

DYNAMICS OF SOVIET EDUCATIONAL MODEL IN CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS

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Abstract

Soviet regime is attributed with a well developed and comprehensive educational system in the entire erstwhile USSR. The mission of literacy was deemed an essential imperative for the socio-economic and cultural transformation. Therefore, for the establishment of socialist state, based on Marxist-Lenin principles, the term “likbez” was developed and a crusade against illiteracy was launched which culminated into the so-called “infallible and invincible” model of Soviet education. Though Soviet model is believed to be a monolithic model, yet coherent educational system was not followed so far as Soviet Central Asian Republics were concerned. Moreover, during perestroika and subsequent disintegration, the utter failure of Soviet educational system in former Central Asian Republics exposed the myth of invincibility. The present paper intends to re-analyse and re-approach the Soviet educational policy in the former Central Asian Republics.

Keywords

Soviet Schools, Marxist-Leninist Thought, Universal Compulsory Education, Modernization and Sovietisation, Infallible-Invincible Model, CARs.

Introduction

Education throughout ages has pre-eminently served as an ameliorative agent for bringing improvement, development and change in every society. Reckoning the importance of education as a core channel of economic and political transformation, the communist regime of erstwhile USSR considered it a key to the “socio-economic and cultural revolution” as well, that would create a society purely socialist and modern. To build “a new Soviet man,” with a “communist consciousness,” who would contribute in restructuring economic and social institutions, became the major goal of Soviet education. Marx and Lenin often emphasised that knowledge must prove its worth in practice; as such school was perceived as a means to disseminate and apply knowledge towards the modernization of a backward society. To function as an agent of material progress in a proposed environment of industrialization, the paramount task of the new schools was to

transform the school from the weapon of bourgeois class domination into a weapon for the total destruction of class division within a society.¹ Therefore, schooling was seen as means to implement major social and cultural innovations. In the backdrop of Soviet philosophy to build Soviet society, to construct Soviet identity, morality and socio-ideological integration, educational policies were formulated and implemented in the Russia as well as in her inherited appendages soon after Bolshevik revolution.

Implementation of Soviet Educational Model in CARs

Central Asia named as Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic after revolution, was soon fragmented and divided into number of Soviet Socialist Republics.² The immediate task before regime was eradication of illiteracy, since region on the eve of revolution was considered largely an illiterate nation, despite certain amount of success achieved during early twenties due to joint efforts of Jadidist and Czarist regime.³ Indeed the existing educational institutions like traditional madrasas and Jadidist Schools alongwith cultural values and traditional identities of Central Asian's were incompatible with the ideological goals and objectives of new regime. Consequent upon, new government from November 1917 to 1919 initiated a number of fundamental reforms in educational sector after signing series of decree on establishment of a government commission on enlightenment, according to which schools were to be administrated in a decentralised system, but under central authority. On the basis of these decrees, free and universal compulsory education⁴ (up to the age of 17 years) was introduced for the children of any age, sex or any nationality. Initially Russian language was declared at par with the regional languages in the non Russian schools of Central Asian States,⁵ yet by 1938, Russian language was accorded the status of official language and was made compulsory in all non-Russian schools. In 1919, The Turkish Commissar of people's education directed to introduce co-education instead of separate education, (a deep-rooted tradition of the region on the bases of religious belief) whereby children of all nationalities Uzbek, Tajiks, Turkmans, and Kirgiz nomads and semi-nomads were ordered to study jointly. Religious instruction was prohibited and religious institutions were restrained to interfere in educational affairs. Schools were to serve as centres' to promote adult literacy and cultural programs, where as teachers conceived as architects

of change, were expected to inculcate ideological loyalty and Soviet patriotism by emphasising upon materialistic oriented curriculum aimed at furnishing human resource needed for industrialization, collectivization and nationalization (Sovietisation) of the traditional society.⁶ Students were provided with material aid and were encouraged to relate schooling to work experiences. The Soviet policy planners endeavoured to project the Schools as a platform for radical departure from the traditional socio-cultural and political institutions, as such a throbbing educational system; transforming virtually every sphere of life was envisaged with the ultimate aim to build a utopian society integrated by a common civic culture and values. The direct participation of Schools in these huge social programmes meant that they were regarded as political instrument “since education outside politics was believed unthinkable.”⁷ Educational achievement at each stage of the academic ladder had a transcendent value in society, functioning as a passport to preferred positions.

Though, Communist regime from its inception had categorically declared, that “our objective in the field of School system is same struggle as for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie”⁸ and state education throughout USSR was used as an instrument to construct, develop and reproduce Soviet political, economic, cultural and social institutions, yet with regard to Central Asia, the experiment in the early decades was fluid process and a zigzag educational policy was adopted in the region due to certain political constraints. The historical experimentation of educational development in the region can be divided into several distinct phases.⁹

During first phase which was the period of civil war and Bolshevik consolidation, development of coherent educational programme could not be realised due to lack of firm administrative apparatus, the tides of military conflicts and the vicissitudes of political control both in Moscow and in Turkistan.¹⁰ The Soviet Nationality policy, which was not matured until 1924, also restrained the Russian authorities to implement Soviet educational plans at par with the other parts of USSR. Fact of the matter is that period coincides with three leading characteristics: continuity of Muslim schools up to 1928 on legal basis with financial assistance from waqf grants and selection and approval of textbooks for their schools from the republican Commissariats of education.¹¹ The compromise in Soviet strategy at this stage was necessitated by

political expediency. They intended to ease the tension generated by the native uprisings like Basmachis¹² who burnt Soviet schools, lashed at the teachers and parents, to seek favour of native teachers and parents gradually towards the government lunched policies. The conciliatory approach towards Muslim educational institutions during this phase resulted in the development of new method schools at the hands of native intelligentsia who perceived Soviet regime quite different from Czarist regime and saw themselves creating a new Civilization; modern Soviet Central Asian; Turkic and Muslim at once. To quote Adeeb Khalid,¹³ “forty eight new method schools with 158 teachers and 9200 students were opened in Tashkent alone during 1919, which was a significant increase over the figures of Czarist period” when a net work of Russian and Russo native schools was established with a dual purpose i.e., to educate the native population and to facilitate the smooth functioning of administration.¹⁴

Growth and Development of Soviet Educational Institutions

Parallel to these schools, Soviet educational authorities diplomatically and systematically endeavoured to establish Soviet Schools but in general the actual growth owing to certain socio political reasons was initially very low. Statistically it had attained limited success up to 1928, although some boarding schools for selected youth had started in the early 1920, the main effort for day primary school up to 1925 could not claim on republic basis even 1% of the school age population.¹⁵ Of course developments in and around centres were different. The assertion is substantiated by official estimates which reports, “out of a possible 132,000 of school age children, 40,000 were enrolled in primary-secondary grades and in children’s homes in Tashkent city and district. Of those enrolled in Tashkent city proper about 37% attended schools in the “Old City” hence they were mostly native children. The others, enrolled in the “new Soviet Schools” were substantially non-natives, i.e., Russian and other Europeans.¹⁶

The growth and development of Soviet schools gained real momentum only after 1928 with the change of leadership from Lenin to Stalin and with the declaration of compulsory primary education in 1930, a gradual but a certain expansion to universal and modern education. The rapid increase in the growth of school network is reflected from table-I.

Table-I
Number of Schools and Enrolment in CARs (1914-1938)

Republic	1914/15		1927/28		1932/33		1937/38	
	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment
Uzbekistan	160	17300	1933	139800	6444	644300	4641	931900
Kazakhstan	2011	105000	3944	274000	6869	576600	7936	1022100
Tajikistan	10	400	336	13800	2319	124900	4224	220900
Kyrgyzstan	107	7000	515	41600	1566	145800	1794	264900
Turkmenistan	58	7000	508	31900	2005	103400	1442	184200

Source: Educational Planning in the USSR, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris: 1968, pp. 96, 97

The stage was characterised by a new dimension of atheistic propaganda and vigour's anti-Islamic campaign on institutional and ideological levels. The conciliatory policy towards traditional and new method schools was abandoned, traditional and new-method schools were closed down and prominent Jadidists leaders were exiled and persecuted on the pretext of anti Soviet activities. The new political Elite "the so-called class of 38" whose education and worldview was entirely shaped on Soviet lines dominated the political scene for seven decades.¹⁷ Apart from literacy schools, thousands of special after-schools and Red corners¹⁸ were established across factories, State farms and collectives farms "as adult outreach centres" for teaching literacy, practical skills and hygiene, special courses were organised in every nook and corner for youth who failed to complete primary schooling. It is pertinent to mention that during first two decades Soviet authorities emphasised on the development of primary schools as compared to the secondary schools with the objective to create favourable conditions for inculcating new values among the new generation especially in rural areas as such natives did not enjoy a distinctive access to specialised professional education. The enthusiastic phase of Sovietisation was followed by comparatively much relaxant period from 1941-1959. To ensure support for ongoing world war second, Central Asian scholars were allowed to glorify their national heroes and study of their native

history was incorporated in the curriculum of secondary schools.¹⁹ Nevertheless post war years witnessed a significant increase in the enrolment of students at secondary level education.²⁰ In accordance to economic and political expediency, changes in Soviet educational policy remained peculiar phenomena and accordingly last nail in the coffin was put in early 80's during the Garbachev era when union-wide educational reforms along with political changes were introduced. The reforms were considered most important ever since 1920 and emphasised on political education, designed to promote Marxist-Leninist ideology.²¹ To speed up Russian language, Russian teachers from Ukraine and Russia were appointed and local cadres with low Russian-fluency were replaced with the salvos.²² The increasing Russification of educational sector during early 80s prompted some western scholars to predict, that quantitative transition of non-Russian languages to Russian would result in the inevitable extinction of native languages.²³ However, all such predictions failed in the wake of disintegration of USSR and formation of independent Republics in Central Asia along with other former Soviet States, when language laws were passed in Central Asian Republics and native languages were declared official languages.²⁴

Laxities and Shortcomings of Soviet Educational Model

An objective study of Soviet Educational policy in general reveals that literacy and technical education with its remarkable super structure from pre-school education to Higher education excelled during Soviet era. The expansion of educational provision has been remarkable and the communist regime did lot to extend the educational opportunities. The regime is attributed with a well developed and comprehensive educational system but the picture was not equally bright in whole of the USSR. The sector in fact was confronted with serious loopholes and shortcomings, especially in Central Asian Republics; often concealed by defenders of Soviet regime.²⁵ Recent research on Soviet Educational policy in Central Asian Republics reveals that Soviet defenders while exalting the quantitative achievements have failed to realise the fact that even “effective education” in the absence of freedom becomes just training and a mere brain wash. Soviet education though aimed to provide youth with necessary knowledge and skill to carry forward the work of the society, was primarily used as a “political tool for the construction of a communist society.” At the outset Soviet Educational

policy persuaded bilingual schooling and allowed the schooling in mother tongue in national schools, which apparently appeared a benevolent concession but in reality the National or Native schools were not free expression of national will. They were “Soviet schools” operating according to the slogan “National in form, Socialist in content,” or in other words Russian communist Schools in the languages of minorities. The centrally designed curriculum and State controlled educational institutions, teaching appointments, syllabi and textbooks ensured overtly that all learners were exposed to the same outlook, knowledge and attitude to promote internationalism above nationalist and ethnic identities but in practice it promoted Russian identity over other national identities within the USSR, The discrepancy in Soviet educational policy is revealed further with the introduction of the Russian as the second mother tongue²⁶ which minimized the scope of regional languages and relegated them to a mere language of conversation that too with a huge incorporation of Russified words like Kolkhoz, Bolshevik, Agitator, Revolysiya etc.²⁷

Not only this, to facilitate the Russian learning, Arabic and subsequently Latin was changed by Cyrillic script which caused a crushing blow to Muslim clergy and intelligentsia, the two possible sources of trouble to Soviet regime and slowed down the literacy campaign since they were practically reduced to the status of semi-literates, having to learn how to read and write all over again.²⁸ On the pretext of modernization and progressiveness, iron curtain was drawn and Central Asians were effectively divided on the regional basis and isolated from the Islamic world and their cultural heritage.

Though Soviet education espoused equality and uniformity, scholars argue that contrary to official doctrine, Soviet schooling was never monolithic or egalitarian in practice. Besides clear disparities between Russian and Native schools²⁹ obvious status differences also existed between urban and rural schools. Rural Schools were marginalised and neglected. They lagged behind urban schools and lacked equipments for laboratories, visual aids, technical teaching devices prescribed in their curriculum. Discriminatory approach towards national schools is substantiated by sub-standard quality, shortage and delays in textbook supplies which remained a perennial problem with these schools. The out dated printing presses; supplied with a limited quantity of fine paper from authorities apart from frequent syllabus changes unable to cope the

demand, further accelerated the shortage of text books in the region.³⁰ Contrary to this, books for Russian schools were mostly imported from other republics, without such irregularities.

Another Pernicious characteristic of Soviet education was low teaching standard³¹ an offshoot of less experienced and less qualified teachers especially in rural areas because many young specialists failed to report to their job assignments owing to harsh living conditions.³² The situation was perplexed by the absence of Teacher Training Institutions and in many schools, subjects like maths ,physics, chemistry and Russian were not either taught at all or were taught by those who were not trained teachers or subject experts³³ Similarly the role envisaged to Russian as a second language was not satisfactory notwithstanding the official sources that maintained “populations of the Republics have assimilated into Russian culture and have mastered Russian as second language”. Shortage of competent teachers for Russian language remained a peculiar feature of Soviet Schools. It has been observed that standard of Russian teaching was low and even the 6th and 7th grade students of urban schools (mostly under Russian environment) were hardly able to recognise Russian words and consequently affected their higher education and job opportunities.³⁴ The legislation of 1978 increased number of hours to improve study of Russian language and emphasised on teaching specialised subjects in all higher institutions only in Russian.³⁵

Apart inadequate infrastructure and low teaching standards, discrepancies with regard to policy implementation also remained a peculiar feature of education sector during soviet regime. Though seven years universal education was declared compulsory in 1923, but it was not implemented union wide especially in Central Asia. In most of the rural areas four years education was offered until 1953.³⁶ In 1959-60 compulsory education was further increased to eight and ten years but policy was not implemented in most of the rural areas until 1973,³⁷ and it seems that during first twenty years, Soviet administrators concentrated mainly on producing literate population that would be consumers of elementary information appropriate to the tasks and aims of Socio-cultural revolution in broader perspective. The significant changes in enrolment of natives in the secondary and higher education appeared only in 1950.³⁸ The grim reality of the Soviet educational policy is exposed further from the practice of engaging native children along with

teachers during peak academic session for cotton harvesting and other agricultural works. The Russian children on the contrary had no such obligation and were provided with reading rooms and other curricular activities. Critics point out, that “even nursery school children were required to pick one skull cap with cotton.”³⁹

The expansion of vocational–professional training institutions, both at secondary and university-level also presents the disappointing picture.⁴⁰ The assertion is explained in terms of unsatisfactory outcome due to misguided Central economic planning and ineffective education in Central Asia where more vocational training school and rural job schemes were needed keeping in view the increasing population ratio in Soviet central Asian Republics than in the rest of USSR.⁴¹ It is said that in 1988-89 approximately 760,000 people of working age in Uzbekistan were not employed. Furthermore the number of indigenous students in vocational training for skilled industrial jobs was proportionally fewer than Russians. In the mid 1980s, 9.7% of 15 to 19 years old in the USSR studied at vocational technical schools; in comparison to 5.6% in Uzbekistan. Moreover in egalitarian Socialist society, career opportunities, to all citizens were expected open, yet within Central Asia the rural majority generally lacked the advanced scientific and technical education; a prerequisite for technological jobs, hindering their prospects of labour and social mobility in the Soviet economy. Critics point out that so called “Soviet welfare colonist” had failed in the effective ideological integration and acculturation of Central Asian masses. Had school socialization been effective, the young adults of Central Asia with surplus labour force would have migrated to work in other parts of USSR.⁴²

Conclusion

Despite these limitations the incredible job of transforming the Central Asian region from mere literacy to universal literacy was accomplished by the Soviet policy planners with vigourous zeal. The literacy rates touched 98% in case of Uzbekistan; 96% in Kazakhstan; 98% in Kirgizstan; 95% in Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. Their endeavours were commendable and serve an example how literacy can be achieved in a highly unfavourable environment especially with regard to women who often were referred as *zaif* (weak) and “*naqis-ul-aqal*” in the traditional societies due to secluded life and low status within the family. Contrary

to this phenomena, Soviets bent upon to bring out the Central Asian women folk from their homes to learn and earn; did away virtually all the difference between the educational levels of the male and female in Soviet Central Asian Republics. However, after the breakup of the USSR it became difficult to sustain the high level of education achieved during Soviet period and Sector in post Soviet period is confronted with several challenges, like decrease in enrolment due to increasing poverty, high cost of education, deficit Educational budget and increasing corruption. The biggest challenge to the sector is however inefficient human resources of the region, without policy making skills weather it is curriculum reform, textbook reform or management of financing reforms. The Soviet legacy of centrally planned education, a common value-laden curriculum, designed to prepare youths for the communist and socialist culture, to produce academically qualified and vocationally trained workers for industrialisation failed miserably to face the challenges of market economy. This grave shortcoming of the Soviet education inverted the myth that the Soviet model was invincible and has a potential to mould the world.

References & Notes

- 1 Brezhnev in his speech to all union congress of teachers has often emphasised the importance of knowledge for shaping the personality of soviet man. His communist consciousness, love of work, patriotism, humanness, and feeling of internationalism for carrying on the business of society and economy: Roy D. Laird, [1970], *The Soviet Paradigma*, Macmilliam Limited, London: p. 170.
- 2 The five Socialist Republics carved out from Czarist Central Asia were Uzbek SSR, Kazakh SSR, Turkmenistan SSR, Tajik SSR, Kirgiz SSR and the Karakalpak SSR. For details see, Vaidyanath, [1967], *The Formation of the Soviet Central Asian Republics; A Study in Soviet Nationalities Policy 1917-1936*, Peoples Publication, Delhi: pp. 135-142; Arne Huges, [2003] *The Establishment of National Republics in Soviet Central Asia*, Palgrave Macmillan, Great Britain: pp. 1-8.
- 3 For details see Darakhshan Abdullah, "Education in Central Asia with Special Reference to the Czarist Period," *European Academic Research*, [April 2014], Vol 11, Issue 1, pp. 60-75.
- 4 Soviet systems of education includes three stages; [a] schools of general education with a whole range of different types of educational institution ,including general Primary schools, eight year schools, complete general secondary schools, incomplete secondary schools, boarding schools ,secondary schools for children with physiological defects, [b] schools and colleges for vocational technical education of workers and collective farmers, secondary specialised educational establishments (Technicums) [c] higher educational establishments (universities) institutes, academies, special higher schools. However, total number of schooling years changed throughout Soviet period.

- 5 According to official policy two types of schools were functioning i, e Russian schools with Russian as a medium of instruction and National schools with native language as medium of instruction, though Russian as a subject was also taught. Viewed from “Second Mother Tongue,” *Central Asian Review*, [1965], Vol 12, Central Asian Research Centre, London: pp. 310-322.
- 6 Compared to traditional education all these educational goals were new whether one refers to Russian education or Muslim education.
- 7 Emphasising on the importance of education Lenin remarked, “only by remoulding the teaching, organization and training of youth we shall be able to create communist society.” *The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, [1982], Vol 31, Macmillan Publishers, London: p. 450.
- 8 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow: Vol 37, p. 77.
- 9 Fanny Bryan in his article “Anti-Islamic propaganda” has divided the period into three phases, 1917-1920, as a era of war communism, 1920-1924, era of pause and 1924-1928 as era of preparation, for vigours anti Islamic activities 1934-1958, and on wards. *Central Asian Survey*, [1986], Vol 5, p. 30. Whereas Bennigsen has divided the period into seven phases from 1917 to 1982. Alexander Bennigsen, [1985], *Muslims of the Soviet Empire*, Central Hurst Company, London: pp. 11-12.
- 10 During this period the khanates of Bukhara and Khiva, named as Peoples Republics in 1920-21, were not under firm control of Bolsheviks. For details see, Seymour Becker, [1968], *Russia’s Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva 1865-1924*, Massacubsetts.
- 11 The board, consisting of 6 members managed the income of waqf endowments and contributions for the educational development. As the board included soviet representatives as well; a careful and strong control over the teachings in Muslim schools was maintained. Vishvanath Thakur, “Development of Public education in Soviet Central Asia”, *Journal of Central Asian Studies*, [1992], Vol 3, Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir, India: pp47-54.
- 12 The term Basmachis is an Uzbek word meaning to attack. In pre soviet times it was used for marauding bands and high way robbers but in soviet period it was exclusively applied to anti soviet nationalists. For details see, “Basmachis; The Central Asian Resistance Movement 1918-1924,” *Central Asian Review*, [1959], Vol 7, Centre Asia Research Centre, London:
- 13 For details of New Method Schools see Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reforms*, California University Press, California: 1998, p. 291.
- 14 For details of Czarist educational policy in Central Asia see, Darakhshan Abdullah, “Education in Central Asia with Special Reference to the Czarist period,” *European Academic Research*, [April 2014], Vol 11, Issue 1, pp. 60-75.
- 15 Though official sources report that approximately some 1,117 soviet schools were opened during 1921, yet it did not produce similar results everywhere. At certain places like Fergana, Soviet authorities were compelled to close down the Soviet schools temporarily due to civil war.
- 16 W.K Madlin, W. M. Cave and F. Carpenter, [1971], *Education and Development in Central Asia: A Case Study of Social Change in Uzbekistan*, E J Brill, Leiden: p. 97.
- 17 The term was first coined by Donald. S. Carlisle, “The Uzbek Power Elite; Politburo and Secretariat,” *Central Asian survey*, [1986], Vol 15, p. 99.

- 18 Red corners were temporary learning space mostly established in rural districts and near factories to eradicate illiteracy. The tutor was often anyone who could read and write. Other names given to this type of basic learning space include “Red Hut” and “ABC schools.” Some improvised learning space created for men and women, others for women only, and some for children and teenagers. Sevket Akyildiz and Richard Carlson, [2014] *Social and Cultural Change in Central Asia: The Soviet legacy*, Routledge, London and New York: p. 28.
- 19 Since suppression of native history was perceived a potent factor for increasing anti Russian sentiments among university students so, as part of political strategy natives were allowed to exalt the achievements of their national heroes. However, purge of Tashkent and Samarkand universities was soon initiated, once natives especially Kazakhs began to exalt those heroes who struggled against the Russian conquest of Central Asia. Elizabeth E. Bacon, [1994] *Central Asians under Russian Rule: A study in cultural change*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca: p. 21.
- 20 Though in 1940 the number of native students dropped from 3.28 million to 2.35 million in 1945-6 - for the reason that most of the students left schools either to go to war front or to work in newly built factories. For details see, Shrine Akiner, [1983], *Peoples of the Soviet Union*, Kegan Paul international, London: p. 28.
- 21 The increase in the compulsory education from 10 to 11years, whereby reducing the age from 7 years to 6 years for primary school, further intensified Russification of educational system by increasing learning hours for Russian language in National schools. Sevket Akyildiz and R. Carlson, Ed. [2014], *Social and Cultural change in Central Asia: The Soviet legacy*, Routledge, London and New York: p. 22.
- 22 Nancy Lubin, “Uzbekistan: The challenges Ahead,” *Middle East Journal*, [1989] Vol 43, No 4, p. 625.
- 23 Bruchis Michael, “The Effects of the USSR’s Language Policy on National Languages of its Turkic Population,” viewed from Yaacovi Roy, [1984], *The USSR and the Muslim World, Issues in Domestic and Foreign Policy*, Allen and Unwin, London: p. 14.
- 24 In Kazakhstan alone Russian due to its demographic composition was declared as second official language.
- 25 William Fierman, “Glasnost in Practice: the Uzbek experience”. *Central Asian Survey*, [1989], Vol. 8, Society for Central Asian Studies, Great Britain; Isabella Kreidler, “Non-Russian Education in Central Asia”, *Central Asian Survey*, [1982], Vol 1, No 1, , pp. 111-123.
- 26 Prior to 1938 medium of instruction in National schools was mother tongue, though Russian as a subject was also taught.
- 27 To quote Borovkov just within a decade (1923-33) Persian language with a wide range of Arabic words was reduced from 87.4% to 12% only by the replacement of Russian or Soviet international words. Carried from *Central Asian Review*, [1962], Vol. 12, pp. 315-316; See also, Mark Dickens, [1985], *Soviet language policy*, <http://www.oxuscom.com/lang-policy.htm>.
- 28 For the generations beginning their education in Soviet Schools and adult education, the literacy blackboard was wiped clean and ready for new. Elizabeth E. Bacon, [1994], *Central Asians under Russians Rule*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca: p. 191.

- 29 According to official policy two types of schools were functioning i.e., Russian Schools with Russian as a medium of instruction and National schools with native language as medium of instruction, though Russian as a subject was also taught. Viewed from “Second Mother Tongue”, *Central Asian Review*, [1965], Vol 12, Central Asian Research Centre , London: pp. 310-322.
- 30 “From the Komsol to the Rural School,” Soviet Education viewed from *Politics Identity and Education in Central Asia* (Ed.) [2013] Pinar Akcah and C.E.Demir, Routledge, London: p. 151.
- 31 Though official sources were indicating a constant increase in the success rates but a substantial section of graduates during late 1960s especially from Samarkand, Tashkent and Andizhan regions were not able to qualify even entrance exams for Tashkent University. The situation remained same throughout Soviet period with exception of few, where students competed in higher technical institutes of Moscow, Leningrad, and Novosibirsk Riga: etc. For details see, *Soviet Studies*, [1962], Vol 14, No 2, pp. 13-157; *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, [1982], Vol 31, Collier, Macmillian, London: p. 450; Ann Sheehy, “Primary And Secondary Education In Central Asia And Kazakhstan ;The Current Situation,” *Central Asian Review*, [1968], Vol 16, No 2, p. 199.
- 32 For details see, *Central Asian Review*, [1968] Vol 16, No 2, p. 195
- 33 It has been reported that even during 70s in the Karshi region arithmetic and native language was taught just by 4th and 6th grade pass out persons. *Central Asian Review*, [1968], Vol 16, No 2, p. 199.
- 34 E. Glyn Lewis, [1972], *Multilingualism in the Soviet Union 'Aspects of Language Policy and its Implementation*, Mouton, The Hague, Paris: p. 202.
- 35 Isabell Kreindlerm, (Ed.), [1997], *Socio Linguistic perspective on Soviet National languages: Their past, Present and Future*, Amsterdam, Mouton: p. 202.
- 36 Seven years education might have been available in some rural towns and urban regions of Uzbekistan before 1953, but the evidence does not refer to such cases. Sevkett Akyildiz and Richard Carlson, [2014], *Social and Cultural change in Central Asia: The Soviet legacy*, Routledge, New York, p. 16.
- 37 M. Rywkin, [1990], *Soviet Society Today*, London, M E Sharp, p. 99; J N Westwood, *Endurance and Endeavour*, Oxford University Press, Oxford: p. 417.
- 38 The number of natives during 1924-25 was negligible between 1927-67 the number of natives i.e. Uzbek, Kirgiz, Tajiks and Turkmens increased by 225 times, 183 times, 199 times, and 178 times respectively. E. Glyn Lewis, [1972], *Multilingualism in the Soviet Union: Aspects of language policy and its implementation*, Mouton & Co, The Hague: p. 165.
- 39 Mobin Shorish pointed out although practice was officially banned but it was in vogue in Uzbekistan even during early nineties. Mobin Shorish, [1994], “Back to Jadidism,” *Islamic Studies*, Vol 33, Islamic Research Institute, Islamabad, Pakistan: pp. 161-182.
- 40 During the 20s and 30s, the enrolments in both levels moved gradually. It has reached to 62.2% in 60s only. William K. Medlin *et al*, *Education and Development in Central Asia A case Study on Social Change in Uzbekistan*, p. 115.
- 41 Sutherland, “Perestroika in the Soviet General School: From Innovation to Independence” in J. Dustan, (Ed.), [1992], *Soviet Education under Perestroika*, London and New York: pp. 14-29. Though vocational training was designated to

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generate proactive technically skilled workers and social cohesion, but in practice Central Asia was lagging behind keeping in view their increasing population growth. William Fierman, "Glasnost in Practice: the Uzbek experience," *Central Asian Survey*, [1989], Vol 8, Society for Central Asian Studies, Great Britain; Isabella Kreidler, "Non-Russian Education in Central Asia," Annotated Bibliography, *Central Asian Survey*, [1982] Vol 1, No 1, , pp. 111-123

- 42 For details see, Sevket Akyildiz and Richard Carlson, [2014], *Social and Cultural change in Central Asia: The Soviet legacy*, p. 25.