, April-June 1959.
- Benningsen, Alexander, "Several Nations and one People? People? Ethnic consciousness among Soviet Central Asian Muslim," Soviet Survey, 24, Summer 1979.
- _____, "Soviet Muslims and the world of Islam" Problem of Communism, vol. 25, March-April 1980.
- Bilinsky, Yaroslav, "Education of the Non-Russian Peoples in the USSR (1917-1967): An Essay," Slavic Review vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Sept.), 1968.
- Benningsen, Alexander, "Traditional Islam in the Custom of the Turkic Peoples of Central Asia", The Middle East Journal, vol. 12, No. 2, 1958.
- Bereday, George, Z.F. & Bonnie B. Stretch, "Political Education in the USA & USSR", Comparative Education Review, vol. 7, No. 1, June 1963.

- Brumberg, Abraham, "Dissent in Russia," Foreign Affairs, 52:4 (July 1974).
- Burg, Steven L., "Soviet Policy and the Central Asian Problem" Survey, 24: Summer, 1979.
- Chauncy, Henry, "Some notes on Education and Psychology in the Soviet Union", The American Psychologist, vol. 14, June 1959.
- Enders, Wimbush S. and Dmitry Ponomareff, "Alternative for Mobilizing Soviet Central Asian Labour: Out migration and Regional Development", A project Air Force Report prepared for the United States Air Force, RAND, Santa Monica, CA 90406, November 1979.
- Feshbach, Murray, and Rapawy, Stephen, "Soviet population and Manpower Trends and Politics", Soviet Economy in a new perspective, Washington, D.C. USOPO, 1976.
- Hung Cham-Yu, "The New Tsar-Common Enemy of All Nationalities in the Soviet Union," Peking Review, 27, July 4, 1969.
- James Critchlow, "Minarets and Marx", Washington Quarterly, Spring 1980, Copyright (c) 1980 by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University.
- Lipset, Harry, "Education of Moslems in Tsarist and Soviet Russia", Comparative Education Review, vol. XII, Nos. 3, October 1968.
- Mackenzie, David, "Tashkent - Past and Present", The Russian Review, vol. 28, No. 2 (April), 1969.
- Modlin, W.K. & W.M. Gave, "Social Change and Education in Developing Area: Uzbekistan", The Comparative Education Review, vol. 8, No. 2, October 1964.
- Mookenna, Francis A, "Language Pattern of Uzbek People", International Studies Association, February 1976.
- Pipos, Richard, "Muslims of Soviet Central Asia: Trends and Prospects", Middle East Journal, vol. 9, Spring (Part I) and Summer (Part II) 1955.

- Shams-Ud-Din, "Reformist Movement among the Muslim of Tsarist Russia", Islam and the Modern World, November 1979.
- Silver, Brian D, "Soviet Nationality Problems: Analytic Approach", Problem of Communism, 28: July-August, 1979.
- Singh, Jaswanth, "Islam in Soviet Union", The Hindustan Times (New Delhi, November 5, 1981), p.9.
- Wheeler, Geoffrey, "Islam and the Soviet Union", Asian Affairs 10: October 1979.
- _____, "How the New Tsars Inherit their Predecessor's Mantle", Beijing Review, 17: April 27, 1979.
- Williams, D.S.M. "The traditional Muslim schools of the settled Regimes of Central Asia during the Tsarist Period", Central Asian Review, vol. XIII, No.4, 1965.

Journals consulted

1. Central Asian Review,
2. Central Asian Journal.
3. Comparative Education Review. Higher Education: The international Journal of Higher education and educational Planning.
4. Soviet Studies. A Quarterly Journal on the USSR and Eastern Europe.
5. Problems of Communism.
6. Slavik Review, American Quarterly of Soviet and East European Studies.
7. Soviet Education. A Journal of Translations.
8. Soviet Geography: Review and Translation.
9. Soviet Survey.