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CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW aims at presenting a coherent and objective picture of cultural developments in the five Muslim Soviet Socialist Republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgiziya and Kazakhstan. The subjects treated include history, geography, demography, the arts, education, social conditions, irrigation and communications. In addition, CAR analyses past and current Soviet publications on the countries bordering on or adjacent to these republics, namely, Persia, Afghanistan, the Indian sub-continent, Tibet and Sinkiang.

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The Index consists of two parts

- I. An index to articles arranged as follows:
  - (a) Editorials.
  - (b) Borderlands of Soviet Central Asia, subdivided into countries: Afghanistan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Persia, Sinkiang and Tibet; and Oriental Studies.
  - (c) Soviet Central Asia, subdivided into subjects: Archaeology, the Arts, Ethnography, History, Irrigation, Political and Party Affairs, Social Conditions, and News Digest.
  
- II. A general index of personal and geographical names, and subjects. In this index subjects (e.g. communications, irrigation) are given under the country or republic to which they refer.

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It will be noticed that the text of CAR contains some inconsistencies in the spelling of proper names; these are partly due to inconsistencies in Soviet publications. Every effort has been made to arrive at the most accurate spelling and, where the spelling in CAR differs from that in the Index, the Index version should be taken as the correct one.

In the case of small places or new settlements, the oblast and/or republic in which each place-name occurs is as far as possible stated in the general index; in the case of the borderland countries, the name of the country is given beside the place-names.

The following abbreviations are used throughout:

Afgh.	for	Afghanistan
Kaz.	for	Kazakhstan
Kirg.	for	Kirgiziya
Pak.	for	Pakistan
Sink.	for	Sinkiang
Tad.	for	Tadzhikistan
Turk.	for	Turkmenistan
Uzb.	for	Uzbekistan

In the Index references are made only to page numbers and not to issue numbers. In Volume XII of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

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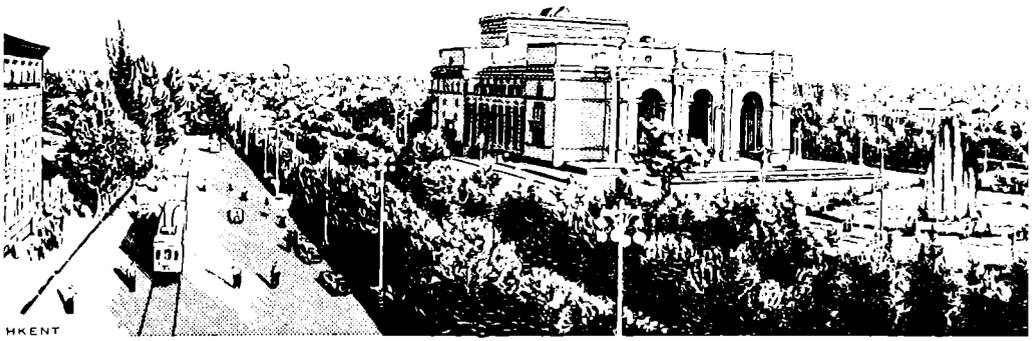
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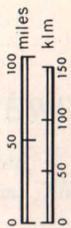
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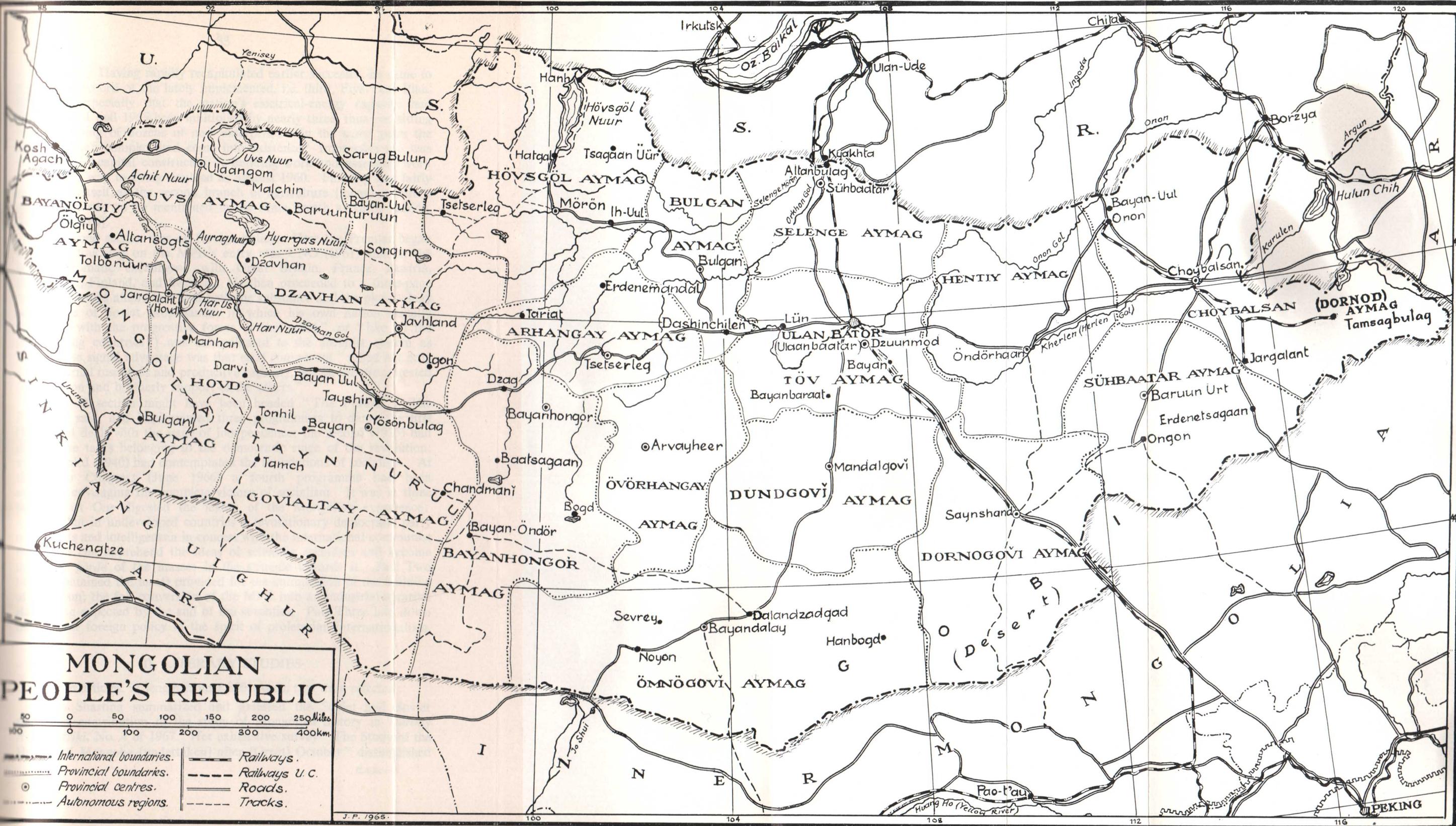
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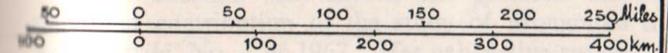


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- 2** Boro Tala Mongol Autonomous District (Po-erh-t'a-la Meng-ku Tzu-chih Chou)
- 3** Changchi "Hui" Autonomous District (Ch'ang-chi Hui-tsu Tzu-chih Chou)
- 4** Bayan Gol Mongol Autonomous District (Pa-yin-ko-leng Meng-ku Tzu-chih Chou)
- 5** Kizil-Su Kirgiz Autonomous District (Ke-tzu-le-su K'o-erh-ke-tzu Tzu-chih Chou)





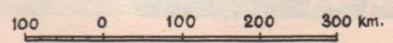
# MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC



- International boundaries.
- Provincial boundaries.
- Provincial centres.
- Autonomous regions.
- Railways.
- Railways U. C.
- Roads.
- Tracks.

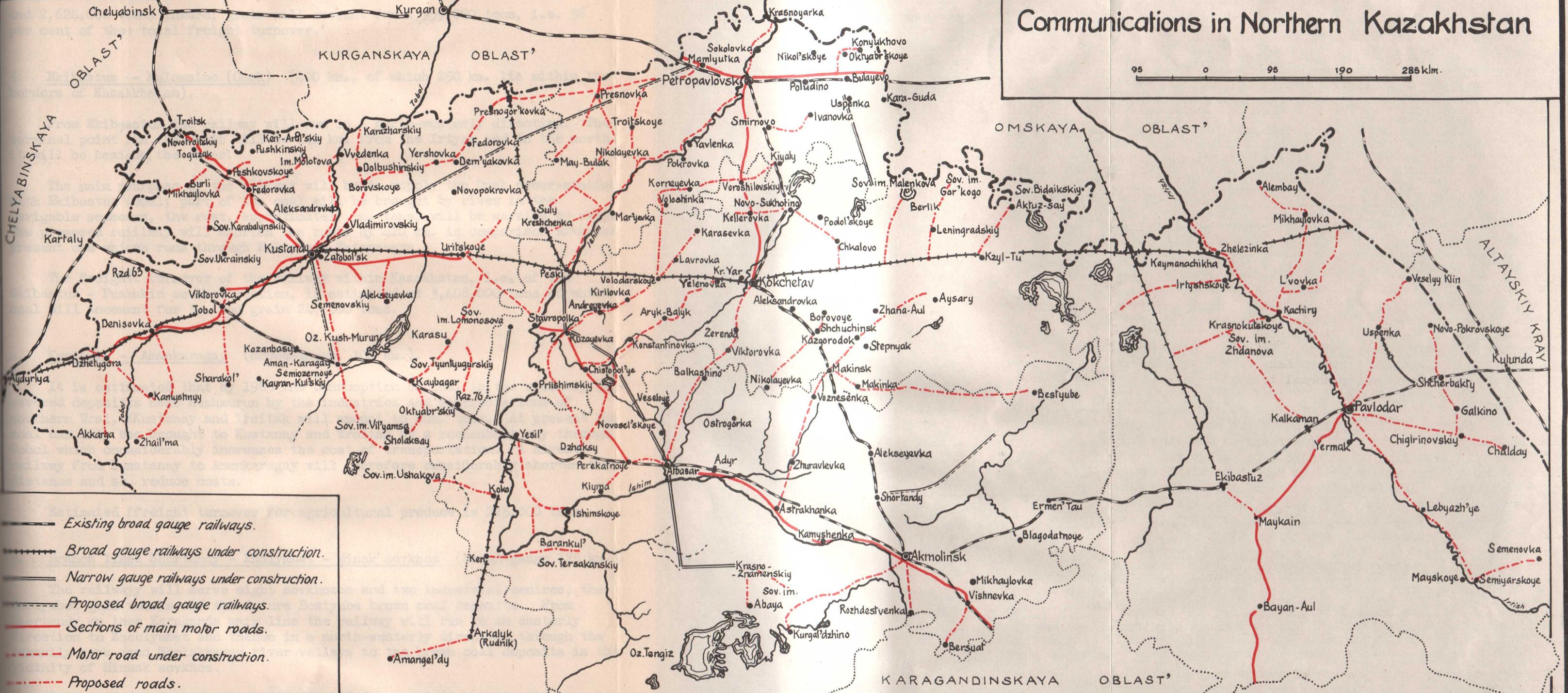
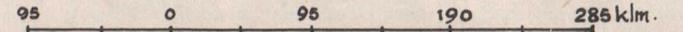
J. P. 1965.

THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS  
OF  
KAZAKHSTAN, KIRGIZIA, TADZHIKISTAN,  
UZBEKISTAN, TURKMENISTAN AND AZERBAIDZHAN

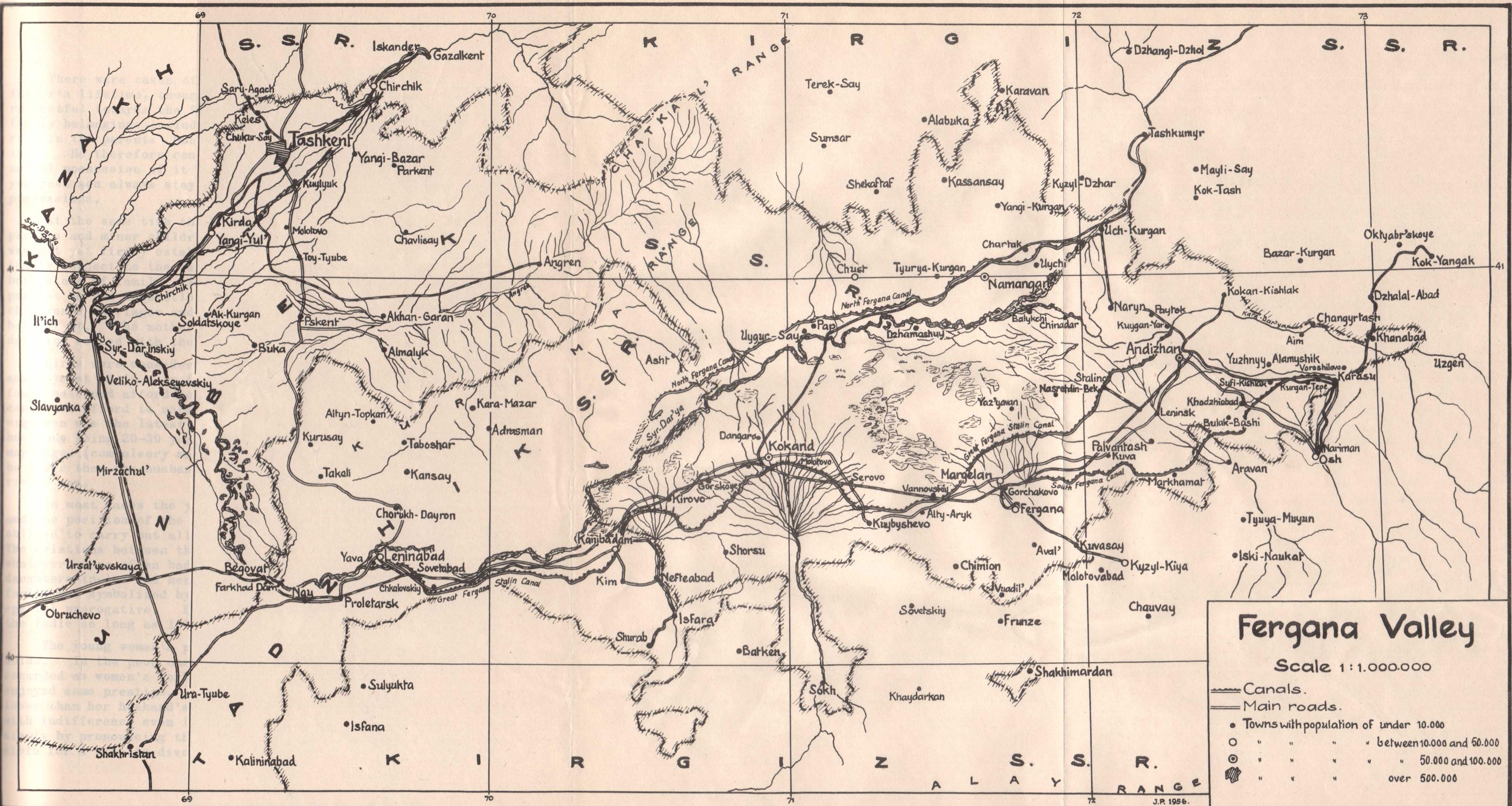


- Borders of the U.S.S.R.
- Limits of Union Republics.
- Capitals of Union Republics.
- Railways.
- Canals.
- Canals under construction or projected.
- Sands.
- Main arterial road with pass.

# Communications in Northern Kazakhstan



- Existing broad gauge railways.
- Broad gauge railways under construction.
- Narrow gauge railways under construction.
- Proposed broad gauge railways.
- Sections of main motor roads.
- Motor road under construction.
- Proposed roads.



## Fergana Valley

Scale 1 : 1.000.000

- Canals.
- Main roads.
- Towns with population of under 10.000
- " " " " between 10.000 and 50.000
- " " " " 50.000 and 100.000
- " " " " over 500.000

J.P. 1956.

Specially drawn for the Central Asian Research Centre, -1956. - J.P.

# CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

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## Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the Review when referring to the Soviet Academies of Sciences, and to newspapers and periodicals etc. employed as sources, are as follows :-

AN/SSSR	Akademiya Nauk (Academy of Sciences) of USSR
AN/Kaz. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Kazakh SSR
AN/Kirg. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Kirgiz SSR
AN/Tad. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Tadzhik SSR
AN/Turk. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Turkmen SSR
AN/Uzb. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Uzbek SSR
SAGU	Sredneaziatskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet (Central Asian State University)
IZ	Izvestiya
K	Kommunist
KOM. P	Komsomolskaya Pravda
KP	Kazakhstanskaya Pravda
KT	Kommunist Tadzhikistana
KZ	Krasnaya Zvezda
LG	Literaturnaya Gazeta
NT	New Times
PR	Pravda
PV	Pravda Vostoka
SK	Sovetskaya Kirgiziya
SU	Soviet Union
TI	Turkmenskaya Iskra
VVS	Vedemosti Verkhovnogo Soveta

# CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

VOL. XII, NO. 1

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## EDITORIAL

During 1963 there were signs that the Soviet Government might be adopting a less uncompromising attitude towards the West on some political and economic issues. This attitude, it was said, was induced partly by the widening rift in Sino-Soviet relations, and partly by internal economic conditions in the USSR. At the time of writing it is impossible to say whether the Soviet leaders are genuinely seeking some permanent accommodation with the West, or have merely decided on a change of tactics of the kind with which Western governments are already familiar. But whatever the depth of Soviet intentions in practical matters there has been no sign whatever of any change in the unremitting hostility toward the West so far manifest in Soviet writings on Asia and Africa. To some this will appear as proof that there has been no real change of heart on the part of the Soviet authorities; on the other hand it must be realized that the habit of denigrating the West and attributing to it none but the basest motives is so engrained in Marxist-Leninist methodology that an abrupt change would hardly be feasible even if the authorities wished to make one.

In Soviet scholarship, as in many other walks of Soviet life, there is constant evidence of divided and contradictory interests. Thus, although the study of Asian and African culture and affairs is officially regarded primarily as a political activity, there is increasing evidence that many of those engaged in it approach their subjects in much the same spirit of scholarly enquiry as scholars in other parts of the world. In some instances, for example, Arends' translation of Abul Fazl Bayhaqi's *HISTORY OF MAS'UD* reviewed in our last issue, the translator and editor has clearly been carried away by the intrinsic interest of his subject and makes no attempt to read political or ideological significance into it. In other cases, such as the recent Russian translation of *Sihayatnameyi Ebrahim Beg* the brilliance of the translation and sound scholarship of the notes have been to a considerable extent marred by a long essay by another hand which attempts to put this remarkable example of 19th century Persian prose into a modern political perspective. In yet other instances works of considerable erudition are served up with a seasoning, which varies from the liberal to the perfunctory, of references to feudalism, capitalist relations and 'natural laws' (*zakonomernost'*) and are often accompanied by introductions and conclusions which give the impression of having come from another hand.

In respect of the past history and culture of the East the Soviet contribution is becoming increasingly objective and important. But the Soviet treatment of modern history and current affairs still remains in the iron grip of dialecticism and is subject to constant change in response to the dictates of contemporary Soviet policy. This is clearly brought out in Alayev's revealing article on the writing of modern and recent Indian history of which an abridged version is contained in the present issue of the Review. Much more serious from the point of view of Western scholars trying to get at the facts

of recent happenings in the Soviet Eastern republics is the complete absence of objectivity in the official Soviet treatment of these matters. It is, for example, impossible to arrive at the full facts of the history of the Jadid movement and of collectivization in Soviet Central Asia, both of which subjects are treated in the present issue.

It may be that the Soviet authorities believe that even with increased commercial and cultural contact with the West, Soviet historical and cultural research on Asian subjects can continue to be conducted on present lines, and that while Soviet scholars of standing can to some extent be allowed to delve unmolested into the ancient literature and past history of the non-Soviet East, those concerned with modern history can still be kept immune from that restless and ruthless search for the truth, however unpalatable, which has long characterized Western scholarship, often to the embarrassment of Western governments. Such a belief would in our opinion be erroneous, but if it exists, it might partly explain why Soviet academic bulletins and other officially controlled periodicals continually draw attention to Western works which flatly contradict Soviet versions of modern history, but whose existence would otherwise remain completely unknown to the Soviet reading public. Soviet propaganda specialists apparently consider that the advantage of "unmasking" alleged Western falsification of Soviet history outweighs the danger of revealing to the Soviet public the fact that Western historians are fully aware of the facts of Soviet colonialism

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It is with great regret that the Central Asian Research Centre have decided that in future Azerbaydzhán must be excluded from the scope of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, which will henceforward be confined to the five republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan and the countries immediately or nearly adjoining them. It was in 1959 that the Centre began to extend its research to Azerbaydzhán with the object of covering cultural developments in all six of the Muslim Union Republics. They hoped that by drawing attention to Azerbaydzhán they would be able to lay emphasis on the study of Transcaucasia as a whole, a study which has so far been gravely neglected both in the West and in the countries of the Middle East which adjoin the Transcaucasian republics. The conclusion has now reluctantly been reached that the Centre's resources do not run to the comprehensive study even of Azerbaydzhán and much less to the study of Transcaucasia as a whole. The problems of this area are in many respects widely different from those of Central Asia and both areas cannot conveniently or profitably be handled by the same staff. Again, for financial reasons the Centre's research work is largely confined to Russian material and although this may be adequate in respect of Central Asia, the proper study of the Transcaucasian republics cannot be carried out without constant study of source material in at least three other languages. The Centre is continuing to collect material on the Azerbaydzhán SSR in the hope that at some future date it may be able to embark on a more comprehensive study of the republic, if not of Transcaucasia as a whole. So far from considering Azerbaydzhán unimportant, the Centre believes it to be so important that sporadic and incomplete study of it might prove misleading.

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The question of the adequacy or otherwise of Russian-language source material for the study of cultural developments in Soviet Central Asia is an interesting one. The Centre

is well aware that full coverage of these developments can hardly be assured without the constant and cumulative study of the considerable mass of material published in Central Asian languages, and it admits that, while not totally unfamiliar with these languages, it is unable to maintain the staff necessary for such a study. At first sight, therefore, there would appear to be some substance in the complaint made by B. Nevskaya in a recent article\* that studies of Central Asian literature appearing in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW are based solely on material in the Russian language and that writers of these studies "have not found time to read the majority or even the most important of the works about which they write." It must, however, be pointed out that the Editors have always been careful to explain that its reviews of Central Asian literature are simply summaries of the official Party view on this literature. Detailed accounts and criticisms of individual works have only been published where complete Russian versions are available, versions which, in some instances, are published before the vernacular originals. If, as B. Nevskaya implies in her article, the critiques of Central Asian language books appearing in Russian Party organs are unfair or are different from those which appear in Central Asian language papers and periodicals, the situation is much more complicated and serious than we had imagined. In the absence of first-hand knowledge of original Central Asian writing, we must adhere to the view that although the creation of new Central Asian literatures must be regarded as a technical tour de force, it is on the whole unrepresentative of Central Asian life and thought and that this particularly applies to those works which have gained Party approval. Having said this we would like to add that we do not consider Central Asian writers themselves to be to blame for this state of affairs; many of them are clearly people of talent who are constrained to write on distasteful subjects in unfamiliar media.

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The British press wisely decided not to make too much of the angry anti-Soviet demonstration staged by Africans in Red Square in the middle of last December. When the Soviet attitude towards similar incidents in British territory is recalled, this can be seen as commendable restraint. The demonstration was of short duration, but it was entirely without precedent and the fact that it could take place at all must have caused great puzzlement to Soviet citizens, and not least to the Muslims of Central Asia.

It has for some time been obvious that the more the Soviet Union comes into contact with the free peoples of Africa and Asia, whether in the USSR or outside it, the more they are confronted with the stark facts and intractable problems of racial differences. The great majority of Soviet citizens serving in various capacities in Asian and African countries are Europeans and it has been noticed that they are considerably less at ease in African and Asian society than many other Europeans and very much less than Soviet Muslims would be if these were allowed to form the bulk of Soviet representation. That the Muslims of Russia should be the spearhead of Communist penetration into Asia and Africa was one of the main contentions of early deviationists like Sultangaliyev, and the embarrassment experienced by European

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\* B. Nevskaya. Literaturny Sovetskogo Vostoka Glazami zarubezhnykh druzey i nedrugov (The Literatures of the Soviet East in the Eyes of Foreign Friends and Enemies). VOPROSY LITERATURY, No.6, 1963.

Russians in their attempts to woo the Asian and African peoples must be causing grim satisfaction to those Muslim intellectuals who remember Sultangaliyev's fate. They must of course already have noticed the palpable contradiction between Soviet support of "national liberation movements" abroad and the rigorous suppression of national sentiment among the Asian peoples of the Soviet Union.

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The XXVth International Congress of Orientalists held in New Delhi from the 4-10 January was attended by a Soviet delegation of about 30 scholars headed by Ye. Zhukov. The delegation included many well-known orientalists and covered a wide range of specialization. The Soviet contribution was markedly less political and tendentious than in previous years, the main emphasis being on purely cultural subjects and particularly on language and literature, which accounted for over a third of the 35 Soviet papers presented. Ten papers were on subjects relating to India and Russo-Indian relations while only four dealt with the Soviet East. Two papers on potentially tendentious subjects - "The Origin of the Anglo-Yemeni Conflict" and "Japanese and German Imperialism" - which were advertised as presented by the Soviet delegation, were not in fact delivered.

The speech delivered by B. Gafurov at the opening Plenary Session in his capacity of President of the previous Congress held in Moscow in 1960 contained flattering references to the Soviet Union's "struggle against colonialism, all forms of race and national discrimination", but his speech at the final session contained no political propaganda of any kind.

There was widespread appreciation of the excellent organization of the Congress and of the harmonious and friendly atmosphere which prevailed.

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We should like to draw the attention of our readers to the fact that in spite of the smaller page size of the Review in its new format, the contents have not been reduced and will remain at approximately 40,000 words per issue.

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## SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

## THE TURKESTAN COMMISSION, 1919 - 20

After the October Revolution political power in Turkestan was seized not by the Muslim population but by revolutionary elements among the non-Asian settlers. The Tashkent Soviet Government which held nominal suzerainty over the whole of Turkestan at first explicitly excluded all Muslims from high posts in the administration on the grounds that the dictatorship of the proletariat should be exercised only by proletarians. This attitude persisted among the Bolshevik and Left SR leaders of the Tashkent Government in spite of various attempts by the central Government to ensure native participation on a broad basis. By the summer of 1919 the Turkestan Communist Party had split into two hostile factions - the Russian "proletarians" and the Muslim intellectuals who had been brought into the Party by the central Government's emissary, P. A. Kobozev. In September 1919 the former group had to a considerable extent lost its predominance in both the Party and Government. But factiousness within the Party and Government, the extreme hardships engendered by the Civil War and isolation from central Russia had left Turkestan after two years of Soviet rule dismembered, starving and chaotic. As the Red Army cleared the approaches to Turkestan the Soviet Government in Moscow decided to appoint a Turkestan Commission which by establishing the Soviet order was intended to rally the Muslim masses to the new regime. The present article describes how the Turkestan Commission set about its tasks and the difficulties which it encountered up to the middle of 1920.

Early in September 1919 when the defeat of the White forces on the Turkestan front had become a matter merely of time, the Soviet Government set up a committee to consider Turkestan. (1) On this committee's recommendation the Government appointed a special Commission for Turkestan which was to wield supreme governmental and Party power in Turkestan. (2) The formation of the Commission was announced on 8 October 1919. It consisted of six members. Its chairman was a 35-year old Georgian, Shalva Eliava, a recent convert to Bolshevism although an active Social-Democrat since his student days. The second member was Mikhail Vasil'yevich Frunze, the son of a Moldavian settler in Turkestan, a Bolshevik since his student days at the Petersburg Polytechnic, who had emerged during the Civil War as one of the most gifted of the young Red Army commanders; by the autumn of 1919 he was in command of four armies on the Turkestan front. Frunze's chief political commissar on the Turkestan Front was the third member of the Commission, Valerian Vladimirovich Kuybyshev; the son of an Army officer, he had organized the Bolshevik seizure of power in Samara. The oldest member of the Commission was the 43-year old veteran Bolshevik Filip Isayevich Goloshchekin, a native of Nevel, who had recently joined Frunze's staff. Finally there were two specialist members: Gleb Ivanovich Bokiy from the Cheka, and Jan Rudzutak, from Courland, to represent the textile industry.

Each of these six men had spent their formative years as professional revolutionaries, suffering arrest, imprisonment and exile under the Tsarist regime; and such brief experience as they had of administration and government had been amassed in the first chaotic years of the Bolshevik Revolution. None, with the exception of Frunze, had any first-hand knowledge of Turkestan, nor indeed of any eastern people. But they set out for Turkestan on the wave of the Red Army victory, as bearers of the new social order and confident of winning an immediate response from the native masses of Turkestan. "The fundamentals of the whole policy of the Soviet Government, declared the announcement of 8 October, "are the self-determination of the peoples of Turkestan, and the liquidation of all national inequality and privilege."

To the Bolsheviks of those days, in particular to Lenin, self-determination was a slogan designed to overcome nationalist separatism in the borderlands of the Russian Republic, and a useful cloak to cover the political exigency of secession (as in the case of Finland or the Bashkir Republic of 1919). In Turkestan in the autumn of 1919 there seemed to be no active separatist movement and the declaration of the right to self-determination was, as the Government's announcement in fact specified, a means to overcome the traditional distrust of the native masses for the Russian workers and peasants. That self-determination did not mean the right to separate is further implied by the Government's declaration that the "closest union" of Russia with Turkestan was "a guarantee for the elimination of all traces of Russian imperialism and a surety against all schemes of foreign oppressors."

Confident of the flood-tide of world revolution, the Soviet leaders saw no contradiction between these principles. Turkestan was to be a model Soviet republic - "a flower garden" in the words of Narimanov, "wherein the bees of the neighbouring lands of the Orient should take nourishment." Or as another writer put it: "Turkestan must be won for socialism, not for Russia. We need Turkestan for its cotton and because it is the key to the East."

Armed with these sentiments and invested with supreme Party and governmental powers, Eliava, Kuybyshev, Goloshchekin, Rudzutak, and Bokiy arrived in Tashkent on 4 November 1919 and were rapturously received with orchestras, banners, and official speeches of welcome.

The welcome was sincere: Turkestan had endured two years of increasing famine, internal strife, and misrule; all sections of the population hoped for a restoration of order. Most of Transcaspia was still in the hands of the Whites, Bukhara maintained an unfriendly neutrality, in Fergana the native population was actively hostile, while in Semirech'ye the Russian settlers waged a private war against the nomads on whose lands they lived. The Soviet Government in Tashkent had precariously maintained itself in power since October 1917 thanks both to a hard core of support from the Russian railway workers, soldiers and other town dwellers, to the disunity and inefficiency of its enemies, and to the indifference of the native population. After the abortive "Osipov coup" of January 1919 during which several Soviet leaders were assassinated, Kobozev, who had been sent from Moscow to restore order, deliberately set about winning new support for the regime from the native intelligentsia. These native Communists were grouped round the Muslim Bureau of the Turkestan Communist Party which soon became a rival to the predominantly Russian Regional Committee of the Party. In September 1919, thanks to Kobozev's efforts, the IVth Congress of the Turkestan Communist Party and the VIIIth Congress of Turkestan Soviets had defeated the Russian faction and excluded most of its members from positions of authority in the Party and Government. In the new Government at least half the places went to natives and those Europeans who took part seem to have been ready to follow Kobozev's line. (3)

The day of its arrival in Tashkent the Turkestan Commission convened a joint meeting of the Party Regional Committee, the Muslim Bureau and the Government; the Commission presented its credentials and read a personal letter from Lenin to the Communists of Turkestan urging them to realize the "gigantic" "historical" importance of "correct relations with the peoples of Turkestan". To the Muslims whom Kobozev had brought to authority in these organs, the Turkestan Commission's aims seemed identical with their own and they readily swore to obey the Commission as the supreme representative of the Party Central Committee and of the Third International.

With the cooperation of the Turkestan Government and Party thus ensured, the Commission got down to work: it took over the numerous independent supply organizations and unified their functions under a Regional Food Supply Directorate; it took over foreign affairs from the Turkestan Government; it disbanded the Turkestan Cheka and gave its functions to the Army; it held open trials of the more notorious Russian officials and expelled some thousand of them from Turkestan. A week after his arrival, Goloshchekin with a strong force of Red Army troops set off for Fergana to purge the local authorities and put an end to their maltreatment of the native population. Later in November a Special Commission set out for Semirech'ye with the herculean task of resettling the Kirgiz and Kazakh refugees on their former lands.

The Commission soon found its staff of 117 quite inadequate for these tasks. But Eliava's appeal to Lenin for more staff was summarily dismissed. "Your demands", wrote Lenin, "are excessive. It is laughable or worse than laughable when you claim that Turkestan is more important than the Centre or the Ukraine. You will not receive any more. You must make do with what you have. Don't set yourself limitless plans, but be modest."(4) (A week later, however, Lenin relented and sent Eliava his old friend P.N. Lepeshinskiy who had an undistinguished career for a few months as Vice-Commissar for Education in Turkestan.)

And thus Eliava, although well aware of the inexperience and indeed unreliability of the Muslim Communists whom Kobozev had brought to power a bare few weeks before, became forced to rely on them and to cooperate with them. The Muslim Communists, feeling their strength, soon began to jib at the authority of the Commission and to start on the dangerous road of policy-making.

The politically most able of the Muslim Communists was a young Kazakh called Turar Ryskulov. The son of a poor family, his ability had won him a place at Russian native schools and, from 1915, at the Tashkent Teachers' Institute. In the summer of 1918, at the age of 24, he had emerged as a leader of the Auliye-Ata (now Dzhabul) soviet, and in the autumn of that year, having declared his adherence to Bolshevism, he had joined the Turkestan Government as Commissar for Health and Chairman of the committee to combat famine. He was a natural choice for Kobozev, under whose guidance he became Vice-President of the Turkestan Government in April 1919 and a leading member of the Muslim Bureau, positions which he still held at the time of the arrival of the Turkestan Commission.(5) What connexion, if any, Ryskulov himself had with the Turkestan reformist movement of pre-revolutionary years is not clear, but three of his closest supporters seem to have been associated with Jadid or pan-Turkist groups: Tursun Khodzhayev, who held the post of Commissar of Foreign Affairs, was a reformist who had joined the Soviets in the spring of 1918. (6) Nizametdin Khodzhayev was also a member of the Turkestan Government and had also come to the Soviets in the spring of 1918; in December 1917, however, he had been the chief spokesman in Tashkent for the Kokand Autonomous Muslim Government. The ideologist of the group was an Azerbaydzhani Turk, Mehmed Emin Effendi Zade (Effendiyev) who had come to Turkestan as a prisoner of war; in September 1917 he had been one of the founders, with Mufti Saddridin Khan, of the "Turkestan

Decentralization Party" (Turkistan'adem-i-merkezizet Firqasi), a group which worked for the union and regeneration of the Turkic peoples; in May 1918, however, he too had joined the Soviets, and at the time of the arrival of the Turkestan Commission was Commissar of Education, a post which gave opportunities for propagating his pan-Turkist ideas.

Ryskulov's national Communists believed, in the absence of any clear definition of their rights from either the Soviet Government in Moscow or the Turkestan Commission, that they, as the true representatives of their people, should be the arbiters of Turkestan's destiny. They dreamed of a vast autonomous republic of Turkic peoples under the aegis of Moscow and planned to realize this dream at the Vth Conference of the Turkestan Communist Party which was due to open in Tashkent on 20 January 1920. As a token of their loyalty to Lenin, a spokesman for the group went to Moscow early in January to ask among other things for the powers of the Turkestan Commission to be reduced and for those of the Muslim Bureau to be enlarged. Lenin referred these demands for consideration to the Commissariat of Nationalities which produced its recommendations some weeks later, but in the meantime, on 14 January, he telegraphed the Turkestan Commission advising caution.

The Turkestan Commission had to prepare itself for the forthcoming Party Conference, and on 15 January, agreed, perhaps on advice from Moscow, that in principle Turkestan should ultimately be divided into three separate national republics (an Uzbek republic, a Turkmen, and a Kirgiz (i.e. Kazakh)), and that the future Turkestan Commission should be composed of one representative from each of these republics and three representatives from Moscow. The Commission realized only too well that in view of the pan-Turkist dreams of Ryskulov's group this plan was not immediately feasible, but they intended to use it as a foil to the nationalists' ambitions.

But still unsure both of their constitutional powers and of the principles on which they were to act, the Turkestan Commission found themselves thwarted. The IIIrd Regional Conference of Muslim Bureaux which opened about this time as a preliminary to the Party Conference passed resolutions that Turkestan should be renamed the Soviet Republic of Turkic Peoples, that the Turkestan Communist Party should become the Turkic Communist Party, and that a Turkic Red Army should be created as an autonomous part of the Red Army. Effendiyev's resolution on the Turkic Republic declared: "the tendency of the Turkic peoples to separate in name and in substance into Tatars, Kirgiz, Bashkirs, Uzbeks, etc. and to form separate small republics" should be combated "by Communist propaganda"; instead they should be encouraged "to unite . . . in order to draw the other Turkic peoples not now a part of the RSFSR around the Turkic Soviet Republic." Turkestan was to be the nucleus of a vast Communist Republic of Turkic Peoples.

On 20 January the Vth Conference of the Turkestan Communist Party, in which the nationalists now had a majority, was due to open. The Turkestan Commission had to make a quick decision: Eliava, Goloshchekin and Kuybyshev, against Rudzutak, agreed to support the nationalists in their demand for a Turkic Republic. But on the issue of the Turkic Communist Party and the Turkic Red Army, all the members agreed on opposition. But when the Vth Conference opened the Turkestan Commission found it had no influence against the nationalist sentiment. All the nationalists' demands were passed; Tursun Khodzhayev was elected Secretary of the new Turkic Communist Party; and the Conference resolved on various economic measures designed to favour the native population: the controversial grain monopoly was to be applied only to European settlers, the natives were to be taxed progressively according to the Shariat, and land usurped by the settlers was to be returned to the native population.

After the Conference, the nationalists wrote to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party asking for approval of their resolutions. But the Central Committee was at that moment no more certain of its policy than the Turkestan Commission and referred back to Eliava for advice. It seemed that the nationalists were invincible; but any such hopes were dashed after the arrival in Tashkent on 22 February 1920 of the sixth member of the Turkestan Commission, M.V. Frunze.

To Frunze, the successful army commander and loyal Bolshevik, any debates on the political future or structure of Turkestan were, in the chaotic conditions then obtaining, both meaningless and dangerous. He declared roundly that the idea of a Turkic nation was a fiction. The tasks confronting the Soviet Government in Turkestan were to restore order, to put an end to the more obvious injustices against the native people, and to reorganize economic life. These tasks necessitated a strong and authoritative administration. The Turkestan Commission was wrong to have allowed the nationalists' demands to have been voiced at all and it should place its own men in all organs of Party and Government to prevent the expression of such untimely ideas.

Frunze readily persuaded his colleagues and on 24 February the Turkestan Commission revoked the political decisions of the Vth Conference and decided to place members of its staff in all organs of the Turkestan Government in order to direct the administration. Tursun Khodzhayev was honourably removed to Khiva where he acted as official representative of Turkestan.

The authority of the Soviet Government lay behind Frunze's strong line. Earlier in February the Soviet Government had set up a special eight-man commission, including Stalin and Vladimirov, to consider the relationship between the federal Government and newly liberated areas of the Urals, Siberia and Turkestan. On 8 March the Central Committee issued a policy directive on the rights of the Turkestan Republic and on the organization of the Turkestan Communist Party. This directive was received in Tashkent on 22 March and published in the local press on the 24th and 25th. It was a crushing blow to the nationalists and a confirmation of Frunze's ideas.

The Central Committee's directive declared that Turkestan was to be called the Turkestan Autonomous Republic of the RSFSR; it should be divided into oblasts according to "existing national groups, their economy and way of life." All power in Turkestan was given to the Turkestan Government, except for matters of federal significance, such as defence, foreign relations, finance, post and telegraph, and railways, which were to stay in the competence of the federal authorities. The economy was to be ordered according to the decrees of the central Government but could be adapted to local conditions and customs. Finally, the Turkestan Communist Party was to have the status of no more than an oblast organization within the RKP. The ideas of a Turkic Republic and a Turkic Communist Party were totally rejected.

The nationalists, faced with this *diktat*, at first tried to force the Government's hand. They announced that they would convene a Congress of the CPT and of Turkestan soviets in May. But under pressure from the *Turkkomissiya* these congresses were postponed for three months. Again thwarted, the nationalists decided that the only hope was to appeal direct to the central Government. Accordingly, early in May an official delegation from the Turkestan Government and Party left for Moscow: it consisted of three leading nationalists - Ryskulov, Nizametdin Khodzhayev and Bekh-Ivanov and was empowered to hold talks with the Central Committee, the Third International, and with Lenin. At the same time Eliava and Rudzutak also left Turkestan to report to the Central Committee.

The departure of the nationalist leaders and of Eliava who was still inclined to favour them left Frunze a free hand. The Turkkomissiya had not worked happily together and Kuybyshev reported that after Eliava's departure "the remaining members of the Commission worked together extremely amicably."

Having antagonized the nationalists, Frunze found he was faced with opposition from another faction. The Tashkent railway workers who had been largely responsible for the October coup in Tashkent believed themselves to be, both on account of their experience and because they were truly proletarians, entitled to hold the reins of power in Turkestan. They were unable to understand Lenin's declared policy of spreading the Revolution to the East by rousing the peasant masses. The Turkestan Commission's early encouragement of the nationalists, accompanied by trials of the more chauvinistic Russian Communists, had won sympathy for the railway workers among the rest of the European population. During the early spring of 1920 when the nationalists seemed to be in control, a group of Communist railway workers even went so far as to talk of an uprising against the Turkestan Commission - "A final October" - in order to re-establish true proletarian hegemony. "This shameless bunch", Frunze reported to Lenin in April, "lies like a millstone round our necks" and on 21 May the malcontents (the 3rd Railway Rayon Party Organization) were banished from Turkestan.

As for the nationalists, Frunze believed them to be both politically unreliable and divorced from the masses whom they claimed to represent. They were, as he reported to Lenin, no more than "a handful of Muslim petty bourgeois intellectuals who proclaim themselves to be the spokesmen for the whole multi-national mass of Turkestan Muslims. . . From my observations, their political influence is very small; they have no mass following. . . In spite of all their nationalistic aggressiveness. . . they are in fact a very weak group which is conscious of its weakness. . ."

Moreover, "apart from a few politically insignificant men, the group is clearly composed of non-Communists who have been forced only by circumstances to raise the Communist banner." The best way to deal with them, Frunze advised Lenin, was for the Centre to apply "a calm and firm policy"; and indeed since the March decree they have been giving up their positions, though "how far this is sincere is another question. . . ." All Turkestan's problems would be solved, thought Frunze, by firmness from the Centre, the infiltration of reliable workers into the local Party and Government organs, and by increased economic aid. The Centre should send Turkestan machinery, manufactured goods, metals, timber and perhaps also two or three textile factories. Given such "real economic benefits, success will be assured".

Thus by the end of April 1920, the Turkkomissiya had by its seemingly pro-national policy lost the sympathy of the Russian population which had at first welcomed it; it had spurned the claims of the nationalists to be the legitimate rulers of Turkestan but had as yet failed to rouse the native masses to the cause of Soviet revolution. The Commission found itself ruling in splendid isolation and had to depend on workers sent from metropolitan Russia and on the Red Army for the execution of its decrees.

The nationalists' efforts to get themselves recognized as the legitimate rulers of Turkestan continued in Moscow. Ryskulov, Nizametdin Khodzhayev and Bekh-Ivanov arrived there on 17 May and on the 23rd presented their case to the Party Central Committee. They emphasized the importance of the Revolution in the East and argued that the peoples of the East were not yet ready for the Soviet system or for the class struggle. They asked that all power be given to the Turkestan Government and that the Turkestan Commission, which, Ryskulov declared, "is the chief obstacle to our autonomy", be abolished. They asked again to be allowed to form a separate Muslim Army and to control their own foreign relations. On 25 May

Ryskulov presented his case to the Politburo (7) who also heard Eliava's and Rudzutak's comments on it.

Ryskulov did not face a united opposition. He found support for his views with no less a personage than G. I. Broydo the veteran Tashkent revolutionary who was then Deputy Commissar of Nationalities. But Frunze, who had written such a damning report of the nationalists to Lenin, was no less uncomplimentary about Broydo, describing him as "the evil genius of the Turkestan Commission" and "a simple adventurer". In any case the whole tendency of the Soviet Government was by this time near the end of the Civil War towards centralism. And to cut short the discussions the Politburo appointed a Special Commission, on which the nationalists were not represented, to deliver judgment.(8)

By the middle of June the Special Commission had produced a draft which defined the primary tasks of the Communist Party in Turkestan, the respective powers of the Turkestan Commission and the Turkestan Government, and the relationship between them. The first duty of the Party was, according to the Commission, to take measures to put an end to the hostility between the immigrant population and the natives; this hostility was blamed primarily on Tsarist colonial policy, but, the Commission admitted, had grown worse under the Soviet regime "thanks to the peculiar 'Communist' actions" taken by "the small group of Russian workers who were badly infected with a colonialist mentality" and who represented Soviet rule during the last two and a half years. The following measures should be taken:

1. Land which had been arbitrarily seized by settlers since the Revolution, and land earmarked for settlement by the former Settlement Administration, should be redistributed among the Kazakh and Dungan refugees, leaving the settlers no more than a working plot.
2. All former members of the Tsarist police and bureaucracy, speculators, managers of former large Russian firms, Party "hangers-on", etc. should be expelled from Turkestan.
3. All Party members who were "infected with a colonialist mentality and Great Russian chauvinism" should be replaced by "several hundred" Party workers mobilized from the Centre.
4. "Several hundred workers on the Central Asian and Tashkent railways" should be replaced.
5. All opposition to these measures should be dealt with severely, and any objectors expelled.

On the relationship between the central Government and the Turkestan Government, the Commission proposed:

1. That it was essential to maintain a permanent organ in Turkestan to represent the central Government and Party (i.e. the Turkestan Commission). This organ should administer directly all questions of foreign relations, foreign trade, and military affairs; furthermore it should be empowered to supervise the execution of all decrees issued by the central Government and to have the right to stay or to alter any such decree to suit local conditions; finally it was to co-ordinate and demarcate the interests of the various national areas in Turkestan.
2. The Turkestan Government was empowered to appoint Commissars of Communications, Post and Telegraph, and Finance, but only with the prior approval of the respective central Commissariats. All decrees issued by the central Government on matters of communications and post and telegraph were to be automatically applied in Turkestan. The Turkestan Government could draw up its own budget but this must be approved both by the Turkestan Commission and the Moscow Commissariat of Finance.

3. In the economic field the Turkestan Economic Council (Sovnarkhoz) and supply organizations must act in accordance with the plans drawn up by the corresponding Moscow authorities.

4. In all other fields all power should lie with the Turkestan Government.

The draft became, with certain minor alterations and two notable additions the basis of the Politburo's Resolutions on Turkestan of 29 June 1920 and as such the guiding principle behind Soviet policy towards Turkestan at least until the beginning of NEP. The constitutional proposals were embodied in the Soviet Government's Decree on the Autonomy of Turkestan (August 1920) and in the Turkestan Constitution of April 1921.

Lenin, who studied the draft on 13 June and again when it was discussed by the Politburo on 22 June, was responsible for some of the alterations. On the need to improve relations between the immigrants and the natives Lenin urged that "Russian kulaks" should be "energetically broken up, evicted and mastered" - a point that was embodied in the Politburo's Resolutions. He further proposed that settlers and natives be given land-holdings of equal size, but this suggestion, born of ignorance of the nomadic way of life, was not taken up.

On the constitutional points, Lenin urged that the Turkestan Party and Government be gradually given wider powers; this should be done by letting the Turkestan Government participate in the affairs of the Turkestan Commission and vice versa, and by "systematically thinking out, preparing and carrying out the transfer of power - gradually but relentlessly - to local soviets of the working people under the control of reliable Communists." Finally, he proposed that the Turkestan Commission should not be allowed to alter any decree without first consulting the Turkestan Government and the central Government. In the Politburo's Resolutions, however, there is no mention of extending the powers of the local authorities: the Resolutions clearly stated that the Turkestan Communist Party should have no more rights than those of an oblast Party committee; and while the Turkestan Commission must consult the central Government before altering any decree, it should merely inform the Turkestan Government of this fact.

The two additions to the Special Commission's draft were on national divisions in Turkestan and on the class struggle. The possibility of dividing Turkestan into national republics had been under discussion at least since January, when the Turkestan Commission declared that this should be their aim, and was intensively debated during June. Eliava, one can assume, was in favour of national republics as also were most probably the nationalists by this time. This can be inferred from Frunze's, Kuybyshev's and Goloshchekin's telegram to Lenin and the Central Committee early in June in which they argued that division into national republics was not feasible on account of the shortage of reliable native leaders and was not politically expedient because it would play into the hands of the nationalists. Lenin did not commit himself until the end of the month: he urged that the question needed fuller study and should not be rushed into. The Politburo's Resolutions showed a compromise: the Turkestan Commission was to be entrusted with reorganizing the administrative divisions of Turkestan according to nationality. Finally, on 1 July Eliava telegraphed to Kuybyshev that "Il'ich has come out against division into national republics", and there the question was shelved until after Lenin's death in 1924.

The Politburo's Resolutions of 29 June crushed the nationalists' hopes and ambition. Their party was to be no more than a regional committee, their governmental powers were confined to such minor matters as education, health and local administration and over all their activities would lie the heavy hand of the Turkestan Commission. Even what was perhaps their last hope - the creation of national republics - was not to be.

But the most crushing blow of all was the Politburo's Resolution that one of the fundamental tasks of the Party in Turkestan was to put an end to the patriarchal and feudal way of life. On 22 June Lenin had noted that the basic task in Turkestan was "to overthrow feudalism but not to aim at Communism." It can be argued that this was a precept of a doctrinaire totally ignorant of a backward people's way of life, but in Lenin's favour it must be emphasized that he again and again urged on his administrators "maximum trust in the Muslim masses" and the need to be "supremely careful" in dealing with a backward people. But too often in his followers, doctrine was not tempered with sentiment, and the attempt to apply the principles of class struggle to Turkestan were to prove disastrous for the Soviet regime.

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Ryskulov and his companions returned to Tashkent in high dudgeon. On 12 July 1920 the Turkestan Commission received the full text of the Politburo's Resolutions of which they had already learnt the gist from Eliava by telegraph on 1 July. On 19 July Ryskulov called a meeting of the Regional Committee of the Turkestan Communist Party at which practically all the members rejected the Politburo's Resolutions. Thereupon all the members of the Turkestan Government and Party Committee resigned.

But the Turkestan Commission had made its preparations in Ryskulov's absence and on the same day, 19 July, appointed a Temporary Central Committee of the Turkestan Communist Party to tide things over until the Party Congress due to be held in September. This Temporary Committee consisted of 14 men of whom nine were natives; the Secretary was a Kazakh, Nazir Turyakulov, an outstanding man, according to Kuybyshev, who "thinks along Marxist lines". The Turkestan Commission announced that in view of the "evident disintegration" and "incompetence" of the Turkestan Party authorities it "was forced to take upon itself the organization of a regional Party organ which should hold the same opinions as the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party" and in which "there would be no place. . . for those who waver over the question of. . . combating colonialism. . . or for comrades unable to face in practice the question of liquidating patriarchal feudal relations."

The removal of Ryskulov (9) and his group from power produced little reaction among the population, which fact, Frunze reported to Lenin, "clearly proves the complete isolation of him and his group of like-thinkers from the masses." The new Temporary Central Committee worked obediently under the Turkestan Commission and the administration ran more smoothly than before. "Questions are now put on a purely business basis", reported Frunze, "without any of the previous political quibbling."

The Turkestan Commission now set about preparing for the forthcoming congresses of the Turkestan Communist Party and Turkestan Soviets which were to approve the central Government's policies. Two months of intensive propaganda and purges ensued and resulted in the Congresses which were held in the latter half of September 1920 obediently producing unanimous resolutions.

Frunze and his colleagues did not, however, stay to see the fruits of their work. On 23 August a new Turkestan Commission arrived in Tashkent; its members were G. Ia. Sokol'nikov, the economist and diplomat; L. M. Kaganovich; Ya. Kh. Peters, the Chekist; and G. I. Safarov. The new Commission had governmental powers only and was accompanied by a Turkestan Bureau which was to take charge of Party affairs.

Frunze had complained to Lenin in April of the difficulties of his dual role of soldier and politician and no doubt the appointment of the new Commission was intended to relieve him of some of his administrative duties so that he could concentrate

on the forthcoming attack on Bukhara. But in the middle of the preparations for this campaign, towards the end of August, Lenin personally appointed Frunze Commander of the Southern Front. Frunze remained in Turkestan just long enough to lead the attack on Bukhara early in September and then left to fight Wrangel.

Kuybyshev stayed on as member of the Turkestan Bureau and as Soviet representative to Bukhara. Rudzutak also stayed on in Turkestan. Bokiy returned to Moscow to continue his career in the Cheka. What happened to Goloshchekin is not clear but many years later he became Party Secretary in the Kazakh Republic. Eliava through ill-health did not return to Turkestan but later became President of the Transcaucasian Federation.

The new Turkestan Commission started work sure that all political opposition had been quelled and that they had a free hand to deal with the administrative, economic and military tasks before them. They were well supplied with trained Party workers to put into effect the Party's policies. The deportation of prosperous settlers and other undesirables began at once and the Kazakh and Dungan refugees began to be resettled. By May 1921 some 17,000 acres had been confiscated from kulaks and by August 1921, 4,000 Kazakh families had been given land in Semirech'ye - a small but significant beginning. But inevitably these measures provoked hostility between the settlers and the natives, and among the natives themselves. The most serious opposition was from the Russian settlers of the Naryn district who rose in open revolt during the winter of 1920. But it was the measures designed to awaken class hostility among the native population and to undermine the Islamic way of life that provoked the most violent reaction. The creation of Koshchi Unions (unions of poor peasantry), the closure of the Kazi courts and of the bazaars, the conscription orders for labour and military service, the re-imposition of the grain levy, and the attempts to emancipate women were often ruthlessly introduced by local administrators without proper supervision or preliminary propaganda. The result was inevitable: the Basmachi movement which had been quiescent since early 1920 flared up again and by the end of 1920 controlled the whole of Fergana. How the new Turkestan Commission overcame this violent but inarticulate opposition is beyond the scope of this article. (10) The nationalists may well have felt some bitter vindication.

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### Notes

- (1) The committee consisted of Chicherin, Nariman Narimanov, Litvinov, Vladimirovskiy, Milyutin, S.I. Gusev; and Goloshchekin and Eliava who became members of the Turkestan Commission.
- (2) A previous Turkestan Commission had been set up in February 1919 consisting of Eliava, A.S. Kiselev and P.A. Kobozev, but only the latter was able to reach Tashkent where he remained until the arrival of the new Commission.
- (3) By his dictatorial methods and indiscriminate encouragement of any Muslim who declared himself to be a Communist, Kobozev earned the bitter hostility of many Russian Communists, in particular the Tashkent railway workers, and this no doubt accounts for the fact that he was recalled to Moscow immediately after the arrival of the Turkestan Commission.
- (4) For obvious reasons this letter does not appear in any of the anthologies of Lenin's writings on Central Asia. It was first published in LENINSKIY SBORNIK, Vol.XXXVI, 1956.
- (5) The President of the Turkestan Government was an obscure personage called Apin who had come to Tashkent in March 1919 as one of Kobozev's staff.
- (6) Both Hayit and Zenkovskiy describe him as a Jadid but give no details.
- (7) The Politburo consisted of Lenin, Trotskiy, Stalin, Kamenev and Krestinskiy.
- (8) The Special Commission consisted of Chicherin (Commissar for Foreign Affairs), Krestinskiy (Secretary of the Party Central Committee and member of the Politburo), and Eliava.
- (9) Ryskulov soon found employment elsewhere: he represented Turkestan at the Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East in September 1920, and in the following years held high posts in the Commissariat of Nationalities and in the Kazakh Republic, before being purged in the late thirties. He was, after all, as even Frunze admitted, a man of "brains, energy, and remarkable character". As for Nizametdin Khodzhayev and Tursun Khodzhayev they both continued in Soviet service, were associated with Sultangaliyev and the Ittihad ve Taraqqi during the latter half of 1920, and were purged in the middle thirties.
- (10) See "The Basmachis: The Central Asian Resistance Movement, 1918-24", CAR, 1959, No.3.

## ARCHAEOLOGY IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

## III. KIRGIZIYA AND THE FERGANA VALLEY

By Grégoire Frumkin

Introductory note

The present article is the third of a series on archaeology in Soviet Central Asia. The first, dealing particularly with the ideological background of Soviet archaeology, was published in *CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW*, No.4, 1962 and the second, on Kazakhstan, in No.1 of 1963.

A bibliography is given at the end of the article, but as for reason of space many of the sources used had to be omitted, this list is by no means complete. A list of abbreviations is given at the beginning of the bibliography.

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- I. General - II. Historical Outline - III. Survey by Regions - IV. Rock Carvings - V. Concluding Remarks - Bibliography

## I. General

Mountainous, landlocked Kirgiziya is surrounded on the north by Kazakhstan, on the west by Uzbekistan, a peninsular extension of which - Fergana - stretches far into Kirgiziya, on the south-west by Tadzhikistan, from which it is separated by the Alay range reaching over 7,000 metres (23,000 feet), and on the east and south-east by China, the frontier being along the Tyan'-Shan', whose peaks in the extreme north-east exceed 7,000 metres.

Owing to the peculiar topography of the country, by which successive mountain ranges are separated from each other by deep canyons and none of the mountain rivers are navigable, civilizations did not as a rule in the past develop along the rivers, which were obstacles to rather than means of communication. Influxes played in this development a greater role than infiltration (the Sogdian infiltration being the major exception to this rule), and the cattle-breeding nomad intruders blended to a large extent with the agricultural natives of the mountain valleys. The old sites discovered by Soviet scientists were thus largely at the gateways of invasions, or halting places on trade routes. They were more numerous in the valleys than in mountain districts. The latter served, however, as secluded sanctuaries for an admirable rock art (see IV B).

The following archaeological expeditions were organized by the IIMK. Numbers in brackets refer to the numbering used in the recently issued list of the Institut Arkheologii:

<u>Expedition</u>	<u>Leader</u>	<u>Date</u>
1. Ferganskaya (182)	B.A. Latynin	1930, 1933-4
2. Kazakhstanskaya (293)	A.N. Bernshtam	1936, 1938-40
3. Kirgizskaya (321)	"	1938-40
4. Chuiskaya (342)	"	1941
5. Tyan'-Shanskaya (355)	"	1944-6, 1949
6. Pamiro-Alayskaya (419)	"	1947-8
7. Pamiro-Ferganskaya(466)	"	1950-2
8. Kirgizskaya kompleksnaya (506)	A.P. Okladnikov	1953
	G.F. Debets	1954-5
9. Kirgizskaya (551)	P.N. Kozheniyako	1956

A special tribute should be paid to the outstanding forerunner of the archaeology of Kirgiziya and its adjacent territories, A.N. Bernshtam, whose vast interest and stupendous activity ranged over scores of thousands of kilometres and many millennia of various civilizations. Many of his explorations relate to the "Semirech'ye", which is not a contemporary political designation, but a Russian translation of the local term "the seven rivers", covering the basins of the Issyk-Kul' and Balkhash lakes, and including Kirgiziya as well as Kazakh territories. Among the masses of *kurgans* explored by Bernshtam, some date from the Bronze Age, but the majority relate to the Saka and Wu-sun period, i.e. roughly from the 7th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D.

There were various time-lags between the civilizations of valleys and those of mountain districts; some civilizations were more characteristic of certain regions and less or not at all of others.

The material results of the explorations were frequently disappointing, either because the content of the tombs was poor or because they had been looted. Not being a treasure hunter, but an archaeological historian whose interest was focussed on the Central Asian tribes from the last millennium B.C., Bernshtam laid down the main features of their chronology. In the light of new Soviet research some items of his historical classification are being queried, but in a general way it still holds good. There was, however, in Kirgiziya such a blending of different civilizations, that they cannot always be separated from each other by means of precise dates. The archaeological sites are so numerous and cover such a long span of time, that only fragmentary information can be given in this survey. The following tentative historical outline which serves as a background for the proper understanding of the archaeological work, may enable the reader to find his bearings.

## II. Historical Outline

### A. The Stone Age

Remains of the Stone Age in Kirgiziya as known so far are still rather scanty. Prior to Bernshtam's explorations practically nothing was known of the most ancient periods, and such finds as he happened to make were somewhat haphazard by-products of wide surveys of the Bronze Age and later periods.

More specific work was done after 1950, initially by A.P. Okladnikov, who discovered in 1953 in the Naryn district on the On-Archa river remains of the Lower Paleolithic, and two years later at Khodzhi-Gor next to the Tadzhik border, remains of the Upper Paleolithic. In 1956 further finds of the Paleolithic were made by V.A. Ranov in the Alay valley and on the Kyzyl-Su river, next to Daraut-Kurgan.

Finds of the Neolithic Age were made by Okladnikov in the Chu valley on the Alamedinka river, and by Okladnikov and V.I. Ratzek in the caves Ak-Chungur of the Saryzhas basin. (See also III F: Fergana.)

#### B. The Bronze Age (2nd to 1st millennium B.C.)

The civilization of the Bronze Age - the Andronovo and the later Karasuk type - extended from Kazakhstan to Kirgiziya, when under the pressure of nomad tribes approaching from the north, the ancient inhabitants of the Kazakh steppes and the territories adjacent to the Aral Sea withdrew to the south. This pressure resulted in great shifts of population as well as in racial intermingling. In Kirgiziya the Bronze Age civilization which received influences from China as well as from southern Siberia, existed mainly in the Chu and Talas valleys, but also in the mountainous Tyan'-Shan' districts. It witnessed moreover the rise of wonderful rock engravings which reached their zenith in the subsequent periods (see IV).

#### C. Saka Period (roughly 7th - 4th century B.C.)

Whatever may be the exact origin and ethnic composition of the tribes known comprehensively as "Saka", they inhabited, in so far as Kirgiziya is concerned, mostly the Tyan'-Shan', Talas and Alay mountains, as well as the Issyk-Kul' region.

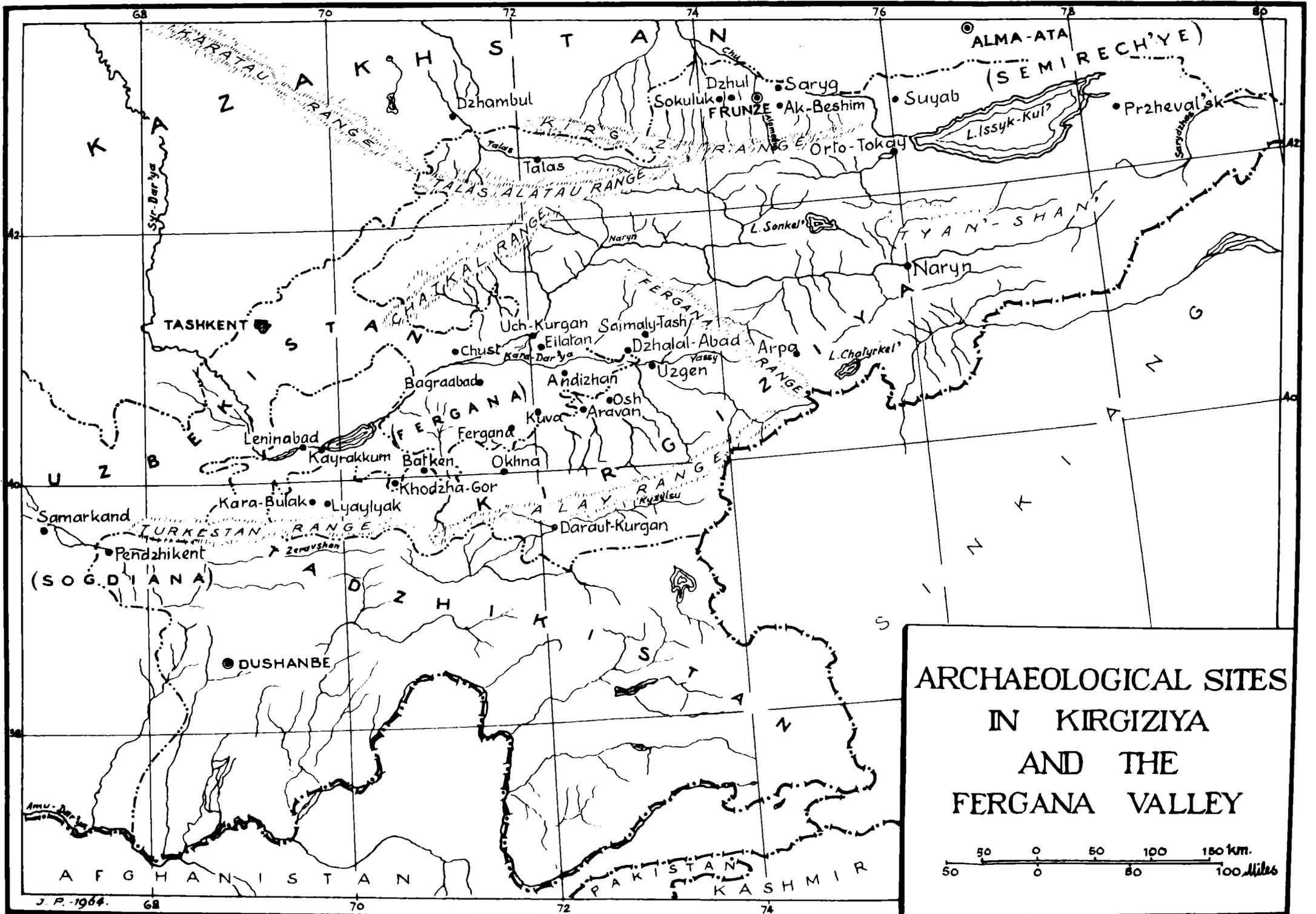
Archaeological discoveries there - collections of tombs - were therefore more numerous than in the valleys. Interesting finds were, however, made in the Chu valley, largely in connexion with the building of the Great Chu Canal (in 1941); they usually consisted of stone covered kurgans. The ritual objects found in the tombs were frequently connected with the fire cult, Shamanism and, at a later stage, Zoroastrianism.

Figures of animals in an early "Scythian" style were found near the Chu and Talas rivers, for example, at Sokuluk west of Frunze, as well as near Lake Issyk-Kul'.

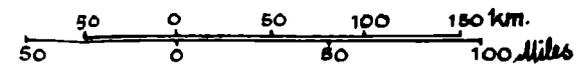
It is not always possible, however, to draw a hard and fast line between the Saka period and the immediately following period of Wu-sun. Different populations sometimes coexisted in the various parts of the territory under review and the newcomers intermingled with the resident population.

#### D. Wu-sun (2nd century B.C. - 1st century A.D. and later)

The origin of the Wu-sun, early pastoral nomads probably originating in Central Asia, is not exactly known. Bernshtam assumed a local origin (Tyan'-Shan' or Semirech'ye), but others an immigration from as far as the Ordos steppes. They appear anyhow to have been closely related to the Huns (see E below), whom they were fighting. Their progress towards the south coincided with the onslaught on the Bactrian empire by nomad tribes coming from the northern steppes. In Kirgiziya the Wu-sun centre was on the southern shore of Lake Issyk-Kul', where they settled after having dislodged the Yue-chi.



ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES  
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Like the preceding Saka period, the Wu-sun period is characterized by many kurgans. The use of iron increased at the expense of bronze, and so did the use of gold.

Chinese pressure and influence, as well as pressure from the northern steppes were increasing. The Wu-sun were eventually pushed by the Huns towards the Tyan'-Shan' and their civilization then rapidly declined.

#### E. Huns (mid-first century B.C. - 4th century A.D.)

After having ousted from East Turkestan the related Wu-sun and the Yue-chi, the mongoloid Central Asian tribes of the Huns also occupied in their thrust to the south the territory of present-day Kirgiziya. Important as they were for the regions under review, these population shifts, as well as those of the subsequent periods, were merely marginal waves of major political events taking place on a large scale in the heart of Asia. The Huns had established a great empire - as the Turks did after them - and their onslaughts via Semirech'ye in the direction of Persia reflected on the periphery the tremendous population spasm which affected at a later stage almost the whole of Europe.

The finds in the Talas and Chu regions, Fergana, the Central Tyan'-Shan', the Alay mountains and the southern Arpa territory, some of which contained objects of Graeco-Bactrian and Chinese origin, were related by Bernshtam to the Huns, but he may have somewhat overrated their role. According to some authors the alleged Hun tombs actually related to the Yue-chi, a Central Asian tribe displaced by the Huns to the west and eventually partner in the onslaught on Bactria. The frequent deformation of skulls witnessed in the graves, as well as the peculiar shape of the catacomb tombs, pointed, it is true, to Hun practices, but they actually existed before the arrival of the Huns.

In 1951 Bernshtam published a history of the Huns in which he stressed some of their positive characteristics. This attitude met with violent attacks from some Soviet scientists, representing the official view existing at that time.

The Huns were ferocious invaders, but it would be unfair to ignore their artistic achievements. They largely intermingled with the Wu-sun, but from the 5th century A.D. onwards they were in their turn subjected to pressure from the Turks. (See also IIIA: Talas Valley and IIID: Arpa.)

The history of the early Huns is dealt with by L.N. Gumilev in a book which in spite of violent criticisms by some Soviet authors, is a valuable compendium. A new book by S.I. Rudenko deals with the interesting finds of Hun tombs at Noin-ula (Mongolia).

#### F. Turks

The Huns were conquered by the Turks, who formed in their turn a vast nomad empire stretching from China to Persia. It was, as in preceding centuries, a succession of onslaughts by various tribes which in the course of centuries, passed to the south-west the pressure they were themselves subjected to.

(i) Western Turks (580-704 A.D.): This period was characterized by an influx of populations from two directions: firstly the inroad of pastoral nomads coming from the Altay and called for the first time "Turks", and secondly a steady and rather peaceful influx of people from Sogdiana, a region around the river Zeravshan, between the upper reaches of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. Without being on a massive scale, the influx of the skilled agricultural and professional Sogdians was culturally

of prime importance. These newcomers who settled from the 5th century A.D. mainly in the Chu and Talas valleys, brought with them multifarious arts and crafts; largely under their influence there was a remarkable urban development, as well as an economic and artistic expansion partaking at times of Iranian and Central Asian influences. A second Sogdian wave seems to have set in during the 7th century, which may or may not have been due to the advance of Islam. The population flows were many and various and while Sogdians were moving into the territories under review, Sogdiana was gradually permeated by the Turks.

The Sogdians were formerly believed to have been mainly Zoroastrians, but recent discoveries made by Kyzlasov and Zyablin (see III B) suggest that Buddhism was more frequent among them than had been assumed. The Turks were as a rule Shamanists. The Manichaeism which represented an endeavour to blend Zoroastrianism, the Christian faith and Buddhism, made rapid headway among the Sogdians as well as the Turks. The latter do not appear to have left any archaeological monuments except funeral stones, called balbals (see IV).

The Buddhist monk-traveller Hiuan-Tsang, already referred to in the article on Kazakhstan (CAR 1963, No.1) and who reached the Chu valley in 630 A.D., left a vivid account of Turkish rule in the Kirgiz territory visited.

(ii) Turgesh (704-766 A.D.) and Karluks (766-940 A.D.): After a short domination of the country by another local Turkish tribe - the Turgesh - the related Karluks, who came from the western Altay, settled in their turn along the Talas and Chu rivers as well as along Lake Issyk-Kul'. Suyab, a Sogdian town of the Chu valley held by the Turgesh, was occupied by the Karluks in 766.

Although the Turkish tribes referred to were not yet Muslims, Islam was making steady progress.

New towns were built and the population continued to settle.

(iii) Karakhanids (922-1125 A.D.): The Karakhanids, whose exact origin is still uncertain, were the first Turkish tribe to adopt Islam officially. Under their rule the Sogdian settlements in the Chu valley turned into fortified towns, such as Balasagun, Suyab, etc.

Bernshtam was convinced that the ruins of Ak-Beshim in the Chu valley were those of the ancient Balasagun. More recent discoveries suggest that this was probably not the case and that the site of Balasagun is still unknown.

### G. Kara-Kitay, Mongols

The Karakhanids were defeated by the Kara-Kitay, a tribe of Chinese origin. The 13th and 14th centuries witnessed the mass invasions of Mongols under Chingiz Khan and later under Timur.

## III. Survey by Regions

The vast explorations which in addition to the easily accessible northern valleys covered also the mountain districts of the Tyan'-Shan' and the Alay regions down to Tadzhikistan, yielded many different materials, such as skeletons and pottery, as well as stone and metal objects, which throw some light on the successive populations who lived in these regions, either as settlers or as pastoral tribes on the move from Central Asia to the south-west. Rock carvings, being of paramount importance, are dealt with separately in Chapter IV.

### A. Talas Valley

In 1938-9 Bernshtam unearthed, on behalf of the Hermitage Museum, tombs situated on the Kenkol river, a right-hand tributary of the Talas. Rightly or wrongly he attributed them to the Huns of the 1st century B.C. In 1956 a former member of Bernshtam's team, S.S. Sorokin, dissented from Bernshtam's contentions. In his opinion the tomb was of the 2nd to 4th century A.D. and had no direct relation with the Huns.

### B. Chu Valley

In 1939-40 Bernshtam discovered Buddhist remains in several sites of the Chu valley, such as Dzhol, 10 km. west of Frunze, Saryg, east of Frunze, Ak-Beshim, which he took for Balasagun, and Suyab.

The Buddhist shrine with fragments of wall-paintings in Saryg and the Buddhist monastery in Dzhol, also with wall-paintings, all in a very bad state of preservation, were believed by Bernshtam to belong to the mid-9th century A.D. if not later, when Buddhist Uygurs in China were driven by the victorious Confucian forces into East Turkestan and thence, in part, to northern Kirgiziya. This alleged belated Buddhist revival in what was supposed to have been a largely Zoroastrian country seems to have been confuted in recent years by the spectacular finds made in Ak-Beshim by L.R. Kyzlasov and L. Zyablin. Still little known outside the USSR, these discoveries represent an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of Buddhism in that region.

A big Buddhist shrine unearthed by Kyzlasov in the years 1953 and 1954, contained various well-preserved Buddhist characteristics. This shrine which was attributed by him to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A.D. represented a rectangle 76 metres long and 22 broad, sited on an east-west axis. It contained a mass of fragments of architecture, sculpture and painting, but reference can only be made here to the remains of huge statues of sitting Buddhas, smaller painted figures in clay, gilded metal medallions representing Buddha and Bodhisattvas, seals in clay with the representation of an elephant and a Sogdian legend.

The shrine appears to have been burnt down in the second half of the 8th century A.D. and destroyed, probably by the Karluks. These Turkish nomads, as well as their successors, settled down in the ruins, as witnessed by many objects found there.

A Christian church of the 8th century found by Kyzlasov nearby in 1954 combines a Syrian cross-copula structure with a Central Asian open court and avans along the walls. The adjoining cemetery is stated by him to be the oldest Christian burial place so far discovered in Soviet Central Asia.

One year later another Buddhist shrine was discovered by L. Zyablin, just 250 metres to the east of the first shrine. The digging lasted from 1955 to 1958. The architecture of this Buddhist pantheon is rather different from the former: just a square building without any courtyard. It contained many sculptural fragments, among which some relating to a Bodhisattva of more than human size, fragments of wall-paintings, coins, etc. This shrine appears to have been destroyed at the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A.D., possibly as the result of the inroad by Turgesh tribes.

There were, thus, in the same town, practically in the same period, two Buddhist shrines and one Christian church. This shows the spirit of religious tolerance of the "barbarous" ruling classes.

The above startling discoveries considerably increase our knowledge of the diffusion of Buddhism. Although Kyzlasov did make some comparisons with other countries such as Afghanistan, East Turkestan, etc., a more thorough comparative

study would be of great value.

The city of Ak-Beshim was destroyed, probably in the 10th century A.D. It was at any rate in ruins when the Karakhanid capital Balasagun was at its zenith (10-11th century A.D.). The latter was conquered by Khorasnis at the beginning of the 13th century. An epidemic of plague in 1370 caused its extinction.

### C. Lake Issyk-Kul'

The region around Lake Issyk-Kul', which had been inhabited at least as far back as the Bronze Age, is known to have been an important centre of the Wu-sun, who at the end of the 2nd century B.C. had driven the Yue-chi towards Bactria. In the 7th century A.D. the former trade route between western Asia and China was supplanted by the more northerly route from Samarkand and Tashkent along the Chu river and the southern shore of Lake Issyk-Kul'.

Owing to subsequent changes in the lake bottom, possibly of volcanic nature, various inhabited sites along the southern shore were submerged. cursory explorations suggest that these flooded sites, where balbals are visible, were of some late Turkish period.

Such ruins of this period and relating to subsequent invasions as still exist show vestiges of Islam, Nestorianism and Buddhism, but all evidence of a settled civilization disappeared as from the 15th century, to revive once more in the 18th century.

Among the rich material collected or published by Bernshtam, there are ritual bronze utensils, discovered on the northern shore of Lake Issyk-Kul', such as sacrificial tables, lamps, a cauldron, as well as a bronze figure of a recumbent yak. The objects of a Scythian-Siberian style, which probably relate, according to Bernshtam, to the Saka period of the 5th to 3rd century B.C., are likely to have served for a Shamanist or Zoroastrian fire cult. Balbals of late Turkish period were also found on the northern shore.

In the years 1953-5 L.P. Zyablin and A.K. Kibirov explored many kurgans on the northern and southern shores of the lake. Some of them related to the early Turkish period (5th-7th century A.D.) but were evidently of Wu-sun origin. This confirms what is known of the persistence of the Wu-sun after their conquest by the Turks. Other kurgans of that region related to the Karakhanid and later Islamic periods

The contents of the kurgans explored were mostly meagre and, in some cases, nil, but these explorations nevertheless added to our knowledge of the ancient populations, such as the Yue-chi, Saka, Wu-sun, Huns and Turks.

The region of Lake Issyk-Kul' is, however, rich in Turkish balbals as well as in rock engravings (see IV).

### D. Central Tyan'-Shan', Chatkal and Arpa Regions

(i) Central Tyan'-Shan': Kibirov, who had taken on some of Bernshtam's explorations, confirmed the conclusion of the latter that the tombs in the central Tyan'-Shan' related in part to the Saka, but mostly to the Wu-sun. The great number of Wu-sun tombs dispersed throughout the Tyan'-Shan' range may have been due, according to him, to another belated unification of the Wu-sun after they had been driven away from Lake Issyk-Kul' by the Huns and subsequently by the Turks. At any rate numerous Wu-sun appear to have reached central Tyan'-Shan' in the 4th century A.D. and to have remained there throughout the 6th to 8th centuries under Turkish rule. The exact nature of some tombs is, however, still open to doubt.

(ii) Chatkal: Situated in the most north-westerly part of Kirgiziya and surrounded by mountain ranges with passes leading toward the neighbouring regions, the Chatkal valley with its high pastures has from ancient times attracted pastoral nomads.

In the course of the years 1949 to 1951 over 1,500 kurgans, three localities and numerous tepe (mounds) were explored by an archaeological expedition headed by Kibirov, who found fragments of interesting pottery with red-brown and black designs dating probably from the mid-first millennium B.C. The skulls found in the tombs were neither mongoloid nor deformed, such as was witnessed in later periods.

Several more recent kurgans and tepe related to the post-Kushana and early Turkish period (4th-8th century A.D.), others to a still later period (8th-10th century). Their contents were rather poor; many tombs, had, moreover, been looted.

Life in the thickly inhabited Chatkal region ceased after the 12th century A.D.

(iii) Arpa region: Situated at the western end of the Tyan'-Shan' mountains at the foot of the Fergana range, the Arpa district was explored by Bernshtam in 1944-5. He found in the mountainous site of Burmachan two types of kurgan, one of which belonged to the Bronze Age (second millennium B.C.), and the other to the beginning of our era (Huns?) and which contained much pottery and bronze objects.

#### E. South Kirgiziya

Until recently southern Kirgiziya was little explored and, with the exception of rock engravings (see IV), the material finds have, as a rule, been rather modest.

In 1953 A.N. Bernshtam's explorations in the Uzgen region were resumed by Y.A. Zadneprovskiy and were continued for several years with skill and perseverance. The work was focused especially on the big town of Shurabashat, near Uzgen, on the Yassy river. Discovered in 1954, the town was first thought to have existed from the 4th to the 1st century B.C., and its particular feature was an original, richly painted red-coated pottery, the other material finds being rather poor. Subsequent explorations showed, however, that the place had been inhabited already in the Bronze Age (2nd millennium B.C.) and that it survived spasmodically until the 10th or 12th century A.D.

Toward the middle of the first millennium A.D. its inhabitants - largely agricultural - appear to have undergone racial changes as the result of an influx of mongoloid nomads; there was at the same time a serious decline in handicrafts.

Pastoral nomads spread also to the south, to the 3,000 metre high Alay valley, where agriculture is not, however, possible. The type of kurgan found suggests a changed population whom Bernshtam considered to be Huns, while, according to Zadneprovskiy, they were probably Yue-chi.

In 1954 and 1955 striking results were obtained in the westernmost part of southern Kirgiziya by an expedition initiated by the Osh Regional Museum and continued on behalf of the Historical Institute of Kirgiziya under the leadership of Y.D. Baruzdin. The contents of over 900 kurgan explored in Kara-Bulak proved to be particularly rich and very well preserved. They consisted of a huge quantity of various types of pottery, including a type not found elsewhere, of wooden objects, textiles, iron knives and arms, bronze articles such as looking-glasses, bracelets and inlaid ear-rings, all of which may be attributed to the period 2nd-4th century A.D. One looking-glass is obviously of a Chinese type, but the bronze handle of another represents a female figurine of Indian (Amaravati?) style.

The skulls found are, as a rule, of European type, occasionally with some mongoloid features.

Two human heads punched on a tiny bronze plate (2.5 x 2 cm.) which was part of a head-dress, display skilful workmanship: the male head with a halo of rays and the female head with a half-moon. The technique used reminds one of that used for coins.

These interesting finds indicate a composite culture of native elements together with foreign influences, both from the West and from the East.

In the years 1956 to 1960 the explorations headed by Zadneprovskiy were largely concentrated on the districts of Batken and Lyaylyak, small territories, remote and isolated, situated on the northern slopes of the eastern part of the Turkestan Range, and the western part of the Alay Range. Some of the tombs were evidently "symbolical", since they contained no skeletons but, instead, stone statuettes, probably dedicated to people who had died far from their habitual residence. The tombs related mostly to the 2nd to 4th century A. D., but the digging in recent years covered later periods as well.

## F. Fergana Valley

The Fergana valley is a rich agricultural oasis, some 300 km. long, including, in addition to vast pastures, deserts and mountains where agriculture is no longer possible. It is surrounded by mountain ranges on all sides - in the north by the Chatkal Range, in the east by the Fergana Range and in the south by the Alay and the Turkestan Ranges. Although much of the valley lies within Uzbekistan and also Tadzhikistan, it is here included with Kirgiziya with which it is historically and topographically most closely related.

Ancient Fergana was already in the Bronze Age (second millennium B.C.) a country of agricultural civilization, closely related to the Tyan'-Shan', Semirech'ye and Tashkent regions, and on a wider scale also with southern Turkmenistan, Persia and probably Central India, as well as China.

In 1952 and 1955 many stone tools of the Upper Paleolithic Age were found in the valley of the river Okhna; there is every reason to believe that further finds will be made in this part of Fergana.

In spring 1963, Neolithic finds were made by Zadneprovskiy in central Fergana, south of the Syr-Dar'ya near Bagraabad, and in other sites in the midst of the sand-hills of the Kara-Kalpak desert.

The finds in Fergana relate, however, mostly to the Bronze and Iron Ages; they yielded an unusually rich quantity of pottery of various kinds, but few other material remains. The literature on Fergana archaeology is likewise very rich, but neither the literature nor the finds can be adequately dealt with in this article. Prominent among the numerous authors in addition to such veterans as B.A. Latynin, V.I.S. Sprishevskiy, and A.N. Bernshtam, there is Bernshtam's disciple Y.A. Zadneprovskiy.

The main finds relating to the ancient settled agricultural population of the Bronze Age are those of Chust discovered in 1951, and of the related Dalverzin, near Andizhan. Their chronology is still somewhat conjectural: whereas some attribute them to an older age, Zadneprovskiy thinks they are not older than the second millennium and the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. On this assumption their interesting pottery, found in great quantities, may thus be taken as having been contemporary with that of Anau IV-A of Southern Turkmenistan.

[The Paleolithic and other finds in Kayrak-Kumy will be dealt with in the subsequent article on Tadzhikistan.]

The Iron Age is mainly represented by the big town of Shurabashat dealt with under E above, and Eilatán near the Naryn and Kara-Dar'ya rivers, explored by B. Latynin in 1933-4 and more recently by Y. A. Zadneprovskiy and T. G. Obolduyeva. These places likewise contained much pottery of the second half of the 1st millennium B.C. which differs from both the Sogdian and the Parthian pottery.

#### IV. Rock Carvings

The preceding chapters did not take into account the rock carvings which are, in the case of Kirgiziya, of paramount importance. They consist of stone babas and rock engravings.

##### A. Stone Babas or Balbals

According to some authors balbals represent symbolic stones put up by the Turks on tombs, whereas babas are supposed to refer to similar, but more or less schematic human representations in stone, ranging from flat, engraved outlines of human faces to more elaborate relief sculptures. In practice the two expressions are frequently interchanged. As confirmed by Chinese records, babas and balbals were a characteristic feature of the western Turks (6th-8th century A.D.) and were widely dispersed throughout the regions occupied by them - the whole of Kirgiziya, part of Kazakhstan the Altay, Siberia, the Tuva territory (east of the Upper Altay, north of western Mongolia) and Mongolia. They have been found neither in Uzbekistan, nor in Turkmenistan. Although their significance is still a subject of controversy, they are usually believed to refer to male enemies killed in battle who are then supposed to serve after death the man who killed them.

The schematic presentation is usually the same: a big head frequently with a triangular face, tiny arms, the right arm folded at the waist, with a cup in the right hand and the left arm resting on a sword. The dresses of the stone statues are manifold and the representations sometimes show traits common to Eastern Turkestan and India. It may be assumed that the enemies killed were, as a rule, Huns (Ephthalites) who dominated the country until they were defeated in 567 by the western Turks and the Persians. Similarities between the babas and certain figures in paintings belonging to the same period and discovered by Albaum at Balalyk Tepe, which probably represent a gathering of Ephthalites, are therefore not surprising.

A detailed survey of babas found in the Tuva territory was recently published by A. D. Grach.

##### B. Rock Engravings

Rock engravings were a characteristic but by no means exclusive feature of the artistic activity of ancient Fergana. Similar engravings were found in great number throughout the Soviet Union, particularly in the far north, in Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan, Tadzhikistan, the northern and southern Altay, the Caucasus and elsewhere.

Among the finds in the region under review, only sites in the Osh region and Saimaly-Tash will be noted.

(i) Osh region: Atrymach-Tau, 8 km. from Osh explored in 1961 by Zadneprovskiy: the drawings represent mostly horses, in profile silhouette. Similar to those of Aravan, mentioned below, they are characteristic of a territory which was famous for its horse-breeding.

Aravan: Engravings of horses, surveyed for the first time in 1946 by Bernshtam. Hewed in stone in small but dense dots, these horses afford a striking illustration of the legendary "heavenly" Fergana horses "sweating blood". They were highly prized above all in China, where they were first introduced at the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

(ii) Saimaly-Tash: In the midst of the Fergana Range in an impregnable and remote place, lies the stupendous Saimaly-Tash, a mountain enclosure at a height of 3,200 metres and impassable on the east, west and the south. Discovered in 1903, it was not surveyed until recently. In 1948 Zima explored the eastern part of the site and Bernshtam, in 1950, the whole of it.

Saimaly-Tash which served a great many generations as a secluded out-of-door archive, represents with its well over 100,000 engravings a unique panorama of wild animals, engraved in stone, of hunting scenes, domestic animals, vehicles, ploughs, as well as of human beings. Their chronology is occasionally difficult to ascertain because of rock falls, which caused a disorderly accumulation of engraved stones of different periods. Many stone walls have, however, remained intact.

In Bernshtam's opinion the hardness of the basalt rock made engraving impossible except by means of metal tools and the oldest possible period represented would therefore be the Bronze Age; the engravings end with the Hun-Turkish period of the 3rd to 8th century A.D. In the absence of any thorough and systematic survey it may, however, be reasonable to consider any chronology as tentative.

It is in fact regrettable that the remarkable site of Saimaly-Tash has been neither thoroughly explored, catalogued nor analysed in a comprehensive scientific way. Such information as has been published by Zima or Bernshtam, although very useful, is hardly more than fragmentary advance information. It is to be hoped, therefore, that a thorough study comparable in scope with the vast display of similar engravings throughout the Soviet Union and other countries will eventually be published.

## V. Concluding Remarks

As shown in the preceding chapters most of the finds made in Kirgiziya relate to the Bronze Age and subsequent periods. As in the case of Kazakhstan material remains in the tombs were frequently disappointing. The recent finds of the Stone Age are noteworthy and it may be anticipated that their number will increase.

There is little evidence of Hellenistic influence and few Buddhist remains had previously been found in the territories under review. The recent discoveries of Buddhist shrines in the Chu valley (Ak-Beshim) are therefore all the more remarkable. An outstanding feature consists of rock engravings in Fergana, which in spite of their paramount importance have been somewhat neglected so far.

With these exceptions the interest of the explorations lies, as it does in Kazakhstan, in the historical field; they bear on ancient populations, tribes from the Eurasian steppes, which were probably connected with the thrust of the "Indo-Europeans" in the middle of the second millennium B.C. and with the assault on Bactria in the second century B.C. Soviet scientists are thus led to deal increasingly with problems of the origin of the Aryans and their wanderings. Attention was drawn in the preceding article on Kazakhstan to these problems and to the publications of such Soviet authors as Bernshtam, Deopik, Itina, Tolstov and Zadneprovskiy. The latter points out some analogies which exist according to him between the pottery of Fergana in the Bronze Age and that of post-Harappian Central India. Quite recently Litvinskiy dealt at length with the problem of the Aryans and the role played in this



Fig. 1 Fergana, Saimaly-Tash : Two horses. One horse (damaged) is falling into a precipice ; the other stops at the edge.



Fig. 2 Fergana, Aravan : Horses engraved in rock.

Fig. 3 Issyk-Kul' : Stone baba (6th-8th Century).



respect by Central Asian peoples of the Bronze Age, but his ideas were set out in a publication on Kayrak-Kumy which will hardly reach many Western scholars.

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IA	Institut Arkheologii (formerly IIMK, Institut Materialnoy Kultury)
KS	Kratkiye Soobshcheniya of the above Institute
SA	Sovetskaya Arkheologiya
SE	Sovetskaya Etnografiya
KSE	Kratkiye Soobshcheniya Instituta Etnografii
MIA	Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR
I.I. Kirg.	Institut Istorii (Kirgiziya)
Tr. Kirg.	Trudy of the above Institute
Izv. Kirg.	Izvestiya of the above Institute
Tr. Kirg. AE	Trudy Kirgizskoy Arkheol.-etnogr. Ekspeditsii
Tr. Kaz.	Trudy Instituta Istorii, Arkheologii (Kazakhstan)
Tr. Uzb.	" " " " (Uzbekistan)
ASE	Arkheol. Sbornik Ermitazha

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- Books: title in Russian, sometimes abridged, usually with translation.
- Articles or chapters in books: usually no title, but author and publication. Occasionally indication of content.

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## JADIDISM -

## A CURRENT SOVIET ASSESSMENT

At the June 1963 plenum of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party Sh.R. Rashidov, First Secretary of the Uzbek Party, stated that "the republican Party organization had given a decisive rebuff" to attempts made in recent years "to white-wash Jadidism. . . and rehabilitate its ideologists. . . under the guise of combating the consequences of the cult of personality". (P. 22.6.63) The Party has long held that Jadidism was a bourgeois-nationalist and counter-revolutionary movement, and under Stalin the label Jadid was enough to condemn a man. This created certain difficulties for Uzbek historians since before the Revolution virtually all the native intelligentsia were Jadid supporters, including such "progressive" writers as Khamza (Hamzeh) and Ayni. In October 1956 the former Uzbek First Secretary, Mukhitdinov, complained that literary critics were avoiding the period 1905-17 "through a fear of permitting some mistakes in their assessment of Jadidism to which even some progressive Uzbek writers and poets at times adhered", and he suggested that the time had come to re-examine the cases of certain writers whose works had been suppressed, for example: Kadyri (Qadiri). The rehabilitation of Kadyri and also Fitrat, Chulpan and others led some historians to think that the whole assessment of Jadidism could be revised and they began to suggest that the Jadids had played a progressive role in the life of the Uzbek people. Such an interpretation is clearly not to the liking of the Party with its ever-present fear of nationalism, and among the historians who dispute it is the Director of the Institute of the History of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, M.G. Vakhobov. Vakhobov's main line of argument, which he expounded in his book *FORMIROVANIYE UZBEKSKOY SOTSIALISTICHESKOY NATSII (THE FORMATION OF THE UZBEK SOCIALIST NATION)*, Tashkent, 1961, and in an article in *ISTORIYA SSSR* No.2 of 1963, of which an abridged translation is given below, is that not all those who called themselves Jadids before the Revolution were really Jadids, and that there were two separate movements - bourgeois nationalist Jadidism and progressive Enlightenment, to which Khamza and others belonged. Vakhobov's article in *ISTORIYA SSSR* is accompanied by an editorial note to the effect that the purpose of the article is to promote discussion by Soviet historians on the subjects which it raises. But the article itself has an authoritative ring and its significance will not be lost on the comparatively few Western scholars familiar with the history of the Jadid movement. The article unmistakably reveals not only the essence of the Russian and Soviet objection to Jadidism, namely, that it was a progressive Muslim reformist movement started on Muslim initiative and designed to preserve all that was best in the Islamic way of life while trying to bring it into line with modern requirements but also the Soviet suspicion that the movement still has its supporters.

Like many similar movements in India and elsewhere Jadidism had its moderate and extremists elements, but Vakhobov's division of its supporters into Jadids and 'enlighteners'\* is a purely arbitrary one. The probability is that most, if not all,

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\* There is no exact English equivalent of the word *prosvetitel'*. In Soviet parlance it has the sense of one advocating reform on modernist and socialist lines.

the Jadids at first welcomed the Revolution as likely to fit in with their aspirations. When, however, power in Turkestan was seized not by the Muslims but by the Russian colonists and the Muslim intellectuals found themselves pushed into the background first by the Provisional Government and then by the Tashkent Soviet, they became completely disillusioned and many of them sought refuge abroad. Of those who remained some met their death in the ranks of the Basmachis, while some, for reasons either of conviction or convenience, associated themselves with the new regime and thus earned Vakhobov's description of them as 'enlighteners'. Of the latter, however, a considerable number perished either in the purges in Khiva and Bukhara in 1921 and 1922, or in the Great Purge of 1937-8.

It is noteworthy that the Tatar origin of Jadidism is very much played down by Vakhobov. He makes no mention whatever of its Tatar founder Ismail Bey Gaspraly or of the other great Tatar advocate of Islamic particularism, Mir Sayyid Sultan Ali oglu, usually known as Sultangaliyev.

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## THE SOCIAL NATURE OF CENTRAL ASIAN JADIDISM

### AND ITS EVOLUTION DURING THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

In recent years in the republics of Central Asia there have been attempts to declare the bourgeois-nationalist movement Jadidism a progressive movement, or at least to distinguish in it artificially a right and a left wing. In my view such attempts have been engendered in the first place by the fact that insufficient study has been made of the nature of Jadidism. Great muddle on this score is caused partly by the confusion of the appellation 'Jadid', current before the Revolution, with the concept of Jadidism as an ideological and political movement. The latest attempts to reappraise Jadidism are due to the fact that many people who were listed as Jadids under the cult of personality have recently been rehabilitated, which some research workers have interpreted as a vindication of their nationalistic errors. Also, because the national bourgeoisie headed the popular movement and play a comparatively progressive role in a number of oriental countries which have achieved independence, some authors have equated the Jadids with the bourgeois nationalist parties of these countries without taking into consideration the circumstances. Although the majority of research workers in the Central Asian republics now accept the assessment of Jadidism as a bourgeois nationalist movement, there is a lack of detailed studies on Jadidism. The present article attempts to give an outline of some aspects of the history of its formation and evolution.

#### 1. The conditions giving rise to Jadidism in Central Asia

In Central Asia people calling themselves Jadids appeared long before Jadidism took shape. The word Jadid, meaning 'new' was taken from the Persian expression u sul-i-jadid or new method. It was applied to those who organized or supported the so-called new method schools where reading and writing were taught not by learning suras of the Koran by rote but by the phonetic method. These schools were set up in the second half of the 19th century among the Tatars in the Crimea and the Volga region and in Azerbaydzhan, and in the 1890s in the cities of Turkestan. Later the

trend towards innovations also affected literature, art and everyday life. Although those favouring innovations called themselves Jadids, they differed fundamentally from those Jadids who later represented the interests of the nascent national bourgeoisie in the movement which was formed during the 1905-7 revolution. Although the former were usually called early or left Jadids and the latter late or right Jadids, until recently no real distinction was made between them, which turned Jadidism into some kind of supra-class movement. To avoid confusion I think it advisable to use the terms Jadidism and Jadids for the bourgeois nationalist movement and its representatives, and to call the 'left' Jadids Enlighteners.

Some writers have not taken into account that enlightenment and Jadidism were separate trends, and, by calling many of those who expressed the interests of the workers and were essentially enlighteners 'early' and 'left' Jadids, have turned them into ideologists of the national bourgeoisie. And Enlightenment itself, in their interpretation, has become the general democratic content of bourgeois nationalism, directed against oppression, which Lenin says exists in the bourgeois nationalism of every oppressed nation. This makes the works of men like the Kazakhs Valikhanov, Altinsarin and Abay, the Uzbeks Furkat, Mukimi, Zavki (Zawqi) and Khamza, and the Tadzhiks Donish (Danish) and Ayni a reflection of the democratic content of their respective bourgeois nationalisms. But these men and their followers fought not only against the colonial yoke but also against the oppression of 'their own' bays and manaps, and later against the nascent national bourgeoisie, and their work does not reflect the interests of the bourgeoisie, but those of the popular masses.

Annexation by Russia assisted the development of Enlightenment in Central Asia and brought closer together the peoples of Turkestan and the peoples of Russia and its young working-class. New Russian settlements sprang up. By 1905-7 the Russian population of Turkestan numbered 383,644, of whom 68.4 per cent were railwaymen, peasants or other toilers. Members of the progressive Russian intelligentsia like the geographer P.P. Semenov-Tyan-Shanskiy, the historian Bartol'd and the novelist Il'in played a big role in the cultural awakening of the area. The publication of newspapers and books in Tashkent, Samarkand and other towns, and the setting up of secular schools and medical institutions also played an important role. The social contradictions of Tsarist Russia were clearly expressed in the towns of colonial Turkestan. Side by side with the prisons, churches and banks which represented the colonial order and the anti-popular chauvinistic ideology of the Russian landowners and reactionary bourgeoisie, there were the libraries, secular schools, theatres, hospitals, etc. reflecting the progressive democratic culture of the great Russian people. In these conditions Enlightenment and Jadidism were formed as two opposite trends reflecting the interests of different classes.

## 2. The formation of Enlightenment and Jadidism

Spiritual awakening under the influence of progressive Russian culture was the firm basis for the emergence of Enlightenment among the peoples of Central Asia. It was a general phenomenon among the colonial peoples of Russia in the 19th century when they came into contact with Russian culture and their progressive representatives experienced the beneficial influence of Russian revolutionary democrats. In the first period all the Enlighteners appealed to people to master Russian culture and the Russian language, and they all in various degrees established links with progressive Russian writers, scholars, etc. It was under the influence of the first Uzbek Enlighteners that the local intelligentsia began to study Russian in the 1890s. The Russian schools for the natives, started by progressive teachers, enjoyed great

popularity, increasing from 16 in 1895 to about 50 on the eve of the First World War. At the same time the new-method schools appeared in Turkestan. The first was opened in Andizhan in 1889, and in the next 10-15 years they appeared in nearly all the towns and large kishlaks. The first ABC in Uzbek by the phonetic method was published in 1900 and went through 17 editions. The people's desire for secular education and culture grew, largely thanks to the propaganda of the Enlighteners.

Enlightenment in Central Asia continued the traditions of medieval humanistic writers like Rudaki and Navoi (Navayi) who expressed the hopes of the masses. In their works they called for justice and attacked the rich, the khan's officials and the clergy. The Enlighteners went further than this. They suggested the reform of education and the study of Russian, and they criticized not only the clergy and merchants, but also the national bourgeoisie and Tsarist officials. This is shown in the satires and verses of Mukimi, Zavki and others. In sum the Enlighteners opposed the feudal and clerical system, advocated modern science and culture, and, their chief characteristic, defended the interests of the popular masses, above all the peasants and artisans. By 1905-7 hundreds and thousands of the poorer young people had already been affected by the new movement and from their midst had come teachers of the new-method schools and supporters of reform in everyday life and family relations. Thus, from the very beginning, Enlightenment in Central Asia took on a revolutionary and democratic inflection.

The formation of Jadidism in Central Asia took place at the beginning of the 20th century. As an ideological and political trend it received more or less definite form in the Uzbek and Tadzhik areas. Uzbek Jadid literature is mainly used to describe Jadidism here. Jadidism was the way devised by the nascent national bourgeoisie to make use of the cultural awakening of the people to enslave the masses spiritually. It was divorced from the masses and became an ally of Tsarism and the Russian bourgeoisie. Its nature is clearly expressed in M. Bekhbudi (Bihbudi)'s article in the newspaper KHURSHED of 11 October 1906. Of the political parties in Russia Bekhbudi rejects the Monarchists, and also the socialist parties (SDs and SRs) whose programme, he says, is utopian and contrary to the Shariat. He is very enthusiastic about the Kadets and comes to the conclusion that all the Muslims of Turkestan should join an all-Muslim union, whose economic and ideological programme would be based on the Shariat, and political programme on that of the Kadets. This would be a party based on religion, not class, striving to set up a constitutional monarchy. From this article by Bekhbudi the nature of Jadidism as an anti-popular bourgeois political movement is quite obvious.

The economic basis of Jadidism was the conversion of the Central Asian market into a constituent of the single internal market of Tsarist Russia. Russian and foreign capital dominated industry and trade in Turkestan, but by the beginning of the 20th century a whole group of local factory-owners, wholesale traders, etc. had emerged. They were, however, heavily dependent on Russian capital and acted as intermediaries between the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie and local workers, making enormous profits out of the latter. Since Russian industry offered them a rich and extensive market not available outside the country they were not really perturbed about their dependence on Russian capital. That is why among the local bourgeoisie and their ideologists, the Jadids, the idea of Central Asia seceding from Russia was not popular. The local bourgeoisie emerged at a period of imperialism when the working-class was already a mortal threat to the existence of capitalism not only in the metropolitan countries but also in the colonies. The 1905-7 revolution showed that Turkestan too had turned into an arena of the class struggle and that there was a real possibility of the merging of the local national liberation movement with the socialist movement of

the working-class. This forced the national bourgeoisie to seek a political bloc with Tsarism and the Russian bourgeoisie, as shown in Bekibudi's appeal for an alliance with the Kadets. Thus Jadidism took shape as the ideology of the national bourgeoisie seeking a bloc with the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie.

Those who speak of the progressive features of Jadidism sometimes refer to the fact that the Jadids not only demanded reforms in the schools and everyday life, but also criticized the clergy and backward traditions. It is true that they did attack the feudal and clerical party known as the Kadimists who did not want the old ways changed, but their stand differed from that of the Enlighteners. While the Jadids were divorced from the masses and certainly did not fight for their needs, the Enlighteners subordinated the struggle against clericalism and for the introduction of modern culture to the interests of the people. It must be stressed that when the Jadids criticized feudal and clerical elements they were trying to strengthen Islam and adapt its dogmas to the interests of the national bourgeoisie. They were trying to raise the standard of the clergy so that they would be able to enslave spiritually the people who were becoming more and more politically mature and abandoning religion. Religion was the banner of the Jadids in the fight against revolution and for the strengthening of the bourgeois order. Although Jadidism had some features of liberalism in comparison with clericalism, it had already shown its reactionary features at the beginning of the 20th century.

### 3. Enlightenment and Jadidism between the two revolutions

The Jadids were already publishing newspapers and books and organizing amateur circles, charitable societies, libraries, etc. during the 1905-7 revolution. Their first five newspapers, published in succession between 1905 and 1908 lasted not more than a few months each before closing down or being closed down by the colonial administration. From 1912 the Jadids began to publish newspapers and magazines again and this time not only in Tashkent but in Samarkand, Fergana, Kokand and other towns. Though critical of certain things these papers were completely loyal to the Tsarist system. They advocated the idea of so-called national unity and class peace among Muslims and Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism, and warned against close relations with the Russian workers. KHURSHED slandered the Social Democrats at every opportunity. The Jadid press said nothing about the hard conditions of the people, about how they were fleeced by the bays and usurers, or the lawlessness of the colonial administration. It is not surprising that it had no influence on the masses.

The worsening of the position of the masses during the First World War caused the 1916 revolt during which the local bourgeoisie came out openly against the toilers. The revolt showed that the Russian working-class had a true ally in the person of the toilers of Turkestan in its fight against Tsarism and the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie. Pan-Islamist and Pan-Turkic elements did not succeed in setting the local peoples against the Russian nation as a whole. On the contrary they were able to come closer together when thousands and thousands of peasant farmers from Turkestan were sent to work behind the lines and progressive workers and Bolshevik organizations made contact with them. The proposition that Enlightenment continued to develop separately after Jadidism was formed is supported by the different attitude of their representatives towards the 1916 revolt. Progressive poets like Zavki, Khamza and others attacked the local bourgeoisie and the leaders of Jadidism, and unmasked their anti-popular position.

#### 4. The Jadids in the period between the February and October revolutions of 1917

After the February revolution the Russian bourgeoisie were not strong enough to take all power into their hands at once. As well as the Provisional Government there were the Soviets, and all sorts of unions, groups and parties sprang up. In Tashkent alone by the end of March the number of public organizations had reached 40. The Kadimists and Jadids set up an organization called Shurayi-Islamiya (Islamic Council) in Tashkent on 17 March 1917. In the summer the Kadimists broke away and formed the Ulema Society. Both stood for national and religious autonomy within bourgeois Russia, but the Ulema was against any reforms. They supported the Turkestan Committee of the Provisional Government although the latter virtually continued the colonial policy of the Tsarist Government.

The February revolution opened a new phase in the national liberation movement in colonial Turkestan. The peasants and craftsmen changed from spontaneous actions to consciously organized political activity. They set up their class organizations in the guise of trade unions and the like. Russian workers played a big role in organizing the first unions of local workers in April 1917. The development of trade unions in April and May was a preparation for the setting up of the Soviets of Toiling Muslims, which included the progressive intelligentsia and some peasants as well as workers. Their direct organizers were those who had returned from working behind the lines. In Tashkent they summoned a meeting on 2 June at which the Soviet of Muslim Workers' Deputies was set up. From the first it established close links with the town Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Similar organizations set up in other towns took the same line.

Shurayi-Islamiya tried from the beginning to rally the local population under its banner. Its newspapers were against the Soviets and often appealed to the population to rally under the banner of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism. Despite the assertions of the Jadids class contradictions among the local population increased with every day. At first the masses, owing to lack of political maturity, trusted the Ulema and Shurayi-Islamiya, but they soon abandoned them. The clergy, landowners and capitalists in these and similar organizations tried to deprive local workers of their political rights by putting forward bays and mullas for the vast majority of seats in the town Dumas. This led to clashes with organizations of Muslim toilers at the elections. Hostility between those supporting Enlightenment and the leaders of Shurayi-Islamiya and Ulema increased. In July members of Shurayi-Islamiya beat up and secured the arrest of the author of an article attacking the Muslim clergy and finally got the paper it appeared in closed.

At this time efforts to instil Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism into the toilers assumed greater scope and were more clearly directed against revolution. In September 1917, on the initiative of the leading Jadids Türk Adami Markaziyat (Society of Turkic Federalists lit. Turkic decentralization) was set up which, unlike Shurayi-Islamiya and Ulema, claimed to be a political party. It proposed to unite all organizations which had sprung up among the local population. The motto of its newspaper was "Long Live the Federal Turkestan Republic!". At this period papers with a Pan-Islamist and Pan-Turkic bias were being published in many towns in Turkestan. Türk Adami Markaziyat managed to unite the leaders of Shurayi-Islamiya and Ulema because of their fear of the advancing socialist revolution. The Jadids and Ulemists had been thrown into a panic at events in Tashkent on 12 September 1917 when the town Soviet seized power and arrested many functionaries of the Provisional Government. During this time the kray committees of Ulema and Shurayi-Islamiya moved to Kokand and carried on the struggle against the Tashkent Soviet from there. But the

socialist revolution triumphed. The local workers were true allies of the Russian proletariat, the Enlighteners became supporters of socialism, and the members of Shuray-Islamiya and Ulema, organizing the Basmachi and stepping up anti-Soviet propaganda, slid downhill into the camp of open counter-revolution.

## 5. The October Socialist Revolution and the evolution of Enlightenment

The period between the February and October revolutions was marked by the growth of the political activity of the toilers and the appearance among them of Communist organizations. In Azerbaydzhan, west Kazakhstan and certain regions of Tataria and Bashkiria, where industry was more developed, the first social democrats had spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among the local workers even in the colonial period. As a result many of the progressive intelligentsia were members of social democrat or Bolshevik groups. In Turkestan the social democrat groups among the Russian workers did not succeed in establishing contact with the local toilers and intelligentsia during the colonial period. So there were no social democrat organizations among the indigenous population, but the conditions had fully matured for a revolutionary and proletarian movement by the time of the October Revolution. When the Revolution destroyed colonial and social oppression and the Communist Party directed the toilers along the path of progress and prosperity, many of the Enlighteners and the intelligentsia influenced by them joined the Party, and Enlightenment gave place to socialism.

The changes in Turkestan after the Revolution naturally widened the gulf between the local exploiter classes and the toiling masses. A congress of Ulemists in Tashkent in November 1917 demanded the organization of a bourgeois republic on the basis of national and religious autonomy within the Russian republic, and considered that nationalities other than Muslim should have very little say in local affairs. The Kray Muslim Council, headed by members of Shuray-Islamiya, set up the Provisional Government of the 'Turkestan Autonomous Republic', known as the 'Kokand Autonomy' in Kokand on 27 November 1917. Its task was to create a Central Asian khalifate under the sole authority of Britain and governed like British colonies in Africa. The leaders of the Kokand Autonomy made great efforts to rouse the people against the Bolsheviks, but local workers failed to support an anti-Soviet demonstration in Tashkent on 13 December 1917. The nationalists made a second unsuccessful attempt to seize power by summoning a congress in Kokand in December which endeavoured to present an ultimatum to the Turkestan Sovnarkom. Members of the Union of Toiling Muslims of Samarkand, Kokand and other towns at the congress declared that they did not recognize the Kokand Autonomy as the legal government. Later an armed detachment of the Autonomous Government under Ergash raided the Russian sections of towns, railway stations, coal mines and oil wells in Fergana oblast. But the Kokand Autonomous Government fell when the detachment was routed in Kokand by Russian and local workers. This crowned the triumphant progress of the socialist revolution in Turkestan.

During the fight against the Kokand Autonomy and later when the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was set up in spring 1918 the political activity of the local toilers increased considerably. In spring 1918 the Bolsheviks of Turkestan organized independent groups, committees and cells in all the towns, and in June 1918 the Kray Committee of the Communist Party of Turkestan was set up. In 1918 the Party became a mass organization, a substantial number of whose members were local toilers. Among the Communists of the local nationalities were many members of the intelligentsia, a large number of whom had earlier been Enlighteners. Some,

like Zavki and Khamza, supported the Soviets and Party in the first years of the Revolution, although they were not yet Party members. Zavki and Khamza were representatives of the new nascent Soviet intelligentsia, and like the first Soviet teachers and employees took an active part in establishing new cultural and educational institutions. Zavki did much to set up artels of craftsmen, and took part in organizing the first against Ergash's bandits, at whose hands he died in 1921.

The Uzbek Soviet theatre grew up after the Revolution on the basis of the amateur theatres created earlier by the Enlighteners. Khamza played a prominent role in this and wrote a number of plays. The first Uzbek Soviet newspaper appeared in June 1918, and in 1918-20 altogether eleven newspapers were published in Uzbek, Turkmen and Kazakh. The much-needed reform of the Uzbek alphabet, attempted privately in some new-method schools before the Revolution, was now carried out by the State. Similar revolutionary changes took place in the life of the other peoples of Central Asia. Democratic Enlightenment, which had expressed the interests of the toiling peasants and artisans in the colonial period, lost its relevance as an ideological and political movement after the Revolution, and its representatives became supporters of socialism.

#### 6. The further evolution of Jadidism

The changes which had taken place finally cut the ground from under the feet of the Jadids and Kadimists. Joining up together they waged open war on Soviet power through the Basmachi and carried on diversionary work in the field of ideology. Underground counter-revolutionary organizations and various illegal societies were set up. Jadidism gave place to counter-revolutionary bourgeois nationalism. Pan-Turkism continued to be the main ideological weapon of the bourgeois nationalists, which they tried to spread by infiltrating into Soviet and Party organs, into cultural institutions and into the educational system. They were all controlled by the underground organization Türk Adami Markaziyat, which subsequently changed its name regularly for disguise. While the Kokand Autonomy still existed the secret society of the Turkestan nationalists took the name Ittihad va taraqqi (Union and Progress). Later, in 1918, at its own request it became the Turkestan branch of the Turkish reactionary Pan-Turkic party, Union and Progress. In 1919 on the advice of the Turkish leaders of the party the Turkestan nationalists changed the name of their organization to Milli Ittihad (National Union). This organization coordinated the activity of all the nationalist groups in Turkestan.

Nationalists penetrated scientific institutions, got the schools into their hands and carried on nationalist propaganda in Tashkent under the guise of mass cultural work. A special group of Milli Ittihad organized Basmachi bands, and Bekhbudi and Mardonkul were sent to Paris to raise the question of Turkestan's secession from Soviet Russia at the Peace Conference. The press was allotted a big role in spreading the ideas of Pan-Turkism. The Pan-Turkic newspapers appealed to all the Turkic peoples to join up in a single Muslim state and abandon the Soviets and Bolsheviks. The organ of the Tatar Jadids living in Turkestan said the Muslims would not allow the kray to be ruled by foreign soldiers and workers, constituting only two to three per cent of the population. An article in the magazine ISHCHILAR DUN'YESI (WORKERS' WORLD), published in Tashkent under the slogan "Avoid the Ideology of Communism!", complained that Muslims in general, and Muslim workers in particular had reaped no benefit at all from the Revolution and compared their present state to that under the Tsar.

Various works expressing nationalist ideas were published in these years, such as Fitrat's play TRUE LOVE, whose hero was an Indian bourgeois nationalist. A collection of verse published in 1920 under the title YOUNG UZBEK POETS included many verses of anti-popular character, like one by Elbek entitled "The Sorrow of a Youth Conscripted into the Red Army". The literary works of members of the Chagatay Society contained no image of the new Soviet man. The Society used the reform of the Uzbek alphabet to inflame national antagonisms and set the Turkic-language peoples against the Russians and Tadzhiks. It tried to replace words of Arabic, Tadzhik and Russian origin with archaic Uzbek words quite incomprehensible to the people. The Society also idealized the feudal past and advocated the theory of the singlestream.

The nationalists were assisted by a group of national-deviationists, headed by T. Ryskulov, within the Turkestan Party. By the time the Turkkommissiya arrived in autumn 1919 they had seized the most important positions in the Party and soviet organs of Turkestan. In January 1920 at the 111rd Kray Conference of Muslim Communists and the Vth Conference of the Turkestan Communist Party they succeeded in forcing through a resolution on the creation of a 'Turkic republic' and a 'Turkic Communist Party'. They saw Turkestan as the centre of some kind of all-Turkic state embracing all the Turkic peoples of Russia. In this republic, based on the reactionary national-religious principle, all power would be in the hands of the Muslims, no matter what their class, and the Communist organizations of non-Turkic peoples, including the R.K.P.(b), would be subordinate to the 'Turkic Communist Party'. The fight against the national deviationists took place in difficult circumstances, but it finished with a victory for the Leninist line.

After the main forces of the Basmachi had been routed and Soviet power had become much stronger in Turkestan, the nationalists and their agents within the Party changed their tactics. Some fled abroad, others joined in Soviet and Party work. Some of the national deviationists continued to play a double game. In their speeches they made it appear that the Party and Soviet Government were not paying enough attention to the needs of the peoples of Turkestan. The national delimitation of 1924 dealt a crushing blow to nationalistic deviation within the Party organizations of Central Asia, although the soil for a revival of nationalism still existed in the guise of remnants of the exploiter classes.

The attempts of some writers to prove that nationalism in Turkestan and national-deviation within the Turkestan Communist Party were phenomena of little importance are quite wrong. The intensification of nationalism in the period under review was not the result of misunderstandings or mistakes, but a deliberately thought-out policy. Unfortunately we do not have full details of the activity of the clandestine nationalist organizations, but even those we have show coordination between the actions of the Basmachis, the double-dealers in the State apparatus, the members of the Chagatay Society and others. It is clear that there was some kind of organizing centre. To judge from the book THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN TURKESTAN by the emigre A.R. Baysuni this centre was Ittihad va taraqqi. As for the national deviationists, many of them were young workers who had had no connexion with Jadidism in the past. However, they fell under the influence of bourgeois nationalists after the Revolution, made mistakes, and in the course of time returned to the correct path. The subversive activity of the clandestine organization was doomed to failure since the main mass of the local tailors were consolidating more and more round the Soviet regime. Unlike the nationalistic members of the local intelligentsia, those who had been Enlighteners in the colonial period rallied round the Bolshevik Party and disapproved of the slogans of the Pan-Turkists and Pan-Islamists.

This picture of Jadidism, based on the material available to me, shows that there are no grounds for revising the view that Jadidism was an anti-popular bourgeois nationalist movement since it never reflected the progressive aspirations of the popular masses.

In connexion with Jadidism the need arises to make a more careful study of the activity and works of those progressive teachers, writers and poets of the colonial period who, because they were called Jadids although they were essentially Enlighteners, were classed as enemies of the people under the cult of personality. Now it has become possible to make an objective and complete scientific appraisal of the cultural heritage of individual peoples and the works of their cultural and political figures, but a strict Party approach must always be observed.

### Eagles attack plane in south Kirgiziya

Above Oy-Tal in south Kirgiziya an AN-2 freight plane was starting its descent when two huge eagles swooped upon it. They did not abandon the attack when the plane turned sharply aside; the larger bird wheeled round and flew towards the plane and collided with it. The plane lurched violently, the bird dropped like a stone into the River Tar beneath.

Fortunately the plane grounded safely. Local shepherds who witnessed the incident say that the birds were of the most savage species - Indian griffons, which sometimes haunt the Kirgiz mountains.

Kom.P. 14.11.63

### Letter from two Dushanbe citizens

"Although we have lived for some time in Dushanbe, we know the town badly and often have to ask our way. The other day we had a pleasant surprise on seeing a guide-book to Dushanbe on sale in bookshops and kiosks. The first place we looked for with the help of our new find was Hotel Vaksh, marked 12, square G-4. We found it eventually in a green square which should have been a railway station, marked as a workers' club. Furthermore, the republic library was located at a builders' association, cinemas were confused and Lake Komsomol unexpectedly appeared in Central Park. Pushkin Street and half of Ordzhonikidze Street had disappeared."

KT. 27.10.63

### Camel-breeders in Ashkhabad

The Ashkhabad Theatre of Opera and Ballet was recently the setting for the distribution of prizes to successful camel-breeders. For several days previously thousands of people, including high state dignitaries, visited the Ashkhabad hippodrome where the camel-breeders show took place.

Tl. 21.11.63

## THE COLLECTIVIZATION CAMPAIGN IN UZBEKISTAN

The following brief account of how the collectivization of agriculture was carried out in Uzbekistan is based on material from some recent Soviet articles and books. Since Stalin's death Soviet historians have shifted the main blame for the "mistakes" committed in the drive for collectivization at the end of 1929 and beginning of 1930 from local workers, whose heads were "dizzy with success", to Stalin himself. None, however, have questioned the absolute correctness of the policy of collectivization and its timing. The Soviet view is that collectivization was a revolution from above supported from below by the vast majority of peasants, although they were not yet politically mature enough to take the initiative themselves. It was dictated, they say, by the economic necessity for more efficient large-scale farming, on which the prosperity of the country and the well-being of the peasants depended, and by the incompatibility of the continuing existence of unsocialized agriculture with socialized industry. Any opposition to the campaign is attributed to mistakes in execution, subsequently corrected, and to "hostile class forces" making a last desperate stand.

It is, of course, difficult to give a really satisfactory account of collectivization in Uzbekistan solely on the basis of recent Soviet works. A study of contemporary books and newspapers would probably produce a much more rounded picture, but the true story will never be known until Soviet archives become accessible to historians who are able to deal with them objectively. What such a study might yield can be seen in Merle Fainsod's *SMOLENSK UNDER SOVIET RULE* (London, 1959), based on Soviet archives captured by the Germans. Making allowances for the very different backgrounds of the diverse peoples of the Soviet Union, the chapters on collectivization and the kolkhozes in this book can be recommended as a truthful portrayal of how the peasants must have reacted to collectivization throughout the country.

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### Conditions in Uzbekistan on the eve of collectivization

It was just over ten years after the Revolution that the XVth Congress of the VKP(b), meeting in December 1927, declared that "at the present period the task of uniting and transforming the small individual peasant farms into large collectives must be put forward as the main task of the Party in the countryside." (1) The first ten years of Soviet rule had seen the ruin and chaos of the civil war and famine followed by the slow revival of the economy under the New Economic Policy introduced in 1921. By 1927 the acreage under cultivation in the USSR as a whole was 95 per cent of the pre-war figure and gross agricultural output slightly exceeded it. In Uzbekistan,

however, owing to the greater decline during the war years and the fact that the resistance of the Basmachi continued until the middle and, in places, even the end of the 1920s, recovery had been slower, and at the end of 1927 the crop acreage was only 80 per cent and gross agricultural output 76 per cent of the 1914 level. The Government's main concern in Uzbekistan had been to revive the growing of cotton for Russia's textile mills. During the civil war and famine the Uzbek peasants had abandoned cotton in favour of grain crops. Largely by offering tax reductions and credits etc. to those planting cotton and by importing basic supplies of grain the Government persuaded the peasants to revert, and by 1927-8 production of raw cotton reached 98.6 per cent of the 1914 figure. (2)

The fact that cotton and other cash crops (silk, wool, karakul) occupied an important place in the republic's agriculture gave the State much greater control over the peasants than in the grain producing areas, since they were dependent on nationalized industry for realizing their crops. By 1928 100 per cent of raw cotton and silk cocoon procurements, 82 per cent of karakul and 70 per cent of wool were contracted to industry. The intermediaries in these transactions were the various agricultural cooperatives, which because of the commodity nature of Uzbek agriculture embraced a much higher percentage of the peasants (63.8 per cent in 1926) than in the USSR as a whole (31.6 per cent). Since cooperatives were regarded by Lenin and the Party as a transitional stage leading to socialized agriculture, Soviet writers regard this as a factor which facilitated collectivization in Uzbekistan. The State was also able to use its expenditure on irrigation to influence the peasants, in particular by offering newly reclaimed land primarily to collective associations. (2)

Despite Soviet efforts, Central Asia was still very backward on the eve of mass collectivization. The value of agricultural implements per hectare of crops in the Fergana and Tashkent oblasts was 10-11 times less than in the central regions of the RSFSR. (2) Another problem was the extreme fragmentation of the land due to the laws of inheritance and methods of irrigation. In one rayon examined in 1928, 250 households owned 1,610 plots, and up to 1930 the majority of kolkhozes had seven or eight plots. (3) In the Kishlaks feudal survivals in production, like share-cropping and usury, were more common right up to collectivization than capitalist relations, and in parts of Bukhara and Khiva there were still dozens of clan and tribal divisions, reflecting a still more primitive society. (2) The Party's efforts to reform the village were also hampered by strong religious prejudices and a very low rate of literacy. The latter was only 7.7 per cent of the population in 1926, compared with 51.3 per cent for the country as a whole. (3)

The lack of class antagonisms in the kishlak at the time of the Revolution created real problems for the Party. There was no spontaneous seizure of the lands of the rich, as had occurred among the Russian peasants, and it was only in 1925-7, after strenuous efforts to promote "class stratification" in the village, that the Government carried out the Land and Water Reform in the most advanced areas of Uzbekistan. As a result of the reform, land was confiscated from 23,941 households (5.1 per cent of the total) and distributed to more than 75,000 share-croppers and poor peasants. (2) But even after the reform the size of the rural exploiter class (5 per cent) remained larger than in the USSR as a whole (4 per cent), and the proportion of poor peasants remained high at 43 per cent in 1928. (2) Cotton growing aggravated the plight of the poor peasants since it is very labour consuming and demands a large initial outlay. State credits, though vital, were inadequate and the peasants were forced to borrow at extortionate rates from money-lenders. An investigation of 888 cotton farms in 1926 showed that 67.5 per cent were in debt to money-lenders, and amongst the poor peasants the scale of private credit exceeded bank credit. (2) In

these circumstances, according to Soviet historians, the Uzbek peasants were more attracted by the kolkhozes than in other areas once they had seen with their own eyes the advantages of collective labour.

### The first kolkhozes (1918-27)

The first kolkhozes were set up in Uzbekistan in the spring of 1918 on some of the big nationalized estates. Many more were set up in 1918 and 1920, particularly in the Fergana Valley, and by 1920 about 1.8 per cent of the much reduced area under cultivation belonged to kolkhozes and sovkhoses. But in those difficult years some peasants had joined them only to obtain the means of production from confiscated estates and Government subsidies, or they had been set up by boys to protect their lands from confiscation, and nearly all the kolkhozes collapsed on the introduction of the New Economic Policy. At this time there was little pressure on the peasants to join collectives, and by 1924 the number had risen to only 62. (2) The rate increased during the Land and Water Reform when the State offered the best land to those organizing themselves into collectives and the cooperatives gave the kolkhozes credit, livestock, etc. at the most favourable rates (4), and by 1927 there were 832 kolkhozes in Uzbekistan. (2) Partly due to lack of experience these kolkhozes suffered from serious shortcomings. More than half distributed their income without taking into account each member's contribution in labour, and the chairmen tended to decide all questions personally without summoning the board. The kolkhozes often misused the credits given to them by the State, and there was a high turnover of members. Furthermore, the kolkhozes were short of land and water and literate personnel, and the State was not yet in a position to supply them with all the necessary machinery and financial assistance. (1)

### Preparations for mass collectivization

When the collectivization campaign was announced in December 1927, the Party's aims were fairly modest. The First Five-Year Plan, finally adopted in May 1929, set a target of only 27 per cent of the republic's peasant holdings in collectives by 1932. (5) The Party set about consolidating the existing network of kolkhozes, raising their authority among the peasants and stepping up all forms of assistance to them. (4) By March 1928, 322 pseudo-kolkhozes, like those consisting of no more than three or four hired workers exploited by kulaks, had been abolished (6), and after further investigations in the summer of 1928, 69 were abolished in the Fergana Valley alone, while others were amalgamated or reorganized. The kolkhozes also conducted a purge of "socially alien elements, idlers, etc." (4) At the same time the Government allocated more funds for the development of kolkhozes and they were given various other privileges. In 1928 they were excused rent payments. State land was offered to them first, and their demands for seed and agrotechnical assistance had priority. Such measures led to a doubling of the average area under crops per kolkhoz between 1927 and 1928 and a reduction in the turnover of members from 27.3 to 16 per cent. (1)

By the end of February 1929 the number of kolkhozes had risen again to 1,030 and by mid 1929 it reached 1,765. (6) The construction of new irrigation works and the completion of the land reform in the backward parts of the republic played an important part. In 1927-8 1,800 families were resettled on newly-reclaimed land, in 1928-9 2,600, and in 1929-30 7,800. The majority of these settlers banded together in collectives, 65 being set up on the new lands in 1927-8 alone. (1) In the

Surkhan-Dar'ya district, one of the three regions where the land reform was carried out only at the end of 1928 and beginning of 1929, 40.2 per cent of those who received land joined up in 60 new kolkhozes. (7)

Soviet accounts claim that the existing kolkhozes were already demonstrating clearly to the individual peasants the superiority of collective farming, but the statistics hardly bear this out. In 1928 the kolkhozes cultivated 1.1 per cent of the total crop acreage in the republic and, despite their favoured treatment and much greater use of tractors, produced precisely 1.1 per cent of gross agricultural production. (1) At this period the vast majority of kolkhozniks came from the ranks of the poor and landless peasants, who were naturally more easily convinced of the advantages of collectivization. The middle peasants, who constituted more than half the rural population, made up only 8.5 per cent of the kolkhozniks. (2)

### The pressure on the kulaks increases

The policy of collectivization involved further measures to break the power of the capitalist elements in the kishlak, i.e. the kulaks and bays. In the early years of NEP the Government, in its anxiety to increase production, had overlooked the "class principle" in the distribution of credits. This changed at the time of the Land Reform. Not only did the bays and kulaks lose much of their land, but they were refused credit and their tax liability was stepped up. In 1927-8 the agricultural tax on small holdings was more than halved, while the very much higher tax on large ones was more than doubled. More than a quarter of peasant households paid no tax at all. At the same time 90 per cent of State credits were given to poor farmers compared with only 46 per cent in 1925-6. (2) In April 1929 a resolution of the XVIth All-Union Party Conference increased the percentage of those freed from tax to 35 per cent and raised the contributions of the kulaks to 30-45 per cent of the total. (4)

At the same time the Party sought to eliminate the kulaks from the local soviets and other village organizations. The re-elections to the kishlak and rayon soviets at the end of 1928 and beginning of 1929 give an idea of the prevailing atmosphere. The Party had found that it was uphill work trying to persuade the poor peasants that their successful richer fellows were their enemies, and intensive political work had not prevented numerous "hostile class elements" being returned to the soviets in the 1926-7 elections. The new elections soon ran into the same difficulties. The electoral commissions set up for the occasion had to be purged almost immediately. In Bukhara okrug, for instance, 64 traders, mullas and former Basmachis were removed from them. At election meetings the voters, particularly the farm labourers and poor peasants, made extensive criticisms of the work of the soviets and agricultural cooperatives, including charges of favouritism towards kulaks in the matter of taxes and credits. As a result numerous officials were sacked, many of them being put on trial or deprived of the vote. The situation was particularly bad in Kashka-Dar'ya okrug where 130 of the 160 chairmen of village soviets were removed. Meetings of the poor were also encouraged to add to the lists of those liable to disenfranchisement, and the number of disenfranchised in rural areas rose from just over 33,000 in the 1926-7 elections to 145,819 in those of 1928-9. The kulaks and bays retaliated by trying to bribe a way into the soviets for their candidates and by disrupting meetings of the poor. They carried on open agitation, murdered activists, tore down lists of the disenfranchised and in some areas took advantage of clan or national hostility. The Uzbek Government responded with drastic measures to paralyse kulak activity, and "dozens of kulak terrorists were shot in accordance with

the sentences of Soviet courts and with the complete approval of the public." (8) A rather different picture of kishlak solidarity in the face of the Party's demands seems to lie behind the account of an election meeting in one rayon where, after "the list of disenfranchised was read out, the chairman of the commission declared: 'We have no disenfranchised in our kishlak, everyone is poor, and there is no point in confirming this list'; as a result of this speech a scuffle took place and the meeting was wrecked." (8) The elections increased the proportion of poor peasants among the members of the kishlak soviets from 56 to 69 per cent. (2) But "socially alien elements" still managed to get into a number of soviets and Party organizations. In Fergana okrug, for instance, in 1930, 20 per cent of the leading officials of the soviet apparatus were purged. (4)

### Hostility to collectivization and increased cotton planting in the Uzbek Party

The opposition of Bukharin and other "right opportunists" in the all-Union Party to the attack on the kulaks, which they said would be disastrous for agricultural production, had its counterpart among leading members of the Uzbek Party in the second half of 1928. "The right opportunists exaggerated the difficulties of kolkhoz construction in Uzbekistan, which naturally led to a slowing up in the rate of collectivization. The right opportunists tried to frustrate the fight against the kulaks, slurring over and playing down the bay and kulak danger. They tried to spread the idea that there were no bays or kulaks in the republic. . . . On the other hand they spoke. . . of the impossibility of an extensive development of kolkhoz and sovkhob construction." (4) In May 1929 the all-Union Central Committee criticized the Uzbek Party for its poor work on collectivization. At the same period "bourgeois nationalist" officials in Uzbekistan are said to have deliberately tried to undermine the extension of cotton planting in the country. (4) Their attitude is quite understandable in the light of the fact that Uzbekistan had received only 60.7 per cent of its planned grain imports in 1928 (2), but this did not suit the Government's plan for expanding cotton production. In July 1929, therefore, the original Five-Year Plan figure for cotton was increased by a third. The new cotton programme demanded a further growth and strengthening of kolkhozes and sovkhobes, which were expected to account for up to 30 per cent of the raw cotton harvest by 1932. (4)

### The campaign gathers momentum

On 1 June 1929, 2.6 per cent of the peasant households of Uzbekistan were collectivized, compared with an average of 3.5 per cent for the USSR as a whole. But in some rayons of the RSFSR collectivization was proceeding at such a pace that in August 1929 the Central Committee approved the idea of the complete collectivization of whole rayons. After this, central and local organizations noticeably stepped up their efforts to attract the peasants into kolkhozes and by October 1929 the percentage of collectivized holdings in the country had nearly doubled. In Uzbekistan progress was slower and only 3.5 per cent of the peasants were collectivized by that date. It was now clear that the rate of collectivization in the country was running ahead of the Five-Year Plan target figure and the question of revising the rates was discussed at the November plenum of the Central Committee. (9) In a decree on collectivization dated 5 January 1930 the Central Committee set revised dates for the completion of collectivization which was now to be accomplished in the main by the end of the Five-Year Plan. The country was divided into three groups. Uzbekistan was placed in the third or most backward group where collectivization was

to be completed by 1933. The same decree announced the switch from a policy of restricting the kulak to one of eliminating the kulaks as a class. In areas pronounced to be "areas of complete collectivization", that is where collectivization was sufficiently advanced for the end of the campaign to be in sight, local organizations were empowered to confiscate the property of the kulaks and hand it over to kolkhozes, and to resettle the kulaks in other rayons or oblasts. (4)

Since the Party did not consider that local functionaries could be trusted to carry out its policy, large numbers of urban workers were called on to assist in the collectivization campaign. At the Central Committee plenum in November 1929 it was announced that the Party, taking into account the desire of the industrial workers to take an active part in the collectivization of agriculture, had decided to send to the countryside in the next few months "not less than 25,000 workers with sufficient organizational and political experience" to help with collectivization. (4) These workers came to be called the "25,000-ers". Links between the urban workers and peasants had already been established earlier in the year when the XVth Party Conference in April 1929 called for the development of "socialist competition" throughout the country. In May 1929 the peasants of Uzbekistan had entered into competition with Russian textile workers in Moscow, Leningrad and Ivanovo-Voznesenskaya oblasts (4), and on 20 August 1929 the Central Asian Bureau of the Party had appealed in PRAVDA to the textile workers of the central regions to help the cotton growers of Uzbekistan to increase production and reconstruct agriculture on a socialist basis. This led to an agreement signed in November 1929 under which both sides promised to increase production and the textile workers pledged themselves to give the Uzbek peasants political, organizational and economic assistance in setting up kolkhozes, sovkhoses and MTS, training agricultural specialists from among the indigenous nationalities, and organizing resistance to the kulaks. (10) At the beginning of October 1929 the Uzbek Party had also urged the workers of Uzbekistan to help the peasants in the transition to collective farming. (11)

Meanwhile Stalin and Molotov were trying to force the pace, and after the November plenum a number of Party organizations in the country adopted completely unrealistic pledges. In the Central Asian republics the slogan "Catch Up and Overtake the Advanced Regions of the Country in the Rate of Collectivization" was officially proclaimed at the end of 1929. By 1 January 1930 the percentage of collectivized holdings in Uzbekistan had risen to 10, but this was still only half the average for the country. (9) The pressure was increasing rapidly, however. On 2 January 1930 the Uzbek Central Committee declared the Fergana Valley a valley of "complete collectivization", and on 11 February 1930, 17 rayons were put in the same category. The Tashkent okrug Party committee passed a resolution to finish collectivization in 1930, while the backward Surkhan-Dar'ya okrug set a target of 75 per cent for 1930 and challenged Andizhan okrug to a socialist competition. (2) During this period whole kishlaks are said to have expressed their desire to join kolkhozes. In Kokand rayon by 10 February 1930 82 per cent of the peasant households were already collectivized and 800 kulaks' holdings were down for liquidation. (4)

The resistance of the boys and kulaks naturally continued to increase as the Party stepped up the attack on them. They agitated against the kolkhozes and the planting of cotton. They "made extensive use of terror, the murder of individual Communists and activists, wrecking, the destruction of livestock, orchards and cotton, etc." (4) A typical example of their behaviour occurred in a village in the Fergana Valley, where the boys and mullas tried to persuade the peasants that they would lose their animals and all their personal possessions if they joined the kolkhoz,

and told those who had received land under the land reform: "At last you've got land. Give it up and again you'll be left with nothing." When a district Party official was later trying to explain the Party line at a meeting, the bays and their supporters attacked those trying to organize the kolkhoz with their fists and weapons and several people were killed and wounded. In several areas of the Fergana Valley Basmachi bands renewed their activity. But all this resistance was of no avail. Meetings of poor and middle peasants drew up lists of kulaks and bays liable to confiscation and resettlement, and their land, animals and implements were turned over to kolkhozes, while offices for kolkhoz boards, creches and schools were organized in their houses. "The most dangerous kulak and bay elements, who had carried on a counter-revolutionary struggle against the kolkhozes and the village aktiv, were deprived of their freedom and some were resettled beyond the limits of the kishlaks and the republic." (4)

### A temporary retreat

By 1 March 1930 the percentage of collectivized households in the republic had rocketed up to 44.76 per cent (2), but, as a result of "exaggerations and distortions", peasant dissatisfaction had reached such a pitch that the Party was forced to back-pedal. Even as early as 30 January 1930 the Central Asian Bureau had criticized "certain Party organizations [which] have understood the Party line of the elimination of the kulaks as a class as the prelude to the immediate elimination of kulak holdings everywhere in the shortest possible time." (9) In trying to reach the high targets they had set themselves local officials had "infringed the voluntary principle" and used force and threats in a number of rayons. In some cases the peasants had been brought to meetings under escort, or the official organizing kolkhozes had been accompanied by an armed militiaman. There were also attempts to set up giant kolkhozes embracing several kishlaks, which the peasants did not like, and to establish communes instead of artels where not only draught animals and buildings were socialized but even poultry and hay. (4) But the main mistake in Uzbekistan was in the treatment of the middle peasant. "Administrative measures" were used against the middle peasant more often in Uzbekistan than in the central regions of the country, and "frequently the measures which the Party adopted against the kulak and bay elements were extended to middle peasant households." (2) There were cases where middle peasants and even poor ones were included among those deprived of civil rights. As a result of an investigation in one rayon, of 1,060 people so deprived, 600, the majority middle peasants, had their rights restored. (4)

On 2 March 1930 Stalin published his famous article "Dizzy with Success" in which he called on local officials to put a stop to distortions in the collectivization campaign and this was followed by a Central Committee resolution on the same subject on 15 March 1930. In compliance with this okrug Party organizations sent their representatives round the kishlaks to explain that joining a kolkhoz was a voluntary matter. The Vth plenum of the Uzbek Party in April 1930 admitted that its resolutions declaring the Fergana Valley and 17 rayon areas of "complete collectivization" were "politically mistaken" and ignored the fact that conditions varied in different parts of the country. (4) Thousands of peasants seized this opportunity to leave the kolkhozes and the percentage of collectivization dropped from 44.76 on 1 March 1930 to 29 on 1 June 1930. (2)

### The drive continues

This was only a temporary phenomenon, however, as the Party continued to urge the peasants to join collectives. At the same time the Government took measures to strengthen the kolkhozes. By a decree of 2 April 1930 they were absolved from State taxes for two years. (4) They were also given other concessions like free building materials, and the State paid all the expenses connected with the land reorganization. Resistance to collectivization continued and altogether in the period from January to August 1930 about 200 terrorist acts, including 113 murders, "carried out by kulak and bay elements", were registered in the republic. But the number of peasants in collectives rose slowly and had reached 34.5 per cent by 1 October 1930. (2) The kolkhozes also increased in size. Whereas in September 1929 there was an average of 15-20 households to a kolkhoz, by the summer of 1930 the average had risen to 63. (5) A special feature of collectivization in Uzbekistan was the setting up of female kolkhozes. Although the campaign for the emancipation of women had begun in earnest in 1927, there was still a great deal of resistance to the measure and the local authorities were forced to set up special all-women kolkhozes as a temporary measure. There were 500 of these in 1929, embracing 14,000 women. In 1930 the number increased to 1,665 with about 53,000 members, and there were also 1,600 female brigades in ordinary kolkhozes in which more than 34,000 Uzbek women worked. (2)

### Role of urban workers

At the beginning of 1930, 448 "25,000-ers", drawn from textile workers, arrived in Uzbekistan to help in the collectivization drive. At the same time workers' brigades arrived from the textile factories in the central areas of the country and from the industrial centres in Uzbekistan. The brigades came to the areas or kishlaks adopted by their particular factory, and, unlike the 25,000-ers, only remained in the kishlaks for four months at a time during the sowing and harvesting campaigns. Besides the 25,000-ers, altogether 907 other workers took part in the spring sowing campaign of 1930. (10) From Tashkent, for example, 178 people were sent to kishlaks in the akrug, including 43 political organizers, 48 members of repair brigades and 45 accountants. (11) The role played by the industrial workers in collectivization was obviously very great. "Representatives of the working-class, who worked in the kishlaks as secretaries of Party cells, chairmen of village soviets and kolkhozes, and functionaries of directive organs, conducted an enormous amount of work in setting right relations with the middle peasant and in purging the kolkhozes of alien elements; they introduced a spirit of organization and discipline and helped the peasants to become convinced of the advantages of large-scale socialist farming." (2) In one rayon, each 25,000-ers is said to have organized 18 kolkhozes. The workers had to contend with such things as a peasant demonstration against kolkhozes "inspired by the bays", and in the Zeravshan oblast they took an active part in routing Basmachi bands. In some places they found they did not get any assistance from local Party and soviet organizations and "they had to show great courage and pertinacity to fulfil the tasks facing them". (10) In the Fergana Valley rumours were spread that the workers had been sent to the kishlaks to take the land from the native peasants and give it to Russians. (4) The textile workers not only sent mechanics, agronomists and doctors, etc. to help the kolkhozes, but they also organized courses to train local personnel for the kolkhozes, collected money for these courses, and accepted Uzbek peasants for training in their own areas. (10)

### A further influx

The bays and kulaks tried their utmost to disrupt the first kolkhoz harvest in 1930, but the success of the kolkhozes was allegedly such that it led to a new influx of peasants into the collectives. Some of them asked to join after attending the annual general meetings of the kolkhoz boards. The achievements of collectivization were also publicized among the individual peasants by inter-rayon rallies of kolkhozniks and the holding of "Harvest Days". Agitation brigades composed of kolkhozniks went round the kishlaks and were successful in bringing in many individual peasants. These brigades showed that "now the peasants themselves were providing agitators and organizers of the kolkhoz movement." (4) The first months of 1931 were marked by further advances, in which the 25,000-ers and brigades of textile workers again played a valuable part. By the end of the spring sowing the percentage of collectivized peasant households in Uzbekistan exceeded the plan and reached 56.7 per cent. The income of the kolkhozniks in 1931 was higher than that of the individual peasants and bigger than in 1930. At the end of the year the figure for collectivization in Uzbekistan had risen to 69.1 per cent. (4)

### The MTS

The mechanization of agriculture was an essential part of the collectivization programme. At the same time, by concentrating agricultural machinery in the MTS the Party and Government had a lever through which they were able to exercise direct guidance over the whole of the organization and development of kolkhozes. The first MTS was set up in Uzbekistan in 1929. The following year there were six with 396 tractors. The numbers increased rapidly to 48 in 1931 with 2,389 tractors, and 67 in 1932 with 2,899 tractors. Their effectiveness in organizing kolkhozes is shown by the fact that in June 1962 the level of collectivization was 10.7 per cent higher in areas serviced by MTS. There was bitter resistance to the MTS from the kulaks and clergy who tried to sow distrust towards machinery among the peasants and asserted that mechanization was not possible in the cultivation of cotton. (2)

### Efforts to strengthen the kolkhozes

While the number of kolkhozes continued to increase fast, there were still many shortcomings in their distribution of income and organization of labour, and poor stock-taking often led to pilfering of kolkhoz property. Moreover, the kulaks had now changed their tactics and were allegedly infiltrating into the kolkhozes in order to wreck them from within and weaken labour discipline. And for social, economic and cultural reasons it was easier for them to do this in Uzbekistan than in the central regions of the country. In 1931 and 1932 the all-Union Central Committee adopted a number of resolutions aimed at strengthening the kolkhozes. In 1931 piece-work was substituted for payment by the day, and the majority of kolkhozes in the Fergana Valley at least changed to this method of payment from the spring of 1931. The new system produced good results immediately. In one kolkhoz on the first day 70 tanaps of land were ploughed compared with the previous average of 50-60, and the figure soon rose to 100 tanaps. The effects were even more striking in another kolkhoz where the kolkhozniks turned out for work at 5 a.m. on the first day of piece-work instead of making their usual 8 a.m. start. Although the introduction of piece-work may have given the kolkhozniks more incentive to work, their attitude towards kolkhoz property still left much to be desired. In fact the

problem of pilfering was so great that on 7 August 1932 an all-Union law was passed which made the plunder of kolkhoz property a crime punishable by death. The same law also established prison sentences of 5-10 years as the penalty for activity aimed at the disintegration and destruction of kolkhozes. (4)

In strengthening the kolkhozes the Party also relied on the 25,000-ers and textile workers brigades, and from spring 1931 this was their main work. They worked out production plans for the kolkhozes and organized brigades for the various kinds of agricultural work. They encouraged the kolkhozniks to engage in socialist competition. They also did much to purge the kolkhozes of undesirable elements. In one kolkhoz, for instance, a Moscow worker discovered that the chairman was a meat-trader and was mismanaging affairs and squandering the public livestock. Following his warning a commission was set up which established order in the kolkhoz. Production is said to have benefited in the kolkhozes in many areas where the Russian workers worked. The following illuminating account of the activity of workers' brigades in a rayon in the Tashkent district during the spring sowing of 1931 is given in illustration of this: "The rayon at the time of the arrival of the workers' brigades was remarkable for its strongly developed kulak agitation. The local Party organization, manifesting a right opportunist deviation, not only did not repulse the kulaks as it should but even hindered the work of the brigade. Displaying Bolshevik persistence and devotion to principles the workers got the Party leadership in the rayon changed and achieved a substantial improvement in the organizational and economic strength of the local kolkhozes and MTS. The workers conducted a lot of mass political work in the rayon, organized a wall newspaper there, etc. During the period of their activity the brigade accepted 46 people into the Party and 25 of the best representatives of the village youth into the Komsomol. With the assistance of the workers the rayon completed its sowing ahead of schedule and the proportion of collectivized households rose from 60 per cent before the arrival of the workers to 95 per cent at the end of the sowing." (10) Some of the Russian workers sent to help with collectivization decided to stay permanently in the kishlaks, and the rally of 25,000-ers in Uzbekistan which took place in summer 1931 adopted a resolution that all the 25,000-ers should remain in the republic until the end of the Five-Year Plan. (10)

Progress in collectivization was not uniform throughout the republic. Even within an area like the Fergana Valley there were great variations between rayons, depending largely on the attitude of local officials to the campaign. At the beginning of 1931 when large numbers of peasants were joining the kolkhozes, in Besh-Aryk rayon only 344 families were brought in in two months, and in Chust-Pap and Bagdad rayons not a single household was enrolled in the kolkhozes. By the beginning of 1932 the percentage of collectivization in some rayons exceeded 80 per cent, while in others it was as low as 41 per cent. (4) According to one Soviet writer there were practically no mass anti-Soviet actions against collectivization in Uzbekistan. But in spring 1931 Ibrahim Bek's Basmachi band crossed the Afghan-Soviet frontier to disrupt the spring sowing and the fulfilment of the cotton programme. However, it was soon routed, and "the final liquidation of the Basmachi movement and resolute onslaught on the kulaks brought about a rapid influx into the kolkhozes of middle peasants and also of re-emigrants from Afghanistan, the number of whom by the end of April 1931 had reached 400 in the Dzhar-Kurgan rayon alone." (7)

#### Achievements by the end of the Five-Year Plan

By 1932, 74.9 per cent of the peasant households in Uzbekistan were collectivized, which far exceeded the original target of 27 per cent in the Five-Year Plan.

By that date the kolkhozes already accounted for 84.4 per cent of the republic's cotton production. Altogether 71.3 per cent of the crop acreage was in kolkhozes. The socialized sector had also become dominant in livestock breeding, as the following table shows:

	Percentage of livestock in socialized sector	
	1929	1932
Karakul sheep	0.1	63.1
Fat-tailed sheep	0.2	32.6
Horses	1.5	66.8
Camels	0.1	47.7 (2)

But not unnaturally the upheavals of mass collectivization and the peasant hostility it aroused had a damaging effect on production. It is true that the 1932 harvest of raw cotton was 46.3 per cent higher than that of 1928, but this was achieved by greatly increasing the acreage under cotton. The yield per hectare which had risen from 8.4 centners in 1928 to 10.6 centners in 1929, just before mass collectivization, dropped to 8.2 centners in 1932 in spite of a much greater use of machinery. Similarly, production of rice dropped from 5.9 centners per hectare in 1929 to 4.2 in 1932, grapes from 54.3 to 40.1 and so on. Soviet writers attribute this mainly to reorganization of land and the irrigation system, but admit that "it was also connected with the consequences of the exaggerations and distortions of the Party line in the kolkhoz movement and the bitter class struggle against the boys and kulaks". (2) The effects of the class war and mistakes during collectivization were much more disastrous for livestock breeding. "Using these mistakes for their own interests the kulaks influenced a section of the middle peasants who embarked on the path of the mass slaughter of livestock. As a result the head of livestock was substantially reduced." (2) The number of cattle, for instance, fell from 1,486,700 in 1928 to 916,200 in 1932. (2)

### Collectivization is completed

While collectivization had made rapid strides in the years 1930-2, the kolkhozes themselves were still weak, both organizationally and economically. The problem of personnel continued to be acute. Even in 1934 49.8 per cent of kolkhoz chairmen were illiterate. In the early years many kolkhozes did not have a single literate member and were forced to turn to the mullas who usually tried to distort Party policy. (3) In January 1933, the Party, anxious to strengthen its hold over the kolkhozes and considering that existing rural Party organizations were still too weak and unreliable, decided to create Political Sections (Politotdels) in the MTS which were given sole jurisdiction over Party work in the kolkhozes. More than 300 experienced Communists were mobilized to serve in the Politotdels in Uzbekistan. The Politotdels helped to strengthen discipline in the kolkhozes, regulate the distribution of income and improve the guarding of State and kolkhoz property. Thanks largely to their efforts the numbers of Party cells in the kolkhozes increased enormously and the proportion of kolkhozniks among Party members rose from 12.2 per cent in 1930 to 42 per cent by the end of 1933. Until 1933 the majority of

Uzbek women went veiled and took little part in kolkhoz production. Educative work by the MTS Politotdels led to up to 90 per cent of the able-bodied women participating in the work of the kolkhozes. The Politotdels also helped the kolkhozes to unmask hostile elements in their midst. In 1933-4 more than 8,000 kulaks and other anti-Soviet elements were expelled from kolkhozes in areas covered by 46 MTS Politotdels alone. (2)

Economically the kolkhozes became much stronger during the Second Five-Year Plan (1933-7). Irrigation was improved, the supply of tractors increased nearly four-fold, the number of MTS rose from 67 to 163, and an increasing number of machine operators were trained for them. The basic funds per kolkhoz almost doubled between 1935 and 1937. Production showed a welcome upturn after 1934, and in 1937 the yield of raw cotton per hectare reached 16.10 centners, more than double the 1932 figure. The production of grain also increased. The revival of livestock breeding was less dramatic, despite big efforts on the part of the Government, and in 1937 the head of cows, sheep and goats was still below the 1928 figure, and the number of horses was less than in 1916. (2)

Meanwhile those peasants who had stood out were still under pressure to join the collectives. A new kolkhoz charter was adopted on 17 February 1935. This was apparently such an inspiring document that "in Uzbekistan in the days when the new charter was under discussion more than 70,000 individual peasant households joined kolkhozes." By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, the Party had achieved its aim and 99.2 per cent of the peasants in Uzbekistan were in collectives. (2)

### Concluding remarks

The achievement of complete collectivization may have been a victory for Stalin and the Party, but it can hardly be said to have been one for agriculture or the peasants. No one, knowing from other sources of the harsh treatment meted out to the kulaks, can fail to realize the human suffering behind the bland statement that "on the basis of complete collectivization in the period 1930-4 more than 40,000 bay and kulak holdings, constituting roughly five per cent of the peasant holdings in the republic (i.e. Uzbekistan), were liquidated". (4) And as for the middle and even the poor peasants, whose plight was certainly not enviable before collectivization, the great difficulty the Party had in organizing the kolkhozes and the heavy reliance it placed on Russian workers in doing so hardly suggest genuine enthusiasm for collectivization on their part. Nor have 30 years of collective farming shown that the Uzbek peasant, any more than the Russian peasant, has found a prosperous and truly satisfying life in the kolkhozes.

### Notes

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### New observatory in the Tyan'-Shan'

The Astrophysical Institute of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences has opened a new astronomical centre 1,450 metres above sea-level in the Tyan'-Shan'. It is to have a giant telescope fitted with photographic and recording apparatus to follow the developments of the distant planets. TI. 21.11.63

### Ephthalite headdresses

In the fifth century A.D. the Ephthalite Empire covered the area of present Tadzhikistan and by the sixth century much of the rest of the Central Asian area. Chinese historians have much to say about the striking clothes, and, especially, about the horned headdresses of the women. On her cap a woman wore as many points as her husband had brothers; if a man had no brothers his wife wore a single point. This habit has been retained in areas formerly under the influence of the Ephthalites. KT. 1.10.63

## NEWS DIGEST

The following items are taken from newspapers and periodicals received during the period 1 October - 31 December 1963. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

## ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES

Administrative changes are recorded in the following appointments only: First and Second Party Secretaries, Chairmen of the Councils of Ministers (Prime Minister), Chairmen of the State Planning and State Security Committees, and Ministers of Communications.

Tadzhikistan

S.K. Tsvigun has been released from his duties as Chairman of the Committee of State Security attached to the Council of Ministers, in connexion with his transfer to other work. M.M. Milyutin has been appointed in his place. KT. 26.10.63

Kazakhstan

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR, G.S. Yevdokimenko has been appointed president of the Committee for State Security to replace A. Arstanbekov. KP. 29.11.63

Tadzhikistan

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of 25 October 1963, the centre of Ura-Tyube rayon has been transferred from the town Ura-Tyube to the kishlak Ganchi. VVS. 6.11.63

Kazakhstan

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of 10 October 1963, the centre of the Kegen rural rayon of Alma-Ata oblast has been transferred from the village Zhalanash to the village Kegen. VVS. 30.10.63

## ARCHAEOLOGY

The archaeological department of Samarkand University, working in the foothills of the Nuratau, have discovered Iron Age wall-paintings in the Chashmali-Say canyon. The paintings, of which more than two thousand were cleaned up, portray Central Asian animals now extinct, groups of people hunting with primitive weapons, others dancing, praying, mounted on horseback or riding in two-wheeled bullock carts. The pictures are partly carved out of the stone with the rest painted red. It is

interesting to think where the artists found their red paint. Nearby is a large cave called by locals Kizil Tuprak Ghari (cave of the red earth) where since olden times people have collected a mineral substance rather like sand, and this is what the Iron Age painters used. Although there are even Stone Age pictures where actual paint was used, this valuable discovery is the first of its kind. PV. 10.10.63

## THE ARTS

The first exhibition of American graphic art in the Soviet Union has been on show in Alma-Ata. In the first days of the exhibition people flocked to see it, then the number of visitors dropped drastically. It is not that the residents of Alma-Ata take little interest in the life and art of today's America, but, instead of seeing genuine graphic art, they are presented with "low-grade abstract daubing." They call it "the hour of disappointed hopes." KP. 13.10.63; IZ. 20.10.63

Turkmen have been increasingly aware of the importance of improving the planning and elegance of their towns and rural settlements. Towards this end there has been in Turkmenistan an exhibition of decorative design, embracing roads, squares, columns, house and public building interiors, shop windows, kolkhozes, and so on. It is the first exhibition of its kind in Turkmenistan. TI. 15.11.63

The Tadjik poet Mirza Tursun-zade has recently won the literary Rudaki prize for his lyrical poem CHAN-I-SHIRIN (Sweetheart). KT. 12.11.63; KOM P. 7.11.63

The 150th anniversary of the Turkmen national poet Molla Nepes has been widely remembered and the literary Institute of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences has published an edition of his lyrical verses and aphorisms in Russian and Turkmen.

TI. 12.11, 29.12.63; LG. 5.12.63  
PR.26.12.63; IZ. 29.12.63

At a recent republic meeting of young writers in Frunze they were urged to make themselves worthy of succeeding the older generation of "masters of Socialist realism". There was a need for the high ideals and literary artistry as expounded at the June plenum of the CC CPSU to make the "New Men" of literature. Imitation of Western abstract absurdity was pointless. SK. 22.11.63

## COMMUNICATIONS

### Air

The train journey from Alma-Ata to Tselinograd takes 29 hours. The IL-18 is now operating between the two towns. On 4 November, for the first time, the air-liner arrived from Alma-Ata in just two hours for a ceremonial reception by the citizens of Tselinograd. A new service has also been introduced between Moscow and Tselinograd, operated with IL-18s in a flying time of four hours without any intermediate stop. KP. 5.11; 11.12.63

### Roads

A new motorway from Tashkent to Almaty has been opened, and in south Kazakhstan, in the Kzyl-Orda and Chimkent oblasts where widespread irrigation

is under way 1,493 kilometres of motorway are to be built. The first asphalt road, 169 kilometres long, from Dzhusaly to Kzyl-Orda is to be started early in 1964. It will link important rice-growing areas with the oblast centre.

PV. 7.11.63; SK. 22.11.63

### Railways

Electrification of the railway from Karaganda to Tselinograd has been completed. (See also CAR, 1963, No.2, p.166.)

IZ. 23.10.63

### Radio and television

The Moscow-Siberia-Kazakhstan radio link has been improved to include Kustanay and Tselinograd.

KP. 17.10.63

On the summit of Kar-ayry, 3,000 metres above sea level in the Kugitang-Tau mountains, a new television centre is to be set up to relay broadcasts from Dushanbe to the lead-mining and sulphur-producing areas of Kugitang and Gaurdak. These settlements are 230 kilometres from Dushanbe, separated by high mountains. However, during preliminary research work, normal, clear reception of signals from Dushanbe was obtained.

TI. 12.10.63

A television tower 192 metres high beside the newly-built television centre in Tselinograd is almost completed; apparatus for ultra-short wave transmissions is being installed.

PR. 27.12.63

## EDUCATION

In Turkmenistan a new "public" university has been opened for the study of foreign languages. It will have three departments - English, German and Persian, and will house 80 students. Courses will last for two years for students who have already graduated from establishments of higher education and three years for those with secondary education.

TI. 8.10.63

Following correspondence in IZVESTIYA about bribes being offered at the Chimkent Polytechnical School to give poor students a good record, an investigation has been begun by the Kazakh Ministry of Specialized Higher and Secondary Education and the republic prosecutor.

IZ. 28.9., 3, 16.10.63

## LINGUISTICS

Long years of work by the Turkmen Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature has resulted in the publication of a Turkmen language dictionary. It has remained largely unsold, for the republic Council of Ministers has recently put under way Turkmen language orthography reform, thus making the dictionary worthless. The Institute knew of the proposed reform but, nevertheless, continued publishing so that the work should not be in vain; the work, which in manuscript form was already out of date, had a print order of 5,000 copies.

IZ. 16.10.63

## NATIONALITIES POLICY

The first all-Union Coordination Conference on the Problem of the Development of Relations during the Transition from Socialism to Communism was held in Frunze from 9-12 October 1963. It was attended by philosophers, historians, ethnographers, economists, lawyers and linguists from all over the Soviet Union and more than 80 reports and papers were read. The most noteworthy feature of the conference was the emphasis placed by two of the main speakers, M.D. Kammari, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Professor M.S. Dzhunusov of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, on the inevitability of changes in the present federal structure of the USSR as a result of economic development and the increasing economic collaboration between the republics. According to Kammari, "the further development of economic and cultural life will affect national statehood, reinforcing its international bases and bringing into being new functions and forms. This will be reflected in the process of the preparation of the nation-wide discussion and adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR." The conference adopted a recommendation by Dzhunusov that study groups on questions of the development of national relations in the USSR should be set up for such economic zones as Central Asia, Transcaucasia and the Baltic region. Dzhunusov had suggested in his speech that from the research carried out by these groups of economists, sociologists and jurists "one could expect specific recommendations for perfecting the mutual assistance and collaboration of the Soviet republics." The third speech, reported at length in SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, was that of Professor Yu.D. Desheriyev of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Linguistics on the mutual enrichment of the languages of the peoples of the USSR. Desheriyev condemned those linguists in the national republics who prefer to dig back into the ancient history of the language to create new terms rather than borrow those already in use in languages of intra-national intercourse. IZ. 17.10.63; SK. 9-13.10.63

[Changes in the federal structure of the Soviet Union had already been foreshadowed in an article by A.I. Lepeshkin in SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No.5 of 1963 - see CAR, 1963, No.4, pp.333-42 - Ed.]

## PARTY AND GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS

A regular plenum of the Supreme Court of the Turkmen SSR was held in Ashkhabad in October to discuss the report on implementation by the courts of the Turkmen SSR of the decree of the USSR Supreme Court March plenum concerning "Trial procedure in cases of the embezzlement of state and public property". On the whole, it was found, the courts were properly carrying out their duty; however, cases of waste and embezzlement of State and public property must more often be investigated at the place where the crime was committed with the participation of the local people. Also examined was the question of procedure in cases concerning the exception of property from inventory. On the whole harsher punishment was necessary.

On 27 November a meeting of the Turkmen Party aktiv was held in the Central Committee to discuss the intensification of the struggle against embezzlement of socialist property. TI. 22.10., 28.11.63

The Communist Parties of Kirgiziya, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenistan met on 27, 25 and 26 December respectively. The theme of the conferences was economic, educational and cultural advancement, with great attention paid to the questions posed at the December plenum of the CC CPSU. Topics covered by the First

Secretaries of the republic Parties, T.U. Usubaliyev, D.R. Rasulov, and B. Ovesov, were chemical fertilizers, agriculture, the Turkmen oil industry, transport and other communications, improvement of the material standard of living and cultural facilities of the workers, ideological work and the Party organization. There was great concern at the slackness of Party organizations and the Communist vanguard was urged to make concrete plans for ideological and atheist propaganda. The latter is considered especially important in regions such as Bayram-Ali, Iolotan', Geok-Tepe and Kunya-Urgench where "charlatan believers" abound; the radio, cinema and television are not yet geared to mass indoctrination in Turkmenistan and these media should be developed in all three republics.

Although many road, rail and air ways are being developed not enough is being done by the authorities to overcome traffic problems. There are gross deficiencies in road and house building and shortage of workers, engineers and technicians. There is an urge for shorter hours and better pay, though a trend in this direction has already started. It is very important to improve the standard of consumer goods, shops and other facilities, especially in rural areas, where, for instance, the building of workers' clubs is slow; also important is the planting of trees and flowers in large urban areas.

In all three republics women are entering more and more into active work. There is a great need for good teachers so that the eight-year general schooling plan will not be a farce. In Kirgiziya this is already law, but in the past year only 18 schools have been built and instruction is often basic. In the universities and Academy of Sciences of all three republics there is concern to gear scientific research to the economic needs of the country.

The secretariats of the Central Committees were re-elected.

SK. 28, 29.12.63; KT. 26, 27, 28.12.63; TI. 26, 27, 28.12.63

The centenary of "Kirgiziya's voluntary accession to Russia" on 30 October provided the subject of many articles in the newspapers. The common theme of these was Kirgiziya's transformation, under Soviet rule, from a backward country into a modern republic with a rapidly developing economy and a flourishing cultural life. Kirgiziya received guests and delegations from the Soviet republics. Millions of people all over Russia watched celebrations in Frunze transmitted by the Central Television Service. The main event was a jubilee meeting, at the Frunze Opera and Ballet Theatre, where T.U. Usulbaliyev, First Secretary of the CC Kirgiz CP, recalled that Kirgiziya, formerly, had languished under the double yoke of its serf-owning nobility and the Kokand Khanate. Shoshtakovich composed a new work entitled KIRGIZ SUITE. More than 80 nationalities and ethnic groups live on the territory of Kirgiziya. In the past 50 years the population has increased by more than 1½ millions or 180 per cent.

PR. IZ. SK. 30.10.63; 1.11.63

#### PUBLICATIONS

Tadzhik State University has received several books from Persia, including the Divan of Jalaluddin Rumi.

KT. 12, 13, 24.11.63

DAS KAPITAL is now available in Kazakh, and Volume III in Uzbek also.

KP. 25.10.63; PV. 2.11.63

## RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Recently produced at the Tadjik Academy Theatre was an anti-religious play by D. Mamedkulizade entitled THE CORPSES. Light-heartedly Mamedkulizade tears the masks from the hypocritical Muslim clergy, from the ignorant and fanatical society of an obscure Azerbaydzhan town at the end of the last century. One of the "spiritual corpses", seeing clearly the hypocrisy around him, rebels against it, but, unable to find the way out, he drowns his sorrows in wine. KT. 15.10.63

Two leaders of a Pentecostal sect in Yangi-Yul' have recently been sentenced to five years' imprisonment for their religious activities. PV. 6.9., 11.10.63

## SOCIAL SURVEY

Students of the Department of Philosophy of the Tashkent Institute of National Economy invited workers of Tashkent to answer a questionnaire inquiring into cultural preferences - favourite authors, films, plays, museums, literary heroes, and the use of leisure time. It was answered by 288 people of whom 214 were under 30.

Favourite writers were Sholokhov, Gor'ky, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Nekrassov, Ostrovskiy, Fadeyev, Dreiser, Paustovskiy, Aybek, Remarque, Hemingway, Kakhlov and Yesenin. Many interests and opinions were formulated from school reading, but very important were factory libraries. In two years one woman borrowed 97 books from her library, read after work and attending evening classes. Very popular too were the serious magazines such as OKTYABR', MOSKVA, NOVYY MIR, MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, read, not only for the latest instalment of a new story, but for themselves.

Every respondent had seen a film in 1963, BALLAD OF A SOLDIER being first in popularity. TWELVE SPUTNIKS was not mentioned. Fewer people saw sensational films of the AMPHIBIAN MAN type; if they did, it was for the colour, entertainment, strong-man hero and danger. Many films were criticized for their lack of idea and style; popular were documentaries showing life abroad.

Theatre was not so popular - one quarter of the 288 did not go often because of the high cost of tickets. Even fewer went to opera and ballet. Most popular plays were HAMLET, ROMEO MY NEIGHBOUR by Rauf Gadzhiev and Shtok's DIVINE COMEDY. Some people urged that more theatres should go to the people. One hundred and fifteen had not visited art galleries during the year. One woman, after visiting a Rockwell Kent exhibition, was impressed by the true portrayal of the wild American North. The questionnaire revealed a weak knowledge of contemporary Soviet art, but much scope for local artists.

Many said that leisure time did not exist for them; however, many of these were engaged on evening and correspondent courses. Other activities were, in order, reading, sport (mountaineering, volley-ball), art groups, music, technical subjects, dancing, teaching children, singing in choirs. Most relied on radio for musical instruction, though the advent, some years ago, of a children's music school in Tashkent had revolutionized many homes. More than 20 per cent took part in amateur artistic activities - drama, national music, etc. Many were vague and, abhorring the crowded, unpleasant dancing places, yet could not think of other ways of enjoying themselves gaily and unconstrainedly. Since the "Decade of Russian Art and Literature in Uzbekistan" held in Tashkent in October 1963, people were "aware of the necessity for keeping a permanently high standard of culture.

BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA.

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MARXIST METHODOLOGY APPLIED TO  
THE HISTORY OF INDIA

To the Soviet mind history has no validity of its own, and to become valid must be envisaged in the framework supplied by Marxism. Put otherwise, observed phenomena do not by themselves possess significance; the interpretation of the mere events has to be brought from outside, from "the Marxist position", and superimposed. It follows that in the USSR historical scholarship is not regarded as a purely technical and academic affair.

None of the foregoing three statements can possibly be called controversial. On the contrary, it is a fair assumption that the average historian in the Soviet Union would instantly subscribe to them.

An article which appeared in No.2 of 1963 of the review NARODY AZII I AFRIKI is in this place relevant. Under the heading "The Study of Indian History in the USSR, 1917-1934", L.B. Alayev has given an account of Soviet method and practice which within its compass of 12 pages it would not be easy to better.

In the abridged translation offered below sub-headings have been introduced which are absent in the original, and here and there an addition, shown in square brackets, has been made to the Russian for the sake of clarity. Otherwise it is Alayev who speaks.

Not a few of his phrases will arrest the reader by their unfamiliarity. He can talk, for instance, of "creatively applying the pronouncements of Karl Marx" to the given case; and of "elucidating (a question) objectively from Party positions". It is to him axiomatic that scholars will, whenever they can, "get their methodological guidance from Lenin and from the decisions of the Communist Party"; and it is to him proper that "the dominance of feudal survivals" in Indian agriculture should be accepted on the strength of a ruling of the VIth Congress of the Comintern.

It is made clear in every paragraph that history must not queen it as of right, but must capitulate to doctrine. What is not so clear is the basis of Alayev's claim to finality in respect of certain of his judgments. Again and again some "evaluation" is pronounced to be "correct" and to have superseded an earlier one. But is there any certainty that it will stay correct?

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### Introduction

In the early years of the Soviet regime the study of Indian history was attended by a peculiar difficulty. Traditional orientalism had had no use for it. I.P. Minayev was the sole Indologist to make a special subject of it, and then only of the contemporary period. The rest, S.F. Ol'denburg and F.I. Shcherbatskoy prominent

among them, concentrated exclusively on philology and religion. In 1921 this handful of scholars became members of the College of Orientalists attached to the Asiatic Museum, and from 1930 onwards, of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, into which the Asiatic Museum was fused with various kindred establishments. As the Institute's Director, Ol'denburg pleaded tirelessly and publicly for the inclusion of economics and civic history in the syllabus of research, but the more conservative coterie of Indianists followed Shcherbatskoy's lead in holding the study of Indian history to be an "unscientific" pursuit.

For the growth of its historical side, Indology was indebted from the start, and exclusively, to the Marxist historians. In January 1922 the All-Russia Scientific Association of Oriental Studies (known by the initials VNAV) was formed and placed in charge of M. Pavlovich. It was VNAV that published the journal NOVYY VOSTOK [New East] which laid the foundations of the systematic study of the history of the countries of the East, and India in particular, from the Marxist position. Initially among these Marxist historians there was no clear-cut specialization by countries [but only by subject]. Thus Ancient India was treated as part of the ancient world as a whole; while the recent period in her history was handled by specialists in colonial or working-class problems, or by agrarian experts, as the case might be.

A cadre of professional historians of India, so to call them, took shape very slowly, and it was not really until the early 30's that its outline was at all distinct. Between 1917 and 1934, in ancient history, Soviet authors were chiefly engaged in assessing the work of foreigners without making original contributions of their own. A good example is A. Mishulin's article "Indian Antiquity" containing a short appraisal of English bourgeois literature in the field, a survey of sources, and some attempt at a general definition of the social-economic system of early India. In feudal studies even less was achieved. It was in effect only modern (novaya) and recent (noveyshaya) history that got the close attention.

### Historiography (Modern History)

The historiography of modern Indian history in this period to a large extent reflected the conflict with the unscientific, artificial constructions of M.N. Roy. The latter played a prominent role in the Comintern, but quitted the Communist movement in the late 20's. Roy exaggerated the progressive aspect of British policy in India, maintaining without a shred of evidence that the British, in breaking up Indian society and traditional craft, had simultaneously destroyed feudalism; and that both the Mutiny and the stirrings of extremists at the turn of the century were reactionary and aimed at restoring feudalism. In the beginning Roy's views exerted an admitted influence on Soviet historians, who had hardly any of the source material at their own command. The social-economic order of pre-colonial India, even in the works of the better equipped Indologists, was for some while described as "a system of the Asian method of production." (I.M. Reysner.)

Authors who grappled creditably with the problems of recent history were often out of their depth the moment they made excursions into an earlier period. Thus B. Seygel somewhere wrote that on the eve of the British conquest, India "was just experiencing the consolidation of kingly authority"; that in North India the "heyday of absolutism" was a direct concomitant of the mature might of commercial capital; and that in South India "feudalism had disintegrated before large-scale commercial capital had time to entrench itself."

Then again, the Mutiny was long considered as a feudal revolt "possessing no authentic popular temper." The 1906-1908 movement was likewise underestimated;

mainly, it seems, from a desire to throw into bolder relief the new phase which opened with the national liberation movement after World War I. The whole pre-war anti-British movement was written off as "constituting no danger or threat to British capital, and as something in which "the broad mass of the people took no share at all." I.M. Reysner in one of his articles, after correctly illustrating the weaknesses of the [pre-1914] Swadeshi movement, fails to notice the many progressive features which distinguished it.

### Modern History

A thorough study of Karl Marx's statement on India coupled with the ampler knowledge of the sources fundamental to research facilitated the correct solution of certain cardinal questions bearing on the modern history of India. First and foremost the role of the British in India was scientifically thrashed out: in 1922 I.M. Reysner put forward the thesis of the adverse influence of British dominion in all periods of the development of colonial exploitation; in 1925 M. Pavlovich raised the questions whose solution later on was to be the central endeavour of research on the modern history of India: namely, the havoc made of the country's handicrafts at the beginning of the 19th century; the deliberate frustrating of capitalist industry; and the pumping out of India of huge colonial tribute.

### A notable work by I.M. Reysner

Reysner's ESSAYS ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN INDIA, covering the entire period of modern history, were an achievement out of the ordinary in Soviet Indian studies having regard to their date [1932]. The Essays were remarkable for the light they shed on the basic social-economic and political issues of the pre-colonial period. In a preface Reysner wrote how after some leanings towards "the Asian method of production" he had come round to the conviction that no genuine explanation of the economy and the class contradictions of pre-colonial India could be arrived at except on the postulate of a FEUDAL system of production. He noted the salient features of Indian feudalism - features which in his opinion warranted one's terming it "eastern". He then creatively applied Karl Marx's pronouncements on Eastern Society, demonstrated the extraordinary stagnation and conservatism of such a society, and posed the question of its development and expansion. Societies of the sort have, as he put it, "already gone out of the communistic stage", bear the stigma of material and social inequality, and are altogether remote from that "veritable democracy" over which certain apologists of the "Golden Age" of India have been wont to rhapsodize.

Reysner's whole work was a denial of the anti-Marxist position commonly taken in bourgeois literature which pretends that the class struggle was not characteristic of India. Reysner proved that the 17th and 18th centuries were a period of acute class conflict, though it must be added that he exaggerated the sweep of peasant rebellion (neither South India nor Mysore State was the scene, as he depicts, of such a movement), and its effects (the Sikh revolt did not in fact deliver "a decisive revolutionary blow at the rotten basis of Indian feudalism"). Furthermore, he retained, even if scaled down in comparison with earlier works, an exaggerated version of the role of commercial capital in the spread of feudalism.

Reysner analysed British internal policy. The creation of the ryotwari system and Dalhousie's policy of annexation he treated as measures consonant with the "ideal" of Britain's industrial capital for her colony. But these measures (he found) could not be pushed to their conclusion since they undermined the class support -

meaning the feudal set - of the British.

His account of the Mutiny was new and fundamentally correct. Relying on the teaching of Karl Marx he emphasized the popular character of the rising whose motive force came not only from the peasantry but from the petty urban bourgeoisie and the embryonic proletariat. Where he errs - and for the reason that the social strata from which the Sepoys came had still not been investigated - was in connecting the interests of those Sepoys with the feudal reactionaries.

Reysner gave a detailed analysis too of the genesis of the National Congress. Though without the material which subsequently became available, he succeeded in re-creating a clear picture of the bitter anti-British and anti-feudal struggle of the peasantry in the 1870's. He also showed the immaturity of the contradictions between the Indian bourgeoisie and the colonial regime throughout that phase, and the land-owner-bourgeois complexion of the programme of the National Congress.

### Recent History

So much for modern history. With recent history Soviet Indology coped adequately, notwithstanding certain mistakes. Scholars were able to get their methodological guidance from the works of Lenin and from the decisions of the Communist Party and of the Communist International on the national-colonial question.

#### (a) The Workers

Initially there existed some vagueness as to the correlation of national and class aims in the struggle by the workers. Thus V. Gurko-Kryazhin contrasted the economic demands of the people with the narrowly political goals of the national liberation movement, and strongly disapproved of the way in which labour strikes turned into nationalist demonstrations. He pleaded for the waging of "the CLASS WAR by the Indian proletariat (and of course the peasantry as well) as much against the native as against the alien bourgeoisie."

In the mid 20's the study of the working-class movement was put on a regular footing by such writers as V.V. Balabushevich, L. Geller and B. Seygel' who brought much factual material into scientific circulation. The only misfortune was that writing on the fresh track of events they could seldom claim to be illuminating on the theoretical plane. The successive phases of the movement (periodizatsiya) had not yet been properly marked off, and only its progressive line of development was commonly observed. This [defect] led to an unwitting exaggeration of the degree of organization and class-consciousness attained by the proletariat.

The study of the condition of the working-class lagged somewhat behind the study of the working-class movement, in spite of some useful contributions made by F. Ganchenko and B. Seygel' between 1932 and 1934.

#### (b) The Peasants

The agrarian question also became one of the main objects of study, but owing to the influence of M.N. Roy the agrarian researchers were slow to plot a true course. The idea of a more highly developed stage of capitalism in agriculture than the case warranted was stubbornly adhered to; so that F. Dingel'shtendt could hold that in the India of the 20's "the essentially feudal order had disappeared into nothing", feudal exploitation having gradually assumed a capitalistic character.

Obscurity as to what kind of exploitation the Indian peasant suffered was a mark of many works in the period: for example, I.M. Reysner's LAND OWNERSHIP AND RENT IN INDIA, 1928. The rule (formulirovka) on The Prevalence of Feudal

Survivals in the agriculture of the countries of the East, including India, was recognized only with effect from the VIth Congress of the Comintern.

The policy of the British in agrarian matters was at first dealt with too straightforwardly. The preoccupation of the imperialists with the wretched state of agriculture and with various projects of reconstruction was interpreted by certain Soviet scholars as a serious intention on the part of the colonizers to reform agrarian relations and give scope to the development of capitalism. Thus Seygel': "the ingrafting of capitalism in Indian agriculture became the axle [sic] of this really new economic programme which British capital now charges its confidential agent - the Anglo-Indian Government - to carry out." (1928) And L. Geller thought Lord Irwin was preparing for agrarian reform (1928).

The onset of the world economic crisis soon showed British "good intentions" for what they were: yet even in 1932 echoes of the above appreciation were still heard. R.A. Ul'yanovskiy's AGRARIAN CRISIS IN INDIA, appearing in that year, failed to bring out the sad limitations of the Government's concrete measures.

The growth of capitalism in the village in the 30's was overestimated in some works, underestimated in others. Reysner in his ESSAYS devoted some four pages to demonstrating that métayage in the conditions of India has no traits transitional to capitalism; whereas Ul'yanovskiy in the same year (1932) observed that the not uncommon form of métayage in which the distribution of the yield depends on the amount of capital deployed by the landlord in working the land is assuredly halfway to a capitalist relationship.

The peasant movement began to be studied relatively late. Only from 1930 did there appear any scientific works on it. This date was not accidental. The world economic crisis hit the Indian cultivator very hard, and a mass agitation to the cry of non-payment of rents was before long astir. In Soviet literature a variety of works were published which either considered the agitation as a whole or else dealt with individual peasant uprisings in Peshawar, Kashmir, and Alwar. Generally speaking these studies had the same defect as those devoted to the workers' movement: that is, they overstated the organization and class-consciousness of the peasantry. Self-contained insurrections outside the channel of the Congress Non-Co-operation Movement and in disregard, so to speak, of the instructions of the Congress leaders, were construed by some Soviet researchers as evidence of the peasantry's disengagement from the influence of bourgeois ideology. In this connexion very typical of its date is an article by Ul'yanovskiy which maintained that "the peasantry is already on the march under the leadership of the Indian proletariat towards a revolutionary bid for the land and for the overthrow of the colonial regime."

### Imperialism

Soviet scholarship arrived at the correct assessment of the policy of Imperialism in India only after a prolonged conflict of opinion. During World War I there had been some new features in colonial policy which were eloquent of the increasing difficulty the British had in thwarting political and economic advance. But these new features were not rightly understood at first, Soviet orientalists giving currency to the view that "after the Great War Britain began to abandon the traditional policy of holding back Indian industry, and allowed it to leap forward at a frantic pace." This point of view was expressed notably by L. Geller: "The new policy of British Imperialism consists in LEADING by the process of industrialization in which indigenous capital begins to play the main role and British invested capital merely a subsidiary one." The temporary concessions by Imperialism were mistaken for the

central line, and measures directed to slowing down development were construed as unavoidable diversions. So M. Rafailov: "Britain cannot hold to a rigid course. . . In implementing her policy she is bound to vacillate." It was only one step from saying that India would gradually cease to be a colony; and, in fact, when British Communists came out with their "decolonization theory" they were supported by the Soviet exponents of the "industrialization" thesis.

Such mistakes on the economic issues led to a misconception of the political scene. They led to the conclusion that as between the Indian bourgeoisie and Imperialism there were no contradictions; that "the cooperation of the bourgeoisie had been enlisted by England in the administration of the country"; and that the national bourgeoisie was an out-and-out reactionary force. However, the facts as early as 1928 were inescapable; and Seygel<sup>1</sup>, while clinging in principle to the said point of view, noted that "the political necessity of economic concessions to the national bourgeoisie had now lapsed", and that British imperialism could henceforward in its own sweet time proceed to a fresh economic policy guaranteed to ensure the intensive exploitation of India for a long while to come.

In working out the correct estimate of the role of the British in India, the VIth Congress of the Comintern had a big hand. In the course of its proceedings the scientific flimsiness and political harmfulness of the "decolonization" theory were established. It was noted that after the phase of limited concession "the rout of the national revolutionary movement and the gradual collapse of bourgeois nationalism permitted British imperialism to resume its policy of applying the brake to India's industrial expansion." There was very soon to be real live corroboration of this reading of the case.

### Role of the National Bourgeoisie

Nevertheless, the identification which our science was able to establish of imperialism as a force patently hostile to the economic expansion of the country did not at that period lead to a revision of the verdict on the national bourgeoisie. Actually, Soviet Indology had been nearer the mark in the early years, voicing the view in 1925 that "the role of the upper bourgeoisie in the national movement cannot be considered finished, and that if for the time being countenances conciliation, the contradiction between itself and the British bourgeoisie is so glaring that conflict between them is inevitable." It was from the mid 20's that a different point of view began to prevail.

After Stalin's manifesto at the student gathering of KUTV [Communist University of the Workers of the East] on 18 May 1925 asserting a split in the camp of the bourgeoisie, and calling for a "concentration of fire" against the conciliatory elements, the incorrect view gained currency in literature of the reactionary tone of the class as a whole. The Indologists followed suit and obediently "concentrated fire" upon the National Congress.

The VIth Congress of the Comintern perpetuated at least some of the error in regard to the national bourgeoisie. Again we find the Indologists with rare exceptions echoing its harsher estimates, and denying to the bourgeoisie all progressive meaning whatever and sometimes branding it as the traitor to the cause of freedom. Two authors who did not conform, D. Nagiyev and A. Mukharji, were exposed to sharp criticism.

This theory of the unalloyed reactionary quality of the national bourgeoisie, so fashionable with the preachers of "decolonization", chimed with another - that of the progressive role of British capital: "The Indian bourgeoisie has become

convinced that its economic growth can proceed smoothly within the framework of imperialism" (Balabushevich, Geller, Eybus).

When the "decolonization" theory was discarded as untenable, it became obvious that the contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and Imperialism could only be heightened. Leading Soviet Indologists who had endeavoured to substantiate the "treachery", now had to resort to long-winded explanations; for example, that the workers' and peasants' agitation had thrown the bourgeoisie into the embrace of Imperialism, or that the union of Indian and British capital had politically speaking emasculated the bourgeoisie. Even the left wing of Congress was in those years regarded as lulling the vigilance of the masses and seducing them from the real battle for independence, and as being the secret agent not simply of the bourgeoisie but of Imperialism as well.

Among the very few who resisted this current of thought was R.A. Ul'yanovskiy. He wrote, in 1931, that "the Indian bourgeoisie personified by the National Congress, and especially the radical intelligentsia, were actually the ideologists and leaders of the first Indian revolution" (i.e. the 1919-22 upheaval); and, in 1934, that "the worker-peasant movement never reached such a pitch as to relegate to the background the economic contradictions between the Indian bourgeoisie and Imperialism."

### Gandhi

In the early years (which coincided with the first years of the Mahatma's activity in India) Soviet research was led astray by the religio-mystical envelope of Gandhism, and denied Gandhi himself any important role in the national liberation movement. It was held that he had lost influence over the masses in 1922; was the chessman lifted from the board; that his song was sung. But seeing that the forces which went on supporting him were specifically class ones, the Soviet definition presently grew more involved. Gandhi, wrote Seygel' in 1929, in his own teaching reflected the ideology of the ruined craftsman, but his partisans in their practical political behaviour were following in the wake of the indigenous ruling classes. Soviet scholarship, in thus appreciating the class roots of Gandhism was at least groping for the right path.

Then came Stalin's labelling of Gandhi as the accomplice of Imperialism in crushing the national liberation movement. Ul'yanovskiy and Reysner repeated this. D.A. Suleykin called Gandhism a feudal ideology which had been conceived in an age of Imperialism - a double certificate of reaction.

### Summary

The principal achievement of the period was the creation of a Marxist historical school in the field of Indology; and the characteristic feature of the period was research in modern and recent history at the expense of ancient and medieval. Such problems as the social-economic system in vogue on the eve of the [British] conquest, the social order as it crystallized in colonial India, and the role of the British at succeeding stages, were clarified. Despite the difficulties and the mistakes that commonly beset an untrodden road, despite the baneful influence of the personality cult which began to make itself felt from the late 20's onwards, Indologists had the courage to take up the most important political questions and sought to elucidate them objectively from Party positions. For this, many of them were in the sequel unjustly subjected to repression. Questions also studied with

energy were those of the liberation movement and of the part in it played by the national bourgeoisie. It is, however, not possible to suggest that they were saved.

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### Peaceful co-existence

When I asked in the headquarters of the Central Asian border forces how far the southern frontier stretched, writes an IZVESTIYA correspondent, the answer was 4,070 kilometres, that is one-tenth of the world's circumference; the Soviet-Afghan frontier alone is 3,000 kilometres. Before more detailed information could be given, the telephone rang to say that two Afghan shepherds had crossed the border with their flocks. The colonel explained that such things often happened, especially during snow-storms, there was no evil intent, and when Russian flocks wandered over the border they were seen back by the Afghans.

Another call from Termez spoke of the frontier cordiality. There had been an accident with a large crane in this Afghan river port and a Soviet team had been sent over the Amu-Dar'ya to help clear the wreckage. The port handles much trade from both countries. IZ. 12.1.64

### Afghan Deputy Minister of Information in Moscow

The Afghan Deputy Minister of Information has recently been in Moscow for talks on closer collaboration for cultural purposes between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union during 1964. IZ. 11.1.64

## LIGHT READING ON INDIA

In Russia, as everywhere else, the name of India holds a magic of its own, but the Soviet authorities have hitherto been on the whole slow to indulge the romantic taste of the reading public. Periodicals, admittedly, like PROSTOR and VOKRUG SVETA, which make a regular feature of opening the window on the world, have often enough glanced at India through the casement. But very little has come out at book length of a kind which could be classed as light literature.

An exception was Orestov's SEVEN YEARS IN INDIA (SEM'LET V INDII) which appeared in 1958 in an edition of 15,000 copies. A journalist's notebook, it would cause any patriotic Indian to raise an eyebrow every now and then; but it was graphic and readable. Then four years seemed to go by without more in similar vein until two books published in 1962 (but only recently available in this country) qualified for the same almost empty shelf. These two further samples of recreational reading for stay-at-homes, discursive in manner and conversational in style, were ON THE HIGHWAYS OF INDIA AND NEPAL (PO DOROGAM INDII I NEPALA) by D.V. Ter-Avanesyan, and SOUTH INDIA (PO YUZHNOY INDII) by L. Shaposhnikova. The editions, of 8,000 and 15,000 copies respectively, were again cautiously sized, and nobody can yet say whether, taken together, these three publications - and possibly some others of which we do not know - will have signalled a new departure or whether they will simply have served "to prove the rule".

Meantime, the intention here is to acquaint readers of CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW with the scope and flavour of each of these three popular panoramas.

### I. SEVEN YEARS IN INDIA (SEM' LET V INDII)

O. Orestov. (Moscow, 1958) 300pp.

The author was in India from 1944 to 1948, and again from 1954 to 1957. He thus not only witnessed the end of British rule, but had a chance, after a breathing space, to see how India was settling down to independence. His method of recording the impressions of these seven years is the best he could have chosen: it is to dispense with orderly arrangement altogether. That at least is the effect produced by the 30 or 40 headings under which he sets down his reaction to the given stimulus: City of White Sahibs; Quit India; The sailors turn and fight; Seething cauldron; Coils of Caste; The prison of tradition; Monuments to glory and humiliation; The madding crowd; Changes; Madras; Cinema in South India; Bengali writers and artists; A people votes; Socialism; Bullets in Barabanki; Thorns on the path; - and so it goes on. There is breadth, it will be seen, in all this, and it would be inappropriate to demand depth. It would also be unreasonable to complain if certain colours and patterns in the kaleidoscope repeat themselves with rather tiresome regularity.

"I have no right", Orestov declares in an opening passage, "to look at India either through rose-tinted or through dark spectacles." Certainly nothing in the sequel errs in the direction of couleur de rose, but what most of us - at any rate

most Indians - would probably remark is that there is no pleasing this man. The Indians are blamed for clinging to their Hinduism, blamed for being tenacious of the English inheritance. They are blamed for not modelling themselves on the Chinese (it is still 1958). Their Congress, it is alleged, whenever anybody so much as pronounces the word Socialism, will resort to some foggy formula (tumannaya formulirovka). And all those who count in the land have a habit, seemingly, of going up to Simla and riding about in rickshaws.

These general comments perhaps need the support of chapter and verse. The Ajanta caves, the bas-reliefs at Mamallapuram, statuary in the Mathura Museum, temples at Madura - all are worthless, to Orestov's way of thinking (p.9). Hindu culture, Hindu custom, being bound up with religion, are to him wholly bad, and there can be no sympathy with Indians who adhere to these (pp.105, 122 etc.). On the other hand the followers of an alien, English cult, the new Sahibs who are pulled along by liveried runners in the hill-stations (p.160), or those highly westernized civil servants who refuse to concur in Orestov's estimate of the British, are no less to be corrected (p.6). In one place (p.183) there is very nearly an altercation: "I remember going by train in Bengal once. An educated Bengali family shared the compartment with me - father, mother, two daughters of say, 17 and 18, and a son of about 12 years old. The father was a senior Government official in the Province. They were chatting away among themselves, and what struck me was how the entire family spoke nothing but English. That it was an English so maltreated as to be unrecognizable, a string of stereotyped phrases reeled off one after another, caused them no embarrassment whatever. One can excuse it when people of different nationalities try to make themselves understood in broken language, but to spurn your native speech in the very home in favour of a wretched imitation of a rich foreign tongue - why, it's monstrous! . . . When I voiced my amazement, the mother was on her high horse at once, genuinely indignant: 'Excuse me, our daughters aren't just nobodies, they're girls of refinement. And, thank goodness, we have enough money not to send them to Indian but to English schools.' Surely that is the sort of thing that should really excite the indignation. Not a cheep of course from your Indian reactionaries."

It is more than a guess that Orestov was happier on his first tour when, as he puts it several times, he was aligned with the Indians versus the British, than during the second when Indians seemed so often to be letting the side down. The Indians do not state the facts about the expulsion of the British (p.6); they put the wrong things in their museums (p.196); their aged custodians of scheduled monuments are word perfect on the "exploits" of English generals (p.136). "I am a Russian interested in the history of India", Orestov is driven to exclaim to one of these elderly eunuchs (p.137), oblivious of his dismissal (in earlier moments) of the whole Indian heritage.

All this inveighing against the retention of the English tradition and language in India, does not deter the Soviet author from recommending the adoption of his own. Orestov sees no incongruity in a chapter headed Ya govoryu po-russki (I speak Russian) in which Soviet-Indian cultural contacts are paraded and proclaimed (p.226); no absurdity in another which while tracing the growth of the Bengali Dramatic School brackets the achievement of Lebedev (whose Indian career was the subject of an article in CAR, Vol.XI, No.3 of 1963) with that of Rabindranath Tagore himself.

In the piece entitled "Their own efforts" towards the end of the book the author sums up his misgivings. The stimulus here was Durga Das' little brochure called RAM RAJYA IN PRACTICE. Over this booklet Orestov heaves many a sigh -

"But what we have is nothing like Ram Rajya! So little has been done. (Sdelano ochen' malo)" (p.277).

Ten years before, he had been annoyed by a politician's retort to him that the flower which grows on the banks of the Volga will not bloom on the banks of the Ganges. Even some of his Soviet readers must have felt that if only he had taken that to heart his disenchantment later on would have been less.

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## II. ON THE HIGHWAYS OF INDIA AND NEPAL (PO DOROGAM INDI I NEPALA)

D.V. Ter-Avanesyan. (Moscow, 1962) 357pp.

This is a travelogue compiled from the tour diaries which the author, as Agricultural Adviser to the Soviet Embassy in Delhi, kept in the course of his duties from 1956 to 1959. His journeys were performed by car in the company of his driver Baba Singh of Jullundur who, as we are told in an engagingly old-fashioned preface, knew his people and the customs of his country and imparted what he knew. With this small outfit, and mapping each itinerary so as to pass through the local Agricultural Research Centres and Botanical Institutes, the author left few corners of the land unvisited. No diplomat can have spent so little of his time at headquarters. During these excursions he simply dotted down what he saw or could pick up, and his charm is that he takes India as he finds it. There is much about mosque and temple, but nothing that is scornfully said. It is the Indian standpoint that matters in these pages, he seems to be saying, and not ours. "They do not exterminate vermin here", he records in a typical sentence, "and Indians cannot understand our dread of rats and mice and our squeamish attitude to these." With politics the narrative has no concern, and international affairs are so out of focus that Katmandu can be sandwiched without apology between Lucknow and Benares in one and the same chapter of this entertaining journal.

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## III. SOUTH INDIA (PO YUZHNOY INDI)

L. Shaposhnikova. (Moscow, 1962) 247pp.

The author explains how, equipped with a knowledge of Hindustani, she spent one year on her own in the country, not bothering with blast furnaces and dams but exploring what promised to be more rewarding approaches. These led her to Hyderabad, Aurangabad, Bombay, Madras, Trivandrum, Cape Comorin and many other places; and, more importantly, to a host of human encounters. A series of vignettes is the result. "Hyderabad Past and Present" is among the best of these where "the Navabs, Rajas, and Jagirdars clutch at the pitiful debris of the old life even as they take their exit, knowing that nothing will save them now in a city which belongs to the good-time owners of the shiny motor-cars". There is, too, a skilful enough portrait of a celebrated Swami. But such moments are unhappily outnumbered by others in which Shaposhnikova becomes the self-conscious and even priggish interlocutor: "What do I believe in? I believe in Science. I believe in Communism" - and then follows the homily on these, while India recedes.

Shaposhnikova, for all her scientific training, does not know when a thing is proved. She thinks that the British "dismembered" the sub-continent as their parting

disservice to India (p.14); that communal hatred was the creation of the colonizers (p.37); that India's religious trends have been wholly noxious (pp.37-41). And she is convinced that only "a Russian woman from the USSR" would have been accorded the facilities and courtesies which were extended to her "even by total strangers" throughout her stay (Preface; pp.95, 220).

### Indo-Soviet cultural links

The development of friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union was one of the most remarkable phenomena of our time according to Mr. K. Menon, former Indian Ambassador to the USSR, when he opened a conference in Ernakulam, southern India, to discuss the questions of Indo-Soviet cultural ties, of which Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Nehru were the architects.

KP. 9.1.64

### Soviet-Indian friendship in Samarkand

Over 1,000 representatives of social and cultural organizations took part in a constituent assembly to form a Samarkand area society for maintaining cultural ties between India and the Soviet Union. Professor Ramesh Valiya, head of the Punjab delegation, said that in Samarkand, as in other Uzbek towns, there was a sincere feeling of friendship towards the Indian people. In a lecture about the Punjab today to students of Samarkand University the professor spoke of India's tremendous economic progress since her independence and the important part played in this by the Punjab.

PV. 16.1.64

## THE MYSTERIOUS VAGABOND

The following account of a Russian soldier's escapade in Central Asia and India in the 18th century is taken from VOKRUG SVETA of 9 September 1963.

Sir Robert Chambers, Judge of the High Court in Calcutta, was long closeted with the vagrant whom the servants had been so reluctant to admit. The stranger was barefoot, and only on the doorstep did he take a pair of shoes from the end of his stick and put them on, squeezing his feet with difficulty into the European footwear. The costume of the strange visitor was so unorthodox that the judge had every now and then to look away to prevent himself laughing.

Indeed Chambers would never have let the vagabond cross his threshold had it not been for a letter from the English Commandant of Lucknow City, a friend of his called Middleton. This friend wrote that on arrival in Lucknow from the north the vagrant had been identified by the chaplain - a German from Holstein as it happened - of the English garrison. The reverend gentleman had assured Middleton that he had seen this ragamuffin in the suite of the Empress of Russia and that he was an officer in the army, and a kinsman of Count Chernyshev. That is why he was deeming it an honour to release the traveller from arrest and send him with a caravan of merchants to Calcutta from where Sir Robert might speed him on his way to Europe aboard one of the East India Company's ships.

As the two conversed at great length in Persian, it dawned gradually on Chambers that the Russian had performed an unheard of feat: he had been the first European to pass from Central Asia via the Himalayas and Tibet into India. It was the secret route of the Asian traders, which the local inhabitants had kept from the English for centuries. So the judge was now asking the Russian to see him for the third time and unobtrusively sounding him about his mysterious journey. The names of unknown villages, rivers, and mountains were soon being volunteered - until the judge realized with dismay that he would never succeed in memorizing them all and noting them down after the man's departure. "Well", he thought, "I'll have to chance it." He hinted that in gratitude for an exit visa from India and a free ticket to Europe he would like to have from his guest his coloured manservant and his travel-diary. Hope kindled in the Russian's eyes - the hour of which he had dreamed for years was drawing near.

In a fortnight's time the "count" brought Chambers a fair copy of his tour notes. Much moved, the judge solemnly presented the Russian with a suit of European clothes, a dozen linen shirts and 300 rupees for the road. On the banks of the Ganges he saw the Count aboard a vessel just due to sail, and went on waving his handkerchief until the masts had disappeared in the ocean. Back in his study he settled himself comfortably in his rocking-chair and with pleasant anticipation opened the leather-bound copy-book of the secret route. His eyes grew wide in wonder: the text was written in an unintelligible tongue!

Even two years afterwards when the Bengal branch of the learned Asiatic Society was opened in Calcutta none of the scholars could read this notebook. The

strange manuscript was entered in the register and filed. Not a soul has seen it since. . .

Meanwhile the barefoot "kinsman" of Count Chernyshev sailed merrily into London and from there reached St. Petersburg in August 1782.

Sergeant Filip Yefremov of the Russian Army began his wanderings in 1773 when he was taken prisoner by the Kazakhs not far from Fort Donguz in the vicinity of Orenburg. For two months the nomads kept their Russian prisoners in their ulus, and then proceeded to sell them to visiting Bukharans. Sergeant Filip Yefremov fetched four dressed calf hides, and with other slaves was driven on foot through the snow to Bukhara. Winter was exceptionally cold that year, and many died of frost-bite and starvation by the wayside. It would have been the end of the sergeant too, had not an Armenian merchant from Astrakhan, Ayvaz by name, been travelling with the common caravan. This man fed the shivering Filip and by bribing the guard even gave him an occasional lift either on his own horse or on a camel.

At the town of Vardanza on the frontier of Bukhara they had to part company and embraced each other in fond farewell. "Thank you, Ayvaz. Someday I'll repay you in kind. And when you're in Russia, tell them that Filip Yefremov 'll be back home yet!"

Atalyk Daniyal'-Biy, Governor of Bukhara, called for his new slave, a present from Ghafur-Hajji. He sized up the captive with a piercing glance from under the plump little bags of his sleepy eyelids. "Read what this says", he ordered. Yefremov was handed a document by a mulla. He ran his eye through it. "What is this paper about?" repeated Daniyal'-Biy more loudly. "A passport" answered the slave in bad Turki, "granted to Mulla Inazar for transit without let or hindrance through places now in Russian control. . ." Daniyal'-Biy shot a glance at the mulla who wagged his beard approvingly.

"But why is the seal affixed at the bottom on the passport and not on the reverse as is done among the Faithful?"

"Because with us they write at the top the title of Her Imperial Majesty, and the seal is by convention placed at the foot, the title being more important than the seal."

"Rubbish" shouted Daniyal'-Biy. It is done because Russia wants to humiliate us - us, the lords of Bukhara. But we Muslims profess the true faith, and you had better do likewise if you expect to see any favour from me. Will you accept our faith?"

"We do not change faith for favour."

The Atalyk grew purple, and clapped his hands. The guard entered noiselessly. "Torture. Three days. And see that he does not peg out!"

On the third day the Atalyk's over-fed person in its silken robe appeared at the torture chamber. They were told to raise the Russian to his feet.

"Well, now will you receive our faith?"

The prisoner looked dully at the Atalyk and through lips stuck together with blood whispered "No, I will not."

Daniyal'-Biy slapped his stomach and burst out laughing. "I see that death holds no terror for you. Allah forgive me if even now I take you into my service. We like courage. Untie him! I am making you a Panjah-Bashi. From now on fifty soldiers under your command. You are to go to Samarkand with the army - and mind you bring me a prisoner of war. Then off to Persia with my son. And that still leaves Khiva for you to put the fear of God into. . ."

Six years went by in campaigns and battles. Yefremov learned to speak Tadjik, toured almost all the Central Asian cities, all the principal highways, and was promoted Yuzbashi for bravery and put in charge of a hundred horse. His annual income from a grant of land touched 300 ducats. The Atalyk was not deaf to his advice. A young Persian woman, housekeeper to the Khan of Bukhara, fell for the lucky Yuzbashi. What more could a man want - money, glory, love!

Only more and more often Filip dreamed of another land where the dense forests moan, where the rivers teem with fish, and flaxen-haired beauties saunter on the banks. More and more often he was to be seen at the North Gate of the city walls where the road took off along the dyke into the rushy marshland - the road to Russia. A difficult and a long road, which may not take you home in the end.

From centenarian prisoners of the Bekovich detachment defeated of old by the Bukharans, Yefremov heard of Peter the Great's scheme to get to India overland. He decided to risk it, to reach India and go on by sea to Russia. And he began to watch for a suitable opportunity to escape. Time trickled slowly in the hour-glass and for nearly two years no occasion offered itself. The Atalyk rewarded each latest exploit in the field with gold and money; the sabre of the Yuzbashi knew not fear, and the enemy bullets whistled idly by. Eventually the Atalyk resolved to send Filip with a missive to the ruler of Khiva, alone but for an escort of two Russian horsemen.

Daniyal'-Biy had been in consultation with Filip in one of the apartments. The business concluded, he stalked out with his bodyguard. Quickly Filip commanded a scribe to write in gold a letter of credence as from the Khan of Bukhara to the ruler of Kokand, to the effect that the Khan was sending him as ambassador there.

"What is this!" exclaimed the red-bearded calligraphist. "The Khan of Bukhara is at loggerheads with the ruler of Kokand!"

"It's not up to you to know what will happen tomorrow!" shouted Yefremov, flinging a purse of money onto the table. One hundred ducats propelled the pen obediently across the parchment in the stylish cursive script. As he delivered the document the scribe murmured the sarcastic reminder: "The Khan's seal is to be affixed on the reverse in the left corner. . ." Evidently this palace drudge had nosed out all about the Daniyal' torture.

Without a word Filip went out, banging the door behind him.

At dawn three riders sped at full gallop from the gates of Bukhara. The clatter of hoofs resounded on the road that ran direct to Khiva. But scarcely were the city walls lost from sight than the horsemen wheeled to another road - toward Kokand. No dusty little cloud of pursuers formed behind them. In the town they were met like grandees and on the strength of the forged credentials were given fresh mounts and so much food that they did not know how to get rid of it. Kokand they skirted, and in Margelan, at the saray, disguised themselves as merchants, made purchases and joined a caravan bound for Tibet.

It was two months before the ruler of Bukhara found out about the escape. His first thought was that the riders had headed north, to Russia, and that he would not give chase. On the steppes by the Urals there are many nomadic tribes, and these would catch the three wayfarers and sell them back to him. Their horses would very soon have perished from thirst. It was not to enter the Khan's head that the Russians had ridden south - by roads untraversed before by any European.

The mountains rose like a wall on the horizon. Up and up, along rapid noisy rivers climbed the caravan to the sky. The timber line was crossed; the snow storms blew among the stony crags; horses first and then men began to pant from the altitude.

At Kashgar the fugitives buried one companion, and the heart of the other Russian gave out 15 days' trek from Tibet: Filip Yefremov laid him to rest in Christian fashion by night lest the Muslim merchants should see. Shaken by the death of his comrades, exhausted by the hard ascent, Filip halted a month at Ladakh. He sold his goods and bought a copy-book in which to note down everything observed in these unfamiliar regions of the earth. At night Filip would write furtively in the diary like this: "If on the road anyone chanced to ask me, I would call myself a Nogay because in Russia they call the Tatars living in those parts Nogays. Two days' march short of Kashgar, lead ore is to be found in the hills and a lead-works under Kashgar management. From Kashgar I rode to Aksu, wishing somehow to strike Russian territory; but finding no means to do so, I returned to Kashgar, a distance of 12 days' going."

Aksu was the sole town in Kashgaria where they allowed traders from Russia, and then only Muslims. And they kept a strict watch to see that not a single European should penetrate Tibet. The reason for this prohibition Filip explained thus:

"The Tibet mountains contain much ore. In the provinces of U, Tsange, Kiyange, Konbo, Donko and Kange occur rich gold-mines; in Tsange silver, and in Kiyange mercury, iron, copper, sulphur, and white metal; in Tibet the so-called tekets which they find everywhere there in quantity. They also find nitrate of silver there, crystal, various marbles and entire magnetic hills. Not less than from the mines they get gold from the gravel of rivers; which, however, they do not use to make into money, but it serves as a medium of exchange in bargaining.

Tibet is exceedingly densely populated."

He further noted in his diary that the inhabitants of this part of Tibet are generally well built and have a darkish-yellow complexion; are honest and friendly; that the simple folk wear thick homespun cloth and boots of raw horsehide, and carry round their necks little boxes with prayers and all kinds of silken shreds consecrated "by the puff and spittle of the lamas."

The Himalayas, "abode of the snows", now awaited the Russian wanderer. The Tibetans called the Himalayas "the country of the mountain she-devil." With three Muslim pilgrims who had toiled to Mecca to kiss the stone Kaabe, Filip advanced to storm the heavens; neither horse nor ox could go at such a height, by those narrow paths, on the brink of those precipices. They carried bales of food on their backs. A native bearer whom Yefremov had bought while still in Yarkend grew numb with cold and trembled with terror when gorges had to be crossed by suspension bridges plaited from shoots. Filip Yefremov passed through Kashmir and Jammu. The Dzhanopu [Chenab] was now encountered, no easy river to negotiate. There was no bridge - except one dangling in the air, a ropeway. Corded to a seat, a kind of wicker chair, Yefremov was hauled to the other side of the howling torrent, perhaps 120 yards or so in width.

Another 25 days and they were treading the dusty roads of India - and lo, before Yefremov a mighty city burst into green with its endless gardens, a city perchance twice as large as his native Kazan', Delhi by name, or Shahjahanabad.

In the motley throng of the Indian capital Yefremov was accosted by a passer-by, a foreigner like himself but darker of skin.

"Where are you from, traveller?"

"I'm a Russian, from Russia."

"Then we're co-religionists, I'm an Armenian. Call me Simeon. Come along to my place. My house is yours."

In the cool of the evening Filip recounted his Odyssey to his kind Armenian.

Then from polyglot Delhi he rode on with the traders eight days, to the town of Shukuravati from where the English possessions in India originated. Another seven days and Lucknow was in sight, where Filip was to look up a friend of Simeon's, a clergyman born in Holstein who had resided in Russia as a young man.

"Your prospects aren't too bright you know" began the cleric almost before Filip had handed him his letter of introduction. "The local English commandant, Middleton, is already aware that an alien is in town. He will try to persuade you to enter his service."

"Can't I hope for deliverance from the commandant's 'kindness'?"

"I've got an idea." The German looked more cheerful and surprised himself by slipping into Russian.

From the stench of the colonial gaol the warders took Yefremov to the commandant's office. Middleton, not a single button undone in spite of the heat, began his interrogation in Persian:

"Why don't you want to join the East India Company's army? Don't the terms suit you?"

"I cannot serve two sovereigns at once. I hold my commission from the Empress of Russia."

Middleton started with amazement but contained himself and enquired suspiciously "Is there anybody to corroborate what you're saying?"

"Certainly. For instance, your garrison chaplain."

German and Russian, they went home from the commandant's office, hugging one another, then sat long over the table talking away in Russian.

"All iss by mine plan gone!" crowed the German. "Now, my dear Count, you must not forget to hold the fork in the left hand when you eat at Mister Chamber's. He is a friend of our commandant, and also a great scholar and second judge of the High Court in Calcutta. With Middleton's letter you will be well received. But if the Judge prove a bit unresponsive, try making him a present of your dusky servant!"

Swallowing his wine the German lingered noisily at table, singing Russian songs and telling anecdotes of the gay life of "Impératrice Elisabeth".

A large Indian gari waited for the sergeant at sunrise. In this he reached Kampu [Cawnpore?]; and sailed thence by long boat to Calcutta itself, capital of Bengal. Thus did Filip, posing as the kinsman of Count Chernyshev, descend on the house of Mr. Justice Chambers, paying the visit with which this tale began. A merchantman of the East India Company brought him safely to London, where officials of the Russian Embassy assisted him in reaching his native land.

The Director of the Foreign College in St. Petersburg, Count Aleksander Andreyevich Bezborodko, read the Ambassador's letter from London - Simolin it was at the time - and put it aside. Then listened absent-mindedly to Filip Yefremov, gazing the while through the open window at the trees rustling in the August sunshine.

Suddenly he came to life, remembering something:

"By the way, tell me, have you your Eastern costume with you?"

"Yes, I kept it, Excellency."

"I'm glad of that. There's a ball to-day. I'll introduce you to Her Majesty."

In one of the far rooms of the Court the Count had spent half an hour choosing an "Indian pose" for Yefremov, altering the position of his hands, the tilt of his turban, instructing him to advance the left leg as in the portraits on view at the Hermitage. On the wall they hung a large Persian rug, hooking yataghans and sabres to it. They lit all the candles in the chandelier. At the traveller's feet they set a kalyan for four pipes. The Count stepped back three paces, clasped his hands together in delight. Then ordering Filip to stand motionless and not say anything stupid to the Sovereign, flitted away behind a door.

The laughter of the women was heard, the wings of the door were thrown apart, and in came several ladies in weird and wonderful costumes, masks on their faces. Filip caught the mysterious perfumes and the odour of powder from the high ashen coiffures. The women approached nearer chattering in French, and looked the traveller up and down impudently. Behind them the Count's voice was audible to Filip:

"Eighth wonder of the world, Sergeant Filip Yefremov of the Nizhegorodskiy Regiment, who escaped from a Bukhara prison, crossed Kashgaria, Tibet, India and two oceans so as to behold your Imperial Majesty!"

"Oh, really", exclaimed a lady with a full figure and a veritable argosy on her head. "Well, then, since you insist, just one look!"

She half lifted the velvet mask, smiling coquettishly. Filip was taken aback and open-mouthed. The ladies broke into peals of merriment.

"Your Ulysses isn't so dashing as you made out, is he?" commented the Empress in French, and then adding immediately in Russian, "Give him three hundred roubles as from me."

Voices were stilled, the sentries stood silent at the doors. A servant with a snuffer on a pole extinguished all but a few of the candles, and touched Yefremov on the shoulder.

"Will you please go home, sir. The party's over now."

There you have the full story of Filip Sergeyev son of Yefremov. For me it began on the day when the name of this Russian who had been to India gleamed for a moment through the old files in the Foreign Policy section of the Archives. Each generation, as it seems, discovers anew for itself charmed wanderers of this sort. These literally come to life, rise from the dusty pages and resume the road to unfamiliar lands, astonishing the world by their valour and nobility, their unselfishness and their belief in their fellowmen.

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This escape story was undoubtedly meant to appeal as entertainment, and its author, Mikhail Medvedev, would presumably be the last to claim for it veracity in detail. Nevertheless, the inference to be drawn from the final paragraph is (a) that the actual diary kept by the Russian sergeant is extant among the State Archives, and (b) that the story as here narrated is in all essentials faithful to its pages. One could, of course, wish that the paragraph had been more explicit. For instance, was the journal filed with or without a covering minute by the Foreign Ministry of the day?

Then again, how much of the embellishment is Medvedev's, how much the sergeant's own? From Calcutta it is not possible to watch a ship until she dips into

the ocean; and if it were, Yefremov could not have seen it happen. But what of the bal masqué at the Court of St. Petersburg?

Yet more important, was the pretended copy of the diary as handed to Sir Robert Chambers really "in an unintelligible tongue", or was it simply a meaningless scribble? And what has become of it since?

The reader must do without the answers, apparently, and be content with a curious tale thickly varnished, but not so extravagant under the surface as to outrage his belief.

### Soviet-Afghan friendship

Replying to a TASS correspondent's question about Afghanistan's attitude to Soviet-Afghan cooperation, the Afghan Minister of Public Works stressed the importance of building new motorways, in which field the Soviet Union was giving invaluable help. Two major roads were under construction, one through the Hindu Kush to Qisil Qala, the other linking Turgundi with Herat and Kandahar. Both roads should be completed by August 1964.

I.Z. 23.1.64

### Indian Communists petition President

On the eve of the Indian national holiday the leader of a faction of the Indian Communist Party has visited the President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, to petition him for the release of Communists imprisoned in Tripura, Western Bengal, Assam and Uttar Pradesh.

KT. 21.1.64

### Celebrations in Delhi

On 26 January the Indian people celebrated the fourteenth anniversary of the proclamation of their country as a republic. Hundreds of thousands of people flocked the streets of Delhi to take part in the celebrations which included a military parade which was attended by President Radhakrishnan and Prime Minister Nehru.

In Moscow the Indian Ambassador held a reception and appeared on television in honour of the anniversary.

PR. 27.1.64

## THE BORDERLANDS IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on the borderland countries appearing in Soviet newspapers received during the period 1 October - 31 December. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

### AFGHANISTAN

The visit of Mr. Brezhnev to Afghanistan from 12-17 October was reported in the minutest detail by the metropolitan and republican presses. PR and IZ carried in extenso the lengthy orations of welcome delivered by the hosts and the still lengthier replies of the visiting statesman. The 1,000-word communiqué signed jointly by Mr. Brezhnev and H.M. Muhammad Zahir Shah on 16 October was printed in full by the same two journals and summarized in others.

Taking its cue from Mr. Brezhnev himself the press laid emphasis on the fact that the two powers were "practically of the same age" in terms of freedom, and had had to contend with the same opponents. Each was intensely alive to the other's aspiration and achievement: in early days they had been quick to exchange formal recognition, and only a matter of weeks previously Afghanistan had been among the first to subscribe to the Moscow (Test Ban) Agreement.

The entire press paid particular attention to Mr. Brezhnev's eulogy of "Soviet science" occurring in his Stadium speech, and to his praise of youth, Soviet and Afghan alike, which was the theme of his address at Kabul University.

The press likewise followed the lead of the speakers on both sides in listing prominently the more important items of aid in the shape of engineering equipment and "know-how" which the Soviet Union had made available to the Afghans over recent years.

The sense of a tumultuous welcome in the open, and through the publicity media of radio and local newspapers, was adequately conveyed.

In November, PR etc. (9.11.63) published a telegram of greetings from the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Dr. Muhammad Yusuf, to Mr. Khrushchev on the occasion of the official observance of the 46th anniversary of the October Revolution.

In December the press carried two items, both of which served as a practical endorsement to things said at the time of the Brezhnev visit. One was the ratification on 2 December of the protocol to the Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation (25 July 1963) for the duration of the Second Five-Year Plan. The other was the message sent by Messrs. Khrushchev and Brezhnev to the Soviet specialists and their teams engaged on the construction of the Salang Highway, congratulating them on having tunnelled 2.7 kilometres through the Hindukush "ahead of schedule".

### INDIA

At the beginning of the quarter (2.10.63) TI published a picture of the procession in Delhi of 200,000 persons marching to present to Parliament a petition signed by more than ten million workers and peasants in protest against the Government's economic

policies. The letterpress stated that the mammoth demonstration was organized by the Communist Party of India in conjunction with the All-India Trade Union Congress. Neither the photograph nor an account of the demonstration was seen in any other organ of the press.

On the same date Mr. Nehru was reported in TRUD as having declared at a mass meeting in Lucknow his unwavering belief in the policy of non-alignment.

SK, 6.10.63, and TI, 9.10.63, published photographs illustrating India's debt to the Soviet Union in the field of modern industrial enterprise.

Wide coverage was given on 10 and 11 October to Mr. Nehru's Press Conference in Delhi on 9 October at which he declared that whilst the foundations of India's foreign policy remained intact, her attitude to China had changed. It was at this same conference, the reports went on, that Mr. Nehru explained the principles which guided the administration's decision about the Voice of America: it was not feasible to permit broadcasts from Indian soil which were sponsored by a different government.

KP of 18.10.63 was apparently alone in reporting and illustrating the Exhibition of Soviet Books held at the Delhi Polytechnical Institute.

Towards the end of the month IZ/TI noticed, with perhaps less prominence than was warranted, the ceremony at which the dam near the village of Bhakra on the Sutlej was formally brought into operation. It was pointed out that the 220-metre dam, one of the world's highest, was constructed thanks to the technical and economic cooperation of the Soviet Union, and that the colonizers had shown no interest in the project when the idea had originally been mooted.

The release in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Gujerat, of a small proportion of the Communists imprisoned by these States earlier on under the Defence of India Act was widely but non-committally noticed at the beginning of November.

On 6, 7, 8 November PR/IZ alluded to the enthusiastic notices in the Indian press on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the October Revolution, describing in particular THE TIMES OF INDIA Special Supplement. There was a reference to a gala meeting of the Delhi branch of the Indian-Soviet Society. The congratulatory messages of President S. Radhakrishnan, Mr. Nehru, and S.A. Dange, Secretary-General of the All-India Trade Union Congress, were reproduced. The first two of these were of course formal, but the third may have appealed to Soviet readers through its effusive loyalty to the "mighty Socialist camp" created in the past and inspired at the present by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

How "the October" dawned slowly upon Imperial India, and what it gradually came to stand for among her people, was the burden of a skilfully written article, "Defender of the Oppressed" appearing in PR of 8.11.63 over the signature of the paper's special correspondent, A. Kutsenkov. The latter is seated beside a Mr. Bhargava, an assistant at the Calcutta Public Library, and together they turn up the back files, from November 1917 onwards, of newspapers of contrasting tone such as THE TIMES OF INDIA (under English management) and AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, and a number of choice extracts from these are copied down by the Russian.

All sections of the press devoted full attention to the Indian visit of the cosmonauts Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, Andriyan Nikolayev, and Valeriy Bykovskiy in mid-November. It was an occasion to dwell at some length on the triumphs of "Soviet Science" in the cause of all mankind. The sensational two-day welcome in Delhi was recounted, and the progress of the "Cosmic Trio" was thereafter closely followed on its tour of Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Madras, Hyderabad and Calcutta.

The remaining event to be featured in November was the opening by the Prime Minister of the heavy machine-construction works at Ranchi built with Soviet aid. The festive atmosphere which reigned in Ranchi on the date of the ceremony was widely reported, and the technical significance of the undertaking was explained in PR by A. Kutsenkov who quoted THE STATESMAN as naming it "one of the largest and most up-to-date works in the world."

"The Birth of Nagaland" was the title of a lengthy message from Yu. Popov appearing in IZ, 3.12.63. It was commented that the creation of this miniature Sixteenth State answered demands going back over a considerable period. There had been acute tension, and a violent separatist movement which had received open encouragement from the Americans and British.

The published proceedings of the All-India Committee of the National Congress Party, which sat in Jaipur in November, prompted A. Kutsenkov to a full-scale analysis of the Party's composition at this juncture. Deploing in outspoken terms the growing extent to which the reactionaries had taken charge in defiance of the popular will and to the alarm of the nation as a whole, the writer asserted that the conflict between the right wing and the progressives so far from having ended "is only just beginning" (PR 7.12.63).

As the year drew to a close the press reported from Delhi the indignation excited by the news of the American intention to base units of the Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean. The forthright condemnation uttered by the Indian Communist Party and by the journals NEW AGE and BLITZ, together with the more measured comments of Mr. Nehru and the HINDUSTAN TIMES, were cited. The "Pentagon's brazen intrusion" was written up in PR of 19.12.63 by N. Pastukhov.

## NEPAL

An elaborate presentation of Dr. Tulsi Giri's visit to the USSR in October, and the somewhat simpler coverage of the two-day stay of the cosmonauts at Katmandu in November, between them filled an unusually bulky folder of cuttings relating to Nepal.

The stage was set by an article in PR, 23.10.63, from the pen of I. Red'ko entitled "Nepal Today". This conjured up the mountain kingdom in the backwardness and isolation to which the British had chained it, recalled the popular upheaval of 1951 "when the tyranny of the Rana family was overthrown", and traced the subsequent progress culminating in the Three-Year Plan inaugurated in 1962. Under an agreement dating from April 1959, Red'ko continued, the Soviet Union had been providing Nepal with all kinds of assistance gratis: the hydro-electric station; the cigarette factory; the sugar refinery; and most recently the Katmandu hospital were examples of what was being done. On her side, Nepal was for neutrality, for universal peace, total disarmament: "She takes her stand against colonialism, and insists on the national self-determination of all peoples."

There were verbal echoes of this article in another which came out anonymously in BR of 25.10.63 headed "Growing Co-operation" and accompanied by a photograph of the Hospital at Katmandu.

The coverage of Dr. Tulsi Giri's visit matched in volume that of the Brezhnev visit to Kabul (see under Afghanistan) and outdid it in the matter of illustration. Large photographs of the visitor, mostly with Mr. Khrushchev at his side, were numerous and enhanced the effect of the letterpress.

The time-table of each day from 23 to 26 October supplied to the last detail, the word-for-word reporting of the speeches, the reproduction of the ample joint communique, combined to create the picture of a magnanimous and high-principled Great Power taking under her wing a tiny, but promising, protege.

By comparison, the visit of the cosmonauts to Katmandu on 19-21 November was featured with restraint. The press contented itself with succinct accounts of the investiture at which the Soviet heroes were decorated by King Mahendra, of the ovation accorded them by students including those from the Girls' College, and of sight-seeing tours of the temples and other cultural relics.

A TASS message of two sentences intimating that King Mahendra had accepted the resignation of Dr. Tulsi Giri on grounds of ill-health was printed uniquely in PR of 25.12.63.

## PAKISTAN

Pakistan affairs were almost ignored in this quarter.

At the end of October PR reported the Pakistan Ambassador's laying of a wreath at the tomb of Lenin, and on 7 November carried the formal felicitations of President Ayub Khan on the anniversary of the October Revolution. On this same date PR also mentioned that Mr. Gromyko had received the Pakistan Ambassador the previous day.

IZ, 21.11.63, printed a TASS telegram about CENTO manoeuvres in the Arabian Sea which quoted the MORNING NEWS as advertising this as the largest scale exercise in the whole history of CENTO.

## PERSIA

The Brezhnev visit brought Persia into the news for a few days in November, but for the rest of the period the country was not sharply in focus.

The formal messages of good wishes to the Shah on his birthday, and from the Shah on the anniversary of the October Revolution, were carried by IZ/PR.

BR and KT (but seemingly no others) reported Dr. Alam's formation of a new government on 22 October.

IZ on 16.11.63 made a brief reference to the ratification of the Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation signed in Teheran last July, and on 29.11.63 an even briefer one to the signing of a Transit Treaty based on the 1957 Convention on that subject.

PR, 20.11.63, and BR, 30.11.63, published TASS messages dealing with the joint proposal to construct a dam on the Araxes for the benefit of areas on either side of the common frontier.

Brezhnev's visit and the various functions attended by him were fully covered. At a luncheon given by the Shah, the Shah spoke of the cultural ties between the two countries; of the USSR's scientific achievements, and of Persia's need for peace, which was why she had immediately signed the Test Ban Treaty. He referred to the recent Persian-Soviet agreements in various fields. Brezhnev expressed his satisfaction that "we have recently succeeded in shifting many of the obstacles that formerly impeded the establishment of normal Soviet-Persian relations." He expressed his appreciation of the Shah's "generous attention to this matter". Peaceful co-existence was the only correct principle for relations between states. "We and Persia have no mutual demands, monetary or material." A peace-loving, independent

and progressive Persia could contribute to stability and peace in the area. (PR 18.11.63)

At a dinner which he gave on 17 November, Brezhnev said that good relations between the two countries had benefited both, and deterioration of relations had only harmed them. Sometimes "controversial factors" arose, but this need be no obstacle to cooperation. Although the two countries had different views on a number of international questions, they had reached agreement on an important matter, in the exchange of Notes in which Persia undertook to have no rocket bases on her territory. Between the USSR and Afghanistan, which Brezhnev had recently visited, there were differences in "social orders and ways of life", but that had not prevented the development of relations of mutual trust. He had invited the Shah and his Queen to visit the USSR, and they had accepted. The Shah, in reply, said that differences in political systems and international outlook need be no obstacle to good-neighbourly relations. He was pleased at Brezhnev's reference to good Soviet-Afghan relations. He would have great pleasure in visiting the Soviet Union again. (PR 19.11.63)

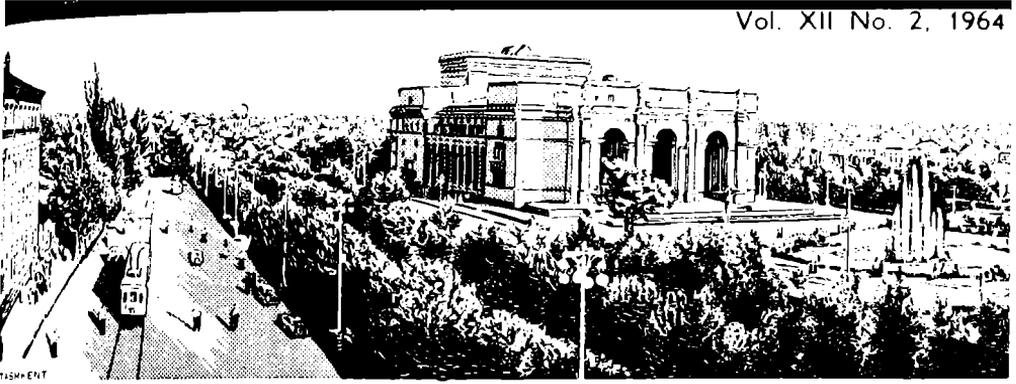
In his speech to the Majlis Brezhnev expressed the hope that a treaty of non-aggression might be concluded between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty states (PR 23.11.63).

There was no editorial comment in the press regarding the significance of the visit.

#### SINKIANG AND TIBET

There was no mention of either of these countries in the papers examined.

Vol. XII No. 2, 1964



The Central Asian Research Centre in association with St. Antony's College (Oxford) Soviet Affairs Study Group

# CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW



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## Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the Review when referring to the Soviet Academies of Sciences, and to newspapers and periodicals etc. employed as sources, are as follows :-

AN/SSSR	Akademiya Nauk (Academy of Sciences) of USSR
AN/Kaz. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Kazakh SSR
AN/Kirg SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Kirgiz SSR
AN/Tad. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Tadjik SSR
AN/Turk. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Turkmen SSR
AN/Uzb. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ Uzbek SSR
SAGU	Sredneaziatskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet (Central Asian State University)
IZ	Izvestiya
K	Kommunist
KOM. P	Komsomolskaya Pravda
KP	Kazakhstanskaya Pravda
KT	Kommunist Tadjikistana
KZ	Krasnaya Zvezda
LG	Literaturnaya Gazeta
NT	New Times
PR	Pravda
PV	Pravda Vostoka
SK	Sovetskaya Kirgiziya
SU	Soviet Union
TI	Turkmenskaya Iskra
VVS	Vedemosti Verkhovnogo Soveta

## CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

VOL. XII, NO. 2

### EDITORIAL

The new Soviet drive against religion foreshadowed in an article by Il'ichev in *KOMMUNIST* No. 1 of this year and since brought into operation, prompts us to consider the present position of Islam in Central Asia and the Soviet attitude towards it. The estimated total of actual or nominal adherents to Islam in the USSR is about 25,000,000, of whom rather more than half live in Central Asia. By comparison with the number of potential adherents to other religions this total is, of course, very small, but the oecumenical character of Islam coupled with the fact that the great majority of Soviet Muslims inhabit the strategically vulnerable Southern frontiers of the USSR have always been matters of great concern to the Soviet Government. Another factor which has always been present, but which has received added importance during the past few years, is the existence in the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of China of some 5,000,000 Muslims of similar race and language to those of Soviet Central Asia.

The extent to which Islamic doctrine has controlled the hearts and minds of the people of Central Asia during the past century has almost certainly been exaggerated by most Tsarist and Soviet as well as by Western writers. Eugene Schuyler, who travelled in Central Asia in 1873 and the value of whose observations is readily admitted by Barthold, gave a disparaging account of Muslim life in the cities of that period and noted that "the contact of Christian civilization with Mohammedan nations has, thus far, only served to develop faults and vices under a gloss of civilization", and he remarked that "reform and progress, to be stable, must come from within". The Jadid movement, which began at the turn of the century, was an attempt at just such a reform; but it was frowned upon by the Tsarist Government and was later denigrated and eventually suppressed under the Soviet regime. The Soviet authorities insisted that the widespread political, agrarian, social, cultural and economic reforms which they had in mind should be associated exclusively with the "triumph of the Revolution"; to them the idea of "reform from within" was indistinguishable from that of nationalism.

Il'ichev's article is but one indication among many that the Party is disturbed at the way in which religious practice has persisted in the USSR and that it is aware that religion has built-in attractions which are lacking in Communism. On the one hand the Party has, by a curious paradox, an almost spiritual faith in the efficacy of atheism as a positive stimulus to productivity; but on the other, it strives to simulate what it regards as the emotional devices by which the religions maintain their hold on the popular imagination. Hence the encouragement of brighter wedding and naming ceremonies, the institution of new secular "festivals" and the establishment of "Palaces of Happiness", the last being oddly reminiscent of Samuel Butler's "Musical Banks".

Some students of Soviet affairs claim that there has recently been a religious revival all over the Soviet Union and that it is this which has prompted the new Soviet action. However true this may be of the Orthodox Church and of some of the Protestant sects, there is as yet no evidence of a revival of Islam. Islamic culture (as distinct from Islamic doctrine and belief) is still very much alive in Central Asia and this is partly - and perhaps, regrettably - due to the stubborn retention of many of the less admirable features of Islamic society. This, it has been suggested, is the only means left to the Muslims of expressing their inarticulate but still smouldering resentment at the continuation of alien rule. The Russians are aware of this and are incensed at it. They think that these survivals are not only objectionable in themselves but are symptomatic of a deep-seated preference for Islamic to Soviet-Russian culture. They still adhere doggedly to the belief that this preference can eventually be eliminated by "scientific" propaganda campaigns and by the provision of "socialist" in place of religious and national traditions.

It is possible and even probable that the Soviet Government will succeed in reducing still further the outward observance of Islam; but it is unlikely that the demise of Islam as a cultural or even as a political force is yet in sight. It is not that Soviet Muslim intellectuals hanker after Islamic culture as practised in the non-Soviet East in the same way as Western Russian intellectuals yearn for the forbidden fruit of Western culture. Indeed, given the choice, they would probably veer towards Western culture themselves as do so many of their co-religionists in independent Muslim countries. But they may still feel that Islam has some indefinable quality which distinguishes it from Western ideologies whether they be capitalist or communist. The Jadids believed that Islam could retain this quality while at the same time discarding much of its medieval trappings in favour of the Western know-how which was sweeping over Russia; and Sultan Galiyev and his followers believed that the Muslims of Russia could develop and lead a "colonial international" based on Communism, but a Communism quite different from the Russo-German variety of Marxism. It was precisely the element of adaptation in these movements which was bound to make them obnoxious to any Russian regime and particularly to the Soviet, which did not hesitate to classify them as counter-revolutionary. The Jadid movement had some slight support from Turkey at the time of the Young Turk movement in 1908, but with the defeat of Turkey in World War I and the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924 all hope of outside help for such movements vanished. Such traces of them as remain are, perhaps, little more than vestigial, but the Soviet Government probably thinks that they could in certain circumstances be resuscitated under the influence of a foreign power. The old bogey of pan-Islam and pan-Turkism as enemies of the Soviet Union manipulated first by Britain and then by the United States are now seldom mentioned and still less believed in by the authorities; but the emergence of China as a great new Asian Communist power with a Muslim population greater than that of the Soviet Union, a power, moreover, with pronounced pan-Asian ambitions, is a phenomenon which must suggest disagreeable possibilities to the Soviet Government.

An indication of Soviet apprehension on the score of future Chinese gambits in the Muslim world can perhaps be seen in the recently reported Soviet negotiations with Turkey for the despatch of 100 Turkish Imams to minister to Muslims in the USSR. Since one of the main qualifications of an Imam is a good knowledge of Arabic there must be some compelling reason for the choice of Turkish rather than Arab or Egyptian Imams. Far-fetched though it may seem, the possibility cannot be excluded that the Russians might prefer to anticipate putative Chinese support of pan-Islam and pan-Turkism by appearing in this role themselves.

When the Central Asian Research Centre published its CITIES OF CENTRAL ASIA in 1961 it took care to send a copy to the Chairman of the Gorkoms of all the cities concerned together with a letter asking for their help in removing any inaccuracies or deficiencies in the book. No acknowledgment of or replies to any of these letters were received and it is only recently that any Soviet reaction to the publication has been noticed. In an article on tourism in a recent issue of NEDELYA the writer deplored the failure to exploit the tourist attractions of Central Asia and described as "shameful" the fact that tourists often arrived armed with a guide-book called THE CITIES OF CENTRAL ASIA which was published not in the Soviet Union, but in London. We were naturally gratified at this cognizance taken of our small venture and still more so to note that the town plan in the new Soviet Guide-book to Bukhara published in Russian in 1963 is not only a great improvement on that contained in the earlier edition, which we criticized adversely in CAR No.4 of 1961, but is an almost exact copy of the plan contained in CITIES OF CENTRAL ASIA. We are glad to know that the additional, although still incomplete, information about the streets and whereabouts of the sights of Bukhara which we had supposed would only be useful to Western visitors has now been placed at the disposal of Soviet visitors as well.

## SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

REFORM AND REVOLUTION IN  
EARLY UZBEK DRAMA

By Edward Allworth

Before the end of the nineteenth century the drama as a means of expression or a mode of entertainment was unknown in Turkestan. In the following article, Professor Allworth, a well-known American authority on Uzbek literature and author of a recent book on the subject\*, traces the development of Uzbek drama from its beginning as a vehicle of social protest with discreet nationalist undertones to its transformation by 1930 into a medium of propaganda under Communist Party control. In the early 1920s the Uzbek drama burgeoned briefly as a means of genuine national expression, which, however, was doomed to extinction as soon as the Jadid movement fell foul of the new regime. (For a description of the Jadid movement see CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, 1964, No.1.)

I. Introduction - II. The Early Reformist Theatre: Behbudi's PADARKUSH - III. The Theatre of Social Protest: Niyazi's BAY ILA KHIZMATCHI - IV. The Nationalist Theatre: Fitrat's Historical Dramas and HIND IKHTILALCHILARI - V. The Beginnings of the Uzbek Communist Theatre: Yashin's IKKI KOMMUNIST

## I. Introduction

Modern Uzbek-language plays initiated local drama of the European sort in Western Turkestan just fifty years ago.(1) The new art represented a major innovation in the indigenous culture of the area. Its literary significance was overshadowed from the very start, however, by the social and political functions which were assigned to the genre. Politics split this extra-literary exploitation of the plays into two main periods unevenly dividing the half century since drama became a part of Turkestan life: fifteen years preceding 1929 and the thirty-five beginning with that date. Both before and after this turning point the burden of Uzbek drama was heavily ideological, but the authors and their messages and audiences in the first part differed strikingly from those

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\* UZBEK LITERARY POLITICS, Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1964

in the second. The rapid evolution of themes and subjects occupying the minds of Turkestanian intellectuals within that relatively short span of time is revealed in a series of notable Uzbek-language plays published prior to 1930.

## II. The Early Reformist Theatre: Behbudi's PADARKUSH

The nature of the first Western Turkestanian drama was determined by the purposes which it was to serve even before it was written. At the very beginning of the 1900s a group of "Jadids", local liberals in Western Turkestan, came together in order to effect changes in Muslim schooling and bring improvements to other fields largely neglected by the traditional Turkestanian authorities and Russian colonial administrators. These Jadids shortly introduced their own drama in order to facilitate the educational tasks they had imposed upon themselves. The new plays printed in Namangan, Samarkand and Tashkent from 1912 onwards were publicly performed for the first time in 1914 under the auspices of the young Muslim reformers who were their actors and authors. In such works, the Jadids branded the narrow-minded bay, ignorant mulla and idle youth as responsible for the chronic afflictions undermining Turkestan society. The catalogue of problems which the first dramatists attacked records the sins which the Jadids regarded as deadly to social progress in Turkestan: pedantry and abuses in the old teaching methods, forced marriage and polygamy, paederasty, prostitution, drug addiction, drinking, profligacy and extravagance, religious fanaticism, attachment to antiquated rites, and social or national irresponsibility.

The delicate matter of politics was scarcely mentioned directly in Uzbek plays before 1917, for no Tsarist censor in such outlying districts of the Russian Empire as Turkestan would have dared approve the publication of political discussion. Knowing this, the Jadid dramatists alluded to actual or potential ties among themselves and other Muslim and Turkic people with great caution and only in terms newly countenanced by the authorities after the 1905 upheavals in Russia. Thus, the seemingly harmless references to a modern Turkestanian's duty to serve the millat-i islam (community (nation) of Muslims) or to become a millatchi musulman (Muslim nationalist)(2), came unobtrusively into the plays dialogue; but the Jadid policies behind them disturbed many Russian officials who, just at the time when Uzbek drama came into being, clearly discerned the active Jadid internationalism to be "pan-Turkic" and "pan-Islamic".(3) Although the obvious ideological content of the first Uzbek-language plays remained slight under the controlled press, the political significance of the dramas did not lie entirely in such cautious statements as the remarks concerning Muslim solidarity; from the outset, the unflattering portrayal of certain Russian types and other Christian nationalities on the Uzbek stage put the national question in sharp focus.

Mahmud Khoja Behbudi (1874-1919) wrote and produced the first Uzbek play PADARKUSH (The Parricide), a drama advocating social reform. It is probably the shortest three-act Uzbek tragedy ever published, amounting to fewer than sixteen printed pages of Arabic script. This brevity was undoubtedly intended by the author to avoid the mistake of delivering an over-long sermon which might defeat its own object. Performance of the play could not reasonably have taken much more than an hour. To fill out the programme, presentations of PADARKUSH were usually supplemented by a short humorous Kazan Tatar or Azerbaydzhani play selected with an eye to providing comic relief for spectators who had already been edified by the serious initial part of these double features.

PADARKUSH's simple plot, set in 20th century Turkestan, opens in the Bay's guest room, where his illiterate, good-for-nothing son abruptly enters to demand pocket money for an evening's amusement. The father tenders him a few coins along with some mild advice to stay away from disreputable night haunts and come home early. A witness of this not unusual domestic event is a disapproving visitor, "a mulla of new ideas", obviously a person influenced by Jadid precepts, who seizes upon the family incident to lecture the bay and his kind about Turkestan's urgent need to elevate itself by embracing modern enlightenment. When practical persuasion regarding the advantages of educating even his own son has no effect on the bay, the clergyman turns to religious arguments, which also fail. Just at this painful moment there enters Ziyali, "a nationalist Muslim in European dress who knows Russian" (another Jadid) and who broadens the discussion concerning education:

Ziyali Now [we are in] a new and different time. In this era, as wealth, land and belongings slip from the hands of the ignorant and unskilled day after day, morals and authority also slip away and even religion becomes powerless. Therefore, we must make an effort to educate the Muslims. . . Two classes of educated people are necessary to us Muslims, especially in this period; one is the scholar of the spiritual. . . The pupils who enter this class must first study the science of religion and Arabic and a little Russian in Turkestan and Bukhara, and then go to Mecca, Medina, Cairo or Istanbul to complete the religious sciences. Let them become really learned. (Bay dozes) Did you understand, Bay?

Bay (raising his head) Yes, yes, go on. You have my attention.

Ziyali In order to become a scholar of the temporal, the youngsters first must learn Muslim reading and writing, the requirements of religion, and after having studied their own national language, should be sent to the regular schools; thus, after they finish studying in the gimnaziya (Russian high school) and city schools they must be sent to St. Petersburg's and Moscow's universities to be taught dogtorliq (medicine), zakonchilik (law)(4), inzhnirlik (engineering), sudyalik (jurisprudence), commerce, agriculture, industry, economics, physics, pedagogy, and other sciences. . . and educated Muslim children must be sent to the universities of Western Europe, America, and Istanbul for experience. . . (the Bay sleeps) this business is impossible without money and the generosity of great bays like you. . . of course you have understood what I said, esteemed Bay! Bay! . . .

Bay (dozes, raises head yawns) Yes, yes. . . (rolls over on his side) sn-sno snore. .

Ziyali May the Lord God have mercy on the people of Islam and especially on us Turkestanians (wipes tears from his eyes with a handkerchief, goes out). (5)

In order to dramatize the catastrophe impending if Turkestan fails to change, the action immediately following this discourse develops in a tavern where several young men are drinking and plotting to rob the bay's house with the ready help of his own son in order to obtain rubles to pay for a Russian prostitute named Liza. In their execution of this scheme, the bay is murdered and robbed. Returning to the tavern with a money-bag, the criminals send off fifteen rubles via Artun, an Armenian

procurer, and Liza quickly appears to the cheers of the assembled youths, who toast her in broken Russian. After another drink or two, police whistles are heard in the street, Russian patrolmen arrive, Liza runs away as the delinquents are arrested and a Jadid spokesman reappears on the stage to complete the parable:

Ziyali . . . this is the destiny of ignorant and untrained children. If their fathers had educated them, this robbery and parricide would not have taken place and they wouldn't have drunk liquor this way. . . they would not spend a lifetime in Siberia and in chains and on the judgment day remain in Hades. .

Pristuf (Pristav) (imperiously [to the prisoners] ) Move along, turma (tyurma)  
(prison), marsh (march)! (curtain)

With these final words, pronounced in Russian by a Russian policeman leading the youth of Turkestan away to prison and Siberian exile, the author completes the delicate task of showing, without alarming the Russian censors, that alien justice awaits Turkestanian fathers and sons who falter in their social, religious, and national obligations, while at the same time he strongly insists that salvation lies through education.

The dozen and a half Uzbek-language works which saw the stage before October 1917 were surprisingly negative in spirit, for the playwrights following Behbudi emulated him also in depicting the evils rather than praising the virtues of their world. Considering that the drama was sponsored by a new generation and a different kind of leadership in Turkestan, it might have been expected that the attitudes of conservative Muslims, who not only refused to participate in the modern theatre but zealously opposed it, would not have been brought into the limelight. The Jadids were, however, forced to portray the conservatives in order to condemn them, and in this aspect of characterization scored their greatest successes, for, as is so often the case with the earnest drama of protest, the villains were painted in the most effective colours while the positive figures by comparison were artistically weak. Because of this preoccupation with certain classes of individuals and problems, the first Turkestanian playwrights cannot be said to have provided an entirely balanced representation of the life around them. But in view of their eagerness to castigate society's enemies, the wonder is that the new dramatists drew as rounded a picture of it as they did.

### III. The Theatre of Social Protest: Niyazi's BAY ILA KHIZMATCHI

The plays which began to appear shortly after the overthrow of Tsarism hardly differed from the first Uzbek drama in respect of this tendency to preach and protest; but in the early Soviet period three noticeable changes did occur in genres and themes. Original comedies concerning human pretensions and foibles, and seemingly related to the folk tradition, began to be presented around 1917. External affairs and open religious controversy also engaged the attention of local playwrights only after the Soviet regime was seated in Moscow. Whereas social problems dominated the pre-1917 Uzbek stage, politics also came actively onto the scene after the Revolution when Tsarist Russian police, officials and military men were held up to sharp attack on the new Uzbek stage, apparently for the first time.

Russophobia and social class conflict, the first in a sense leading to or strengthening the second, along with a strong anti-clerical fervour, distinguish the earliest extant political play of Hamza Hakim Zada Niyazi (1889-1929), BAY ILA

KHIZMATCHI (Master and Servant), written in 1918.(7) Its plot, like all of Niyazi's, is uncomplicated by intellectual or artistic nuance, but the drama must have been a powerful experience for onlookers, especially during the Civil War (1918-21) when the outcome of conflicts and independence movements in Russian Turkestan could not safely have been predicted. BAY ILA KHIZMATCHI's principal phases take the audience through (a) cruel domestic wrangles and tragedies attributed to the institution of polygamy; (b) the machinations of wealthy and powerful men in hot pursuit of young girls for their households; (c) demonstrations of the venality of Muslim clergy, local police, elected officials(8), and Russian colonial administrators; (d) suffering on the part of the poor, culminating in the Siberian exile of the Servant, his wife's forced remarriage to the rich Master, and her suicide; (e) a sympathetic strike by the Servant's friends against the Master's factory, and subsequent distant rumblings from Siberia, where the exiled Servant, along with a sotsialist (socialist)(9), is saved from the executioner at the last minute by news of revolution in Russia.

Niyazi's desire to pillory together the Uzbek authorities and the Russian officials who sustained them, reveals itself in the following conversation which takes place between the Russian District Commandant and a local Mingbashi (Uzbek chief of some seven villages) and his cohorts. (Scene at a banquet in the Mingbashi's house):

Russian District Commandant Mingbashi, what is the state of the people under your control?

Mingbashi Everything is calm and peaceful, Excellency!

RDC Wrong! According to information we have received, seemingly some riffraff, tramps, ill-formed thieves, and rascals steal the property of faithful subjects of his majesty the Tsar, like Salihbay, and insult our esteemed Qazi (judge) and the important theologians who are serving the holy Shari'at. . . (pounding the table) This is a disgraceful situation! You and I are answerable for every single noble gentleman! Before sitting down to your banquet, I shall ask a question: Do you know Ghafir, the thief?

Mingbashi I know him! I know him, your Excellency! The Bay's servant, who stole the Master's money; a thief! An atheist who has insulted the keepers of the Shari'at!

RDC Did you take measures? After all, you are Mingbashi, a Muslim yourself! Your duty and mine is to work for the flowering of religion, of Islam, day and night rendering aid to the keepers of the Shari'at. . .

Mingbashi Such an accursed one must be destroyed instantly. . . Gentlemen! Though his Excellency the Russian District Commandant be of another religion, see how he is concerning himself for the holy Shari'at. . .

RDC . . . All right! . . . speak up, gentlemen, is Ghafir a thief or an honest man?

Eksploatatorlar (Russian plus Uzbek: exploiters) A thief, sir, a thief!

RDC Is he a rebel against the Tsar?

Eksploatatorlar A rebel! A sinner! A criminal! . . .

RDC Discussion finished! For me, a single word from such great and important individuals is authoritative. The wealthy, the keepers of the Shari'at, and the qazis will never say an incorrect thing. (Endorses deportation order) The place for such a terrible dangerous man is far-off and dreadful Siberia.(10)

The logical sequel to the outrages pictured in the first three acts of his drama, *BAY ILA KHIZMATCHI*, was, in Niyazi's view, the Servant-hero Ghafir's fruitless appeal to the Russian District Commandant for justice against the influential Turkestanians who conspired to frame and arrest him in order to kidnap his wife. No civilized critic could say that this fictional Ghafir was not sufficiently wronged to justify his outburst, but the logic which his protest follows will not satisfy most non-Communist readers. Although the dramatist was not a Party member when the play was written(11), he follows in the wake of the Marxists, not distinguishing between good and evil men wherever they are found, but employing the rough generalizations employed in theories of a class society. This drama represents all middle class individuals negatively (though royalty is not criticized) and every poor man and woman positively. The Servant and his wife call for revenge against all clergy, civil servants, property owners, officials, and the like, without focusing upon their particular opponents and grievances. These primitive dramatic conflicts, which were unusual on the Uzbek stage in 1918 and probably had their beginnings in Western Turkestan with Niyazi's plays, were repeated in hardly more sophisticated forms in later Uzbek Soviet melodrama again and again, especially after the Uzbek theatre took on a more official tone and Communist Party flavour around 1929.

#### IV. The Nationalist Theatre: Fitrat's Historical Dramas and HIND IKHTILALCHILARI

At the beginning of the 'twenties the political currents of modern Turkestan had already begun to find expression in the Uzbek theatre. The chaotic situation in the Revolutionary and Civil War years and the period immediately following had been greatly complicated in Western Turkestan by the activities of White and Red Russians (with the different Russian military forces and political factions involved), most of whose aims conflicted with the wishes of both conservative and Jadid Uzbeks, as well as with the ideas of a few, like the playwright Niyazi, who ultimately favoured the Bolsheviks.

After 1917, the Jadids lost the lead as social reformers in Turkestan and were compelled to play their role mainly as nationalists. They retained dominance in the drama of the new period, but, although enjoying almost a monopoly in the theatre for at least ten years, were never quite free, because of Russian military control in the area, to express their political ideas openly on the stage. In spite of this, during the Revolutionary era when hope still existed among the Uzbeks for an independent Turkestan, new patriotic plays and pageants evoked the spirit of great Mongol, Muslim, and Turkic chieftains of the past as an example for the present throughout Western Turkestan. Audiences were now treated to a repertoire very different from that of the pre-Soviet reformist theatre of the Jadids. Several works by Abdalrauf Fitrat (1886-1938) appeared between 1918 and 1920 carrying the new patriotic theme of building national (the Turkestan nation) consciousness in modern politics on the grand, historic past. This was a reversal of Behbudi's earlier effort to arouse national

feeling mainly with visions of the bad men of the old society and of an emancipated future. To remind theatregoers of their triumphant heritage, Fitrat alone in a short period wrote for the stage six historical pieces entitled, OGHUZ KHAN, JENGIZ KHAN, TIMURNING SAGHANASI (Tamerlane's Mausoleum), ULUGH BEK, ABU MUSLIM, and ABUL FAIZ KHAN. The Bolsheviks found only the last of these acceptable; the first four were said to demand that foreigners be driven out of Turkestan in order to return the area to Asian control.

Fitrat's contribution did not end with patriotic historical dramas. At least two of the many other plays he wrote were based upon stories of political affairs in colonial India. One of these, HIND IKHTILALCHILARI (The Indian Insurgents) (1920), became perhaps the only play written in Turkestan ever to be published in Uzbek outside the Soviet Union in an Uzbek author's lifetime. It was first printed in Berlin in 1923, apparently by some of Fitrat's former students, who, in keeping with the Jadid and nationalist principle of broadening the education of Muslims, had been sent to Germany for European training in the early 1920s. HIND IKHTILALCHILARI, on the surface a romantic melodrama of heartbreak, espionage, and rebellion set in Lahore, has always been regarded by Uzbek nationalists as an allegory with direct application to colonial Turkestan under the Russians. (12) With such an interpretation the play takes on real political meaning in Turkestan, for the message of this "tragedy", as Fitrat called it, contradicts Communist dicta with a call to unite, rather than destroy, all classes and factions in the local population and to revolt against the foreign power, personified in the Uzbek play by British police and military officers. Fitrat's insurgents were intensely concerned with this question of unstratified revolutionary solidarity.

'Abdu Subbuh . . . today all Hindustan is in turmoil.

Hamam Singh Hindustan's workers, merchants, farmers, and mullas have turned into bitter enemies of the English.

Badrinath Don't you speak of our poets and writers? Flames pour from their pens, not "letters", bombs fly from their mouths, not "words". (13)

When the insurgents have finally succeeded in attracting local police and militia to their cause and have won an armed skirmish against British forces, the play closes with a call for revolution:

Badrinath Now that we are all united, we shall make every effort for Hindustan. We shall liberate our country from the imperialists. Long live Hindustan! Long live the revolution!

Everyone We shall liberate our homeland. Long live the revolution! (14)

Fitrat's HIND IKHTILALCHILARI was not the only specimen of allegorical Uzbek drama. PORTUGALIA INQILABCHILARI (Portuguese Revolutionaries) (ca. 1920), among other plays, came from the pen of Abdullah Awlani (1878-1934), who founded the Tashkent dramatic society "Turan" in 1913. Uzbek plays devoted to revolution as seen from the Soviet viewpoint included Niyazi's KHWARAZM INQILABI (Khivan Revolution) (1921-4) and QANLI KUN (Bloody Day) (1926) written by Ziya Sa'id (1901-38) and Mu'minjan. Disorders in Turkestan resulting from the Imperial Russian conscription decree of 1916 supplied the theme of QANLI

KUN. The authors asserted that this was the first Uzbek revolutionary drama, but in fact it only returned to an anti-colonial and anti-clerical, class-war theme like that of BAY ILA KHIZMATCHI by Niyazi and other early Soviet Uzbek works, concentrating upon the inhuman activities of a Tsarist pristav (Russ.: police inspector), described in the cast of characters as a "tyrannical and cunning Russian".(15) Because of its Russophobic tone, which soon went out of fashion in Soviet Central Asia, this drama, like Behbudi's PADARKUSH, and the separatist and nationalist plays of Awlani and Fitrat, remains officially forgotten in the USSR today. As a consequence of their writing such dramas, Awlani, Fitrat, and Sa'id were among many Uzbek authors who lost their lives in the Russian purges of the 1930s. Behbudi and Niyazi had died earlier by violence, becoming the first of a long list of martyred Turkestanian playwrights.

YARQIN AY and POLAT (Steel) by Cholpan, HALIMA by Ghulam Zafari, ARSLAN by Fitrat, and a few more dramas or musicals composed by these and other Uzbek nationalists who perished in the 'thirties, survived this first Soviet decade, only partly as a result of their genuine popular appeal. They were permitted by the new regime to enjoy these long engagements because, in advocating modernization or attacking certain social ills in Turkestan - seclusion of women, child marriage, illiteracy, superstition, and unhygienic medical practices, for example - the works made domestic propoganda which was useful for the time being to the Soviet authorities. National political drama (like Fitrat's Indian plays) which had never been encouraged, attained but a relatively modest development and soon after the partition of Turkestan in 1924-5 disappeared under Communist pressure. Upon the return in 1927 of the first contingent of Uzbeks sent off to Moscow to study drama at the Uzbek Drama Studio especially opened for them, drastic changes began to be made in local repertoires, and nationalistic plays, which made up the majority, were dropped for political reasons. This accelerated attrition in the quantity and variety of Uzbek dramas, combined with the as yet almost inarticulate state of the Uzbek Communist dramatists, provoked open complaints from actors and critics that the plays now made available to the State companies were ninety per cent "European"(16), meaning Russian or translations taken through Russian. The start in cleansing Uzbek repertoires coincided with a moment when a need was felt for new public attitudes to facilitate the industrialization and collectivization programmes instituted by the Russians after 1927 in the Soviet Central Asia and elsewhere in the USSR. In such a changing atmosphere the old Uzbek social drama gave way to plays whose situations suited Moscow better or were actually planned there. With this decisive step, Turkestanian drama, which began as part of an international Turkic modernization movement evident earlier among the intellectuals of Azerbaydzhan, the Crimea, Tatarstan and Turkey, passed definitively from its second or nationalist stage to the beginning of the present phase in which its political social and artistic cues are taken from directors in Russia and relayed to the local theatre through Uzbekistan's Russian-dominated Communist channels.

#### V. The Beginnings of the Uzbek Communist Theatre: Yashin's IKKI KOMMUNIST

The infiltration of official Soviet views on both domestic and external political affairs first found expression in original Uzbek plays with the publication of works produced during the first Five-Year Plan (1928-31) by the new "proletarian" playwrights of Uzbekistan. One of these young proletarian Uzbeks who received his higher education in Russia, Kamil Nu'manov Yashin (1909-), came back from Leningrad in 1928 and

published his first big play, IKKI KOMMUNIST (Two Communists) (1929), dealing with the Civil War period in Turkestan. (17) In the dramatic personae of this work he brought together many of the stereotypes which typified later Uzbek political melodrama: A basmachi chief, a mulla, a bay, and Reilly a British agent, as well as superhuman Russian military men and Communists. Although Yashin's play first appeared at the end of the 'twenties, it is unusually appropriate to mark an end and a beginning in the development of Uzbek drama - the death of national drama and the birth of the truly Communist Uzbek play. It is also a telling late example of the Uzbek political drama, for the author's two substantial revisions of IKKI KOMMUNIST (in 1934 and 1951) not only changed its name to TAR MAR (The Rout), eliminating the suggestion of equality between Russian and Uzbek Party members implied in the original title, but added elements in line with later Soviet policy which re-emphasized, among other matters, the Soviet fear of losing control in Turkestan and the fictitious threat of American interference in the Uzbek area during the Civil War. Declamations in the climaxes of the play's action reflect anti-Western aspects of Soviet foreign policy following World War II, and personages in the play oblivious of anachronism project into the past the later Soviet Russian pose as the "protector" of the Uzbeks against foreign "imperialists":

Ivanov (Russian head of a city "special section") Well, move! (Ivanov enters, holding onto the captured Reilly, puts him into a line.) You tried hard, Reilly Excellency! But your entire operation came to nothing. Your Excellencies get this straight: the Turkestan of the Soviets has no need of you!'

Semyonov (Russian military commander on the Fergana front) Reilly, you turned up here?

Arslan (Uzbek district Party chairman) The bandit chief!

Semyonov Comrades! The top bandit, who spread the plague of basmachilik (partisan resistance to the Soviet regime in Turkestan) in our land, plundered our people, and set fire to our houses, is right here!'. Heroic Red soldiers! In order to finish the basmachis completely, and to preserve our free Homeland from disasters such as this (points to Reilly) which come from America and England, once again, forward!

All Forward! (18)

The creation of dramas like Yashin's shows the method used in fostering the new kind of play to replace those from the old Uzbek nationalists, a process exemplified in the dramatist's early preparation as a Komsomol member leading to his formative years of study in Russia, his eventual return to Uzbekistan, and finally to the writing and repeated revision of political tracts like TAR MAR on advice from Party critics. His case demonstrates clearly the Russian Communist procedure in fashioning an official minority dramaturgy, complete with its own plays, playwrights, actors and language, but without national attitudes, themes, or art (a state of affairs represented in Stalin's formulation regarding national cultures in the USSR: "Socialist in content and national in form").

The drama which the Uzbek Party demanded in the late 1920s might not seem compelling enough now to attract a popular audience, but it was interesting to many Central Asians, as is shown by the fact that Yashin's IKKI KOMMUNIST (TAR MAR)

ran for hundreds of performances and was repeatedly revived over two decades in the subsidized State theatres of Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan and was, indeed, the play which launched modern Tadzhik drama in 1933.<sup>(19)</sup> Such longevity cannot be explained solely by the official support which drama received. The truth is that while neophyte Uzbek playwrights were being schooled for their duties in Russia and among local Party organizations, a public was being prepared for them by massive drives for basic literacy and political indoctrination, plus psychological, cultural, and social reorientation carried out by all the educational media, including theatre, available to the Soviet authorities. It is not surprising, therefore, that the uncomplicated plots in political plays by Yashin and other Uzbek dramatists sometimes met with a considerable response - the ordinary audience also gained a simple view of Soviet and world affairs. Blood-and-thunder melodramas like TAR MAR were composed precisely for them. From the rise of the Uzbek genre represented by Yashin's play, it is evident that serious Uzbek drama as a truly national expression had been superseded by Russian Communist dramaturgical models, at least temporarily, within fifteen years after the first Uzbek play had appeared on the stage. The originality of theatrical literature in Uzbek, ironically enough, fell victim to the very forces which gave it existence initially and which the earliest Turkestanian playwrights had eagerly tried to serve - the urge for social change and political mobilization.

#### Notes

- (1) "Western Turkestan" formerly designated the territory now called Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan.
- (2) Mahmud Khoja Behbudi, PADARKUSH; Samarkand, 1913, pp.7, 17. Behbudi's play was first presented on stage in Samarkand on 14 January 1914 to a capacity audience in the Russian Narodnyi Dom, a theatre in the new section of the city.
- (3) P.A. Stolypin, "O merakh dlya protivodeystviya panislamistskomu i panturan-skomu (pantyurkskomu) vliyaniyu sredi musul'manskogo naseleniya", Leningradskoye Otdeleniye Tsentral'nogo Istoricheskogo Arkhiva, Delo kantselyarii Soveta Ministrov, 1911-13 gg. No.3 (237), cited in KRASNYY ARKHIV, No.34, 1929, p.107.
- (4) Zakonchilik and the two terms following it consist of root words taken from Russian and amalgamated with Uzbek suffixes.
- (5) Mahmud Khoja Behbudi, PADARKUSH, pp.6-8.
- (6) Mahmud Khoja Behbudi, PADARKUSH, pp.16-17.
- (7) Niyazi's earlier play ZAHARLI HAYAT YAKHUD 'ISHQ QURBANLARI (A Poisoned Life, or Victims of Love) (Tashkent, 1916), was a sentimental tear-jerker described by the author on the book's title page as "a tragedy of a girl and her suitor, taken from the life of Turkestan itself".
- (8) Eugene Schuyler, TURKISTAN; Scribner, Armstrong & Co., New York, 1877, Vol.1, p.169. The practice of buying and selling votes for judgeships and other offices in the Turkestanian administration was notorious under the Russian colonial governors. See NARODNYE SUDY TURKESTANSKOGO KRAYA. OTCHET PO REVIZII TURKESTANSKOGO KRAYA, PROIZVEDENNOY PO VYSOCHAYSEMUM POVELYENIYU SENATOROM GOFMEYSTEROM GRAFOM K.K. PALENOM; St.Petersburg, Senatskaya tipografiya, 1909, pp.10-12.
- (9) Niyazi's "socialist" in Siberia was most likely a Russian, but in the first Uzbek political dramas these new figures were necessarily called kommunist or

sotsialist in order to avoid the identification "Russian" which was then still used pejoratively in Turkestan.

- (10) Hamza Hakim Zada Niyazi, "Bay ila khizmatchi", TANGANLAN ASARLAR; Tashkent, OzSSR Dawlat Badiiy Adabiyat Nashriyati, 1958, pp.178-82.
- (11) Niyazi was accepted into the Communist Party only in 1920 at the age of 31. See SOVET OZBEKISTANNING YAZUWCHILARI; Tashkent, OzSSR Dawlat Badiiy Adabiyat Nashriyati, 1959, p.181.
- (12) A second edition was published by Veli Kayum-Khan, the emigré nationalist leader, and Anna von Gabain (in Latin script); Grafenhainichen, 1944.
- (13) Abdalrauf Fitrat, HIND IKHTILALCHILARI; Berlin, 1923, p.37.
- (14) Abdalrauf Fitrat, p.95. This play was written and performed exactly at a time when partisan warfare in Western Turkestan was strongest against Russian army units. The partisans, known to the Russians as basmachis and calling themselves qorbashis, scored a number of military successes initially, but were unable to consolidate their positions in Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan.
- (15) Ziya Sa'id and Mu'minjan, QANLI KUN; Samarkand-Tashkent, Ozbekistan Dawlat Nashriyati, 1926, p.5.
- (16) Bastqarif, "Oktabr wa san'atimiz", MA'ARIF WA OQUTGHUCHI; No.11, 1927, p.64.
- (17) Yashin followed the lead of young Russian revolutionary writers in choosing this theme. Between 1921 and 1924, the Civil War dominated Russian literature. See Gleb Struve, SOVIET RUSSIAN LITERATURE 1917-1950 Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma, 1951, p.31 ff.
- (18) Yashin, "Tar Mar", TANLANGAN ASARLAR; Tashkent, OzSSR Dawlat Badiiy Adabiyat Nashriyati, 1958, Vol.1, p.142.
- (19) Joseph MacLeod, THE NEW SOVIET THEATRE; George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1943, p.43.

## KIRGIZIYA DURING THE GREAT PURGE

By Azamat Altay

First hand accounts of the Great Purge in Central Asia in the 1930s are few and far between. Moreover, recent Soviet histories of the period either ignore the subject or treat it in the most perfunctory manner. The following largely personal recollections of the purge by a Kirgiz who was a student at the time are, therefore, of considerable interest as supplementing published history. The reader cannot fail to be struck by the enormous pride and affection the younger generation of Kirgiz felt for the most prominent representatives of their very new national intelligentsia, and hence their dismay and initial complete incomprehension when the latter, almost to a man, were condemned as "enemies of the people". That this pride still persists among the Kirgiz is shown by the persistent attempts made by some intellectuals since the war to rehabilitate Tynystanov. (See CAR, Vol. X, No. 4, pp. 358-9.)

Mr. Altay has endeavoured to corroborate and supplement his own recollections with material from published sources, but this has proved far from easy, and there may therefore be some errors of chronology in his account. An idea of the difficulties facing a student of this period can be gained from a perusal of two recent editions of the official history of Soviet Kirgiziya. THE HISTORY OF KIRGIZIYA, Vol. II, Frunze, 1956, which covers the period 1917-56, makes not a single reference of any kind to the Great Purge in its 400 pages. The revised and expanded edition of this volume, which appeared in 1963, devotes only two of its 796 pages to "The Negative Influence of the Cult of Stalin's Personality in Kirgiziya" and does not give the name of a single victim. At least, however, it admits that in 1937-8 the cream of the Party, Soviet and Komsomol personnel, and of the cultural and scientific workers of the republic were repressed without foundation, and, in order to give an idea of the scale of the purge, it quotes the figure of a nearly 51 per cent drop in Party membership in Kirgiziya between 1 January 1934 and 1 January 1939.

Brief autobiography

I was born in the aul of Taldy-Su near Lake Issyk-Kul' in Kirgiziya in September 1920. My father was a poor peasant who worked for the boys before the Revolution. My mother was the daughter of a boy impoverished at the time of the 1916 revolt. When the revolt was put down my parents, with hundreds of thousands of others, fled to China. They returned in 1918 when Soviet rule was established. As a former hired hand my father received land, draught animals and other assistance from the State. There were ten people in our family. I was the oldest child. My parents were illiterate. As far as I remember we were comfortably off from the middle of the 1920s. I went to school when I was eight. After five years of primary school I went to an

incomplete secondary school, the School of Kolkhoz Youth (my parents had become kolkhozniks in 1929). On graduating with distinction in 1935, I entered the Kirgiz Pedagogical Tekhnikum in Frunze. After completing my studies there in 1938, I was assigned to the schoolchildren's department of the republican newspaper, and in December 1939 I became head of the Pioneers Department of the Kemine rayon committee of the Komsomol in Frunze oblast. I enlisted in the army in October 1940 and was twice captured by the Germans. The first time I escaped and fought with the partisans in Western Belorussia for a year. The second time I was taken to France, where I escaped again and joined the French partisans. Repatriated to the Soviet Zone of Germany in 1945, I was screened and posted to a regiment near the demarcation line. But I had already seen enough and I fled almost immediately and made my way back to France. I worked in a factory there until 1952, when I joined the "Liberty" radio station in Munich. In September 1956 I arrived in the USA.

### Kirov's murder

While I was at the incomplete secondary school, I heard a lot about Trotskyites, bourgeois nationalists, wreckers, saboteurs and Basmachis. Out of lessons the pupils argued about these people, and the sons of Basmachis stuck up for their fathers, but they were not prevented from studying with us.

I was a Pioneer at school. All the Pioneers subscribed to the Kirgiz-language Pioneer newspaper and we read every single article. At the beginning of December 1934 the paper reported that Kirov had been foully murdered by "enemies of the people". We knew all the leaders, and Kirov's name was very popular among us. We had read about him in books and seen him in the cinema. We had particularly liked a film which showed Kirov organizing a detachment in the Caucasus and making an avalanche crash down on the White Guards, and we all dreamed of serving the cause of socialism in such an heroic fashion.

Up till then the local papers had sometimes written that the manap and bay group of the Kirgiz population had been organizing resistance to Soviet rule since 1918, and at the end of 1934 Basmachis were still operating in the mountains in my native region. It seemed to me then that somewhere there was a centre of organized counter-revolution which wanted to destroy the leaders of the Bolshevik Party, and that Kirov was its victim.

### Abdykerim Sadykov

Before Kirov's murder some people in Kirgiziya were accused of bourgeois nationalism, of attachment to the ideology of the counter-revolutionary Alash-Orda, of sympathy towards the Basmachi movement and, fairly infrequently, of Trotskyism, but there was no mass purge. Among the prominent Kirgiz who had already been dismissed for manifestations of bourgeois nationalism were Khudaykulov, the first Chairman of the Koshchi Union which carried out the land and water reform, and D. Babakanov, a Party member since 1918 and Secretary of the Kirgiz obkom.

Abdykerim Sadykov was another who had been purged. After being expelled from the Party in the 1920s for heading a counter-revolutionary group of Alash-Orda sympathies, Sadykov was alleged to have resorted to tactics of stealth, as a result of which during collectivization his group had revived, forming an independent counter-revolutionary organization. Sadykov's organization was accused of having attached great importance to the indoctrination of young students in a spirit of nationalism, and this was later used by the NKVD to justify a policy which led to the ruin of many thousands of young lives.

Sadykov was known to all the young Kirgiz who had used his HISTORY OF KIRGIZIYA and HISTORY OF SHABDAN BATYR at school. He was a representative of the progressive intelligentsia, of whom every Kirgiz was proud. When they began to sling mud at him, calling him an enemy of the Kirgiz, it seemed unbelievable to us.

#### Yusup Abdrakhmanov, Chairman of the Kirgiz Sovnarkom

Yusup Abdrakhmanov had also already been dismissed from the post of Chairman of the Kirgiz Sovnarkom and expelled from the Party. He had been accused among other things, of being a bourgeois nationalist who had continued to maintain links with the bays and manaps. As happened in the majority of cases when charges were made against former Party and Government leaders, they even credited him with manap origins. But from my mother, who came from the same tribe and aul as Abdrakhmanov, I knew that his parents were poor peasants. In 1933 Kirgiziya had been full of refugees from Kazakhstan who were dying of hunger. In order to feed them, Abdrakhmanov had refused to submit to the decision of the Central Asian Bureau of the Party that Kirgiziya send grain to Uzbekistan and this was brought up against him when he was purged. In a book published in 1934 Abdrakhmanov was described as one of the "incurable Right Opportunists" who "had promoted the return of Sadykov to Kirgiziya."

Abdrakhmanov had been replaced by the former Secretary of the Kirgiz obkom, Isakeyev, while Isakeyev's place had been taken by M.L. Belotskiy from Moscow. Belotskiy repeated all the accusations against Abdrakhmanov and his subordinates, but later he too was purged and replaced by A.M. Ammosov from Moscow.

#### The Great Purge gets under way

After Kirov's murder life began to change in Kirgiziya as elsewhere. Expressions like "bourgeois nationalists" and "Trotskyites" were replaced by the single "enemies of the people". And now the consequences for those to whom this expression was applied were much more serious. The time of bloody terror had begun and Kirgiziya became a nest of "enemies of the people". The most prominent representatives of the national intelligentsia, of whom the Kirgiz people were so proud, were declared its enemies. The number of arrests increased daily.

In the purge which took place in those years from the very highest organs of power down to the kolkhozes the "Sadykov affair" (Sadykovshchina) was the centre of universal attention. The purge began simultaneously in the centre and the auls. At meetings held in collective farms, enterprises, schools and Government offices specially briefed Party workers used to unmask someone already arrested or present at the meeting who had at some time seen Sadykov himself or one of those who shared his views. There turned out to be many "Sadykovites" among the teachers who used his books. Not only his books, but even those textbooks which quoted from his works were destroyed. Anyone accused of being an "enemy of the people" at a meeting was arrested at night by the militia. In those years the militia carried out arrests as there were still practically no NKVD workers in the republic. The staff of the militia was trebled. When I went home on holiday in 1937 the number of militia at the post in our kolkhoz had increased from three to about ten.

### My childhood friend Saken Koychubayev

The arrests affected all strata of the population. In 1936 I went home on holiday with several friends. When we disembarked from the steamer, our parents were waiting for us with horses as we still had about 30 kilometres to go. They asked us what was happening in Frunze and we questioned them about things at home. When I was alone with my father he said that militiamen had arrested my friend Saken Koychubayev some time ago as an enemy of the people. I did not want to believe it but my father did not joke about such things. He told me that many other people in our aul had been arrested including the kolkhoz chairman and the Komsomol secretary.

Saken was three or four years older than me, and after finishing primary school had remained in the aul to help his parents in the kolkhoz. Following custom, on my return I called on all my acquaintances, including the Koychubayevs. Saken's mother burst into tears when she saw me. When she had calmed down a little she told me how Saken had been arrested and taken to Karakol\*. After months had passed without any news, his wife Aysha had gone to Karakol where they told her he was in Frunze prison. With money collected by all their relatives, Aysha had set out for Frunze in the kolkhoz lorry two days before our return. Aysha herself returned a few days later. She had not seen her husband but had got clothes and food to him and received a note: "Am alive and well. Love to mother. Thank you. Your Saken." We recognized Saken's handwriting and everyone was glad he was alive. I learnt later that Saken had been arrested because the previous autumn, when a functionary of the provincial Party committee criticized our kolkhoz for delays in grain deliveries, Saken said: "Instead of criticizing, give us some help!" From this they concluded that "all was not right" with Saken, and so the not very literate son of a kolkhoznik became an "enemy of his people". I could have vouched for his innocence, but to whom could I turn? Most probably they would jail me too.

How can someone you love, whose joys and sorrows you share, be an "enemy of his people"? Several times I tried to find out, but nobody could tell me. It was then I realized that one could be arrested for nothing. Before, I had been convinced that Trotskiy and our Abdrakhmanov really had contemplated overthrowing Soviet rule. But Saken never had! Nor had our kolkhoz chairman Bekbolotov who had been arrested.

Previously kolkhoz meetings had been conducted by the kolkhoz boards themselves and the rayon authorities rarely participated. Now all sorts of people from various commissariats and provincial organizations conducted the meetings and unmasked the rayon leaders and called on the people to be vigilant. I attended one such meeting addressed by the secretary of the provincial Party committee Nyazaliyev. Some months later, when I was back in Frunze, I learnt from our kolkhoz driver that Nyazaliyev had shot himself in his flat.

### At the tekhnikum in Frunze

When the college year began I was very keen to ask the other students whether the same thing had been happening in their kolkhozes. I soon found out that it had. Our general favourite, the great joker Tursunov from Osh province, gave an ironic account of how a kolkhoz chairman had been arrested in his rayon and had escaped, probably to Afghanistan. "He must have been an enemy, or he would not have fled,

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\* now Przheval'sk

but would have remained in prison like all his comrades," he concluded. Someone remarked: "You are lucky to have somewhere to flee," to which Tursunov replied with pride: "It is not for nothing that our rayon is called Chon (Great) Alay! "

It was clear from what my friends told me that everywhere the local officials were being arrested and new ones were taking their place. Many workers who had been on good terms with their bosses in the past were consumed with fear, since the arrest of a senior official meant that several of his subordinates suffered cruelly for their former hospitality. It was enough to have invited someone to one's house to land up in prison as his accomplice. People looked for jobs in new places so that it would be more difficult to remember their "dangerous past".

Most of those arrested were in Frunze prison, where they were sorted out for despatch to other prisons or camps. Every day many of their relatives came to our tekhnikum to seek help in finding the prison, and the students sometimes put them up in the hostels saying they were kolkhozniks who had come to town to shop. One evening I was preparing my lessons, when the porter summoned me. Waiting in the corridor were the wives of Saken and Bekbolotov who had just arrived after two days' hard travel. I got some of the girl students to chat to them and in the morning two of them took them "there", as we called the prison. In any case it was impossible for us to pursue our studies normally as many of our teachers had landed up "there".

### Kasym Tynystanov

The third case after those of Sadykov and Abdrakhmanov was that of Kasym Tynystanov which brought many human victims in its wake. If Sadykov and Abdrakhmanov were political leaders of the national intelligentsia, Tynystanov was the pride of the whole Kirgiz nation. The author of several linguistic works and textbooks and a stubborn supporter of the Latin alphabet, he had been People's Commissar of Education in Kirgiziya for many years. Almost everything related with scholarship in Kirgiziya was connected with his name. Kasym Tynystanov was for Kirgiziya the symbol of enlightenment and culture. It seemed that it would be an unbelievable crime to declare such a man an "enemy of his people", but it was done.

It was true that Tynystanov had already been under attack for some years for his links with Alash-Orda sympathizers and his "reactionary" views. When he had retired from the People's Commissariat of Education in 1933 through ill-health, his successor had repeated these charges at a Party plenum. At the same time he had called on Tynystanov to redeem himself by taking part in the compilation of a Kirgiz grammar which he had refused to do in recent years and of which others had shown themselves incapable. Kasym was not at the plenum as he was very seriously ill. At first he was in hospital, and then at home. Our third year students told how they had visited him after entering the tekhnikum. He always had a lot of visitors, particularly students, and all these students dispersed throughout the republic, preserving their love and respect for Kasym.

Now the ailing Tynystanov was arrested. Subsequently they arrested all those who had worked with him in the academic centre; all those who had sympathized with him as a patriot of his people; all those who were on good personal terms with him - and there were very many of these - and even those who had visited him when he was ill. After his arrest they made the same accusations as before. The difference was that before he was free and could continue to work, but now he was in prison. The Tynystanov affair involved the arrest of thousands of people.

And so our Tynystanov was no more. How sorry we were for him. But we knew that our protests could not save him. A special commission was set up to confiscate all

his books. Some people gave them up, but the majority of my friends tried to hide them. I had three of his books at home. I wrote to a friend and asked him to conceal them, and when I returned home he gave them to me and I placed them in an iron box and buried them in the ground.

### North-South rivalry and the arrest of our director

The director of our tekhnikum was Professor Sagyntayev from my own Issyk-Kul' province. At the beginning of the 1936-7 academic year there was such a big influx of students that there were no vacancies for the southerners, who arrived last. Soon the city education department summoned a general meeting of students and staff to discuss raising vigilance towards "enemies of the people", which meant that someone was going to be unmasked. There were some strangers present and one of them attacked our director as a friend of Tynystanov and others who had been arrested. He ended by saying that Sagyntayev was such a rabid nationalist that he wished well only to those from his own district. The southerners were triumphant, and it was only then that I realized that there was this hostility between north and south in Kirgiziya. My friend, Sagyntayev's younger brother, told me that the rivalry existed even in Party and Government circles. Now the NKVD used this antagonism for their own purposes. Sagyntayev was arrested in the night after the meeting. Later, when the purge died down, one of my comrades saw him in Balykchi rayon where he was working as a teacher in an incomplete secondary school.

Sagyntayev's subordinates were arrested at the same time and we sat in class without teachers. It was the same in other schools in Frunze. Teachers were driven round from school to school, and as soon as they had finished in one they went off to another. Sometimes the physical training instructor held PT sessions for all the classes left without teachers.

### The arrests and terror continue

The arrests and terror continued. Yezhov's counterpart in Kirgiziya was the Commissar of Internal Affairs, Ivan Petrovich Lotsmanov. Lotsmanov never made speeches at meetings. Almost all the national-minded intelligentsia perished in these years. The young people who had believed false promises and worked conscientiously for the Soviet cause also suffered. Few people kept their old jobs, although the authorities were anxious not to arouse the suspicion that they were destroying all the Kirgiz. For this reason they replaced one Kirgiz with another to show that they were only against those "who want to impose an exploiter system on you." Of the six men appointed as chairmen or deputy chairmen of the Kirgiz TsIK and Sovnarkom on their formation in 1927, only Urazbekov was left now. The rest were in prison. It was the same in all the commissariats and Party organs.

### The second-year student Sharipa Kydyrova

Students also suffered because of the "guilt" of their fathers and relatives, and for imprudently expressed sympathy. One of our second year students was Sharipa Kydyrova. Everyone was fond of her because of her courage and gaiety. Then suddenly she became taciturn. As soon as lessons were over she used to go to the hostel, sit on her bed and sob quietly. Her friends tried to find out what was wrong, but she only asked them to leave her in peace. This went on for two months until we read in the papers that her elder brother, the chairman of a village soviet in Atbashi rayon,

had been arrested two months earlier. The article mentioned that he had a sister in our tekhnikum. Immediately the city education department summoned a meeting of students and staff at which one of its instructors read a report based on the newspaper article. He passed on the education department's demand that certain students be expelled from the tekhnikum. Since the order came from above no one tried to defend even their close friends. The Komsomol secretary was the first to support the expulsions. After several minutes of general silence Sharipa stood up and declared boldly that her brother was not and could not be an enemy of his people. Then she suddenly started to sob and left her place. One of the students began to say, "If she vouches for her brother. . .", but the chairman interrupted him: "There are State agencies to discover who is an enemy or a friend and they know their business better than any of us." The meeting decided to expel Sharipa and three others. When we returned Sharipa was sobbing: "I wanted to study! I wanted to serve my people! I wanted to educate the young! . . . And suddenly it's all ended like this."

I was struck by the heartlessness of her friends who did not offer a word of comfort. But I misjudged them. When Sharipa was given no food coupons the next day, they fed her. She could not leave for distant Atbashi at once because she had no money, nor had her friends. But when they got their stipends at the end of the month, they all gave her their meagre pocket money for the next month down to the last kopeck, and they bought her a ticket and food for the journey and saw her off.

### The ruin of countless young lives

The situation was the same in all the secondary and higher educational institutions of Kirgiziya. The fate of those expelled was pitiable. Senior national officials who remained in their jobs tried to save some from expulsion by sending them to kolkhozes to "ride out the storm". But this only brought on even more unpleasant consequences for them since a stranger in a district was immediately a subject of suspicion to the NKVD. Those expelled from schools returned home. Some got jobs in the kolkhoz administration, and some did short courses for agronomists, vets, etc. They married and produced families. And when the storm died down after several years many could not resume their studies because they had forgotten all they had learnt and moreover could not leave their families. So thanks to the sway of Yezhov in the USSR and Lotsmanov in Kirgiziya the fate of many tens of thousands of students was shattered.

Of those who fell into Lotsmanov's hands few came out alive. Thirteen people were arrested in my aul. Only one of them returned, in 1939, half dead and as gaunt as a skeleton. He did not want to answer our questions and only said: "Why are you interested? There's no need for you to know about it." It was only when I was alone with him that he said: "I wouldn't wish my worst enemy to experience what I've seen and been through."

### The fate of other leading writers

The mass purge among literary figures continued. After Tynystanov's arrest Sydyk Karachev was no longer safe since these two were considered the "older generation" of writers who were connected in the past with Alash-Orda ideology. Karachev's novel *IN DAYS OF SERVITUDE*, regarded up till then as one of the best works of Kirgiz literature, and his play *CHAIRMAN ZEYNEP* suddenly turned out to be "hostile" to Soviet ideology. Karachev was working in a newspaper office in Osh at the time. Our students said his greatest pleasure was to talk to young people who were doing well in their studies. He was arrested in Osh.

Boru Kenensarin had made a name for himself in 1926 with a political lampoon aimed against the Soviet bureaucracy. His successful play, which gave a realistic account of collectivization, did not arouse great sympathy for Soviet policy in Kirgiziya. And Kenensarin himself was a follower of Tynystanov. That was quite enough. . . . After him went the writers Namatov, Dzhamgirchinov and the children's writer Kokenov.

The second group of writers was headed by the former secretary of the Kirgiz Association of Proletarian Writers, Toychinov. Toychinov, a Party member since 1918, had been for many years a collector of Kirgiz literature and was the outstanding literary critic. Many ranked him immediately after Tynystanov and Karachev. He was accused of being an inveterate nationalist who had asserted that there could be no proletarian literature in Kirgiziya. As director of the Kirgiz State Publishing House he was alleged to have employed bourgeois nationalists who attempted to distort Kirgiz folklore and give it a bay and manap character.

Even the most prominent of the young writers, Aly Tokombayev\*, who was Chairman of the Union of Soviet Writers in Kirgiziya and was set up against the "bourgeois nationalist" writers, was eventually arrested. Though not enjoying the authority of Tynystanov, Tokombayev had carried on some of the traditions of his predecessors. Now he was accused of having extolled some of the writers who had been purged. Some months later in May 1938, when I was on a newspaper job in the rayon, a friend sent me a telegram telling me to look at a certain edition of the paper. When it arrived I realized from four verses signed with Tokombayev's pseudonym Balka that he was free. I was strangely glad. It raised hopes that perhaps Tynystanov and the others would also be freed. When I returned to Frunze all the students and newspaper workers were talking about it, but our hopes were not realized. Our beloved writers still remained "there", and we did not even find out what their sad fate was.

### Isakeyev and the First Congress of the Kirgiz Communist Party

At the same time a purge of the Party and State apparatus was taking place. One of its leading victims was Isakeyev, a Party member since 1921, who, after being Commissar of Agriculture, then First Secretary of the Kirgiz obkom, and finally Chairman of the Sovnarkom, suddenly became an "enemy of the people" in the middle of 1937.

The first congress of the Kirgiz Communist Party opened on 5 June 1937 at the height of the Yezhovshchina. At the congress certain Party members criticized Isakeyev, but after long discussions our national personnel managed to retain their former leading posts. The congress lasted almost two weeks, an unheard-of time for a republican congress. An enormous number of delegates spoke and the atmosphere was extremely tense. The Kirgiz intelligentsia occupying Party posts made a final attempt to stand up for their rights against the terror and coercion of the NKVD. Thanks to their solidarity they triumphed at the congress. But three months later Isakeyev was expelled from the Party and arrested immediately.

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\* Now Chairman of the Kirgiz Supreme Soviet and until recently a Secretary of the Kirgiz Central Committee

### The role of PRAVDA's correspondent V. Khodakov

V. Khodakov arrived in Kirgiziya as PRAVDA's special correspondent at the beginning of September 1937. There is no doubt that he was a very well briefed NKVD worker who had a special task. He immediately wrote an article criticizing Party officials throughout the republic which provided a basis for the NKVD to deal with all the senior officials including even the First Secretary Ammosov. From Kirgiziya Khodakov moved on to Siberia and the Far East, and wherever he went he found a multitude of "enemies of the people" and wrote articles which served as a signal to intensify the purge.

In his revealing article in PRAVDA of 13 September 1937 entitled "The Rotten Policy of the Kirgiz Central Committee", Khodakov complained that the Kirgiz Central Committee had taken eight days to react to a previous PRAVDA article on bourgeois nationalists and had then confined themselves to removing Isakeyev and the Commissar of Agriculture Yesenomanov from the bureau of the Central Committee. He went on to warn the editor of SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA that, if he did not correct the line of his newspaper, his loyalty to the Party would be in doubt. The paper had claimed successes for the Kirgiz Central Committee in unmasking bourgeois nationalists, whereas up till then, wrote Khodakov, most enemies had been unmasked over the head of the Central Committee and without its assistance. Khodakov described the "astonishing effrontery" of the nationalists at the recent Party congress and how as a result of their ruses "the [newly elected] Kirgiz Central Committee had turned out to be infested with bourgeois nationalists." The removal of Isakeyev and Yesenomanov from the Central Committee was not enough, he continued. Khodakov then objected to the Central Committee's appointment of its Second Secretary, Dzhiyenbayev, as Commissar of Agriculture in place of Yesenomanov, alleging that Dzhiyenbayev was a known supporter of Abdrakhmanov and other enemies of the people. Khodakov ended by saying that PRAVDA's article had greatly increased the political activity of the rank and file Communists. "But the leaders of the republican Party organization and comrade Ammosov do not want to carry out purgative work properly. It is only under great pressure that the Central Committee expels fascist agents from Party ranks. In point of fact the Kirgiz Central Committee continues to carry out the rotten policy of adopting a liberal attitude towards, and even harbouring, enemies of the people."

Ammosov, elected Kirgiz First Secretary immediately after the congress, was removed for his soft-hearted attitude towards the nationalists. He was luckier than other congress delegates and senior officials, since he was not arrested and went back to Moscow. In his place the Kremlin sent the more experienced A.V. Vagov.

### The Chairman of the TsIK, Urazbekov

Not long after Isakeyev was expelled from the Party, the chairman of the TsIK Urazbekov was also expelled. Urazbekov was called "our aksakal" in Kirgiziya, and the young people called him "our Kalinin". He had been chairman of the TsIK for more than 10 years. When we were returning home for the summer holidays in 1936 we learnt that "aksakal" Urazbekov was on board the same Issyk-Kul' steamer. He soon got to know us and won our general sympathy by his simple behaviour. Urazbekov was arrested and we did not know what became of him. A Karakol teacher alleged in a newspaper article that Urazbekov had trained students as "bourgeois nationalists" and mentioned our trip on Issyk-Kul', but did not give the names of any of the students.

Those unmasked were replaced by new people who were little known. Kerim Kenenbayev took Dzhiyenbayev's place as Second Secretary, but fate did not smile on

him for long and soon he lost all his posts. The papers reported only in passing that the Central Committee had still not "fully purged" its ranks of enemies. Vagov spared no one and did not stand on ceremony with his Kirgiz comrades. He never defended anybody as Ammosov had done.

### The purge in the Komsomol

In 1937 the secretary of the Kirgiz Komsomol was Umetaly Barakanov, a very energetic young Communist. In November 1937 he was confirmed as a candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet for the Naukat district in south Kirgiziya and had meetings with the voters. Almost on the eve of the elections the people of Naukat were stunned by the news that their candidate had turned out to be "an enemy of the people" and had been crossed off the list. An unknown man was elected in his place.

At the same time there was a purge of Komsomol organizations in the centre and the rayons. The young girl who was secretary of the rayon Komsomol in my native district was expelled from the Komsomol when her husband, a local Party official, was arrested. Later the couple had their Party and Komsomol membership restored, but they did not return to their former posts.

### The elections to the Supreme Soviet

The end of 1937 approached. The republic was preparing for the elections to the Supreme Soviet. Among the candidates there was not one of the former leaders of the country. There were none of those famous names of which our people were so proud. Instead, people the Kirgiz did not know were put forward as candidates by Moscow. For example: Grizodubova, an airwoman who had beaten the Moscow - Soviet Far East record, and Nikitin, editor of KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, who had never been to Kirgiziya before. And they took part, as Kirgiz deputies, in the sessions of the Supreme Soviet.

With the "enemies of the people" already in prison one would have expected the new leaders to be thoroughly trustworthy, but it did not turn out like that. According to the new constitution Kirgiziya was to send 30 deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, but after the Yezhov-Lotsmanov purge such a large number of qualified and reliable people could not be found in Kirgiziya. Besides Barakanov, Sultankul Shamurzin, who had been appointed in place of Urazbekov, and Abdykadyr Abraimov, who became Commissar of Agriculture after Dzhiyenbayev, were also removed from the list of candidates for the Supreme Soviet on the eve of the elections. Almost half of the deputies elected were not of Kirgiz origin.

Two of those elected deputies were unmasked and arrested shortly after the Supreme Soviet session was over. One was the Kirgiz Second Secretary Kenenbayev, and the other Murat Salikhov, who had taken Isakeyev's place as Chairman of the Kirgiz Sovnarkom, was chairman of the Kirgiz TsIK and had been elected one of the 11 Deputy Chairmen of the Presidium at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Salikhov was unmasked as a counter-revolutionary at the beginning of 1938 and all his posts went to the Kyzyl-Kiya miner, the Stakhanovite Kulatov\*. It was said of Kulatov in 1937 that he was completely illiterate and even made mistakes in writing his own name. A teacher was hired specially to teach him how to read and write. But he could be relied on to carry out the will of the Communist dictatorship.

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\* Since 1945 Chairman of the Presidium of the Kirgiz Supreme Soviet

### Conclusion

The Kirgiz voter did not know and did not understand what was happening above. He was a silent witness of the savage nightmare which was going on in Kirgiziya in those years. One after another the most prominent representatives of the Kirgiz intelligentsia had fallen victim to the Yezhovshchina. The Communist dictatorship had destroyed almost all the national cadres created in nearly two decades of Soviet rule in Kirgiziya. As for the future, no one could or dared voice an opinion as to how things would develop and what the relations of the national republics with the Kremlin would be.

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### Ancient irrigation in Turkmenistan

According to historical sources the delta of the River Tedzhen in Turkmenistan is the site of nine settlements dating back to the 4th millennium B.C. The oldest of these are Geoksyur and Chong-depe (tepe?). Archaeologists of the Karakum section of the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Archaeology in Leningrad assumed that the inhabitants somehow brought water to the settlements, but this could only be confirmed if the remains of the old canals could be discovered. Now, by means of an aerial photograph which shows up the lines of the network, the canals have been discovered in a well-preserved state. There is historical evidence of earlier canals, none of which are so well-preserved.

VOP.IST. Nov., 1963

### Only foreign radio programmes for Karamet-Niyaz

The workers of Karamet-Niyaz, a village at the eastern end of the Karakum Canal, cannot hear their own national music and news over the radio. They have radio sets, can hear foreign stations quite clearly, but cannot get Radio Ashkhabad. On referring their problem to the local radio superintendent they were told, "Well, if it is not to your liking, don't listen. I am the master of the radio, not you." Nor has anything been done for them by the local Party secretary. They have been waiting for two years for Radio Ashkhabad.

TI. 24.3.64

## A BRITISH FACTORY IN KAZAKHSTAN

1914 - 19

PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, No.9 of 1963, published an article entitled "Delegate to Lenin" by A. Dubovitskiy in which the author purports to tell of "events of its revolutionary past" at the British owned copper mines at Spasskiy Zavod, where he worked as a youngster.

According to the author, Russian industrialists lacked the capital and experience to develop these mines and the Government "did not care about the industrial development of the distant outlying steppe districts. British entrepreneurs got wind of this store of incalculable wealth. Their greedy hands stretched out to the Spasskiy works. And so a British joint-stock company became owner of the works."\*

After giving production figures and the number of people employed, Dubovitskiy goes on: "At the factory gates there were always enormous crowds of unemployed, for whom there was no work in the immigrant villages or the Kazakh aul. For months and sometimes years they waited to be taken on by the works." Dubovitskiy then launches into an account of the "degrading" work, of the British engineers who "went round with sticks and beat the workers, particularly the Kazakhs. The chief engineer Hall was particularly cruel. This gaunt, hooknosed man in red spats, never went without a riding-crop in his hand." Wages, he says, were low, hours were long, and working and living conditions bad; he writes of the joy of the workers when they heard the news of the February Revolution, and of the formation of the first "Revolutionary Committee" at the Spasskiy works. The rest of the article consists of a wordy account of the work and membership of the Revolutionary Committee and a workers' delegation which went to Moscow and saw Lenin, and of the events of the February and October Revolutions and the counter-revolution as they affected Spasskiy. Dubovitskiy himself at the age of 17, just before the outbreak of the Revolution, committed an act of sabotage for which he was later lectured by Baldin, an engineer on the Revolutionary Committee, dismissed from the works at Spasskiy but told he might work at the dressing plant at Sary-Su a few miles away if he wished. This treatment, he still seems to think, was unduly harsh.

The article draws such a picture of exploitation and cruelty by the British, very different from the story of the earlier years of British ownership of the Spasskiy mines told by Mrs. Vans-Agnew in her article referred to above, that CAR sent it to John W. Wardell\*\*, who was also at Spasskiy at this time, for his comments which are given below.

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\* For an account of how the copper mines were bought by a British company from the Russian family of Ryazanov in 1904 and of the years 1904-8 there, see "A British Family in the Kazakh Steppe" by Olivia Fell Vans-Agnew in CAR, 1962, No.1.

\*\* In his book IN THE KIRGHIZ STEPPES published in 1961 (The Galley Press, London), Mr. Wardell writes in detail of his life at Spasskiy and of the effects of the First World War and political events during the period 1914-19.

## AN ACCOUNT OF THE HAPPENINGS AT SPASSKIY IN KAZAKHSTAN BETWEEN 1914 AND 1919

By John W. Wardell

I am one of the few surviving engineers who worked for the Spasskiy Copper Mine Ltd. during the period covered by A. Dubovitskiy in his article. I lived two years in Spasskiy Zavod, three in Sary-Su and three months in Petropavlovsk between May 1914 and August 1919. I am no Communist, but I believe that the conditions in the USSR are much better than those which obtained in Tsarist Russia.

Referring to Dubovitskiy's statement about the Ryazanov, Zotov and Ushakov group which acquired the Karaganda coalfield and the Uspenskiy ore mine about 100 years ago and built the Spasskiy smelting works later sold to "British entrepreneurs" whose "greedy hands stretched out to the Spasskiy works", let us see this situation in true perspective and without abuse.

At the beginning of this century, Tsarist Russia was about a hundred years behind the rest of Europe and the United States in political, economic and technological matters, and as far as mining is concerned the Government was granting concessions to British and American companies for the development of ore and coal mining and treatment, on the understanding that the companies paid 10 per cent of their net profits into Russian revenue in return for guaranteed labour forces and freedom from industrial troubles. All such concessions had to have Russian civil managers as well as foreign general managers, and their mines and buildings - including houses for workers and hospitals - were subject to Russian Government specifications and inspection. Incidentally, the houses for all company servants - staff and workers - equalled, and in some cases surpassed, those in England at that time, and they were vastly superior to those in Russian small towns and villages. In April 1905, when the Spasskiy company was formed, all business was carried out on capitalist lines, so what happened then was perfectly normal procedure and both the Russian Government of the day and the foreign industrialists benefited by it, while the peasants received technical training which helped to build up the Russian proletariat.

Speaking of the copper production at Spasskiy by the old smelting plant Mr. Dubovitskiy says: "Suffice it to say that just one of the four smelting furnaces produced 2,000 puds of pure copper in 24 hours", but as he was only 17 when he worked there for a short time before being sent to Sary-Su, we must make allowances for this exaggeration. The facts are given below.

The old smelting plant which the British company took over comprised three - not four - small blast furnaces, two converters and two small refining furnaces, and the total output of copper for the six years 1909-14 inclusive, from 149,000 tons of ore averaging 19 per cent copper, was 21,815 tons, or 10 tons of copper per 24 hour day. The smelter was modernized during 1915 and the first half of 1916. It ran for three years - mid 1916 to mid 1919 - except for about three months during the nationalization period, and produced an average of 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ rd tons of copper per day, at less loss in the slag and at lower cost per ton. Now, as a pud is 36 pounds, 2,000 puds would equal 72,000 pounds, or more than 32 tons per day per furnace according to Mr. Dubovitskiy, which means that one furnace alone smelted more than three times the ore mined, which is absurd.

As far as the number of workers is concerned, the figure of 2,000 he quotes is high for the Spasskiy works, in fact the total for the four properties - Karaganda, Spasskiy, Sary-Su and Uspenskiy - was about 1,800, apart from transport workers, and

of these 300 were Russian staff and skilled workers and 1,500 Kazakhs, who were largely unskilled labourers. The statement about enormous crowds of unemployed clamouring daily for work for months and years is untrue, and lacks reasonable foundation as the following will show.

Tsarist Russia neglected the agricultural potential of Siberia until the beginning of this century, being previously content to use this wonderful land as a dumping place for convicts. Then they started to send land-hungry peasants from Russia as state-aided emigrants, and settled them on good farming lands until the First World War intervened. As there was plenty of land and help for these people, there was noneed for them to be unemployed if they were ready to work. But agricultural workers could hardly qualify for skilled jobs at the works. If they had skills as smiths, joiners or masons, or had some education it was a different matter. As far as the Kazakhs were concerned, their life for centuries had been pastoral and although some drifted into other occupations as drivers and labourers after the Russian settlers and the industrialists came to the steppes, many of the younger men only came to the works until they could save enough money to return to their auls and buy wives. There were, of course, a few people looking for a new kind of life, and these were employed if there were suitable vacancies.

Mr. Dubovitskiy's statement that the work was degrading and the British engineers ill-treated the workers, is false throughout. Of course work in the mines, smelters, and reduction plants is hard, but honest work is never degrading. Men, particularly labourers, work hard in these and similar undertakings all the world over, even in the USSR, but there was no slave-driving on the company's properties.

The smelter superintendent mentioned, Charles Hall, who incidently was an American and held his post from mid 1915 to the end of 1917 when he was succeeded by H.C. Robson, never carried a riding-crop and no foreman was encouraged in cruelty. Once, on going into the superintendent's office, I found the foreman Khrolikov being reprimanded for negligence and was disgusted to see this strapping Russian weeping and trying to kiss Mr. Hall's boots and when he was told to clear out, I saw him stride over to the furnaces in anything but a subdued manner and curse and hustle his Kazakh labourers until he recovered his self-esteem. Accidents in the mines and works were as low as in similar places elsewhere, and both Spasskiy and Uspenskiy had fine, well-equipped hospitals.

Mr. Dubovitskiy's statement on hours of work is also quite false. No person worked 12 hours daily. At mines, smelters and reduction plants, work must go on continuously, and three 8 hour shifts are run per day, except on Sundays, when the night shift lays off and comes out as the morning shift on Monday, the other two shifts doing 12 hours each, so that all workers get a change of shift every week. Shop operatives and outside labourers were day workers, and they worked 9 and 10 hours daily respectively. Day workers in England worked 9½ hours at that time.

The wages paid under pre-war, old smelter conditions and those paid under pre-nationalization, new smelter conditions are given below for comparison:

<u>Spasskiy Wage Rates</u>		May 1914	March 1918
<u>Smelter:</u>	Furnacemen, convertermen and refinerymen		
Rubles	(Masters	2.80	7.50
per 8 hour	(Assistants	1.70	6.00
shift	(Labourers	0.60	4.50
<u>Shops, etc:</u>	Mechanics, blacksmiths, joiners and masons		
Rubles	(Foremen	2.40	7.50
per 9 hour	(Craftsmen	1.50	6.00
day	(Labourers	0.70	5.00
<u>Outside Labour</u>			
Rubles	(Foremen	2.00	6.00
per 10 hour	(		
day	(Labourers	0.50	4.00

The above table shows how the cost of living and new social ideas arising out of the two Revolutions affected the wage rates, the improvement in conditions being much higher for the lower paid workers, who were always Kazakhs.

In addition to wages, all the servants of the Company - staff and workmen - had quarters, light, coal, water and medical attendance free of charge, and they were able to make all their purchases - except some purely local ones mentioned later - at the Company's stores, where goods were supplied at wholesale cost price plus 10 per cent to cover expenses. The local goods were bought in the bazaar from independent Russians and Tatars; these were beef, butter, mutton and fowls at 6, 8, 16 and 15 kopecks a pound respectively, eggs were a kopeck each and milk 8 kopecks a quart, wholemeal flour and potatoes were 60 and 45 kopecks per pud and other vegetables were correspondingly cheap. These were Spasskiy bazaar prices from 1914 to 1916, when 10 rubles equalled 21 shillings, or a kopeck was the same as a farthing. From 1916 to 1919 prices gradually rose during the first two years, mainly for goods from outside this area, which was nearly self-supporting in essential foodstuffs, but during the last year of this period outside goods were unobtainable and the Company's stocks of them were rationed without price change, while local goods became largely a question of barter, but here the Company helped by bartering services - like grinding corn and repairing farm implements - and technical stores - like coal, timber, steel, caustic soda and various kinds of oil - in return for flour and meat, which was rationed at the cost of the services and stores plus the usual 10 per cent to cover selling expenses. This last year was a very hard time for everyone and the diet was monotonous, but throughout the five years I was there the cost of living was much lower than it was in England.

Mr. Dubovitskiy only refers to Kazakhs in his reference to cost of living and the workers wearing their sheepskins summer and winter; but he forgets that these people, before they became converted from nomads to Soviet citizens, always wore the same clothes winter and summer in the belief that what keeps out the cold keeps out the heat; but those working in the smelter stripped to the waist and wore only trousers and boots, with wooden soles tied on to protect them and their feet from the hot floor. Walking on stone or concrete flooring one could hear the clogs, but to say, as the author does, that "the tapping of their clogs on the stony soil [for which one should read dust and occasional mud in summer and snow in winter] could be heard for a good verst" is

a great flight of imagination. Perhaps its author has read of the sound of the cotton operatives' clogs on the stone setts in Lancashire.

I agree with Mr. Dubovitskiy that the news of the February-March Revolution was received with joy in the Spasskiy properties. All, including the British staff, were glad to see the end of the corrupt and effete Tsarist Government, but let us face the fact that the majority of people there, and elsewhere in Russia at that time, were looking forward to a Constituent Assembly for the determination of the country's future. I knew the first six of the seven members he names of the first Spasskiy Revolutionary Committee, and several others, and they definitely did not "worm" their way into it as he alleges. As the Petrograd Soviet, under the able leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, got to work with more expedition and force than the fumbling Provisional Government, the effects of the Bolshevik movement were gradually felt throughout the whole country - including the Spasskiy area - before the October-November Revolution made the final change.

Next, the awful story of sabotage perpetrated by a youth who felt - and evidently still does - that he was a hero. When he was found out the only punishment he received from the Revolutionary Committee was a good talking to and a transfer to Sary-Su, and then he says "that was how the committee defended the interests of the workers." Surely he did not expect a medal! If he had done anything like this in a works after the Bolshevik Revolution he would have been shot.

I have little to say about the remainder of Mr. Dubovitskiy's article, except for the last five paragraphs. For the rest, his account of the election of the Spasskiy Soviet of Deputies covering the four properties, the election of delegates to go to Moscow to meet Lenin, the return of these delegates and the nationalization of the mines and works is substantially correct, except that the latter took place on 27 March 1918 (N.S.), when the British staff congregated at Spasskiy to await the subsidence of the spring floods before leaving for Petropavlovsk in May. We were seen off by members of the Spasskiy Soviet, many of whom - including Baldin - shed tears on saying farewell. The British staff then numbered 10 men and there were five wives and seven children.

I do not dispute the first part of Mr. Dubovitskiy's account of the counter-revolution. The Siberian counter-revolution started in Petropavlovsk on 26 May (N.S.), the day after we got there, and we could not travel. The Czechs, Cossacks and Whites were soon in command of the Trans-Siberian Railway from the Volga to Lake Baikal, and a White Siberian Government was set up in Omsk on 12 June, with Kolchak as War Minister. Early in July, a troop of Cossacks, under orders from Omsk, reached the Spasskiy area and arrested the members of the local soviets, who were never seen again in the district, whatever else happened to them.

The Omsk Government then advised the British staff to return to Spasskiy, and half of the men, without women and children, did so by the end of July, four months after nationalization, while the balance followed during August and September. The only valuable work done by the Bolsheviks during their control of the properties was at Karaganda where they raised coal and saw that there were goodsupplies at the other three camps. At Uspensky the pumps had been neglected and the mine was flooded; at Sary-Su the engines had been dismantled for overhaul but knowledge was lacking for their reassembly, and at Spasskiy incorrect charges had nearly ruined the furnaces and converters. In about a month the advance party had remedied these defects and the mines and works ran from August 1918 to July 1919 inclusive, producing copper for Kolchak's All-Russian Government set up at Ufa on 5 September 1918, and moved by the end of that month to Omsk, which became the capital of the White Government in Siberia for a year.

The Whites were pushed back to the Urals by the end of June 1919 and Siberia was quickly invaded by the Reds. On 21 July we had notification from Omsk of our

danger, by which time our railhead, Petropavlovsk, had fallen to the Red Army from Russia. We left the Spasskiy area on 4 August and travelled across the steppe to Yermak, down the Irtysh to Omsk, and thence by train to Vladivostok. Our last year on the Spasskiy properties had been difficult, because the workers, who had always been friendly in pre-nationalization days, now looked upon us as responsible for the collapse of their four-month freedom, whereas we were very much the victims of circumstances outside our control.

The above three paragraphs will contradict Mr. Dubovitskiy's last two. The arrests and reprisals were carried out by the Cossacks before we knew that we could return to the area, and not, as he implies, by us on our return. As the mines and works were thereafter on full production for a year, we provided employment for the normal full complement of workers, who would otherwise have been workless.

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#### Domestic gas supplies for Kirgiz towns

Gas has recently been brought to many towns in Kirgiziya including Naryn, Rybach'ye, Przheval'sk, Bistrovka and Koshka. In Rybach'ye 90 workers' flats have been fitted with gas stoves and it is hoped to bring this figure up to 500 by the end of the year.

Gas is also to be used for water-boilers and refrigerators, the cost being one-tenth that of wood and a quarter that of electricity. SK. 27.3.64

## THE LIFE OF THE KIRGIZ MINER

The following is a summary of THE LIFE AND CULTURE OF THE KIRGIZ MINERS OF THE COAL INDUSTRY OF KIRGIZIYA (Byt i Kul'tura Shakh-terov-Kirgizov Kamennougol'noy Promyshlennosti Kirgizii), Frunze, 1963, by K. Mambetaliyeva. The book gives an account of the development of the coal industry in Kirgiziya and of the lives of the Kirgiz miners before and after the Revolution. The Kirgiz coal industry is concentrated in four towns in the Fergana Valley. The book brings out how the Kirgiz in Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya have been affected by Uzbek and Tadzhik customs in dress, housing, etc., while those in Kok-Yangak and Tashkumyr, which were developed more recently, have adopted some of the customs of the north Kirgiz and at the same time are more Europeanized in their dress and ways. It is worth noting that the percentage of Kirgiz among the coal-miners of the republic has constantly decreased, from 70-80 per cent at the turn of the century to 49.6 per cent in 1933 and about 22 per cent in 1962. Between 1933 and 1962 the number of Kirgiz miners increased from about 2,426 to about 3,100, while the total of other nationalities rose from about 2,466 to about 10,900.

On the whole the book is a serious study, although the chapter on the public and cultural life of the miners in particular tends to degenerate into propoganda. There is also a lack of information on the religious beliefs and practices of the Kirgiz workers.

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I. Introduction - II. The Formation of the Working-Class in Kirgiziya's Coal Industry - III. The Life and Culture of the Miners - IV. Family and Marriage - V. Main Forms of Applied Art of the Kirgiz Workers - VI. Public and Cultural Life of the Miners - VII. Conclusion

## I. Introduction

Up till now there has been no study of the life of the workers of Kirgiziya apart from an article by S.M. Abramzon on the miners of Kyzyl-Kiya in SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No.4 of 1954.\* The present study aims at giving a description of the life of the Kirgiz employed in the coal-mines of Sulyukta, Kyzyl-Kiya, Tashkumyr and Kok-Yangak in southern Kirgiziya, where the first nucleus of the Kirgiz working-class was formed and where a fairly substantial number of Kirgiz workers are concentrated at the present time. Kirgiziya has 94.8 per cent of the known coal deposits in Central Asia and its coal industry is the fourth largest in the Soviet Union. The study is based mainly on ethnographic material collected by the author in 1958-60. Information has also been derived from archives in Leningrad, Moscow, Tashkent and Osh, and from the records of the towns' executive councils and the mining boards, as well as from various statistical material.

\* An abridged translation of which appeared in CAR, 1955, No.2, pp.128-34

The coal deposits of Kirgiziya are known to have been exploited as far back as the 10th century, but there were no large coal undertakings until after Kirgiziya became part of Russia. The first colliery started to function at Sulyukta in 1868, and by the beginning of the 20th century there were a number of pits there, which were later brought under the control of a single company. Attempts before 1917 by Russian, British, French and other industrialists to exploit the coal deposits at Tashkumyr and Kok-Yangak were hindered by poor communications. The biggest mines before the Revolution were at Kyzyl-Kiya and were run by Russian and foreign capitalists.

## II. The Formation of the Working-Class in Kirgiziya's Coal Industry

Incorporation in the Russian empire and the construction of railways intensified the development of capitalist relations in Kirgiziya. This led to increasing class differentiation in the Kirgiz ail (aul). The majority of peasants were dispossessed of land, which was seized by wealthy bays, bought up by Tadzhiik, Uzbek and other usurers, or distributed to Russian immigrant kulaks. When the coal-mines started up in Kirgiziya they attracted the impoverished peasants. At first it was those from the immediate vicinity who went, but later peasants came from neighbouring regions and other clans. In Tashkumyr and Kok-Yangak most of the newcomers were from north Kirgiziya which led to the prevalence of north Kirgiz features in the way of life there. For many peasants work in the mines was subsidiary to animal husbandry or crop cultivation and only seasonal, since the pit owners were forced to dismiss workers in summer when the demand for coal fell sharply. The poor of other nationalities - Tadzhiiks, Uzbeks, Russians, Volga Tatars - also worked in the Kirgiz mines. Skilled workers came from Russia in search of higher wages, and there were political exiles and revolutionaries in hiding who did much to spread Marxist-Leninist ideas and indoctrinate the local workers. At first the vast majority of miners were Kirgiz (70-80 per cent at the turn of the century), but the construction of railways brought in other nationalities.

In pre-Revolutionary Kirgiziya the mines were very primitive. There was no ventilation and until about 1910 no special mining machinery was used at all. Light was provided by iron lamps filled with cotton-seed oil which smoked, and the air was full of coal dust. It was only in 1912 in Kyzyl-Kiya that carbide lamps were introduced and the tubs were replaced by horse windlass. Because of the shortage of timber, pit-props were removed, at great risk, once a seam was exhausted. There were frequent fires and roof falls which led to loss of life. Even the official press admitted that the Fergana coal-mine owners were only interested in profits. A 14-15 hour day was worked until 1910 when a two-shift ten-hour day was introduced in the big collieries. There were all sorts of deductions from the workers' pay, and the Kirgiz and other local workers fared particularly badly as they were very undemanding. Pensions were not paid for industrial injury. Some recruits from Central Russia left because of the conditions. Medical assistance was primitive, and there were no bath-houses or schools. Very few of the miners were literate and their only one-day holidays at Christmas and Easter were spent in drinking and playing cards. When the Muslim miners of Sulyukta finally managed to get days off for the two main Muslim feasts in 1915-16 they went to the mosque.

The Tsarist regime tried to stir up enmity among the workers of different nationalities to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas, but to no avail. Illegal Social-Democratic organizations began to appear at the mines following the arrival of Russian revolutionaries exiled for their part in the 1905 revolution. Demands for better pay and conditions became more and more insistent. Meanwhile the number of Kirgiz

employed in coal-mining increased and so did their skill and political consciousness. In 1915 there were some Kirgiz who had been working at the Sulyukta mines for 11 years.

After the February Revolution in 1917 Social Democratic groups and soviets were formed in Kyzyl-Kiya, Sulyukta and other places. In the same year the Mine-workers' Trade Union of Turkestan kray was set up, of which 356 Kirgiz miners were members by 1919. The October Revolution led to the workers taking over the mines and their nationalization. In the years 1918-22 the mines of Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya distinguished themselves in repulsing the attacks of the Basmachi, who tried to seize the mines. Native miners also helped to strengthen Soviet rule in the countryside. In 1918-20 a group of progressive Kirgiz miners was sent to the kishlaks to help the peasants overthrow the bays and biys. As a result of strenuous efforts production at Kyzyl-Kiya and Sulyukta in 1919 reached the 1913 level, but the long drawn out civil war, the constant attacks of the Basmachi and resultant devastation interfered seriously with work at Kok-Yangak and Tashkumyr, and in those years the total coal production of Kirgiziya did not attain the pre-war level.

Reconstruction after the end of the civil war was hindered by the lack of the necessary equipment, transport and food for the workers. Trouble was also created by anti-Soviet elements. By 1926 the Kirgiz coal industry had reached its pre-war level, but primitive equipment, the shortage of skilled workers, the seasonal nature of production (which only disappeared in the 1930s) and other factors made the coal expensive. In 1927 a school for mining apprentices was opened in Kyzyl-Kiya, and in the following year Tashkent University began to train mining engineers. There were also courses in the mines themselves, with instruction in Kirgiz for the Kirgiz. By 1933 the number employed in coal-mining had reached 4,892, of whom 49.6 per cent were Kirgiz.

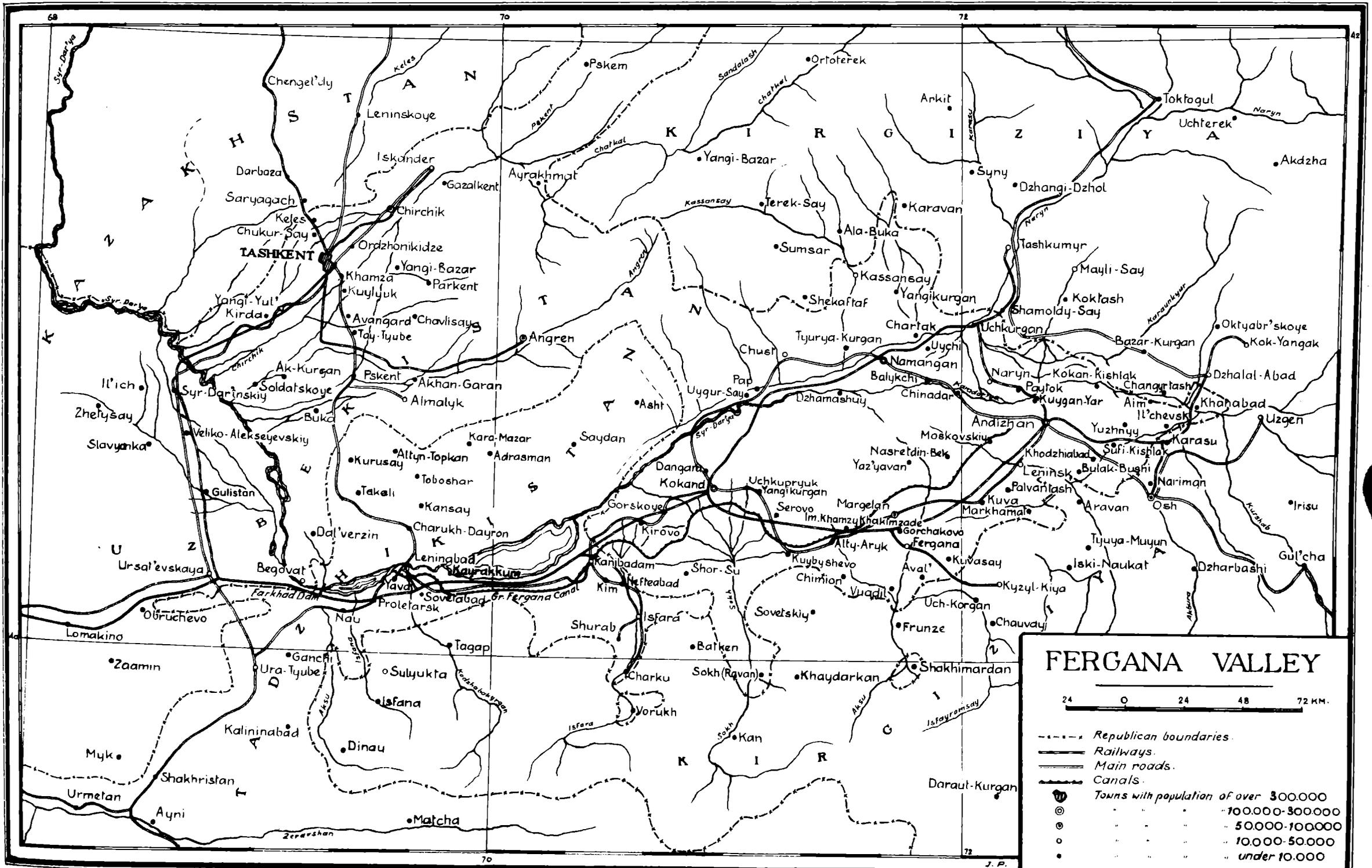
During the Second World War the industry of Central Asia had to rely for its fuel mainly on the Kirgiz mines. At the same time many workers went to the front and were replaced by young people and women. Thousands of women worked underground, including some Kirgiz. The mine-workers made heroic efforts during the war and 38 were decorated in 1944 alone.

The Kirgiz coal industry has made further advances since the war. In 1945 two new pits with the latest equipment were opened in Tashkumyr and Kok-Yangak, and more and more modern machinery has been introduced into all the mines. The number of workers has also increased. At the beginning of 1962 the figures were as follows:

<u>Board</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Kirgiz</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Russians</u>
Sulyukta	Coal Board	4,444	1,254	1,382
Tashkumyr	" "	3,259	829	-
Kyzyl-Kiya	" "	4,086	633	-
Kok-Yangak	" "	2,205	386	-

(end 1960)

There are training courses at all the mines, and in 1960 there were 900 students at the Kyzyl-Kiya Mining Technical College. At the beginning of 1962 there were about 1,200 engineers and technicians in the republic's coal industry, a number of whom have been trained in Frunze. Suggestions on how to improve production, more and more of which are coming from Kirgiz, have saved the State a lot of money. There are plans to open new pits, but increased production will result mainly from improved conditions, mechanization and a rise in productivity, which will in turn lead to higher wages.





### III. The Life and Culture of the Miners

Thanks to Soviet rule the Kirgiz miners now enjoy a high standard of living. Wages rose sharply after the war. The shorter working-day and week, higher wages and pensions have greatly improved the miners' life. The various shops opened for them take account of the demands of the different nationalities, and the restaurants, many of which are self-service, offer national dishes. The latter are often patronized by Kirgiz workers with their families at week-ends and particularly on holidays. Each mine has comfortable canteens serving the day and night shifts.

#### Housing

Before the Revolution there were no well-built houses in the mining settlements. The single workers of all nationalities lived in primitive barracks. The local Kirgiz workers usually lived quite a way from the mines in settlements inhabited by other members of their clan or tribe. Their main forms of dwelling were yurts, mud dwellings dug out of the hillside and reed huts. After about 1910, with the arrival of Kirgiz from the north, in Kok-Yangak and Tashkumyr one- or two-roomed clay houses with a flat roof were built, while from the end of the 19th century in Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya some clay houses similar to those of the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks of the Fergana Valley were erected.

In the difficult conditions of the first years of Soviet rule it was impossible to do much to improve housing, and real progress was only made after 1930 when the State began to allocate large funds for capital construction. Gradually the primitive settlements were transformed into large well-built towns. In Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya the main buildings were put up in 1930-40, whereas in Kok-Yangak and Tashkumyr extensive building has taken place only since the war. The State continues to assign large sums for housing, schools, etc. At the same time many miners have built their own houses with their savings and the aid of a State loan. The total population of the four towns has risen from 36,597 in 1939 to 80,173 in 1959.

The houses of Kirgiz workers can be divided into four types. First there are the typical clay houses of the Fergana Valley found in Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya but no longer built. Then there is a new type which appeared in the middle of the 1950s which has several rooms and separate outhouses. It is built of home-made adobe with a cement foundation and a slate or iron sloping roof. The house has large windows, wooden floors and walls whitewashed inside and out. Russian influence is strong. The new houses always have an open verandah where the family spend much of their time in summer. The third and fourth types of housing are built by the mines and consist of one-storey blocks of flats built in the years 1930-60, and multi-storey blocks built since 1960.

There have been big changes in the furnishings of the rooms of Kirgiz workers, particularly among the young. In almost all the houses there are cupboards, radio sets, beds, and recently TV sets. Tables and chairs are usual. On the walls there are photos, clocks and mirrors. Factory-made carpets, sewing-machines, electric fans and refrigerators are in great demand. But national features are also retained. The floor of the guest (reception) room is covered with patterned felt and carpets, and along the walls there are narrow quilts. In Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya they put teapots and bowls in the small niches in the walls, and in the big ones chests made by local Kirgiz craftsmen on which spare carpets, bedding, etc., are folded. Recently they have also begun to hang rugs of patterned homespun material on the walls. In Kok-Yangak and Tashkumyr the walls of the guest room and bedroom are

hung with national rugs and factory-made carpets. Wall-hangers for clothes are concealed by curtains, and there are lace curtains on the windows and curtains on the doors.

### Dress

Before the Revolution, Kirgiz miners wore clothes of homespun wool, sheepskin or the hide of wild and domestic goats. They also bought material and ready-made khalats, tyubeteykas, footwear and ornaments from itinerant Uzbek or Tadjik traders. Some Kirgiz had only one set of clothes, and had to borrow their wedding attire.

Nowadays homespun material is rarely used. European suits, ties, hats, etc. are firmly established and most clothing is purchased in shops. National varieties are made at home. In Tashkumyr and Kok-Yangak, national dress is worn only by the elderly, whereas in Kyzyl-Kiya and Sulyukta, where the national dress has been much affected by that of the Uzbeks and Tadjiks, it is also worn by some of the young. The Kirgiz intelligentsia, who have studied in Moscow, Frunze and other large towns, dress entirely in the new style, and this influences the local youth.

The men usually wear ready-made European suits of cotton on weekdays and wool for holidays and visiting. The young men wear made-to-measure tunics and trousers of white silk tussore. The white felt cap (kalpak), which is the national head-gear of the Kirgiz, can be found in the home of almost every Kirgiz miner and is worn to go to the kolkhoz or on holidays. Uzbek tyubeteykas are often worn, and in winter Russian fur hats (shapki-ushanki). In Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya, besides factory-made boots, they also wear box-calf boots ordered from private shoemakers. Here they may also wear quilted khalats instead of ready-made overcoats. The older men in all four towns stick to their khalats, with local variations in cut and material, and wear caps trimmed with lambskin or fox in winter. They belt their outer wear and shirts with embroidered kerchiefs. In Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya the old men wear a turban over their tyubeteykas when going out.

Before the Revolution no work clothes were provided for the miners. Now they are issued with a complete outfit which they hand back to the store on leaving the pit. They have a shower at the pit and go home in clean clothes.

Among the women there are also regional variations in dress. In Tashkumyr and Kok-Yangak dresses, shoes, etc. are bought in the shops. If dresses are made at home, it is in the modern style. In Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya, on the other hand, dresses are mainly made at home and Uzbek figured satin and the Uzbek cut (i.e. on a yoke with ample gathers) are popular. The elderly women's dresses preserve the old cut. In Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya, and to some extent in Kok-Yangak, the women wear long tapering trousers. Scarves tied in various ways are worn on the head. Among women up to about 50 black sleeveless jerkins are common, and in cold weather in spring and autumn they wear jackets of dark wool or black plush, which have only come in since the war. In Tashkumyr and Kok-Yangak the younger women prefer overcoats in winter, while in Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya they wear a black plush overcoat-khalat with a shawl collar. The older women wear khalats.

The dress of school-children differs little from that of children of other nationalities. The boys wear tyubeteykas and in Tashkumyr and Kok-Yangak caps. The girls' dresses are like those of the younger women, and in summer they also wear tyubeteykas.

Both bride and groom are fitted out with new sets of clothes for their wedding. The parents of the bride or their relatives in the kolkhoz make a white felt hat for the groom, and it is usual to give him a tyubeteyka in Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya. For funerals women dress in black or blue, while the men wear ordinary clothing belted with a blue kerchief.

The Kirgiz women wear all sorts of jewellery, both made by local craftsmen and purchased in the shops and bazaars. They wash their hair in sour milk, though toilet soap is also used in Kok-Yangak and Tashkumyr. Most of the little girls wear their hair in numerous small plaits, while the women have one or two. Some men of 50 or over still shave their heads and have moustaches and beards, but mostly the men grow their hair and comb it back or have a side parting. Only a few elderly women in Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya now blacken their teeth, which used to be thought both beautiful and beneficial. Similarly the young women no longer have their faces tattooed. But in summer the women of Sulyutka and Kyzyl-Kiya henna their nails.

### Diet

In the past the Kirgiz miners used to eat the same as the peasants, i.e. mainly milk products in the summer and autumn and thin meal soup in the winter and spring. For want of flour bread was little eaten in summer, while meat was rare in spring and summer and only eaten on festive occasions.

The present-day diet of the Kirgiz miners is plentiful and varied, and the sharp contrast between everyday and festive fare has disappeared. Their diet combines national dishes with others adopted from the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Tatars, Russians and Ukrainians. Besides meat, milk, butter and home-baked bread, they buy such things as sausages, preserves, macaroni, sugar, sweets and biscuits in the shops. More fruit and vegetables are eaten, including some varieties not eaten before. Popular drinks are green tea and bozo (home-made from maize flour). The Kirgiz workers also eat various home-made sweetmeats and have started to eat smoked and fresh fish.

At the meal the old people and guests are put in the place of honour. The men usually pour the tea. Solid dishes are served in a large shallow dish from which all eat, while kasha and soup are served in individual bowls. Wood, hide and clay utensils have been replaced by china crockery, metal spoons and enamel pots. Three meals are eaten a day, the main one depending on what shift the man is on.

## IV. Family and Marriage

As a rule the family of a Kirgiz worker before the Revolution consisted of four to seven people (husband, wife and children). Sometimes the old people lived with the worker and his family. In a family which owned no land or livestock, the husband had to find other work in the summer such as charcoal burning or working for a bay, while the wife might take orders for carpets and sewing sheepskins, and gather wild thubarb to take to the bazaar. There were also some large joint families consisting of two or three generations and numbering 15-17 persons among the workers, but when the father died, such families almost invariably broke up. In a typical large family the men worked in the mines in winter. In the summer the sons tilled the family plot, while the father, mother and grandchildren pastured flocks on the dzhayloo for the mine-owners and rich Uzbeks. The sons' wives made carpets for sale with wool from their own sheep.

Nowadays there is an average of 5-6 persons in the family of a Kirgiz worker. The worker may give part of his earnings to his parents, while the wife controls the household expenditure. Large joint families are extremely rare. In most cases where large families still live together the married children are economically independent. Often the miners families are made up of different nationalities. In one family, for instance, the father is Kirgiz and the mother Uzbek. The daughter is married to a

Tadzhik, one son to a Kirgiz, another to a Tatar, and the third wants to marry a Russian. A Kirgiz-Ukrainian couple talk Kirgiz and Russian at home. The wife dresses like a Kirgiz but the house is furnished like that of a Russian worker.

For the present-day Kirgiz miner his wage is his main source of income, and he has no need to engage in agriculture as well. However, some families do grow fruit and vegetables in their gardens, and until recently, when shop supplies improved, many kept livestock. But the ties of kinship between the Kirgiz miners and kolkhozniks are still very strong and are maintained by an exchange of gifts (lengths of cloth, money, household goods, etc. in exchange for farm products). The majority of Kirgiz miners spend their holidays with relatives in the kolkhoz.

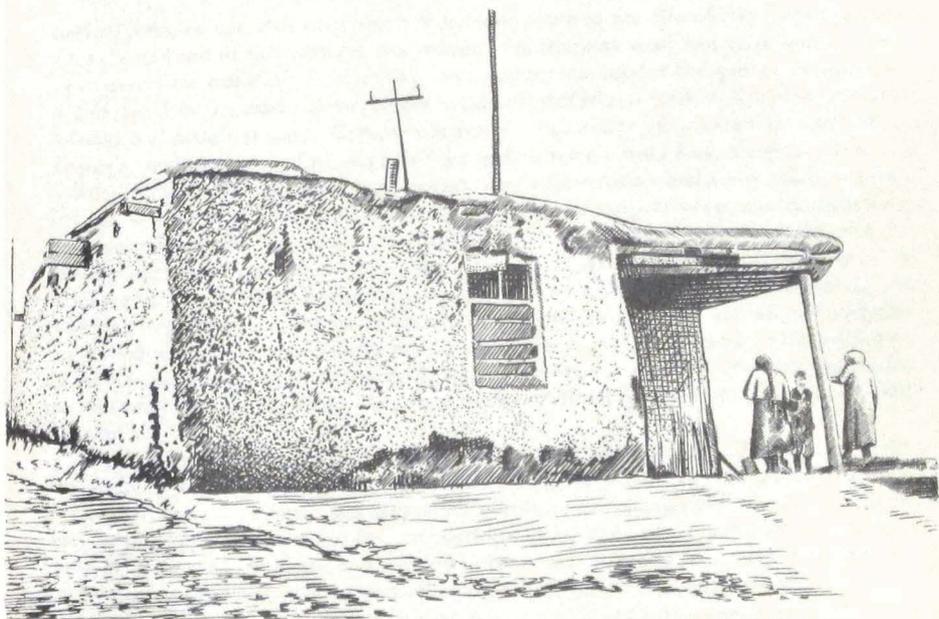
Because the south Kirgiz lived side by side with the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks they were more affected by Islam and the lot of their women was therefore very hard. Under Soviet rule the equality of women is guaranteed by law and family relationships have changed. Women go out to work and brides are no longer subservient to their in-laws. The war brought many Kirgiz women into the mines. (Since conditions are now being created to free women from heavy work underground, many of them are being transferred to work on the surface.) Many Kirgiz women from workers' families receive higher or specialized secondary education, but unfortunately there are still many who do not work.

Marriage is now based on mutual love. Customs like the betrothal of unborn children, levirate and polygamy have completely disappeared. The young men usually marry at 23-25 years of age and the girls at 18-20. Both families take part in preparing the wedding and the bride's trousseau, which may include a home-made carpet and about 10 quilts as well as clothes and practically everything necessary for the house. Weddings are usually celebrated in autumn at the home of either the bride or groom, and certain national traditions are still observed. At a wedding in 1958 in the bride's house in Sulyukta, for example, there was no religious ceremony but the bridegroom, dressed in special clothes, was showered with small coins by his parents and the young people played a traditional game. On the third day the bride was taken to her husband's house in an open vehicle, escorted by girls and young women singing her praises to the accompaniment of tambourines. Two days later there was another feast in honour of the bride which lasted three days and was attended not only by Kirgiz, but also by Russian, Tatar and Uzbek fellow-workers of the couple.

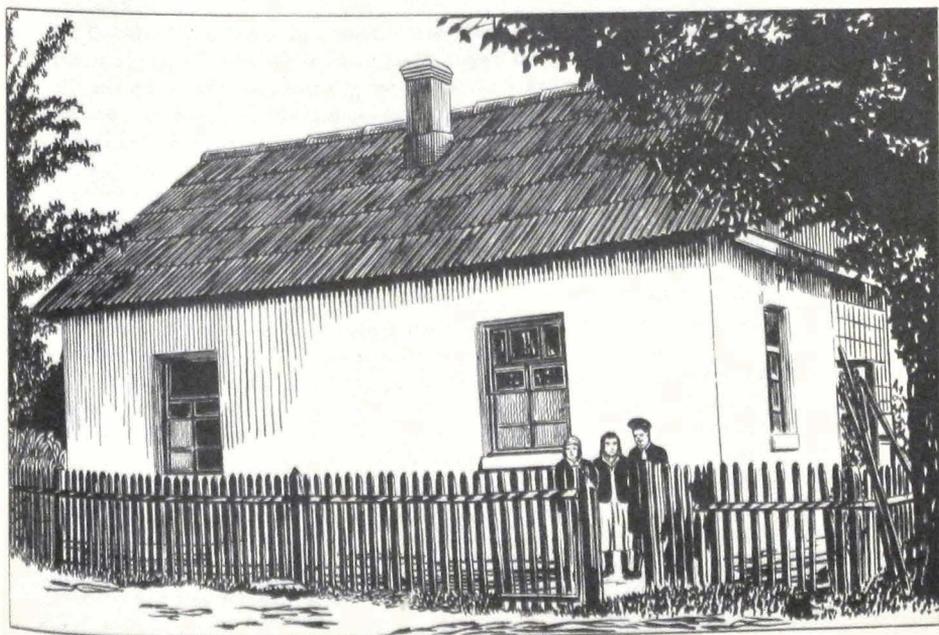
Children are nearly always born in maternity homes now. They are named on the day they return from hospital, Arabic names being popular in Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya, and Kirgiz in Kok-Yangak and Tashkumyr. Russian names are also given. A few families give a feast on the day the child is first put in its cradle (bought from Uzbek craftsmen in the bazaar), at which nine objects are piled on the cradle to bring the child good health. The children are spoilt when young and are given lots of toys such as aeroplanes, dolls and bicycles. The parents encourage their children to study and provide a table where they can do their homework, although workers' families still sit and eat on the floor. Many Kirgiz send their children to a Russian school. Great importance is attached to good manners, above all respect for their elders.

The rites connected with death and funerals are the least changed, but many harmful customs which involved the family in ruinous expense have disappeared.

MINERS' HOUSES AT KYZYL - KIYA  
(Reproduced from *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* No. 4 of 1954)



1. Old type



2. New type



## V. Main Forms of Applied Art of the Kirgiz Workers

Weaving occupied and still occupies a prominent place in the life of the Kirgiz miners. It has always been in the hands of the women. In the past wool and later cotton also were woven into materials for clothing and appurtenances for the yurt. Nowadays felts for the floor are made of patterned homespun materials, and in Kyzyl-Kiya and Sulyukta wall hangings too. Carpet-making is particularly widespread in southern Kirgiziya, including Sulyukta, Kyzyl-Kiya and to some extent Kok-Yangak. The tradition has been handed down from generation to generation and every adult woman in Kyzyl-Kiya and Sulyukta knows the art. In the past carpets were usually made for sale; now they are for the family itself as a rule. Sheep's wool is used for the pile - red and blue for the central patterns, and yellow and green for the small patterns. There are no clan or tribal designs such as the Turkmens have. Four or five women work on a large carpet which takes them up to 20 days; sometimes skilled craftsmen are invited to help in exchange for money or presents. It is customary to have a feast at the beginning and end of carpet-making. In Tashkumyr and Kok-Yangak they make patterned felt rugs for the floor like those of the north Kirgiz, and also applied wall-hangings.

Embroidery is widespread, but unfortunately the old types are disappearing with the old forms of dress. The young women have adopted cross-stitch embroidery from the Russians and Ukrainians, and embroider curtains, bed-hangings, towels, etc. with birds and flowers. On curtains for concealing clothes they also embroider the USSR and Kirgiz SSR state emblems and the 5-pointed star. It would be a very good idea to take advantage of local skill at carpet-making in Sulyukta and Kyzyl-Kiya and open workshops which would bring many women now unemployed into productive work.

## VI. Public and Cultural Life of the Miners

The formerly illiterate Kirgiz miners now have schools, libraries, theatres, etc. Genuinely new relationships have been forged between the workers of different nationalities, and all are motivated by patriotism. Side by side with specifically national features, the Kirgiz workers show more and more clearly the features of Soviet man, such as collectivism, comradeship, a socialist attitude towards work and State property, and trust and respect towards other nationalities. An embodiment of all that is new is the life of an outstanding Kirgiz miner who is a Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet and whose greatest friend is a Russian miner. The movement for Communist labour is spreading in the mines. One brigade of 10 which has distinguished itself is headed by a Kirgiz and includes a Russian, a Ukrainian, an Uzbek, a German, a Bashkir, a Tatar, an Udmurt and two Koreans. Relations between the workers and intelligentsia are now friendly, which was not true before the Revolution. Many miners have been decorated for their good work and are prominent in public and political life.

The mining towns of Kirgiziya are well provided with primary, secondary and evening schools, and hospitals and dispensaries. Each mine also has its own surgery, and every year a number of miners get passes to sanatoria, health resorts and rest homes. In each town there is a beautiful Palace of Culture, which runs various amateur groups. In Kok-Yangak, for instance, there are drama, choir and dance groups in which 13 Kirgiz, 12 Tatars, 63 Russians as well as others take part. They give concerts in the town and go on tour. After work the young miners come to the Palace of Culture to see films, play chess or billiards, read the papers or listen to lectures. On holidays like Miner's Day a meeting and concert are held in the Palace to which the workers

and their families come dressed in their best. In each town there are also a number of workers' clubs which show films. The various libraries are well patronized. Each mining board publishes its own newspaper. Comrade's courts are held to condemn drunkenness, absenteeism and infringements of labour discipline. Among the miners there are poets and artists. The Kirgiz workers still play some of their traditional musical instruments, and their oral folk art is very rich.

## VII. Conclusion

The coal industry of Kirgiziya has been transformed under Soviet rule with the assistance, above all, of the Russian people. The training of skilled workers and engineers from the local nationality is one of the most important results of the Leninist nationalities policy. The miners of Kirgiziya, like the whole Soviet people, are making every effort to increase production. The former nomad camps and small kishlaks have been replaced by new towns, and the standard of living has risen. Among the Kirgiz workers national elements of culture are intertwined with others borrowed from the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks and Russians, and their whole way of life is undergoing profound changes. The harmful old customs are disappearing, while the standard of living will inevitably continue to rise.

### Meteorite No.133

A man from Priozernyy in eastern Kazakhstan saw a meteorite drop with a roar from a cloud of smoke 50 metres from where he was standing on the ice of Lake Zaysan. The Academy of Sciences confirmed it to be the 133rd meteorite to be found in the Soviet Union during the last 200 years. It weighed 463 grammes and was named "Zaysan". PR. 18.2.64

### Birth of a tradition

Last year in the villages around Shemonaikha, Kazakhstan, 830 new families and 1,865 births were registered. The idea of planting a fruit tree to celebrate each wedding and birth has been encouraged by the area executive committee, and special squares and avenues have been allotted for the purpose in Shemonaikha and the surrounding royon. The trees will flower for the first time this year. KP. 6.3.64

## NEWS DIGEST

The following items are taken from newspapers and periodicals received during the period 1 January - 31 March 1964. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

## ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES

Uzbekistan

S.I. Kisilyev has been appointed Chairman of the Committee of State Security attached to the Council of Ministers. PV. 18.12.63

Kazakhstan

By decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR of 18 February 1964, N.Y. Fomichev has been appointed Minister of Motor Transport of the Kazakh SSR in place of N.F. Rudnitskiy. KP. 20. 2.64

Uzbekistan

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR of 26 November 1963, the centre of Syr-Dar'ya oblast has been transferred from Yangiyer to Gulistan. VVS. 27.12.63

Kashkadar'ya oblast

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR of 7 February 1964, the Kashkadar'ya oblast has been formed with Karshi as its centre. The town Shakhriyabz, belonging to the category of towns of oblast subordination, and the rural rayons of Guzar, Karshi, Kason, Shakhriyabz and Yakkabag have been transferred from the Surkhan-Dar'ya oblast to the new oblast.

The kishlak Beshkent has replaced the kishlak Kamashi as the administrative centre of Karshi rayon, and Kamashi has become the centre of Yakkabag rayon in place of Yakkabag. PV. 8.2.64, 23.2.64

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR of 22 February 1964, the following rural rayons have been formed:

<u>Andizhan oblast:</u>	Zadar'in rayon - centre, kishlak Dzhumashuy.
<u>Samarkand oblast:</u>	Gallya-Aral rayon - centre, kishlak Gallya-Aral.
<u>Surkhan-Dar'ya oblast:</u>	Sary-Assiya rayon - centre, kishlak Uzun.
<u>Syr-Dar'ya oblast:</u>	Farish rayon - centre, kishlak Yangi-Kishlak.
<u>Fergana oblast:</u>	Fergana rayon - centre, kishlak Vuadil'.
<u>Kashkadar'ya oblast:</u>	Chirakchi rayon - centre, kishlak Chirakchi.
<u>Kara-Kalpak ASSR:</u>	Kungrad rayon - centre, town Kungrad.
	PV. 23. 2.64

KazakhstanSouth-Kazakhstan kray

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR of 29 November 1963, the name of the town Chulak-Tau has been changed to Karatau. VVS. 27.12.63

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR of 29 February 1964 a new rayon - Bugun' rural rayon, with its centre in the village Temirlanovka, has been formed in Chimkent oblast. KP. 4. 3.64

West-Kazakhstan kray

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR of 10 December 1963 the urban settlement Aktauskiy has been transferred to the category of towns of kray subordination and is to be called Aktau. VVS. 27.12.63

## ARCHAEOLOGY

The Institute of Asian Studies of Leningrad University has published SOGDIAN DOCUMENTS FROM MOUNT MUG, the consummation of 30 years' work. In 1932, in the ruins of a fortress on the summit of Mount Kalai-Mug, a Tadjik shepherd found a leather-covered basket containing writing on silk. This was eventually identified in Leningrad by an Iranian philologist as a rare Sogdian document - the first to be found in Central Asia - from the time the Sogdians ruled over Central Asia. A further expedition to the mountain discovered 81 documents, part of the archives of the Sogdian powers which fell in 720. The impregnable mountain was chosen by Prince Devashtich of Pendzhikent as a safe in view of impending hostile attacks in which Sogdian men were murdered, women and children enslaved and Devashtich himself crucified. KT. 4.2.64; SK. 25.3.64

In the region of the river Syr-Dar'ya an archaeological expedition of the Soviet Academy of Sciences has discovered 72 burial mounds - original mausoleums - made of adobe. The mounds seem to be memorials of the proto-Scythians, which confirms the theory that the land of the Scythians lay between the Amu-Dar'ya and the Syr-Dar'ya.

Another expedition has discovered an underground Buddhist monastery on the banks of the Amu-Dar'ya near Termez. It was built in the first century A.D. during the Kushan period. Many wall inscriptions were found in the so-called Kushan script, in which till now very little has been found. Articles discovered, such as caskets decorated with lotus flowers and fragments of statues, point to the close economic and cultural ties of the Kushan kingdom with India and also with the ancient Greek and Roman world. VOP.IST., 1964, No.1

## COMMUNICATIONS

RoadsUzbekistan

In recent years much progress has been made in Uzbekistan in the construction of new roads and improvement of existing ones, especially in the Tashkent, Bukhara, Surkhan-Dar'ya and Khorezm oblasts and the Kara-Kalpak ASSR. In the two latter, motorways are to run on either side of the Amu-Dar'ya; already linked up are Turtkul' and Biruni, a distance of 80 km.; Nukus to Khodzheyli station and Takhia-Tash; Khazarasp through Khanki and Urgench to Gurlen. It is hoped, in the next two or three years to complete the motorway from Dul'dul' to the Aral Sea on the west bank of the Amu-Dar'ya, and from Nukus to Dul'dul' on the east.\* A continuation of the motorway will link this part of Uzbekistan with Bukhara and other central towns. PV. 22.3.64

Kirgiziya

Work continues on the high-altitude road from Frunze to Osh, joining the capital with the southern rayons of the republic. The road will cross the Ala-Bel' pass at a height of 3,200 metres. PR. 23.3.64

Kazakhstan

A 180 km. motorway to link Chardara and Arys' has been started in Kazakhstan. At Syutkent a new bridge over the Syr-Dar'ya is to be built. KP. 6.3.64

RailwaysUzbekistan

The proposal for an underground railway for Tashkent is being discussed. If it comes into being many other traffic alterations will simultaneously be made. The city is now 30 km. in diameter and takes one and a half to two hours to cross. It is hoped to cut this down to half an hour. Main streets will be extended, through roads made and linked up. PV. 22.2.64

Kazakhstan

Work on the electrification of the railway-line between Karaganda and Tselinograd continues day and night. KP. 31.3.64

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\* This scheme is presumably one of the improvements referred to; according to Soviet maps there is already an arterial road along the west bank of the Amu-Dar'ya from Kerki to the Aral Sea, and along parts of the east bank; second class roads cover most of the sections on both sides of the river from the Afghan frontier to the Aral Sea not already served by an arterial road. -Ed.

## Television and Telephone

### Uzbekistan/Turkmenistan

Preliminary work is being carried out on the banks of the Amu-Dar'ya for the Transkarakum radio transmission lines Ashkhabad - Mary - Chardzhou, a part of the Central Asian television network. In the mountainous region of Uzbekistan, relay stations are in operation and secure reliable reception of Tashkent programmes in Samarkand, Bukhara and other towns adjoining Turkmenistan. Between Ashkhabad and Chardzhou sites for transmission stations have been chosen; Bayram-Ali rayon will have a transmission tower for the Murgab area and Chardzhou will have an independent television centre. Work will start this year. The network will eventually be joined to the Gazli-Ural network, thus enabling local people to view transmissions direct from Moscow.

Tl. 2.2.64

### Tadzhikistan

On 20 March a meeting was held in Dushanbe to discuss the further development of methods of communication. According to the Tadzhik Minister of Communications, V.A. Sayko, in his address, building and modernization had increased enormously in the last 10 years. Better services included inter-town telephone systems, many of which were automatic, and many more semi-automatic connexions. A great stride forward was the development of phototelegraphy.

KT. 19.3.64; 24.3.64

## FILMS

Plenary sessions were held of the Turkmen, Uzbek and Kirgiz cinematographers. For Turkmenistan 1963 was an indifferent year, but three films are to be released in 1964 to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Republic and Communist Party. The films are THE DECISIVE STEP, from the novel by B. Kerbabayev [a summary of which was given in CAR, 1955, No.3]; I TAKE THE OFFENSIVE, a comedy about the life of a kolkhoz youth; and THIRST IS QUENCHED, about the Karakum Canal, after the novel by Yu. Trifonov.

Uzbekfilm productions shown were FIVE FROM FERGANA, YOUR FOOTSTEPS, THE SKY ABOVE THE DESERT, THE AEROPLANES DID NOT GROUND, and documentaries FROM SPRING TO SPRING and WELCOME FIDEL.

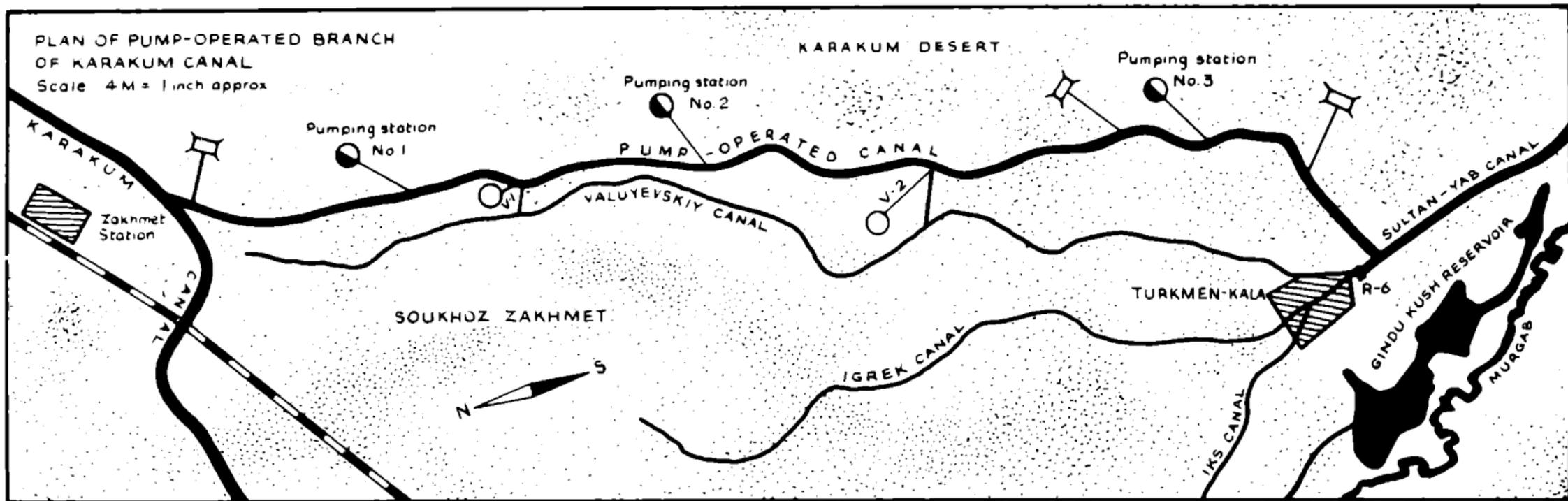
Kirgizfilm is the youngest studio in the Soviet Union. Their film BURNING HEAT won first prize at the Dushanbe Film Festival. Other films are STORY OF M.V. FRUNZE, PEARL OF THE SOUTH, and the first widescreen film DZHURA is almost completed.

Tadzhikistan also celebrates its 40th anniversary. SREDI BELOGO DNYA (In Broad Daylight) is an attack on fanatic religious sects of Chili-chor-chashma. The film shows them "at work", and the superstition and the corruption of the priests who feed on this superstition.

Tl. 28.1.64, 2.2.64; PV.21.1.64;

SK. 15.3.64; KT.12.2.64





Based on map in *Turkmenskaya Iskra*, 13. 3. 64

## IRRIGATION

Turkmenistan

The construction of a new pump-operated canal between Zakhmet and Turkmen-Kala has begun. It will be 46 km. long, and is the first large branch of the Karakum Canal. It will feed the Murgab river which runs dry in summer (sic), and irrigate more than 12,000 hectares of cotton-growing land. From Zakhmet the water will flow uphill, raised to a height of 27 metres by means of 600 propeller pumps, which will move 20 cubic metres of water per second. It is hoped to have completed nine kilometres of the canal by 1 May, and work continues day and night, although much machinery is out of action for lack of spare parts. The plan is applauded by local kolkhozniks and sovkhozniks, but workers grumble that there are few entertainment and cultural facilities in the region. IZ. 8.2.64; T1. 14, 26.3.64

It is reckoned that half the water which flows through the Karakum Canal disappears into the ground. A means of preventing this is to line the canal with polythene sheeting and this is being done on a section of the canal near Ashkhabad; this is the first instance in Turkmenistan of the use of this synthetic water "retainer." Part of the projected extension of the canal from Ashkhabad westward - as far as Geok-Tepe - is also to be thus lined. IZ. 27.2.64

Kazakhstan

The foundations of the Kazalin hydro-complex have been laid near the mouth of the Syr-Dar'ya at the Aral Sea. A reinforced concrete dam and special sluices make up the construction, which will ensure a steady flow of water from the Syr-Dar'ya for the irrigation of 60,000 hectares of rice-growing land. PR. 16.3.64

A plan has been drawn up by the State institute of water conservation and amelioration for a complex system of irrigation using the water resources of six oblasts of Kazakhstan. The Uyden project in West-Kazakhstan kray will irrigate 12,000 hectares of high-yield land near the Uyden river, where there is a 65 metre dam and gravity-flow canal.

The Aral-Tyubin project in Gur'yev oblast provides for the irrigation of 10,000 hectares, and estuary irrigation for 25,000.

The Ural-Kushum network will extend to the extensive steppes of Ural'sk oblast to irrigate 63,000 hectares and supply water to up to 1m. hectares. (See CAR, 1960, No.2, pp.148-9.) KP. 31.3.64

## LINGUISTICS

There is a great concern in Tadzhikistan about the teaching of the Tadzhik language in Russian schools and to adults. In some schools and colleges Russian students acquire a good practical knowledge, but often the subject is badly taught and lightly regarded. The chief worry is that while universities give very good courses in Tadzhik language and literature directed at teaching in Tadzhik schools, there is a lack of teachers of Tadzhik who speak Russian sufficiently well to reach Russians. Evening groups and language circles are being encouraged for adult teaching, but the only suitable Tadzhik grammar, published specifically for this purpose in the 1950s, is now virtually unobtainable. KT. 24.10.63

The Tadzhik Academy of Sciences has published **BODZHUV DIALECT OF THE SHUGNAN LANGUAGE** by Dodkhudo Karamshoyev. This is the first Soviet work that gives a full account of one of the dialects of the living, but unwritten, Pamir languages. The author covers the phonetics, morphology and syntax of the contemporary dialect, considering the relationship to Shugnan and Bartang and the influence of Tadzhik. About 500 people of the Bodzhuv valley, Shugnan rayon, Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous oblast, and inhabitants of the Soviet Pamir, Afghanistan and isolated tribes of Pakistan and western China speak Bodzhuv. These people have studied little, but because of tradition and geographical isolation have retained their old dialect in its purity. Karamshoyev's work is a valuable contribution to the study of the inter-relation of languages in Tadzhikistan. KT. 8.2.64

Russian has become the second Turkmen native language and there are many facilities for its study. Simultaneously Turkmen is being taught in secondary and higher educational establishments. Until recently, however, there was a lack of suitable grammars here too, but now linguists of the republic, A.A. Kurbanov and others, have published **TURKMEN LANGUAGE** (Ashkhabad 1964). Its fault is in being over-repetitive, but morphology and phonetics are well dealt with, as are the rules of vowel harmony and stress. Unfortunately only 2,000 copies have been printed. TI. 28.2.64

The Institute of Philology of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences under the direction of N.A. Baskakov and M.Y. Khamzayev have published a **COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF RUSSIAN AND TURKMEN**. It contains many examples from folklore, the colloquial language, and from classical and contemporary Russian and Turkmen literature. The Russian verbal system, difficult for Turkmens, is well explained. TI. 21.3.64

Publications from Uzbekistan are **THE UZBEK LANGUAGE FOR ADULTS** by I.A. Kissen and S.U. Rakhmatullayev intended to give a practical working knowledge of the modern language, and **AN EXPLANATORY DICTIONARY OF INTERNATIONAL WORDS AND SCIENTIFIC AND PUBLISHING TERMS** by lexicologists Alim Usman and R. Daniyarovyy: words like sredazvideniye, telekaf, mikroud-breniye are explained. PV. 29.2.64

The Uzbek Academy of Sciences has begun the publication of an atlas of dialects of the Uzbek language; 49 charts of Kurama dialects spoken in eastern Uzbekistan, have already been issued. The whole atlas, which will be completed in six years, will consist of 150 charts which will reflect the phonetical, morphological and lexical features of contemporary Uzbek. It will be an integral part of the **DIALECTOLOGICAL ATLAS OF TURKIC LANGUAGES OF THE SOVIET UNION** which the USSR Academy of Sciences is preparing. TASS, 1.4.64

## PARTY AFFAIRS

The CC of the CPSU have criticized the inadequate part played in party and social affairs in Turkmenistan by the press, radio and television, which, although growing in importance, are not used to their full advantage. Communication with kolkhozes and sovkhozes, scientific research institutes, industry, educational and cultural establishments is poor. Republic, town and inter-rayon newspapers are sharply

criticized for not devoting themselves to "proletarian internationalist propaganda" and the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and for not encouraging the abhorrence of such survivals of the past as the feudal attitude towards women. The newspapers TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA and SOVET TURKMENISTANY print too few workers' letters. Similarly, the level of radio and television ideological broadcasts is low, as there is no proper plan. These defects are due to the lack of sound and qualified management of the media of mass communication; at republic level a formal sanction in the CC of the Turkmen CP of the Editors' quarterly plans is required; at rayon level there is not even this.

TI. 25.2.64

(from PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' 1964, No.3)

I. Yusupov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party, has shown great concern at the amount of paper-shuffling, one of the pernicious vestiges of the past, that goes on in Kazakhstan. In the course of the past year, said Yusupov, "the Kazakh Council of Ministers received 42,000 documents and sent out 57,000 to various agencies. The personnel of the Council of Ministers' offices were writing an average of 185 instructions a day! . . .

"Last summer the Secretariat of the Central Committee adopted a resolution on measures for strengthening the protection of the republic national economy from fire. The meaning of the decision was simple: Comrades, be vigilant with respect to fires; harvest time is approaching and there should be no losses of grain from fire. Instead of checking the state of fire protection, people on the spot adopted a flood of resolutions of their own.

"We also intend to eradicate another evil. This consists of unnecessary questions put by lower organizations directly to Union and republic agencies. People have acquired a habit of turning to Alma-Ata or Moscow with any trifle at all. If such requests were sent to local organizations no heaps of paper would be needed."

IZ. 2.2.64

In denunciation of bureaucracy in Tselinnyy kray, F. Kolomiyets singles out Tselinograd oblast secretary V.P. Demidenko and the chief of the construction organization, under whose leadership not one trust of this administration ever fulfilled its production programme. The man was actually living in Moscow, and spent a total of three weeks at the local site. Kolomiyets goes on to say that "the corrosion of a formal, bureaucratic attitude towards things at times gets into the pores of certain of our large institutions." It affects weak and unstable men. It seems at first that the machine continues to turn, but if you look closely it turns out that it is running idle and its working parts are covered with rust. In 1962 the Pavlodar sovkhos acquired 25 tractors which had not been asked for. The business of taking them away has dragged on for two years and the plea of a neighbouring director in need of them is not heeded.

KP. 29.2.64

## RELIGION

A four-day seminar of ideological workers of the republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and Kirgiziya took place from 4-7 February 1964 on the initiative of the Sredazbyuro of the CC CPSU to discuss atheistic education. Propagandists, teachers, doctors, Party, trade union, radio-and television workers, artists, journalists and members of the Komsomol took part. Interest was aroused by the lectures of Professor L.I. Klimovich entitled "The Ideology of Contemporary Islam" and Dr. R.A. Artykov entitled "The Modernization of Islam Abroad".

KT. 5, 8.2.64

The following letter to the Editor and the editorial reply are extracted from the March 1964 issue of the anti-religious monthly *NAUKA I RELIGIYA*; to the outside observer they seem to provide an interesting illustration of the confusion existing in the minds of Muslims exposed to modern scientific ideas but still clinging to the traditional faith.

From B. Arkhabayev, Kuuli-Mayak, Turkmen SSR

Dear Editor,

Some of the Muslim clergy are employing the achievements of science and technology to enhance the authority of religion; they inform the faithful that all the successes of contemporary technology are derived from the book called *INZHEL*. They say that this book was composed by God Himself and was preserved safe in some holy place or other; but that it was stolen by the unbelievers (*kafyry*) who penetrated its secrets. They also assert that the very word engineer (*inzhenery*) is derived from the title of this book. Please let me know what information you have about this book.

#### Editorial reply

Dear Comrade Arkhabayev,

There are several so-called 'holy' books, which believers reverence as 'inspired by God'. Among these, however, there is no book called *INZHEL*; this word (or to be more exact *Inzhil*\*) is an illiterate transcription of the title of the Christian books - the Gospels - which Christian theologians claim were written by the disciples of Jesus Christ; the Muslims regard Him as a prophet, and forerunner of Muhammad. Of course one can give no credence to the vapourings of these mullas who compose these fairy-tales to adapt religion to present-day conditions; neither the Koran nor the Gospels, which were written many centuries ago by simple mortal men, contain any forecast of the achievements of modern science and technology. As for the word engineer, this is a French word, deriving from the Latin *ingenium*, which means 'talent' or 'inventiveness'.

#### SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The electrification of the central Tyan'-Shan' is under way and work on the first 110 kilovolt transmission line has begun. It is scheduled to reach Kochkorka [from Rybach'ye], a distance of 60 km. in 1964; the line will pass through the mountainous region along the Orto-Tokoy reservoir on the river Chu. The first ten 25 metre-high pylons have been positioned, and work is progressing at the same time from both Rybach'ye and Kochkorka.

This will be one of the most powerful high-altitude transmission lines in Kirgiziya; it will bring energy from Frunze to the most remote settlements, and will unite the regions of the Chu valley, Priissykkul' and the Tyan'-Shan' in one electrical energy system. SK. 27.3.64

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\* The word *injil* is an Arabic corruption of the Greek *euaggelion*. -Ed.

## OBITUARY

The death took place on 31 January 1964, after a grave illness, of the President of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences, K.I. Satpayev, eminent Soviet scholar, Doctor of Geology and Mineralogy, Lenin and State Prize winner. He was 64 years old. Satpayev combined his scientific work with extensive governmental activity. He was repeatedly elected Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Deputy of the Kazakh Republic Supreme Soviet and was a member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and a delegate to the XXIIInd CPSU Congress.

Shafik Chokin has been elected President in his place. Chokin is 54 years old and former head of the Kazakh Institute of Power Engineering.

PR. 2.2.64; KP. 2.2.64; TASS, 3.4.64

## BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

## PERIODIZATION IN PERSIAN LITERATURE

A FURTHER REPORT TO THE  
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

At the XXVth International Congress of Orientalists which took place in Moscow in 1960, a distinguished Soviet delegate, I. S. Braginskiy, presented a report on "The Problem of Periodization in the History of Persian and Tadzhik Literature". In the light of that report it was formally resolved to debate the said problem first in the learned press and subsequently at a special symposium. For the purpose of preparing the ground for such a discussion, a committee composed of specialists from different countries was formed under Braginskiy's own chairmanship.

On several occasions after the Congress, the members of the committee succeeded in assembling for preliminary talks, in the course of which they became convinced of the need *ab initio* to sound expert opinion as to certain points of departure. A questionnaire consisting of seven items was therefore circulated both among committee members and a number of outside authorities.

This was the questionnaire:

- One Do you consider periodization to be now an urgent task, vital to any further appreciation of the history of Persian literature, if such a history is to be conceived not as the mere sum of names and productions, but as a process in the domain of letters subject to law and expressing itself in artistic achievement?
- Two Do you consider that periodization according to dynasties, albeit a convenience in taking bearings chronologically, is nowadays hopelessly outmoded if literature is to be understood in the sense postulated in Question One?
- Three Do you consider that when setting about periodization the starting-point should be to relate it first to the main epochs, stages and landmarks in the historical existence of the people, which is the vehicle of literature; and secondly to the dominant ideas and most typical linguistic and artistic features (including particularities of style and genre) of literature itself?
- Four Do you consider it correct, in establishing the principal periods, to admit within them a sub-division by schools (including territorial schools), tendencies and genres?
- Five Do you consider it feasible, having regard to the present state of our understanding of periodization, to lay down main periods, and to split these into smaller sections? If so, what precisely should they be?
- Six Do you consider it would be rewarding, in the event of a negative answer to Question Five, to adopt some such working diagram of literature (to be finalized later) as the following: ancient; medieval - (a) early, up to XVth century, and (b) late, beginning with XVth century; modern; and recent (and in the case of Tadzhik, Soviet)?

Seven Do you consider it possible, pending a collective decision on the subject of periodization, to apply, with effect from the medieval period, conditional designations by centuries (on the lines of the Trecento etc., for the Renaissance) and by decades in the case of recent literature?

More or less detailed replies came in from eight correspondents: viz., V.F. Minorsky (Cambridge); J. Lazare (Paris); S. Makh'al'skiy (Cracow); I. Bechka (Prague); A.N. Boldyrev (Leningrad); A.Z. Rozenfel'd (Leningrad); Z.G. Osmanova (Moscow) and A. Azer (Moscow). The answers will here be distributed among the questions:

Question One Messrs. Boldyrev, Azer, Makh'al'skiy and Mesdames Rozenfel'd and Osmanova regarded periodization as imperative. I. Bechka conceded the value of such an approach, but stopped short of its recognition as the *sine qua non* of further endeavour. Professor Minorsky was alone in doubting whether a new periodization was the really pressing requirement. On an international level such issues as the transference of Persian literature to more real foundations seemed to him of greater urgency than the approach to it "from exotically aesthetic points of view". He found the concept of "a literary process subject to law" to be in need of clarification; particularly in view of p.5 of the Appendix to Braginskiy's original Report where it is acknowledged that periodization in literature is on no account to be identified with an overall historical periodization. It appeared to him that a superfluous uneven beat (*pereboy*) must result from such a dualism in periodization. He also wondered whether one could pretend that the alternative to the so-styled "process" was "the bare sum of names and productions" which was held (in the Appendix) to emerge from periodization by dynasties. E.G. Browne's LITERARY HISTORY OF PERSIA, actually mentioned in the Appendix, was not, he would submit, a bleak list of names and productions. Finally, if "the literary process" be spoken of as one which "has found its expression in artistic achievement" it is insufficiently clear whether such productions as the QABUS NAMEH, the SIYASAT NAMEH and other historical works are, or are not, within the purview.

Question Two The majority thought dynastic periodization to be old-fashioned but would not deny it some value. Thus, while Rozenfel'd and Osmanova found it useless, Makh'al'skiy, Bechka, Boldyrev and Azer insisted that it ought not to be discarded entirely; such periods as "Arab Invasion", "Mongol Yoke", "Afghan Expansion" having genuine significance. Professor Minorsky was perhaps in a minority of one in objecting to the adjective "old-fashioned" altogether. He pointed out that dynastic periodization always implied more than a concentration on princes and monarchs, and adduced copious examples in illustration of this. Dynastic movements conditioned languages and even the kinds of poetry. The mystical vision not seldom corresponded with periods of mundane invasion and strife.

Questions Three and Four Several of those addressed ran the two questions together: J. Lazare called attention to the time lag occurring between the historical *etape* and the literary reflection it casts; and added that in arriving at a periodization of literature it is above all important to dwell on the features which are *per se* literary. Professor Minorsky wrote: The correlation of literature with historical and geographical conditions is fully taken care of in the assumed system of periodization. The same applies to "schools" of literature. Boldyrev, who likewise bracketed the questions, answered with a monosyllabic "Yes".

Of those treating the questions separately:

Bechka answered Three in the affirmative, Four in the negative. Makhal'skiy and Rozenfel'd concurred in both Three and in Four. Osmanova supplemented her answer to Three with the remark that the point of departure is not merely the correlation-ship stated, but also the correlation with the main trends of world literature as a whole and of the literatures of the contiguous countries in particular. To Four she replied affirmatively. Azer returned an affirmative answer to Three; but under Four commented that schools, genres, centres, do not define periods; these things are to be thought of as horizontal divisions; the periods within which they happen being vertical segments.

Question Five This, as could be expected, was the thorny question. Boldyrev said that in his view the plan was ripe enough, but considering that certain of its ingredients had yet to be settled he would prefer to delay presentation of it pending the preliminary discussion. Osmanova wrote to much the same effect. Rozenfel'd doubted whether any schema could forthwith be elaborated. Minorsky left the question unanswered (having already made known his opinion that the schema as proposed in the Appendix was of too nebulous a character). Lazare said that as a linguist he was incompetent to pronounce on this; and Bechka replied, No.

Makhal'skiy judged it premature to lay down periods with any finality but suggested an interim chart, and actually furnished one for modern and contemporary literature. Azer by way of reply similarly attached a table for medieval and modern literature.

Question Six Most correspondents agreed with the working schema but found it somewhat empty of content. Both Rozenfel'd and Makhal'skiy supplied amplifications of their own. Azer referred to his schema [vide under Question Five].

Question Seven Osmanova found it impossible to return a straight 'yes' or 'no'. She argued that the question ought to have been less rigidly framed since some periods admit of treatment by 'ages' whereas the natural breakdown of others is into sub-periods covering several 'ages'.

The remainder gave negative replies. Boldyrev, Rozenfel'd, and Bechka were unable to see how 'ages' were any advance on 'dynasties'. The last took the opportunity in this place of pleading for a finding as to the moment with effect from which Tadhik and Persian literatures can be deemed independent of each other.

Makhal'skiy expressed the view that a division into centuries (or decades as the case might be) is a mechanical register which does not correspond to the real march of literature; and Azer appealed once more to his own schema which would gain nothing whatever, he maintained, from the introduction of new criteria such as centuries and decades.

Professor Minorsky said that the proposal to treat Persian literature by 'ages' could lead to a host of troubles. The edges of the centuries or decades must arbitrarily slice through both historical life and through literature; so that the representatives of this latter would constantly be on both sides of any such lines of demarcation.

The foregoing information has been taken from the sixth and last number of *NARODY AZII I AFRIKI* to appear in 1963, where Braginskiy released it in a major article entitled "Once More on the Periodization of the History of Persian and Tadjzhik Literatures. For the XXVth International Congress of Orientalists". As that title indicates, the article was to be submitted at the Congress, which was about to assemble, and it is of course in keeping with the resolution of the XXVth Congress that the subject under debate should be ventilated in the learned press. It is no fault of Braginskiy's that the airing should be conducted in a language with which most orientalists are unfamiliar. But this being so, there seems every reason why *CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW* should attempt in the present pages to lower, if it cannot remove, the barrier named.

Braginskiy, having completed what may be termed his *compte rendu*, proceeds to suggest that the contributions, assorted as they are, do pave the way towards a solution. His argument, which occupies the second half of his article, will now be traced.

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### Prerequisites to a Solution of the Problem

A difficulty presenting itself at the outset is that some of the specialists in this subject take their stand on Marxist principles whilst others adhere to opposite methodological views. Nevertheless, even though it is still impracticable to draw up a common schema, at least the approach to such unanimity is becoming possible now that the competing positions have been declared and defined.

The prerequisites to any rapprochement appear to reside on the one hand in the identity of certain initial attitudes to literature as such, and on the other in the agreement upon the particular characteristics of individual periods.

The first prerequisite. The first prerequisite of a correct decision on periodization in Persian literature is to be quite clear about the level at which the discussion is to be conducted. It can hardly be doubted that the time has come to study this literature not in isolation but as part of world literature; and hence to weigh the problem of periodization in a context as wide as literature itself. Orientalists have failed to keep pace with scientific method as this has progressed in respect of literature as a whole.

At the level of world literature the problem of periodization has long been accorded a central place, and it may be helpful to glance for a moment at three works of general scholarship: Henri Peyre, *LES GÉNÉRATIONS LITTÉRAIRES*, Paris, 1948; H.P.H. Teesing, *DAS PROBLEM DER PERIODEN IN DER LITERATURGESCHICHTE*, Batavia, 1949; and M. Wehrli, *ALLGEMEINE LITERATURWISSENSCHAFT*, Bern, 1951. None of these three authors is a Marxist and none sees eye to eye about periodization with either of the other two.

The concept of "generation" which Peyre preaches as the unit of periodization grew from the deliberations of the 1st and 11nd International Congresses on the History of Literature held in 1931 and 1935 respectively. It consigned to oblivion the naive system of classification by dynasties which had tolerated such pointless labels as "Victorian", "Elizabethan", and so on. Peyre went further. He pounced on all the traditional terms like Renaissance, baroque, rococo, romanticism, realism, symbolism etc., and scrapped them in favour of his "generations": e.g. 1590-1630, 1680-1715, 1790-1820.

Teesing propounds the thesis of the inner "structure" of literary periods, a structure being to him a larger segment of time than a generation. The structure, he says, is the form of the period but not the period itself: it is its distinguishing mark. And a period has a structure which does not merge with any other structure, so that thanks to its structure the period can be distinguished from others. It is important to note that Teesing emphasizes the objective basis of the period when he states that periods are historical formations (Gebilde) built on a structural principle of consciousness but passing into very reality. He is at pains not to be taken for a Marxist about this reality, and in order to steer clear of "a narrowly economic materialism" prefers a theory of "the multiplicity of factors" among which socio-economic, political, and technical relations are numbered. We do not need to follow him further. The important thing for us is this: the bourgeois specialists in literature correctly underline the significance of periodization in their field and try to bring out the objective basis of this periodization in actual reality, and define the inherently literary features of periods, and inside these mark the importance of such a sub-division as a "generation".

Wehrli, although more critically disposed towards periodization than his fellow authors, is driven to the conclusion that it is impossible to manage without "elaborating the perspectives of an outwardly neutral time sequence." He is, too, in sympathy with the "generation" which he regards as being the smallest and the most concrete of the chronological units. He becomes over academic, however, in his advocacy of the limitation of literary-historical periods by literary criteria, for it is precisely over what to accept as such a criterion that all the disagreements develop.

Very instructive is it for us orientalists at this point to attend to what has been done by Soviet scholarship in the domain of Russian literature. Periodization has there been carried out by centuries and fragments thereof. [Braginskiy reproduces a synopsis of the 10th to the 17th centuries borrowed from the standard HISTORY OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE IN THREE VOLUMES, VOL. I: Xth-XVIIIth Centuries, Moscow, 1958, and continues.] For the 18th century the breakdown is into periods reckoned according to universal literary trends (classicism etc.) and phenomena (Enlightenment etc.): i.e. a schema approximating to periodization from the standpoint of world literature. The concept "generation" is applied indirectly in the fractional divisions (e.g. 1620-1640 etc.) and directly in such periodizations as "people in their forties", "sexagenarians".

The second prerequisite. This is implicit in the First Question as formulated above, in which the history of literature is conceived "not as the mere sum of names and productions but as a literary process conditioned by law and expressed in artistic achievement."

Notwithstanding the still persisting and unhappily characteristic "lag" in orientalism, the idea of the genuinely scientific, i.e. historical, approach to Eastern literature is beginning to prevail whether in Soviet or Western or, it may be added, "native" studies. In other words, oriental literature is at long last seen as part of a larger whole and as obedient to the laws governing that whole.

There was a substantial measure of agreement on the starting point. The only dissenting voice was Minorsky's. It is impossible to concur in his reply to the First Question, in spite of some valuable observations it contains. It reflects indeed a phase of orientalism in which no adequate attention was yet being paid to the special branches of scholarship, such as the science of literature, linguistics etc. To agree with Minorsky would be to overlook what has become a common truth in the science of literature quite independently of whether one holds Marxist or non-Marxist views. It would be to defend a position which savours of the last century.

In what sense, really, can one pit against the conception of a scientific study of literature such "pressing problems" as a renunciation of the approach to Persian literature from the exotically-aesthetic position? The exotic approach is not scientific at all and to the best of our knowledge is not being employed in scientific (*nauchnyy*) works on Persian literature: whereas the aesthetic approach of course is entirely scientific and legitimate. How, one may ask, should the study of a work of art be made if not by approaching it aesthetically? In defining a "point of view" which we are supposed to resist it is utterly inadmissible to combine such contrasting approaches as the "exotic" and the "aesthetic". Minorsky's other oppositions lapse of themselves if their base be thus removed. In particular, his defence of dynastic periodization is an anachronism.

The third prerequisite. This is in the attitude to the relationship between historic and literary periodization. And here the literature specialists, irrespective of their general methodological beliefs, can come together - and the Persian specialists have come together - on the point that historico-literary periodization must have a universal historical periodization for its support (*podosnova*) but cannot be identical with this: the two cannot wholly coincide for the simple reason that they do not do so in actual history.

Literary processes, being conditioned in large measure by historical circumstances, can outstrip these circumstances, anticipating them and in a certain degree even preparing them ideologically; and can also drop behind the historical events, sometimes failing to keep up with the sudden turns of the historical process. This applies equally to West and to East. And since this is so, it is impossible automatically to unify literary processes or phenomena with their historical substratum.

Many non-Soviet scholars are needlessly prejudiced, believing that Marxism puts down literary phenomena and ideological phenomena alike as the mere copy received from economic relations. This is an over simplification and untrue. One only need quote the conclusion to the section on Methodological Prerequisites in the [Braginskiy] Report to the XXVth Congress: "Literature is not a simple tracing, not a copy taken from the economic order; whilst being engendered by it, literature in its multifarious antagonistic currents and trends acts either as a brake or as a progressive factor in social life."

In articulating the literary process one has to periodize literature to the elimination, so to speak, of all else whatever including its own objective basis. One must of course accept guidance from the objective factors, economic, political etc., on whose foundation the literary periods are to be laid down; but the periods must be definite time-segments of literature itself. For instance, one may agree or may not agree with a division like The Literature of the Period of Ferdausi, or The Literature of the Period of Sa'di, or Literature of the Indian Style: but it is impossible not to acknowledge that we are here dealing with the periodization of literature itself; whereas, when we talk of, say, the Epoch of the Feudal System, The Period of the Ghaznavids, or The Period of Sufism, it is not literature that we are periodizing but its extra-literary setting.

The fourth prerequisite. We have to get agreement also on a fourth prerequisite. The periods we lay down must differ from the preceding and subsequent ones by the predominance in them both of a particular idea-content and of a particular artistic form, the imaginative work being a unity of these two. The appellation of the given period may very likely not reflect this unity successfully, being always conditional and inevitably brief. We must reconcile ourselves to capturing in the given period

no more than the main intellectual and artistic features; and also to having in it a remnant of extraneous matter that cannot be got rid of. This is natural enough; you are dealing with a real live process that cannot be squeezed exactly into the narrow frame of any periodization.

A supplementary discussion would probably enable us [Persian specialists] to reach agreement on the prerequisites enumerated above, and it would then be for us to seek agreement on certain particular, but highly essential, propositions.

### Towards a Working Schema

To judge from the replies to Question Six there is roughly a consensus of opinion on the following working schema:

1. Ancient Iranian Literature. To include Avesta, Pahlavi, Parthian, Sogdian, Khorezmian, Sako-Khotan written relics.
2. Classical Literature in Persian (Farsi). Mainly devoted to the artistic yield of the 9th to 15th centuries; but the period (7th and 8th centuries) when Persian writers were using Arabic is also covered.
3. Late medieval (or Post-Classical) Literature. The artistic productions of the 16th to 19th centuries are here analysed, with a subdivision of literatures into Tadjik, Persian, and Indian.
4. Modern Persian Literature and Modern Tadjik Literature. Analysis of works produced in the 19th and 20th centuries having a predominantly modernistic (*prosvetitel'nyy*) character.
5. Recent Persian Literature, and Soviet-Tadjik Literature. Productions in Farsi and - parallel with these - in the Tadjik language, with effect from the Great October Revolution until today.

For the periodization of the most controversial period, viz. No.2 of those listed, the summary, as offered in the Report to the XXVth Congress, of generally agreed characteristics may with advantage be repeated (with a few amplifications) in this place.

[Braginskiy here runs over the ground traversed previously in the said summary, in order to bring out the degree of unanimity evident in the views of individual scholars. In regard to the period of flowering (9th to 11th centuries), "the golden age", he cites M. Bahar, S. Nafisi, A. Krymskiy, E. Bertel's, Ya. Rypka, E. Browne, Azer, M. Qazvini and others. On the 12th century he quotes the views of Krymskiy, Azer and Bertel's. For the 13th century Khanlari and M. Bahar are called on to speak. The 14th century is illuminated by the studies of S. Ayni, Rypka, R. Yasemi, Sh. Hosayi Zadeh and others; and the 15th by those of Ayni, Bertel's and Bahar.]

### Conclusion

The upshot is that there is much more uniting us than dividing us. To what extent the experts are like-minded will be apparent from the foregoing pages.

What is dividing us? Very largely terms, particular definitions, and fractional divisions into separate portions of time. But there is no sense in putting off, simply because there are things which for the time being divide us, the settlement of questions on which we today find ourselves to be at one.

Pending agreement, the most reasonable course is to conceive of the march of literature as divisible into "ages" and decades. The virtue of such a breakdown is that without prejudice to an eventual uniformity in terminology - which is still in the lap of the future - we are already attending to the qualitative distinctions between one time factor and another.

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### Editorial Note

Two points of particular interest emerge from the foregoing: first, the evident reluctance of Professor Minorsky to associate himself with the Marxist theory of periodization; and secondly, the growing Soviet desire to reach some degree of accommodation with Western scholarship on certain subjects.

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### New "Borderlands" air link

Aeroflot have opened a weekly international service from Moscow to Colombo, and 8,000 kilometre journey over territory of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, India and Pakistan. The flight is scheduled to take 12 hours, with stops in Tashkent and Karachi. PR. 15.3.64

### Khrushchev's speeches for Punjabis

"Shamard Publications" of Jullundur in the Punjab have published three collections of N.S. Khrushchev's speeches in Punjabi. They are "The National Liberation Movement", "Imperialism - Enemy of Nations and Peace", and "The Revolutionary Working-Class and Communist Movement". In preparation are "Socialism and Communism" and "The Fight for Peace is a Task of the First Importance". PR. 9.3.64

### USSR help for Afghan irrigation project

In the Jalalabad district of Afghanistan the Soviet Union is helping to construct an irrigation canal and hydraulic complex. The 70-kilometre canal ensures a steady flow of water to an area of 30,000 hectares. The main construction consists of a dam, a drainage tunnel and a water-power station. PR. 15.3.64

### Russian Institute in India

According to the Minister of Education, M. Chagla, a Russian Institute is to be built in India, where Indian students will be able to study the Russian language. PR. 20.3.64

## THE TRAVELS OF EBRAHIM BEG

The SIYAHAT NAMEH, or Travelogue, of Ebrahim Beg made sensational reading when it appeared in Persia more than 70 years ago. As a satirical novel it was remarkable alike for its form and for its substance, and the audacity of each took the breath away.

The excitement, of course, subsided; but the place which this unusual work won for itself is permanent. As a feat of modern prose Ebrahim Beg (if we follow the critics) occupies a niche in the temple of letters. As a man - for surely he lived and died - Ebrahim Beg retains a corner of his own in Persian hearts.

This poignant tale is of a young man of Persian parentage but Egyptian domicile brought up to a passionate faith in the land of his fathers. He goes there in the spirit of a pilgrim visiting a shrine, but this pilgrim's progress is from initial bewilderment and incredulity through the stages of exasperation, anger, tears and disenchantment to a final numbed sorrow. The author's name was for obvious reasons withheld, and only some years later did it come out as Zayn al-'Abedin, originally of Maragha but residing in Yalta where he had taken Russian nationality.

According to a prefatory note by Mohammad Kazem Shirazi in the Calcutta edition of 1910, translations of Ebrahim Beg into both French and English were at that date under preparation in Europe. However, it does not seem as though either of these ever saw the light. There was indeed a much earlier German version (of which Mohammad Kazem Shirazi appeared unaware); namely, that of Dr. W. Schulz of Leipzig in 1903. But this has long been unobtainable, with the net result that the approach to a consummate piece of artistry has been barred to those ignorant of Persian.

Not, therefore, without some justification has the USSR Academy of Sciences lately (1963) brought out a translation of the SIYASAT NAMEYE EBRAHIM BEG. This is by G.P. Mikhalevich and is of the distinction we have come to expect of Soviet studies in the field of Persian literature. The translation, which has been done from the Calcutta edition of 1910, is followed by a 25-page essay entitled "Zayn al-'Abedin Maragha'i and his Novel" by A.M. Shoytov.

If a Soviet audience has found this satire to be of intrinsic interest, that of itself is reason enough for looking at it more closely. Some typical passages will below be turned into English. But before coming to these it is helpful to hear what Shoytov has to say about the author and about the book.

## I. From the Essay by A.M. Shoytov

The author

Haji Zayn al-'Abedin was born in south Azarbayjan in 1838 of a wealthy father who was nicknamed the Rothschild of Maragha. Of his schooldays between the age of eight and 16 we only know that he retained the most painful memories. When no more than 20, on the death of his father, he was compelled to open a commercial concern on his own in Ardebil. Having no understanding of commerce he speedily came to grief.

He then left Persia for the Caucasus in search of a livelihood and during the next three or four years succeeded in accumulating a little capital. Somewhat later, when

1,000 or so Persians were engaged on railway construction in the locality, he was appointed Vice-Consul; but took the unorthodox view that his function was to assist his compatriots and not make an income at their expense. He soon lost his job.

For three years he drifted without means, and ultimately made up his mind to seek a new environment. He went to the Crimea and opened a shop in fashionable Yalta, and was lucky enough to number among his customers at this resort, and to impress with his integrity, several members of the Imperial entourage. He accepted their suggestion that he should adopt Russian nationality and for the subsequent 20 years lived on in Yalta as a subject of the Tsar. It was here that he wrote the novel that brought him fame.

Living in Yalta, knowing Russian perfectly, and a born student of the international scene, Zayn ol-'Abedin was well fitted to assess what was happening in his own country.

The more he learned of Persia's plight, the more ashamed he grew of his own inability to do anything to help; and as time went on he became uncomfortably conscious of the inconsistency between his patriotic protestations and his foreign papers. by the late 'nineties Mozaffar-ud-Din succeeded Nasrud-Din as Shah, and before the century ended many emigrants, such as Malkom Khan, were pinning their hopes on a Constitution. In 1900 Zayn ol-'Abedin decided to apply for the resumption of his Persian nationality. The formalities were understandably complicated and dragged on for four years. The patriot had meantime given up his business and was practically penniless. But he was Persian again.

He passed his few remaining years in Stambul where he died in 1910.

No progressive writer or public figure at that day could ignore the works of Malkom Khan, and Zayn ol-'Abedin was among those who shared his political convictions. Indeed there is little doubt that he has introduced Malkom Khan into his novel (without naming him) in the guise of "the honourable man", that extraordinarily cultivated and genuine patriot to whose house in Tehran he brings his hero. The honourable man acquaints Ebrahim Beg with his writings, and the ideas we meet in these, especially on education and sociology, are precisely those of Malkom Khan. Like the latter, the honourable man was a statesman of position, enjoying access to the Shah; like Malkom Khan he had joined issue with the reactionary policies of the governing elite, and like him had proved powerless to implement his programmes of reform.

### The book

The novel is composed of three parts. The First Part (which is here offered in translation) consists of the travel diary of a young merchant, a Persian subject, who had resided all his life in Egypt. This diary depicts in minutest detail the daily routine, the attitudes and the condition of the main layers of society, and allows Ebrahim Beg to record his own observations as made in the different provinces of Persia. The opening, however, and the close of the First Part are outside the diary and, as it were, contain it; portraying in the overture the hero's character and telling us, at the end, of his return from Persia and his meeting with compatriots in Stambul on the homeward journey. In this concluding section the debate on the destiny of his native land generates such heat that Ebrahim develops fever and falls gravely ill.

The Second Part is the account of his return to Egypt, his illness there, a brief love episode, and finally the hero's death from shame at Persia's decay and

degradation. Of central interest in this Part is Ebrahim's correspondence with his Tehran friend, Mashhadi Hasan Kermani. The particular value of the letters penned by this friend is that they convey the vivid impressions of a progressive Persian on contemporary affairs, and his scathing criticism of the feudal society of the day.

The Third Part is the dream of Ebrahim Beg's tutor, Yusof 'Amu. Here, no more than in the two earlier Parts of his novel, the author spares neither the government nor the ruling classes of Persia. Yusof 'Amu dreams he is travelling in Hades and in Paradise. In Hades he encounters the bribe taker - ministers, the despot - governors, the liar - Ulama and other parasites of the body politic. On the other hand, Paradise is the abode of the honourable and the just spirits who have lived their lives to the benefit of their homeland and people.

## II. Extracts from the Russian Translation

### The hero's father. By the narrator

Ebrahim Beg's father was a merchant from Azarboyjan who had come to Cairo on business 50 years ago and elected to stay on in this fairest of the cities of Islam. In commerce honesty is the best policy, and it was not long before he had made a considerable fortune. But what particularly struck people was the single-minded patriotism of the man. In the course of all those years in Cairo he did not alter one iota of his cherished national habits; in social intercourse, in dress, in the etiquette of the table or of retiring to rest he clung to the customs he had imbibed with his mother's milk. So jealous was this patriot that for years he would not let a word of Arabic pass his lips, would not burden his memory even with one such outlandish word. His entire conversation was of Persia and nothing else. He would constantly sing the songs of his native land, and of everyone he met he would make enquiry about Persia and about his compatriots. His body was in Cairo, but his head and heart were in Persia.

### Father and son

This fervent patriot when he died left a son, Ebrahim, whose name you read in the title of the present travelogue. I got to know the young man shortly after his father's death. Having to be in Cairo on the morrow of that sad event and for old acquaintance's sake making a bee-line for his address, I was given the run of the house. One day browsing in the library I remember coming across six or seven volumes, manuscript and printed and in various editions, of THE HISTORY OF NADER SHAH. (1) What on earth, I wondered, was the idea of having so many copies on one's shelves of the same work - in the Tehran, Bombay, Tabriz and other editions! I questioned my host.

"It is father," he replied. "I keep all these copies in memory of him. He was so fond of it that everybody knew this and if someone turned up with a decent manuscript or printed copy, father unfailingly paid a good price for it. Actually there were a lot more copies, removed now, which he left to different endowments."

It is beyond the power of the pen to describe the passion of these two for anything Persian.

En route for Persia

"They stopped three days with us [in Stambul] and then set off for Persia."

"D'you remember their names?"

"They left you a letter on the library table."

I picked it up. "Intending to perform the holy pilgrimage to Mashhad", I read, "my tutor Yusof 'Amu and I arrived in Stambul from Cairo and halted under your roof which was a refuge without compare. For three days we caused your people enough trouble, and left on the fourth for Khorasan via Batum. If we return safe and sound we can call ourselves regular pilgrims - and if we don't, accept this as the expression of my deep regard. Having noticed in your library among other volumes THE BOOK OF AHMAD(2) I have borrowed it to read en route. Although the author sounds a person of attainment and learning, and at home on the most elevated themes, when it comes to Persia he writes in such a way that you begin willy-nilly to think either this man knows nothing about the country or else he's a bit funny in the head.

Once again my prayers for you. Yusof 'Amu sends his respects.

Ebrahim."

When I saw that the writer was none other than my young friend, I was more than ever sorry to have missed him. I would have tried to talk him out of his itinerary through Persia. I would have advised him to make for Mashhad through Batum and Ashkhabad and be content with that, returning by the identical route. For I knew what suffering lay ahead of him otherwise. I guessed what would happen. He would refuse to keep quiet when he found out how things were, and let fly at everybody including the top people; and then it would be one indignity after another. Oh yes, I knew my Ebrahim.

The Diary. First Entry

On the 18th of the month of -, accompanied by Yusof 'Amu my tutor, who has been as an uncle to me, a father even, I set out for the holy places of Mashhad as also for a tour of Persia. At 2 p.m. we left by the first train to Alexandria, arriving there the same day. At 4 o'clock on the following afternoon we bought two first-class tickets in the "Prince 'Abbas" and sailed for Stambul. The weather was splendid and I spent the entire time pacing the deck. I had no one to talk to, and could be alone with my thoughts. On the third day we sighted Stambul. We had only stopped once on the voyage and that was off the Fortress of Sultaniya, at the entrance to the Gulf of Stambul. The place is encircled with fortifications and equipped with the last word in military technique. They say a thousand cannon are aimed from its loopholes, and not a vessel may pass without clearance from Security.

Our steamer obtained authority to proceed and approached the city. Ships never come alongside and we dropped anchor in the roads. We went ashore to the Customs House in one of the small boats of which so many were scurrying around.

The customs examination completed, we made straight for the house of an acquaintance of ours (Ebrahim Beg here means me). Our host, who is a dear friend, was not himself in town at the moment but his household greeted us with every attention, great and small. We were even embarrassed by their hospitality.

## Into Persia

We were held up half-an-hour for the scrutiny and stamping of passports; after which we were allowed to continue. Ten minutes later we came to several notice-boards and signposts. "From here on - Persia!" said the coachman, pointing at these.

I told him to stop as I had to get down. He misconstrued that, and suggested my waiting awhile. We would be coming to some water presently and I could tidy up there.

"It's not water I want, but earth," I answered.

He reined in the horses and I got out. I cupped the holy soil in my hands and kissed it, breathed its fragrance, pressed it against my eyelids, spoke to it: "O sacred dust, precious balm to my anguished gaze! Praise be, the day has dawned when my eyes behold you and rejoice. Refuge of them that are in need, resting place of my forefathers, you have cherished me in your tender cradle, nurtured me in kindness and honour. How else am I to repay than with whole-hearted love? Yet is not this a lofty and sublime requital? Has not the law of holy Islam - let every prayer and blessing be showered upon it - discoursing on gratitude, made such love into the very cornerstone of faith?"

## Bazaar scene

As we turned into the bazaar I noticed an unusual crowd. In the centre stood a man holding his hand to his mouth, and alongside him was a second fellow of repulsive appearance tugging at a cord the end of which was somehow attached to the first man's nose. The wretch had to follow wherever he was drawn by the cord.

In my ignorance I thought it must be some kind of competition or dance for the entertainment of the spectators.

"What's going on?" I asked Haji Husayn, our driver, who in turn questioned one of the bystanders. They replied that the man on the cord was a baker who had been baking bread short weight and the Governor had found him out: "The one pulling the cord is the executioner. You see how he has perforated the baker's nostrils and threaded the cord through."

"But the Law! Do you all stand there gaping!" - I could not contain myself.

"Move forward a bit and you'll find something else to gape at," said somebody from the crowd. They've just been cutting off the ears of three butchers further along the street. These executioners go round the bazaar demanding bribes and at every shop take something."

With that, there were gasps from the onlookers. Up came the executioners dragging their helpless victims. Outside every shop they stopped, brandishing their dripping knives and collecting each his fee.

All poor Yusof 'Amu could do was to wave the driver on, and to call to me, "Don't look, sir, don't look!"

## Ebrahim and the Minister of War

"Is the Minister alone."

"No; General Garusi is there, handing over funds. The Comptroller's there too."

Asad Beg turned to me and told me to wait; then asked Mirza Agha to let him know as soon as the Minister should be free. In an hour-and-a-half Mirza Agha came back to say that the visitors had gone. The Farrashbashi went out and a moment later returned and signalled me to follow him. When I stood up, he whispered in my

ear, "You'd better give Mirza Agha something." "All right, I will," I said, pulling out three five-kran pieces and giving him these.

As they lifted the curtain in front of me I had a glimpse of the Comptroller making over a dozen money bags to a couple of farrashes who then slipped out. A smallish pile of gold coins was still on the table, and the Minister was picking them up one after another and weighing them in his scales.

I approached respectfully, ill at ease, my hands on my breast. And thus I stood more than 10 minutes while the Minister went on weighing his money and putting it into a cashmere bag. Eventually he glanced up at me. "What do you want."

"Permission to say something."

"Speak."

Using the same formula as in the Home and Foreign Ministries, I sought leave to be seated. The Minister, obviously not expecting this, looked me over from top to toe with indignation.

"That's enough impertinence! Can't you say your piece standing? What's the matter with you?"

#### The end of an interview

"I have travelled all over Europe (I began) and seen the armies of the nations. I can gauge the discipline of such armies and the responsibilities of the War Ministries concerned. But in this country all the way from Holy Mashhad to the capital I saw not the slightest sign of troops garrisoning the frontier nor of any artillery or depots; saw neither forts, nor ramparts, nor trenches. In Mashhad alone did I catch sight of a few soldiers, more like labourers or coolies by their dress - and would I had never set eyes on them!

"And now I appeal to you, the War Minister of this ancient land. . . Are you going to pit these 20-year-old generals and these senile soldiers against the enemies encircling us who have fixed their greedy gaze on our native land? What service to fatherland and people have these 20-year-olds managed to render that they have the honour to wear the sword and sash of the general?"

When I had reached this point I suddenly became aware that all the blood had been drained from the Minister's face. "Asad, Asad!" he yelled in an unrecognizable voice.

Asad Beg, the Farrashbashi, entered at the double.

"What son of a bitch let this insolent bastard in, this drivelling fool!"

"Please, sir. Haji Khan wrote me a note."

"Well, teach the son of a dog a lesson. Let him have it, and throw him out."

I scarcely remember what happened next. Blows fell on me like rain from the sky. I only knew that my 'aba had been ripped from my back, and that five or six ruffians had hold of my arms and legs and were dragging me to the staircase. Kicking me in the small of my back, they bundled me to the bottom step. Here several others pounced on me to haul me off to gaol.

"Baba, for God's sake," I implored, "let me be! The Minister ordered me to be thrown out, not gaoled." They simply claimed they had no authority to release me.

Then up runs Mashhadi Hasan, shouting in English, "Good Lord, whatever has happened to you?"

"What was coming to me - that happened. But there was no order of arrest. Can't you get me out of this?"

"Have you any money on you?"

"Not a penny left."

"Then your watch."

My hands shook so that I couldn't pull it out. Mashhadi Hasan tore at my pocket and extracted the watch, which he then handed over, chain and all, to the farrashes.

### A man to revere(3)

"No, I think I would rather walk."

It did not take us long to get to the house. This proved to be a large mansion which was eloquent of its owner's status. Having entered the gates we found ourselves in a charming garden to which the flower beds added a blaze of colour. A handful of servants were calmly going to and from about their jobs without fuss and without noise.

We climbed a staircase to the first floor, and passed through a great hall to a draped door. The curtains parted to reveal someone seated in an armchair. From his open and cloudless countenance there shone such nobility of spirit that you knew there was an angel here in the garb of a man. The contemplation of this dignified and serene soul dismissed from my mind all my past adversities. I greeted him from the bottom of my heart.

He replied with the utmost courtesy: "Pray be seated."

I was about to sit on the carpet when he anticipated me with a firm 'no', and indicated a chair alongside his own. After the formalities had been exchanged, he asked, "You are Ebrahim Beg, aren't you? From Egypt? A warm climate and unbearably hot in summer, I should imagine. But you've lived there long years, they tell me."

"One can put up with discomfort when one is used to it, and we just don't notice the heat there."

"Yes, yes. Of course. I was hearing, too, that a few days ago one of the top people behaved disgracefully to you. It caused me the deepest pain and grief. But what can we do? One simply has to smart under it and put up with it."

### The hero unburdens himself to "the honourable man"

"The fact is, I asked you along because I wanted a quiet talk with you. I wanted to find out what you were hoping to accomplish by interviewing all these people. What was your idea in coming to Persia at all. And what d'you find wrong with our Persia now that you're here. It may simply be that you are out of tune yourself."

"My sole aim on my travels," I said by way of reply to this, "has been to tread the sacred soil of my own country in an attitude of worship. But first I should tell you that the unbridled love our family has for our country, a passion amounting to fanaticism, has long been the talk of the town throughout Egypt. Yes, we love the Persian land more than life itself, for this is the land of our fathers which has reared our parents and gathered our forbears to their rest. Living in Cairo far from home, I often used to hear about the disorder pervading all her affairs, the injustice of her sons, the neglect of her rulers, the tyranny and cruelty of the mighty towards the weak. I simply refused to believe it. Then one day I made up my mind that I would come and see for myself.

"Youth is hot; and without more ado I dropped everything and set forth on my travels. Alas! From the moment of my crossing the frontier until arriving in the capital, wherever I went I grew more and more persuaded, to my intense grief, that the caustic words had been sheer truth and that the facts spoke only of total disarray. I resolved to learn from the Ministers themselves the causes of such decay, neglect and lawless-

ness. The results were convinving indeed. When by hook or crook I arranged the audiences, the only answers I could get were kicks and a box on the ear, and I collected nothing but abuse and insult of a sort no Muslim should have to listen to, nor any Unbeliever to endure."

### A Medrese

When we had advanced a few paces we heard a dreadful commotion, and on closer investigation we found it was merely a bunch of pupils coming out of a medrese. We thought we would go inside.

An ample building it was; put up by one of the Safavids, they say. In one of the classrooms sat the Akhund on a bench, busied in the ritual of ablution. Somewhat puzzled at his being so engaged, I looked round and saw two pupils in the same room, seated face to face, bickering for all they were worth. This went on till one of them flourished a book over the other's head and it looked as if they would soon come to blows. With the swearing and the cursing it was a proper brawl.

Meantime the Akhund finished his ablutions and started to anoint himself.

"Good sir," I said to him, "what are these two quarrelling about?"

"Quarrel? Who is quarrelling?"

"But surely you hear them at it?"

"Oh, that's not a quarrel. That's an argument."

"And what sort of argument, may I ask?"

"A learned argument."

### Breaking point. By the narrator

At these words Ebrahim completely lost control of himself, bounded from the cushion on which he had been sitting cross-legged and flew at the Molla.

"You're as bad as any of them! You people can't finish a discussion without banging one another over the head with your books and cursing each other up and down. Your disputes and schisms are nothing to do with learning; their root is darkness, stupidity. . ."

Ebrahim's voice sounded louder and louder, his mouth began to twitch like an epileptic camel's. The perspiration poured.

I watched the scene, unable to take it in.

"Have I no right to be put out," he screamed, "when this man who pretends to call himself a scholar has cursed me for telling him a truth or two!"

Then snatching his hat from his head he hurled it like a lunatic at the floor. It collided against a lamp, the lamp upset and broke and the paraffin streamed across the floor. The flame from the wick darted along it in tongues of fire, and in a second got a hold on everything around.

At last I was able to jerk myself out of my daze and realize that Ebrahim was lying unconscious and the flame creeping up to him. The whole carpet was ablaze.

"Help! Help! Fire!" I shouted.

### The uphill path to reform

Any literate person in the West, no matter what section of society he belongs to, even if he be mentally deranged, has the right to do an article in the appropriate terms and send it to the newspaper. And next day, sure as sure, all the thinking people in the country will be reading this idiot's article. If they discover that his

paragraphs are not without sense they turn his advice to practical account; and if it be otherwise – well, they don't waste their frowns but simply put the article aside. With us it is the reverse. If an intelligent person makes comments of the sort, or commits his thoughts to paper so as to confront the whole nation with his views, immediately the ignoramuses let out a universal howl: "Oh, my dear chap, is it conceivable!" – and trumpet their ridicule until the wise man is made out to be a fool.

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To the critical study of Zayn ol-'Abedin and his Novel, Shoytov has added a page which many of our readers may consider scarcely germane.

At the date of the book, he reminds us, western "civilization" was only beginning to penetrate Persia, and in entertaining an idealistic notion of it, Zayn ol-'Abedin was unable to foresee its disastrous consequences. In the decades which have since gone by, the undeveloped countries have learned what it means to share in this boon. For them it has meant a sentence of backwardness, poverty, a double and a treble economic and political subjection. In the case of Persia, the lion's share of the oil revenues passes into the hands of the foreign monopolists. More than a thousand firms from abroad have their representatives on her soil. The continuing concentration of commercial capital is bringing about the total ruin of the urban populace, while the principle of "free trade" saps the native industry. An enormous expenditure on armaments has increased since the entry of Persia into the aggressive CENTO bloc, and since the signing in 1959 of the bilateral military agreement with the USA. A millstone is hence around the neck of Persia, Shoytov maintains, and all the problems agitated by such men as Zayn ol-'Abedin at the end of the 19th century are just as acute today as ever they were.

#### Notes

- (1) Possibly TARIKH-E-NADERI by Mirza Mohammad Mahdi Khan Astrabadi (the private secretary of Nader Shah).
- (2) A well known work by the Persian educationist 'Abd ol Rahim Talibov (1855–1910).
- (3) Pochtenny chelovek, translated elsewhere in this article as "the honourable man". Vajud e Mohtaram in the Persian.

NEW DATA CONCERNING  
KHATT-I BABURI

By S. Azimdzhanova

It was previously supposed that the term khatt-i Baburi referred to a special style of cursive script affected by the Emperor Babur, whereas it now transpires that it referred to an alphabet invented by him which was designed to replace the Arabic character for the writing of Chagatay. How this conclusion was arrived at is described in the following study by S. Azimdzhanova, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences. It was presented as a paper at the 26th International Congress of Orientalists held in Delhi in January 1964, and is reproduced here with her permission.

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Zahir ud-din Muhammad Babur, author of the immortal BABUR-NAMAH, ranks high among the outstanding scholars and cultural figures of the medieval East. A talented writer, a connoisseur of art, literature and science, a splendid and brilliant memorialist, a man of wide interests and inquisitive mind, Babur left a remarkable imprint in many fields of social life.

Babur's memoirs called the BABUR-NAMAH, a splendid masterpiece of Old Uzbek prose, are unquestionably of first-rate importance in his literary heritage on account of their scope and scientific value. This work of Babur, from the moment it was completed and up to the present day, has served as one of the most important sources for students of Central Asian, Afghan, Indian and Persian history of the 15th and 16th centuries. Orientalists have placed a high value on his work, which has been translated into Persian, English, French, Russian and other languages.

A great statesman, Babur was also a poet and a prose-writer; among his contemporaries he was next only to the great Alisher Navayi. (1) Even today Babur's poetry is very popular among the peoples of Central Asia, and is loved and read by them. His verses are also sung as songs. To orientalists Babur is mostly known as a prose-writer, historian and poet; the rest of his works are comparatively little known. However, he was a versatile scholar and in 1521 wrote the MOBAYYIN - a treatise in Uzbek verse discussing the main rates of taxation existing at the time. (2) The significance and role of this treatise in the study of the social and economic conditions in Central Asia and India were discussed by us in the paper presented to the 25th International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in August 1960. (3)

The rest of his writings, namely, the book MUFASSAL on prosody, books on the art of war, on music, and his alphabet - the khatt-i Baburi, were regarded as lost. (4) However, specimens of khatt-i Baburi were by chance discovered in the MSS Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences in Tashkent. (5)

What was this khatt-i Baburi? This question has puzzled many scholars. (6) Khatt-i Baburi is first mentioned in the BABUR-NAMAH in the description of events

which happened in Afghanistan in 910 A.H. (1504 A.D.).(7) In this part of his book, Babur, minutely describing his expedition against the Sultan Mas'udi Afghan tribes, mentions, in passing, that in the same year he invented khatt-i Baburi; but he does not explain the meaning and purpose of his invention and proceeds to describe political events of the year, that is, his campaign against the Sultan Mas'udi Hazara tribe. Khatt-i Baburi remained for a long time unknown to scholars; for this reason, in the English translation of the BABUR-NAMAH by Annette Beveridge(8), in the French translation by Pavet de Courteille, and also in the Russian translation by M. Salie, published in Tashkent, the word khatt was translated as 'script'. Babur's references to khatt-i Baburi are sporadic: he refers to it in passing, while speaking of other events, and does not think it necessary to explain what induced him to invent khatt-i Baburi, or to disclose its meaning.

The second mention of khatt-i Baburi is to be found in the description of events of 911 A.H. (1506-1507 A.D.). As is known, Babur at that time, in obedience to an official letter from the ruler of the Timurid state of Khorasan, Sultan Hosayn Mirza, left Kabul to take part in a joint expedition against Shaibani Khan. On crossing the river Murgab, Babur met Sultan Hosayn Mirza's sons. As Babur writes, he was visited at that time by Qazi Ikhtiyar and his assistant, Mohammad Mir Yusuf. There was some talk of khatt-i Baburi, and Qazi Ikhtiyar asked Babur to write out some of the characters, which the latter did there and then; and at the same meeting the Qazi, having read the script, mastered its system and himself wrote something.(9)

"The Qazi's rapid mastery of the mofradat of the script allows the inference that few letters only and those of a well-known (Arabic - S.A.) script were varied", said Beveridge in her Appendices to the English translation of the BABUR-NAMAH.(10)

Thus, neither Beveridge, nor Erskine, nor Pavet de Courteille were right in their conclusions, for at one time they called khatt-i Baburi an 'alphabet' and at another they decided it to be a specific 'script'. In the above mentioned Appendices, Beveridge quite plainly states that the word mofradat (used by Babur, when speaking of khatt-i Baburi - S.A.) was translated by Erskine, Pavet de Courteille and herself (357b) as 'alphabet'; but later data on the subject suggested to her that this was an incorrect translation(11), and that khatt-i Baburi might be one of the various types of oriental cursive script. Therefore in another place in the Appendices, Beveridge calls khatt-i Baburi "a small compact elegant handwriting."(12) Beveridge came to this conclusion after examining the Rampur copy of the BABUR-NAMAH. She believed that this MS was partly, if not wholly, written in khatt-i Baburi (i.e. Babur's own hand); or perhaps, simply the title of it.(13) Annette Beveridge's judgment is based on Babur's remarks made in his own hand on the margins of the MS where he writes: "tahrir qildim" - "I wrote down". She thinks that these words might reveal the secret of khatt-i Baburi, for the MS copy examined by Babur personally could not have been written otherwise than in his own handwriting. Beveridge adds the following on the subject: ". . . there are certain grounds for thinking that though the manuscript may not be Babur's autograph, it may be in his script and the work of a specially-trained scribe."(14) Thus Beveridge draws a parallel between khatt-i Baburi and such types of oriental handwriting as nastaliq, taliq, shekastah, etc., which were in common use in oriental calligraphy.

Annette Beveridge, who greatly contributed to the study of Babur's works, was not fully satisfied with these conclusions, and accordingly puts forth another hypothesis: "perhaps an example of Babur's script exists in the colophon. . . of the MUBIN (i.e. MOBAYYIN) manuscript once owned by (the Russian scholar) Berezin and used by him for his CHRESTOMATHIE TURQUE. However, Annette Beveridge was unable to examine the copy acquired by Berezin and now kept in the MSS Collection of the Leningrad

Branch of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia. That is why she can only suppose that Babur's message given in this book, addressed to Khwaja Ahrar's family and described by Berezin, might have been in Babur's own handwriting and was, perhaps, written in khatt-i Baburi. (15)

The study of Babur's MOBAYYIN reveals that there is at the end of the book Babur's special appeal addressed to all the learned jurists of Mavara-un-nahr in which he asks them to point out the faults of his book. This appeal, as well as the whole of the MOBAYYIN, is written in masnawi verse in conventional Arabic script in the Uzbek language. Further investigation into the problem of khatt-i Baburi enables us to draw the conclusion that A. Beveridge, Erskine and Pavet de Courteille, in their various references to the problem of khatt-i Baburi, made a valuable contribution to the study of the versatile activity of Zahir ud-din Babur. On the whole, Beveridge is almost right in her original supposition that khatt-i Baburi is a special kind of alphabet, but she lacked data convincing enough to confirm this point of view. Annette Beveridge had no opportunity of seeing a copy of the MOBAYYIN containing Babur's special appeal to the jurists of Mavara-un-nahr, while the Rampur copy of the BABUR-NAMAH did not provide authentic information on the subject.

Babur mentions khatt-i Baburi for the third time when discussing political events of the year 935 A.H. (1528-29 A.D.). He writes, "As a demonstration of joy on the birth of Homayun's son and on Kamran's marriage, I sent Mirza Tabrizi and Mirza Beg Taghai to these princes, with ten thousand shahrulkhis each as a marriage present. They also carried a robe and a girdle both of which I had myself worn. By the hand of Mulla Beheshti, I sent to Hindal an enamelled dagger and belt; an inkstand, set with jewels; a stool, inlaid with mother of pearl; a short gown, from my own wardrobe and a girdle; and an alphabet of the Baburi characters (khatt-i Baburi). I also sent some fragments, written in the Baburi characters (khatt-i Baburi). To Homayun I sent a copy both of the translations and original poems. To Kamran, by the hand of Mirza Beg Taghai, I sent such translations and original poems as I had composed after coming to India, and letters written in the Baburi characters (khatt-i Baburi)." (16)

Thus in the same year 1528, on receiving good news from Kabul about the birth of Homayun's son and Mirza Kamran's marriage, Babur sent them a special letter of congratulations and valuable gifts, together with his poems composed on his arrival in India and written in khatt-i Baburi as well as his translation, evidently of a work by Khwaja Ahrar, into the Uzbek language. Simultaneously, in the same year 1528, Babur sent a letter to Hindal. As Hindal was a small boy at the time, he was sent an inkstand, a little table, the alphabet khatt-i Baburi and fragments of sentences (mofredat) written in khatt-i Baburi. From these facts the conclusion can be drawn that Babur's elder sons were familiar with khatt-i Baburi and were, therefore, sent poems written in this script, while the youngest had yet to study and master it. Taking this into consideration, Babur sent him the alphabet khatt-i Baburi and fragments (mofredat) written in this alphabet.

Some most interesting information concerning the subsequent fate of khatt-i Baburi is found in the TABAQATI AKBARI by Khwaja Nezam ud-din Ahmad bin Mohammad al-Haravi, the well-known court historian of Akbar the Great. He observes that one of the inventions of this enlightened Padishah, Babur, was khatt-i Baburi. He made a copy of the Koran in it and sent it to Holy Mecca. (17) The same fact was confirmed by the author of the MONTAKHAB-UT-TAWARIKH - Abd-ul Gader bin Malek Badayuni (d. 1615). (18)

Why did Babur make a copy of the Koran in this alphabet and send it to Mecca? Now that a previous specimen of his invention has been discovered in Tashkent at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, we are able to

answer this question. Details about khatt-i Baburi are given in the AJAYEB AT-TABAQAT written in 1645 in Balkh on the instructions of Said Nader Mohammad Khan by Mohammad Taher ebn Qasem.(19) The book is divided into seven chapters; like all other oriental compilations, it begins with the description of the world's creation, which is followed by biographies of the Prophets, and only after that, in the third chapter, does the author proceed to discuss the main subjects. He mentions some phenomena which take place in the Universe, describes the phases of the Moon, remarkable cities of the world, and so on. In the last chapter, along with the description of mysterious sciences and miraculous deeds, the author briefly states the information known to him about the alphabets invented by scholars at different times with the aim of recording the wonders of science. Among them the author cites some specimens of khatt-i Baburi - a complete alphabet of 28 letters invented by Babur in 910 A.H. (1504 A.D.).

It should be noted that the author of the AJAYEB AT-TABAQAT while giving, in addition to khatt-i Baburi, nine other secret ciphers invented for the purpose of cryptography at different periods, states in each case for what purpose the cipher in question was used. The only exception was khatt-i Baburi. In this case, the author simply says: خط بابری این است "This is khatt-i Baburi." Consequently, the purpose of Babur's alphabet and the aim of composing it were unknown to the author of the AJAYEB AT-TABAQAT; otherwise Mohammad Taher ebn Qasem would surely have accompanied this alphabet with a short commentary, as in the case of the other nine kinds of cipher. In our opinion, the author of the AJAYEB AT-TABAQAT made a mistake in including khatt-i Baburi among the ciphers known to him, because, as the above-mentioned extracts from the BABUR-NAMAH show, Babur never concealed his alphabet from his associates; on the contrary, he tried to popularize it by all means at his disposal, showing it and explaining the rules of its usage even to the representatives of foreign states, for example, to the Chief Qazi of Sultan Hosayn - Qazi Ikhtiyar. In this alphabet he wrote his poems composed in India, which he sent to his sons and retainers. Moreover, if khatt-i Baburi had been a kind of cipher used for the transmission of secret messages, he would surely not have sent it to Hindal Mirza, who was quite a little boy in 935 A.H. (1528-1529 A.D.). Thus, khatt-i Baburi was neither an elegant handwriting meant for use in calligraphy, nor a secret cipher; it was, in fact, a new alphabet evolved by the author on the basis of the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet somewhat changed in form. Babur cleared his alphabet of all diacritical marks with the object of simplifying the complicated Arabic script; besides this, he omitted the four Persian letters later included in the Arabic alphabet, namely چ ز گ ی.

There are in the MSS Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences fourteen copies of the AJAYEB AT-TABAQAT(20), but only one of them contains no khatt-i Baburi. As these manuscripts were copied at different times by different copyists and in different handwritings, there are some very small divergencies in the forms of certain characters. However, this does not prevent us from determining the most authentic versions which predominate. Two among them are especially noteworthy; one is an excellent manuscript copied by the well-known Tadzshik scholar Ahmad Danesh(21); the other is written in a clear handwriting and contains distinctly spelled khatt-i Baburi.(22)

Babur clearly realized that the Arabic alphabet did not fully meet the specific requirements of the Uzbek language. This is perhaps why he composed a special alphabet, which he called khatt-i Baburi, and all his life tried to demonstrate the advisability of its use. No doubt in the 16th century, when the Muslim clergy played a great part in the social and political life of the country, it was impossible to

خط پیری ایلی  
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الحمد لله رب العالمين  
والصلاة والسلام على  
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين  
الطاهرين  
الذين هم خاتم النبيين  
مما مضى  
والله اعلم  
بما يخفى

Fig. 1.



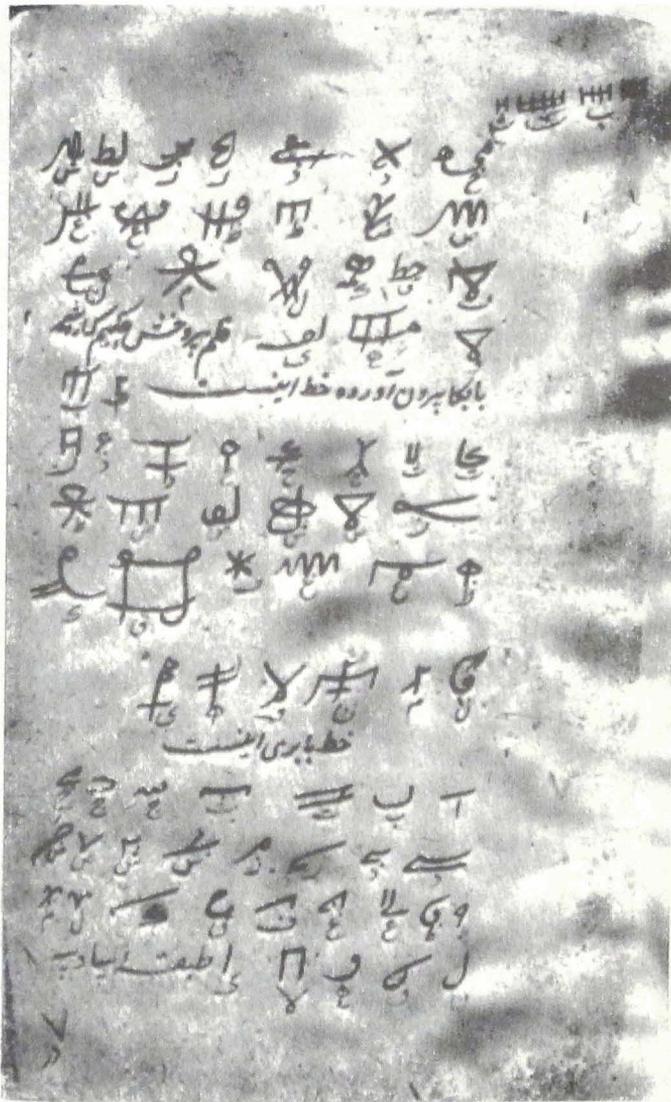


Fig. 3. A manuscript page with "Khatt-i Baburi" (deposited at the Oriental Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, No. 9042, sheet 207 b)



introduce an alphabet different from the Arabic. For this reason, the new alphabet was very soon forgotten.

Babur was apparently well aware what would be the attitude of the Muslim clergy towards his invention; and it was for this reason, in our opinion, that he copied the Koran into this alphabet and sent it to Mecca in order to ensure a legitimate use for his invention. As could be expected, this act did not produce the desired results: Babur did not receive and could never have received sanction to use his alphabet on a large scale. In her attempts to discover the secret of khatt-i Baburi, Annette Beveridge quoted the following extract from Babur's poem, taken by her from the TAZKERAT USH-SHO'ARA ( تذكرة الشعراء ).

Khublar khatt-i nasib'ng bulmasa Babur ni tang?  
Baburi khatt-i aimas dur khatt-i sighnaqi mu dur?(23)

But she was unable to explain and translate this poem of Babur's, a frank admission of which we find in her Appendices to the English translation of the BABUR-NAMAH. We think that in this poem Babur is hinting at a special old Turkic alphabet known as khatt-i Sighnaqi which evidently had been adapted to the peculiarities of the Turkic languages. The word Sighnaq denotes an ancient city on the bank of the Syr-Dar'ya which was a cultural and commercial centre linking the Volga region, Desht-i-Qipchaq and China with Mavara-un-nahr and Khwarezm. This city was completely destroyed during the Mongol invasion of Central Asia(24), but not long afterwards, under the khans of the White Horde, it was rebuilt and regained its old fame. Thus, the term khatt-i Sighnaqi should be understood as the 'Sighnaq alphabet', and not as a derivative from the adjective siq- siqmaq, 'to compress, to be pressed, squeezed in', hence, 'a small handwriting', as Mrs. Beveridge supposes.(25) Moreover, it is clearly stated in the Abushqa Dictionary that 'Sighnaq ber nu'ah khatt der Chaghataida khatt Baburi u ghairi kibi ki Babur Mirza ash'ar'nda kilur bait' (26), i.e. like khatt-i Baburi in the Chaghatay language, mentioned in Babur's poems, Sighnaq is a kind of alphabet.

The fact that Babur attached great importance to spelling, style and pronunciation is known to us from the BABUR-NAMAH, where in one of his letters to Homayun in Kabul he severely criticizes Homayun for his grammatical mistakes and complicated style: "Apart from the fact that your writing can only be deciphered with difficulty your style is quite obscure. Who ever saw a mo'amma (a riddle or a charade) in prose? Your spelling is not bad, yet not quite correct. You have written iltafat with a toe (instead of te), and kulang with a be (instead of a kaf). Your letter may indeed be read if it is gone over several times, but in consequence of the far-fetched words you have employed, the meaning is by no means very intelligible. Your remissness in writing is certainly due to your inexperience, and the absence of clarity in your style is the result of your affectation. For the future you should write unaffectedly and with clarity, using plain words, which would cost less trouble both to the writer and reader."(27)

This shows what great importance Babur attached to grammar and style. As the Indian Prime Minister Nehru said in his book THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA, Babur was an attractive person, a typical Renaissance prince, bold and adventurous(28), who offered his contemporaries a new alphabet instead of the Arabic, a very courageous and progressive act in the medieval conditions in which he lived.

Khatt-i Baburi requires further study by linguists and turkologists. The aim of this paper is merely to throw light on the causes which motivated Babur in inventing his new alphabet and to support our arguments with the necessary proofs.

Notes

- (1) Mohammad Haidar, TARIKH-I RASHIDI, MS from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR; No. 1430, fol. 98b.
- (2) The critical text of one of the chapters of the MOBAYYIN, "Ketab az-zakat", has been published in the Collection of the Institute of Economy of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR, IZ ISTORII RAZVITIYA OBSHCHESTVENNO-EKONOMICHESKOY MYSLI V UZBEKISTANE V XV-XVI VV, Tashkent, 1960.
- (3) The text of the report was published in Russian and in English under the title "On Some Economic Views of Zaher ud-din Muhammad Babur as Revealed in MOBAYYIN", Oriental Literature Publishing House, Moscow, 1960.
- (4) See Foreword by Y.G. Ghulyamov, Corresponding Member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences and R. Nabiyeu to the Uzbek edition of BABUR-NAMAH, Part I, Tashkent, 1948.
- (5) Bibliographer Abdullah Nasyrov, research worker of the Institute, brought this to our notice.
- (6) THE BABUR-NAMAH in English, translated by A.S. Beveridge, London, 1922, Vol.II, Appendix 'd', pp.LXII-LXV.
- (7) BABUR-NAME Russian translation by Salie, Tashkent, 1958. MEMOIRS OF. . . BABUR, trans. T. Leyden and W. Erskine, Oxford University Press, 1921, Vol.1, p.252.
- (8) The photostat copy of the English translation by Beveridge, London, 1922, p.227, fol.144b. THE BABUR-NAMAH in English, trans. A.S. Beveridge, London, 1922, Vol.II, Appendix 'd', p.LXIV.
- (9) BABUR-NAME, Tashkent, 1958, p.207.
- (10) THE BABUR-NAMAH in English, trans. A.S. Beveridge, London, 1922, Appendix 'd', p.LXII, Note I.
- (11) Ibid., p.LXII, Note I.
- (12) Ibid., p.LXIV.
- (13) Ibid., p.LXV.
- (14) Ibid., p.LXIV, 'e'.
- (15) The copy of the MOBAYYIN, containing a special address to Muslim jurists is kept at the Leningrad branch of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, under the number A 104.
- (16) BABUR-NAME, Salie's translation, Tashkent, 1958, pp.407, 408.
- (17) طبعات اکبری A manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of UzSSR, No.1535, fol.213b.  

بعضی خصوصیات احوال این پادشاه جهان پناه از غرایب امور است از  
 جصله یکی آنکه بمسوزه دو پاشنه بر کنگرهای قلعه جسته جسته میدوید  
 و گاه گاه دو آدم را در بفل گرفته از کنگره بکنگره میجست و خط اختراع  
 کرده خط بابری نامیده بودند و بآن خط مصحف کتابت کرده بمکه خطه فرستاد
- (18) طبعات اکبری A manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the UzSSR, No.25, fol.114a.
- (19) طبعات اکبری A manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, UzSSR, No.409, fol.242b.

- (20) See MSS Nos.1993, 9042, 411, 9451, 5507, 2380, 4483, 2797, 409, 1203, 4287, 7535, 5508 in the MSS Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, UzSSR.
- (21) The AJAYEB AT-TABAQAT, MS No.411, fol.68 and the photostat copy.
- (22) The AJAYEB AT-TABAQAT, MS No.9042, fol.27; see also photostat copy between pp.152 and 153 (Fig.3).
- (23) لغت چغتای و ترکی عثمانی A Manuscript from the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences UzSSR, No.213, fol.198.
- (24) A.Yu. Yakubovskiy, RUINS OF SIGHNAK. Soobshcheniya GAIMK, Vol.II, Leningrad, 1929, p.123-55.
- (25) THE BABUR-NAMAH in English, trans. A.S. Beveridge, Appendix 'd', p.LXIV.
- (26) اللغات النوائیه و الاستبانات الجغتایه St.Petersburg, 1868, p.287.
- (27) BABUR-NAME, Tashkent, 1959, p.400, MEMOIRS OF. . . BABUR, trans. T. Leyden and W. Erskine, Vol.II, p.354.
- (28) Jawaharlal Nehru, THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA, Calcutta, 1947, p.212.

## THE ROLE OF THE INDIAN ARMY IN PERSIA, TRANSCAUCASIA AND TURKESTAN, 1914 - 1920

### A SOVIET HISTORIAN'S INTERPRETATION

Among Soviet students of the Persian panorama as this was to unwind through the confused and still controversial period of the First World War, none stands higher than Dr. Lev Ivanovich Miroshnikov. His name will already be familiar to our readers from three articles which have appeared in *CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW*. These were (a) "Indian Troops in Persia, 1914-20", *CAR*, 1960, No.3; (b) "Anglo-Indian Troops in Persia, 1914-1920" (contributed by a member of the Malleson Mission), *CAR*, 1961, No.1; and (c) "Operations in Persia, 1914-1920", *CAR*, 1962, No.1. The first two of these were answers to Miroshnikov's own article of the same title which had come out in *KRATKIYE SOOBSHCHENIYA INSTITUTA VOSTOKOVEDENIYA*, XXXV, 1959; and the third was prompted by his full-length book *BRITISH EXPANSION IN PERSIA, 1914-20*, Moscow, 1961.(1)

The articles (a) (b) and (c) which, as just explained, were themselves replies to an attack, have in their turn been answered by Miroshnikov in 18 pages of *NARODY AZII I AFRIKI*, No.6 of 1963.(2) Those 18 pages are headed "The German Threat to India and English Expansion in Persia, 1914-1920", or "Reply to Opponents". As it stands, the alternative title does not indicate who started the debate and might be reworded to read "A Reply to Replies". However that may be, the present article is in no sense intended as a reply to the reply to replies. In these paragraphs the intention, on the contrary, is merely to restate succinctly the Soviet interpretation and the reply to it; and to see what this restatement can teach us about our respective attitudes to history.

#### Summary of Miroshnikov's thesis

Between Tsarist Russia, Germany and Britain there was, ethically speaking, nothing to choose; all three were out to plunder Persia. As the Great War developed, the chances of Britain's doing this progressed while those of the other two receded. The German threat, so-called [and therefore put between inverted commas] was not a reason but a pretext for the military occupation of the country.

During the hostilities, indeed, the main endeavour of the British was to create a chain of colonies stretching from Malaya to Egypt, and Persia was one of its important links. It was not long before the British were treating South Persia as their own (Ahvaz, Bushire, Baluchistan, Fars, the South Persian Rifles); and meanwhile the Tsarist forces were doing much the same in their sphere of claimed authority. When the October Revolution occurred the evacuation of Russian troops began, and the British profited by this withdrawal to occupy the North. Having dominated the whole of Persia, the British made it into an operational base for the invasion of Transcaucasia and Turkestan. The expeditionary forces led by Generals Dunsterville and Malleson respectively were in pursuance of that plan of campaign, the aim of these interventions being the overthrow of Soviet power and the extension of the British Empire at the expense of the territories named.

The military burden involved in thus snatching the helpless Persia was laid upon Indian troops. These were thrown not against the enemy - for enemy there was none - but against the local population. This misuse of the Indian Army was to recoil on the British. The October Revolution inspired a national liberation movement in Persia with which the Indians, in the very act of suppressing it, were in sympathy. The desertions to the camp of Kuchek Khan, the Jangali leader, and the incident at Enzeli in 1920 when Indian gunners refused to fire on ships of the Soviet flotilla were spectacular evidence of disaffection. This discontent of the Indian Army in the field corresponded with a charged atmosphere in the Punjab which was its recruiting ground, and both coincided with the victorious advance of the Red Army. These factors combined to cause the failure of British schemes for Persia, Transcaucasia and Turkestan.

### Summary of reply

Great Britain was at war with Germany. The military commitments described by Miroshnikov were undertaken in the prosecution of that war, are to be understood in relation to its wider pattern, were harnessed to an immediate and sharply defined objective, viz., the defeat of the enemy. Miroshnikov shuts his eyes to the national peril of the British in those years. His original article which pretends to explain what Indian troops were doing in Persia in 1914-20 finds room to speak of a Sepoy rising in Patna in 1764, of events in Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim 60 years later, of the First and Second Afghan Wars, of China, Malaya and Abyssinia - but omits to mention the major British disaster at Kut in 1916! Yet that reverse enabled von der Goltz and his Turkish Command to think in terms of an advance through Persia to Afghanistan. The banditry and administrative chaos reigning in central and southern Persia are likewise ignored. These placed in jeopardy the fate of the Allied cause in this whole theatre. They offered promising conditions to German and Turkish agents, and the risk of Persia's being induced to join the enemy was obvious. As the potential of the Turks diminished, so did the confusion in Russia on the morrow of the Revolution increase. The military expeditions to Baku and Ashkhabad were in response to the specific appeals of Allies. They exhibited all the features of reluctance, and the puny scale on which they were mounted is the best possible refutation of the aim ascribed to them in Soviet writing.

It would not be easy to conceive of two more contradictory versions of a single set of events. Historians, whether Soviet or Western, profess to be guided by identical canons: their function, they would probably agree, is to ascertain the facts (which is a matter of evidence) and to comment on these (which is a matter of interpretation). So what has gone wrong? It is no good answering that the results of historical science, in the nature of it, will never be one hundred per cent sure, and that consequently there is no need to expect any two, let alone 20, historians to concur in each item of a complicated piece of reconstruction. If our differences were ones of the evaluation of evidence, the Soviet and the Western standpoints might draw near to each other. Our available material is already open to the Russians for inspection - Miroshnikov knows full well from his recent visit to London that he had only to ask to be given a free run of the unpublished records in the India Office Library - and the day might dawn when they for their part would similarly be willing to pool their archives instead of drawing from these valuable sources as and to the extent that suits them. Unfortunately something more formidable so walls the Soviet position around, that the discussion of our differences is rendered sterile.

It is not pleasant, but it is necessary, to recognize that under the Soviet system History is a handmaiden in the service of an inconsiderate mistress. When the Soviet historian speaks of 'data' he includes in that term 'the things given' him by the Party in power. Facts, it follows, are of two sorts: those which are thus received, as well as those which are determined by the evidence, and the Soviet historian will be found moving easily, and perhaps unconsciously, to and fro between the two sorts. A text-book example of this is where Miroshnikov in his latest "Reply to Opponents" quotes the letter which Lenin addressed to the Workers of America in 1918: "If the German brigands have broken the record for brutality in their military excesses, the English have broken the record not only by the quantity of colonies they have stolen but also by the refinement of their revolting hypocrisy. . . ." What is this letter doing in the context of the role of the Indian sepoy in Persia during the Great War? To Soviet historical thinking it is relevant. Lenin's opinions amount to data; on the data, the British ambition was to amass a greater number of colonies than anybody else had done; on the data, the British were the arch-hypocrites. Ergo, the Indian Army was in Persia in 1914-20 for the purpose not, as we declare, of fighting the enemy, but for the purpose of colonial annexation. Lenin's letter is not simply relevant; it clinches the argument Miroshnikov has been advancing.

No less of a conformist is Miroshnikov in his account of the expeditions to Baku and Ashkhabad. In Soviet historiography the Intervention is portrayed as a grand design by the Western governments, and by the British especially, to destroy the Soviet regime. The official doctrine about the intervention of 1918 was carried in PRAVDA on 15 September 1957, and it has, of course, been repeatedly endorsed since then by Khrushchev and other spokesmen. The detailed pronouncement speaks of the coordinated effort by the ruling class of England, the USA, and France to throttle the young republic of the Soviets by military campaigns mounted from north and south, east and west, but studiously avoids mention of the fact that there was at the time a world war in progress. It is accordingly axiomatic that Dunsterforce and Malleson Mission were in furtherance of a scheme to overthrow Soviet authority for ideological reasons. That they could be motivated by any other consideration whatsoever is inadmissible. Having delivered judgment on the motive of intervention the Soviet Government's document, cited a moment ago, pronounced on the cause of failure. In official historiography the intervention is held to have been frustrated by the sympathies of the intervening troops with the first republic of workers and peasants in world history plus the victorious career of the Red Army. Both these factors, it will be noticed, are discovered by Miroshnikov to have sealed the fate of the two side-shows carried out by Indian troops.

It has long been one of the most baffling as well as disquieting characteristics of the rulers of Russia that they simultaneously place historical science on a pedestal and do their best to humiliate her. Miroshnikov is trained, widely read, of high professional repute; but it does not come within his competence, so to speak, to know when a thing is proved and when it is not proved. The Soviet Government, as his studies make plain, is concerned with Communist myth; it is not concerned with acted history.

### Notes

- (1) A further opportunity of appreciating Miroshnikov's work was afforded the English speaking world of scholarship by Harvard University where he delivered three lectures in November 1962 on "Iran in World War I", under the joint auspices of the Russian Research Center and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies. As the said lectures were duplicated in English there was no call on this Review to notice them.

- (2) Miroshnikov in the pages named enlarges the number of his Opponents so as to include not only the anonymous contributors to CAR but R.H. Ullman : ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS, 1917-1921, Vol.1: INTERVENTION AND THE WAR, Princeton, 1961; and C.H. Ellis: OPERATIONS IN TRANSCASPIA 1918-1919 AND THE 26 COMMISSARS CASE, St. Antony's Papers [ London ] 1959, No.8 ("Soviet Affairs", Number Two).
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#### India awards prizes to Soviet children

In Delhi the Minister of Education, M. Chagla, announced the winners of the 1962 International Competition of Children's Drawing, organized by a popular Indian magazine. Soviet competitors won 14 prizes including two of the 12 first prizes. At a ceremony the Minister of Education gave the Soviet Ambassador souvenir gifts for the Soviet children.

KOM P. 26.1.64

#### Festival of Soviet cinema

In the festive atmosphere of Delhi's "Rivoli" cinema the Vice-President of India, Zakir Husein, opened a Soviet film festival which included a series of documentary and popular science films, among which were NINE DAYS IN ONE YEAR, IVAN'S CHILDHOOD and a covering of President Brezhnev's visit to India. Many Indian newspapers carried enthusiastic reports of Soviet cinema art.

IZ. 19.3.64

#### Wider Soviet-Indian cultural exchange

A programme for greater cultural and scientific exchange between India and the Soviet Union for the year 1964-5 was signed on 2 March in Delhi. KOM P. 3.3.64

## THE BORDERLANDS IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on the borderland countries appearing in Soviet newspapers received during the period 1 January - 31 March 1964. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

## AFGHANISTAN

Coverage was as ample as ever, and if no single event could match the Brezhnev visit of the previous quarter, the 28th February (being the 43rd anniversary of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 1921) occasioned countless articles, many of them lengthy and signed, which took stock of the exceptionally close-knit association of the USSR with her southern neighbour. The themes of these articles were the familiar ones of a common frontier which instead of dividing enables two peoples to understand one another; of a common front against the imperialists and colonizers; of - in the case of Soviet Central Asia - a common cultural heritage; of disinterested aid by the major to the minor power.

The signing in Moscow in mid-January of the 1964 programme of cultural (including athletic) exchanges was noticed perfunctorily by PR and IZ, and more fully by the republican press.

In a noteworthy editorial appearing in IZ 12.1.64 entitled "Rubezhi Mira" (Borders of Peace), which hinged on Mr. Khrushchev's Message at the end of 1963 appealing for the exclusion of force from the settlement of territorial disputes, Afghanistan figured among the four nations bordering USSR which, differing from her in their political creeds, were united with her by their "good will" (*dobraya volya*). [The other three were Persia, Finland and Norway.] The same issue of IZVESTIYA carried an article over the signature of V. Nakaryakov, called "One-Tenth of the Equator" - an allusion to the length of the southern frontier - which more specifically spoke of the atmosphere today prevailing in the places where the two territories touch. On 23.1.64 IZ published a prominent article, again by V. Nakaryakov, "Bulldozers on the Caravan Routes". What these "tanks of peace" left in their wake was described in much factual detail, the effect being heightened by the use of the names of real persons, Afghan and Russian, engaged in these hazardous operations.

February's first mention of Afghanistan was in a scholarly context (PV 5.2.64). This was a learned review by Professor N. Leonov of Fergana of G. Pugachenkova's ART OF AFGHANISTAN published in Moscow. In so far as the reviewer brought out the common cultural background and the common heritage today of Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan the article was both academic and of topical interest.

PR 12.2.64 printed in full Prime Minister Muhammad Yusuf's formal letter to Mr. Khrushchev in response to the latter's message to heads of governments dated 31 December 1963. Dr. Muhammad Yusuf in welcoming the message wholeheartedly, said that it accorded with the spirit of an age which had liquidated colonialism. KZ carried an abridgment of the letter.

In TI 19.2.64 the comparatively brief history of Soviet aid to Afghanistan was surveyed under the caption "Disinterested Help to a Neighbour", by M. Yuryev. The writer tabulated the results from 1956 to date, and emphasized how highly the

recipient country valued the Soviet contribution to her well-being.

In TRUD 28.2.64 (43rd anniversary of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 1921), Ye. Ivanov, echoing the language used by Mr. Khrushchev during one of his visits to Afghanistan, wrote of "A cloudless sky of friendship" and alluded to more than 20 enterprises already completed with Soviet aid and 30 others in process of construction.

The same anniversary was the occasion for V. Nakaryakov to report in particular, in IZ 28.2.64, progress on the highway project which is to link Kushka with Herat and Kandahar.

In PV 6.3.64 an article by S. Blagov entitled "Across the River is an Old Friend" vividly conveyed the picture of a bustling port in the heart of the land mass (Termez), "perhaps the most continental port in the whole world."

TI 19.3.64 and KT 21.3.64 published a long article by V. Gavrilin, TASS correspondent in Kabul, called "Frontier of Peace and Friendship", which told how a border of 2,346 kilometres, most of it on the Amu-Dar'ya river, had until 46 years ago constituted a defensive line - witness the names of innumerable forts and fortresses dotted along it. But Soviet Russia had changed all that. What you nowadays observe is a string of peaceful towns, for example, Termez, Kushka, Kyzyl-Kala and Tashguzar, through which a brisk Soviet-Afghan trade passes, and where the respective administrations co-operate without friction. Is it then surprising, asked Gavrilin, that the Afghans should understand the meaning of the Khrushchev Message, and applaud it from their hearts?

IZ 20.3.64, SK/PV 21.3.64, and TI 22.3.64 carried a report from the same correspondent, Gavrilin, upon the completion of the first phase of work on the Naglu hydro-electric scheme. The report described the great dam which forms part of the complex, and also the ceremony, attended by the acting Prime Minister Malik Yar (in the absence of Dr. Yusuf in Moscow for medical treatment) and the Soviet Ambassador S.F. Antonov, which marked the transition from stage one to stage two.

In the month of March, also, the press signalled the observance of Nowruz (New Year's Day), and reported the exchange of instruments of ratification of the 1963 agreement on cooperation in the field of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

## INDIA

The quantity and variety of the items on India showed that the interest in her affairs is sustained. Folders of cuttings were indeed bulkier than in the previous quarter, and classified headings suggest that no facet of Indian life was deemed too trivial for attention. A feature of the writing was the high proportion of articles in a readable journalistic style in which the tedium of facts and figures was relieved by scenic description, dialogue (often introducing simple Hindustani words with their Russian equivalent) and authentic names of persons, Indian and Russian, in different walks of life.

For reasons of space much is here excluded, but material selected is as representative as possible.

Adverse comment on the proposed inclusion of the Indian Ocean within the operational sphere of the 7th US Fleet began in the last quarter and was intensified in the early days of this. The Soviet press reproduced plentiful quotations from the Indian papers to "prove the reaction of a people which cannot brush aside this serious threat to its sovereignty." The Soviet comment was that Indian fears are well founded. An elaborate and bitterly hostile account of the "Pentagon Plan", by Ye. Primakov (PR 10.1.64) argued that the USA was now taking revenge for its failures. Events had

not gone properly in Asia: e.g. the hopelessness of the bloody war against the South Vietnam patriots, and the ineffectual attempt to dislodge the majority of Asian states from their neutralism. The peoples of all countries, Primakov said, demand that a stop be put to American provocative manoeuvres.

The 68th Session of the Indian National Congress opening (without Nehru) on 9 January, and the Regular Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Indian Communist Party around the same date occasioned many references to the home politics of the country. These references were studiously circumspect. No advantage was taken of Nehru's failing health to speculate on the succession; and Kutsenkov (PR 21.1.64) describing the plenary proceedings of the Communist Party Executive gave his compatriots no hint of the deep-riven split of which he, in common with all other observers, must have been well aware. He dwelled instead on the vague resolutions such as that which called for the unification of leftist forces in the country "whether inside the Congress or outside it." Under this heading the outspoken words were reserved for the Americans (personified in the context by Chester Bowles) and their "secret agencies", the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh. These two parties, wrote Pastukhov (PR 6.1.64), are conducting an unbridled, shameless fight against Nehru, the democratic wing of the Congress, and the Communist Party. In a course of lectures at Delhi University, he continued, the US Ambassador attacked "the state sector", glorified private capital, and slandered the Soviet Union. For Bowles to identify himself with Indian reaction, and to denigrate a power which is friendly to India was a breach of every diplomatic propriety. This fisher in troubled waters, said Pastukhov, timed his lectures deliberately to coincide with the Session of the Congress.

The 14th anniversary of the Indian Republic falling on 26 January, was the topic of copious reporting in all sections of the press before, on and after the date of the celebration. Apart from the detailed accounts of the parade in Delhi, and from the congratulatory exchanges at the official level, there were more than a dozen full-length articles from the pen of N. Pastukhov, A. Kutsenkov, K. Perevoshchikov and other established commentators on India. Perevoshchikov, for instance (IZ 26.1.64) writing on "The Springtime of Freedom" spoke of the changed face of the country. From the day when India shook off her yoke, she set about healing the wounds inflicted by the colonial regime. Backwardness, one sidedness in agriculture, absence of heavy industry, unemployment, poverty, disease and all the other misfortunes that can mar the existence of man in society, had been the sentence passed on her by that regime. One cannot quite say, Perevoshchikov acknowledged, that all these ills now belong to the past, but one can affirm that the Indians have done more towards developing the economy in the last few years than the colonial authorities did in a century. Universally recognized, he said, is the Soviet Union's effort to assist India "to catch up" and the "Metallurgical Giant" at Bhilai is a symbol of such cooperation. Under a scarlet rubric "Symbol of the New India" Kutsenkov (PR 26.1.64) wrote of the realization of a people's dream to tame the destructive forces of nature. The Bhakra dam symbolized the aspiration of the nation and "it is no accident that Our Country (Nasha Strana) is participating in this mighty hydroelectric project." The Soviet people, Kutsenkov said, "is pure of heart and unselfish and gives of its best to the India which is its friend." Thirdly, under the heading "Vijaya means Victory", Pastukhov (KP 26.1.64) recalled that when India proclaimed herself a republic, hunger and poverty reigned in the land. A heritage had to be liquidated, but how? The West gloated, supposing that India could not survive without capitalist backing. Precisely at that vital moment the Soviet Union extended the hand of friendly cooperation on equal terms, and from the USSR the

ships put to sea, bound for Indian shores with equipment and machinery. Other pieces of journalism not very different in scope and expression were: Flag over the Red Fort, Ye. Chelyshev (LG 28.1.64); India the New Wonderland, K. Vadimov (KOM P. 26.1.64); and Friendly Mutual Relations, A. Denisovich (TI 26.1.64).

Pandit Nehru's reply (dated 20 January) to Mr. Khrushchev's Message of 31 December was prominently printed, either in extenso or in summary, in all organs of the press.

Communal disorder in Calcutta in January, and the graver clashes in Orissa in March were noticed in most papers, but very briefly.

## NEPAL

The 14th anniversary of the liberalization of Nepal's Government prompted special articles in PR/TRUD 18.2.64 and IZ 19.2.64. These congratulated the country on her sure, if uphill, achievements in the way of eradicating the evils bequeathed by the feudal house of Rana, and specified several items of progress. The Soviet Union was sympathetic and quick to understand the problems confronting modern Nepal. A hydroelectric scheme, a hospital, a sugar refinery, a cigarette factory - these were the practical expression of Soviet goodwill.

King Mahendra's letter of 16 February, replying to Mr. Khrushchev's Message of 31 December 1963 and voicing satisfaction at its terms, was published in PR 29.2.64.

## PAKISTAN

Pakistan was seldom in focus. The sole reference noticed in January was in regard to new legislation to cope with the formidable and apparently growing traffic in young women and children. Discussing this subject in KT 22.1.64, Yu. Pavlinov of TASS described the land and sea routes favoured by "the powerful gangster sheikhs" for the removal of abducted women and kidnapped children abroad to Saudi Arabia and elsewhere, and also pointed out that a proportion of the victims were destined for home use and conveyed to the brothels of Lahore, Karachi and other cities.

Chou En-Lai's visit to Karachi and Rawalpindi in February merited one sentence each in TRUD 19.2.64 and IZ 22.2.64 respectively.

In connexion with Pakistan Day, PR 23.3.64 published President Brezhnev's formal telegram to Field Marshal Ayub Khan, and on 24.3.64 alluded briefly to a reception in Moscow given by the Pakistan Ambassador, Iqbal Athar. IZ of the same date carried a full length article - the only one seen this quarter - over the name of N. Kashtanov who attributed the slow tempo of industrial and agrarian development, as compared with the other liberated countries of Asia, to Pakistan's pro-Western foreign policy which had involved her in disproportionately costly commitments. It was something that increasingly wide sections of society had begun to recognize this and to demand a revision of current policy. Actually, trade with the Soviet Union held out many possibilities: for example, the barter of Pakistan jute and Soviet cement. Life (in Mr. Khrushchev's words) shows that the natural impulse of peoples towards mutual understanding cannot be thwarted for long by artificial hindrances, and in the growth of Soviet-Pakistan relations there can already be detected the correctness of this proposition.

PR 30.3.64 summarized portions of Field Marshal Ayub Khan's reply to the Khrushchev Message of 31 December. [No full text seems to have come out in any

journal.] It was noted that the Field Marshal viewed this latest initiative as one more evidence of mighty endeavour in quest of world peace. It was also mentioned in passing that the Pakistan President had taken this opportunity to set forth in detail his position in the dispute with India over Kashmir.

## PERSIA

Apart from the editorial IZ 12.1.64 [see under AFGHANISTAN] there was not a great deal about Persia of a sort to arrest attention.

PR reported the reply of Prime Minister Asadolla Alam to the Khrushchev Message, and most papers referred to the formation of a new government under Hasan Ali Mansur. In particular PR 22.3.64 printed Mr. Khrushchev's greetings to the new premier and IZ 10.3.64 published a biographical note remarking that he was the founder of a group called "The Progressives" and had brought into his cabinet a set of like-minded associates, in their early forties and technically competent to press ahead with industrialization. It was added that the new Government while continuing to support CENTO wanted to improve relations at large "and especially with the nearest neighbours."

Operation "Delavar", the joint military exercise under CENTO, scheduled for mid-April and involving the presence of 6,800 US officers and men in Persia came in for unfavourable comment (PR 15.3.64 and IZ 19.3.64). PRAVDA styled it "a dangerous demonstration" whose design was "to prove US capacity to reinforce her allies living in the vicinity of the Soviet Union."

## SINKIANG

The following mention of Sinkiang occurred after the period closed, but it did not seem reasonable to reserve this solitary, but not unimportant, item for our next issue.

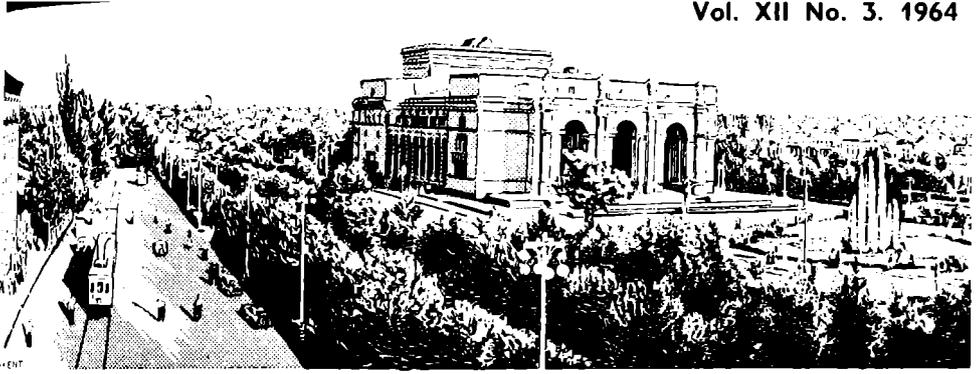
Reporting the proceedings of the IXth Plenum of the Central Committee, Kazakhstan CP., which met in Alma-Ata on 25 March, KP 5.4.64 quoted a speech by K.Kh. Kuzham'yarov, Rector of the Kurmangaza Arts Institute. The Chinese leaders (this speaker said) had been swayed by great-power chauvinism, and in brutal disregard of Marxist-Leninist teaching were discriminating against non-Chinese in the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region. The original, indigenous people of Sinkiang, the Uygurs, were being subjected to forcible assimilation. The Uygur written language and the Uygur culture retained their title to existence only "in a Chinese interpretation" [sic]. Prominent persons of the community were losing their civic rights. Mass flight from China of the Uygur and Kazakh populace was resulting.

PR 13.4.64 reporting the same proceedings quoted this Kudus Kuzham'yarov as declaring that "it was through no fault of ours" that cultural intercourse between Kazakhstan and the CPR, so beneficial to the national minorities [in Sinkiang], had lately come to a sudden stop.

## TIBET

In the papers to hand this quarter there was no reporting on Tibet.

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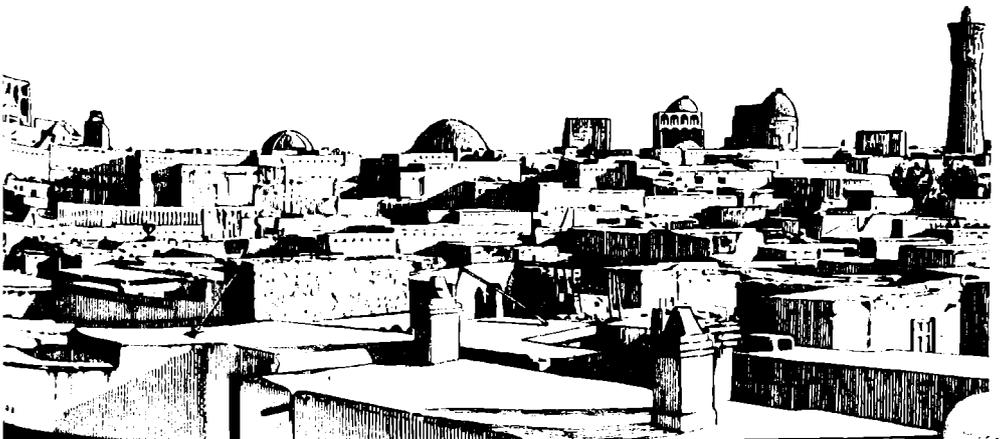


Central Asian Research Centre in association with St. Antony's College (Oxford) Soviet Affairs Study Group

# CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW



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CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW and other papers issued by the Central Asian Research Centre are under the general editorship of Geoffrey Wheeler, 66A King's Road, London, S.W.3, and Max Hayward and Harry Willetts, St. Antony's College, Oxford.

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### ERRATUM

CAR, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 104; footnote should read :

Now a member of the Presidium of the Kirgiz Supreme Soviet. The former Secretary of the Kirgiz Central Committee and present Chairman of the Kirgiz Supreme Soviet is Asanbek Tokombayev.

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## Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the Review when referring to the Soviet Academies of Sciences, and to newspapers and periodicals etc. employed as sources, are as follows :-

AN/SSSR	Akademiya Nauk (Academy of Sciences) of USSR
AN/Kaz. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Kazakh SSR
AN/Kirg. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Kirgiz SSR
AN/Tad. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Tadzhik SSR
AN/Turk. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Turkmen SSR
AN/Uzb. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Uzbek SSR
SAGU	Sredneaziatskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet (Central Asian State University)
IZ	Izvestiya
K	Kommunist
KOM. P	Komsomolskaya Pravda
KP	Kazakhstanskaya Pravda
KT	Kommunist Tadzhikistana
KZ	Krasnaya Zvezda
LG	Literaturnaya Gazeta
NT	New Times
PR	Pravda
PV	Pravda Vostoka
SK	Sovetskaya Kirgiziya
SU	Soviet Union
TI	Turkmenskaya Iskra
VVS	Vedemosti Verkhovnogo Soveta

## CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

VOL. XII, NO. 3

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### EDITORIAL

In April last, PRAVDA and PRAVDA VOSTOKA carried an article on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the birth of Akmal Ikramov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan from 1919 to 1937, when he was executed. This article makes strange reading for anyone unfamiliar with the methods of Soviet historiography and may even startle those of Ikramov's friends and associates who are still alive, however inured they may be to the official distortion of historical facts. They are told for the first time that Ikramov was "a faithful disciple of Lenin, that he fought unceasingly for the triumph of Lenin's nationalities policy and that he firmly opposed all manifestations of nationalism, Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islam." In spite of this, "at the height of the groundless repressions carried out in 1937 he protested against them and was arrested on Stalin's personal order. He perished tragically before he had reached the age of 40."

This is a curious gloss on the official recorded facts which are that in 1937 Ikramov was tried in Moscow with several others including Bukharin, Rykov and the Uzbek Prime Minister Fayzulla Khodzhayev, found guilty on a number of charges including nationalism, organizing armed forces against the Soviet Union and conspiring with Britain and Japan in order to bring Central Asia under their influence, and was finally executed. All this was dutifully recorded in the verbatim report of the Court Proceedings in THE CASE OF THE ANTI-SOVIET 'BLOC OF RIGHTISTS AND TROTSKYISTS' (Moscow 1938). Uzbeks are now expected to believe that none of this took place but merely that Ikramov 'perished' because he had offended Stalin.

---

In a short article on the conclusions to be drawn from the 26th International Congress of Orientalists contained in NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No. 2 of 1964, the author notes with satisfaction what he regards as the sustained swing away from the colonialist, anti-progressive tone of previous congresses, which began at long last with the 25th Congress held in Moscow in 1960. In the fact that scholars of eastern countries are paying increased attention to the study of their own cultures he sees an indication of "the strengthening of the anti-colonial direction of oriental studies." It is not easy to say exactly what this

means. An outstanding feature of the Delhi Congress was the evident determination of the Indian hosts to avoid the atmosphere of political jockeying and prejudice so much in evidence at the Moscow Congress and they studiously avoided any reference to colonialism or imperialism whether Western or Soviet.

Much more interesting and penetrating are the author's observations on the subject of specialization and 'universalism' in oriental studies. He regards these studies as "a complex of scientific disciplines (history, philology, economy, ideology and religion, ethnography etc.) relating to the whole eastern world." While he sees some advantage in 'universalism' and in scholars combining the attributes of, for example, the philologist and the historian, he believes that the newly independent countries of the East now tend to subdivide 'the humanities' into the same separate disciplines as exist in the West. Each of these disciplines, whether related to different periods of history, distinct branches of economy such as industry and agriculture, or of culture such as religion, ideology, philology or ethnography, requires specialization. He considers that the global conception of oriental studies is outdated.

There are many scholars in Western countries who will agree with this view expressed in *NARODY AZII I AFRIKI*. There is still, however, a considerable body of opinion which holds that linguistics are a *sine qua non* of oriental studies and this is in line with the generally accepted definition of an orientalist as "one versed in oriental languages and history." Perhaps a more rational approach to the problem would become easier if the terms orientalism and orientalist were dropped altogether. Oddly enough the Russians, who in 1960 apparently decided to do just this, are again using the words freely, although in a less restricted sense than the West.

---

"Forces of Nationalism" is the title given to an interesting contribution to a recent symposium on "Soviet Colonialism"\* by Richard Pipes, Associate Director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. In it he quotes Soviet statistics showing that "while the number of Soviet citizens who have abandoned their native tongue in favour of Russian has grown from 6.5 million (1926) to 10 million (1959), the number of those who adhere to their native language has increased in the same period from 60 to 85 million."

In considering the evidence provided by the Soviet censuses on the subject of national cohesion in Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan, whether this is thought of as nationalism or merely as national consciousness, it is important to remember that the classification of nationalities by language and the systematization and development of national languages were essential features of the Soviet Nationalities Policy. This policy aimed at the treatment of the disease of nationalism by a homeopathic process, that is to say, by the creation of synthetic nation states which would serve the double purpose of producing the

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\* PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, No. 1, January-February 1964

illusion of self-determination and of preventing culturally and racially homogeneous groups like the Muslims of Central Asia from ganging up against the new regime. From the very beginning great importance was attached to the question of languages, and a linguistic policy was devised which, it was thought, would satisfy national sentiment without exciting or fostering nationalistic trends. The basic aims of this policy were first, the 'completion' and 'enrichment' of existing languages, the widening of their scope and the transformation of tribal and community languages into developed national languages; and second, the establishment of Russian as "a second native language". These two aims might seem to be contradictory in the sense that they appear to encourage the growth of national languages and the use of Russian at one and the same time. It could be argued either that the Soviet Government genuinely believed that these two aims were not incompatible or that they wished and believed that the national languages would gradually be ousted by Russian. There is some evidence that the authorities have in fact alternated between these two theories.

The extent of the part played by language in the forming of nationalities and in the development of nationalist movements is a highly controversial one. Although nationalist movements usually attach great importance to developing and purifying national languages as a means of encouraging particularism, nationality is, in Toynbee's words, "a question of sentiment, not of language or race." The leading figures in nationalist movements as often as not have the language of their imperial masters as their first language, for example, those in India and Muslim North Africa. There have also been many cases of whole communities, for instance, some of the Greek and Armenian communities in Anatolia during the 19th and early 20th centuries, for whom national language had no political significance until they came under the influence of nationalist ideology; for it is nationalist ideology which endows language with political importance and not the other way round. In the same way, there are instances - Switzerland, for example - where large elements in a state may retain their national languages and cultures without showing any tendency towards nationalism or eventual separation.

The results of 35 years application of the nationalities and linguistics policies as shown in the 1959 census are not in any way unexpected and seem to be in line with Soviet thinking up to the XXIInd Party Congress: the vast majority of non-Russian nationals declared their national language as their mother tongue, while the small increase in those giving Russian may, as Professor Pipes has shown, be partly deceptive. It may also be deceptive for other reasons not mentioned by Professor Pipes but which deserve careful examination.

In that section of the 1959 census relating to the national composition of the USSR a percentage is given against each nationality of those who "consider the language of that nationality to be their mother tongue (rodnoy yazyk)." To some nationalities, for example, the Turkmens and Kazakhs, the meaning of the term rodnoy yazyk would be perfectly clear; to others, for example Uzbeks and Tadzhiks living in the Zeravshan valley, it would not be so clear, since thousands of them are bilingual and do not know what their mother tongue is or was. Most of them probably take the term to mean the

language in which they were educated or with which they feel themselves to be most familiar. It may be assumed for the moment, however, that since only about 28,000 Tadzhiks in the whole of the USSR disclaim Tadzhik as their mother tongue, the proportion of the 312,000 Tadzhiks living in Uzbekistan who give Tadzhik as their mother tongue must be at least 90 per cent. Where, it may be asked, do the national sympathies of these Tadzhiks lie?

The case of a more homogeneous and compact nationality, the Turkmens, must also be considered. Of the 1,002,000 Turkmens in the USSR only 1.1 per cent, or less than 12,000 gave a language other than Turkmen as their mother tongue. Of the 924,000 Turkmens actually living in Turkmenistan, 4,723 gave Russian as their rodnoy yazyk. It is interesting to speculate on the possible make-up of this last figure. It would in the first place include children of mixed marriages, many of whom would be too young to speak for themselves. It would also include immigrant Turkmens who had been brought up outside Turkmenistan, possibly in non-Turkic language speaking regions. Finally, a certain proportion might be town-dwellers who, by reason of their education and profession had a better all-round knowledge of Russian than of Turkmen and thought that to admit it would do them no harm and possibly some good.

While providing ample evidence of the prevalence of national languages, the 1959 census provides no clue to the proportions among the non-Russian nationalities who actually know Russian better than any other language, whether or not they are prepared to declare it as their mother tongue. It may, however, be assumed that this is no less than the prevalence of English during the British period in India, where nothing like the same official attention was paid to the development and modernization of vernacular languages. At the time of the 1959 census, therefore, it appears to have been Government policy to play up the prevalence of national languages while playing down the prevalence of Russian. It should be noted, however, that since the 1959 census there has been a new insistence on the need for the 'coming together' (sblizheniye) and eventual 'merging' (sliyaniye) of the nationalities. This suggests that for various reasons the Soviet Government is having doubts about the long-term efficacy of its nationalities policy, and although there has so far been no specific mention of the eventual abolition of national languages and their replacement by Russian as the medium of general education, it is probable that these measures are being seriously contemplated. In the meanwhile, the next census could well present a different picture in respect of languages simply by changing the term 'mother tongue' to 'first language', or some similar expression.

Returning to Professor Pipes' contention that adherence to national language is an indication of national cohesion it is necessary to consider what kind of cohesion it is to which he refers. Nationalist movements could conceivably develop in Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan on any of the following lines: a corporate movement based on the communal feeling among the Muslim peoples of the area formerly made up of Turkestan, the khanates and the Steppe region; the evolution of the existing synthetic national republics into genuine nation-states; and finally, the rallying under national (i.e. racial and linguistic) flags of the nationalities without regard to the frontiers of the republics among which they are at present distributed and with the possible cooperation

of members of those nationalities outside the USSR (Persia, Afghanistan and China). If common language is regarded as one of the "forces of nationalism", strict adherence to national languages would not contribute to the success of a movement of the first type, for the basic interresemblance of the Turkic languages (i.e. all the Central Asian languages except Tadjik) has been considerably reduced by 40 years of linguistic regimentation. Much the same would apply to the second type of movement, since in no instance does the titular nationality of a republic amount to more than 62 per cent (Uzbekistan) and in one case (Kazakhstan) is as low as 29 per cent. Only in the last and least likely type of movement could language really prove an important factor.

Nationalism is often confused with national consciousness, although the terms are by no means synonymous. National consciousness is a kind of group solidarity not dissimilar from other bonds of union such as religion, tribe or caste, while the object of nationalism as an ideology is to prove that national consciousness is a form of solidarity superior to all others, in fact the only one of any consequence. But even national consciousness, which is strong in Central Asia and likely to remain so, does not necessarily depend on language. For example, Scottish national consciousness is probably strongest among those elements which have never "had the Gaelic". Similarly, in Ireland, where there is both nationalism and national consciousness, Irish has not played an important part in the past, nor is it likely to do so in the future.

---

Readers will recall that in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW No.3 of 1963, we published an account of an ambitious programme of research launched by the Sixth Section of the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris. This project is concerned with the social, cultural and political history of the Muslims of Russia treated en rapport with their co-religionists in Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. The project envisaged among other things the location and analysis of the available source material and the first essay in this respect has now appeared in CAHIERS DU MONDE RUSSE ET SOVIÉTIQUE (No.1, Vol. V, 1964) under the title of "Les Bibliothèques et les Archives de Turquie en tant que Sources de Documents sur l'Histoire de Russie". The author is Chantal Quelquejay-Lemercier who has for many years collaborated with Alexandre Bennigsen, the originator of the project. In introducing her study she draws attention to two seldom realized facts, namely, that Turkey is one of the few countries of the world - if not the only one - which has preserved its national archives almost in their entirety since the end of the 15th century; and also that since the end of the 17th century the proximity of Russia has dominated Turkish diplomatic, military and political thinking. Madame Quelquejay-Lemercier's study is divided into two main sections: the National Archives of the Ottoman Empire including those of the Baş Vekâlet and other institutions such as the Top Kapı Museum; and the various public libraries of Ankara and Istanbul. Taken as a whole this meticulous survey constitutes an invaluable guide to a rich source of material on a little-known subject, a source, moreover, which has hitherto remained to a considerable extent untapped by western European scholars.

## SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

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### ARCHAEOLOGY IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

#### IV. TADZHIKISTAN

By Grégoire Frumkin

The present article is the fourth of a series on Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia. (See CAR, No. 4, 1962: "Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia and its Ideological Background", No. 1, 1963: "Kazakhstan"; No. 1, 1964: "Kirgiziya and the Fergana Valley".)

References in brackets after place names refer to the map facing p. 172.

An abridged bibliography preceded by a list of abbreviations is given at the end of the article.

---

I. General - II. The Stone Age - III. The Bronze and Subsequent Ages - IV. Concluding Remarks - Bibliography

#### I. General

It is convenient to divide the highly mountainous, landlocked Tadjikistan into two parts: the eastern, almost impassable half, consisting mainly of a network of the Pamir mountain ranges with many peaks between 4,000 and 7,000 metres, and the western half stretching from Kirgiziya and Uzbekistan in the north to Afghanistan in the south, and backed in the west by Uzbekistan.

This western half may be divided into the Bactrian region south of the Gissar range, and the Sogdian provinces north of it.

The area of Tadjikistan - over 142,000 sq. km. - is appreciably smaller than that of Kirgiziya. Its unevenly distributed population of over two millions is 60 per cent Tadjik, the other 40 per cent being Uzbeks, Kirgiz, Tokhars, Russians, etc. In contrast to the other Islamic Soviet Republics of Central Asia with Turkic populations, the Tadjiks are of Iranian tongue, their language being closely related to that of modern Persia. In their long history they experienced many invasions (Persians, Alexander the Great, Kushana, Huns, Turks, Arabs, Mongols, etc.) and repeated changes of language and religion.

As in the case of Kirgiziya there is no large-scale urbanization. In addition to the capital Dushanbe, formerly Stalinabad (roughly 200,000 inhabitants), there are Leninabad, formerly Khodzhent, on the Syr-Dar'ya, approximately where Alexander the Great founded the town Alexandria Eschate, the terminus of his Sogdian expedition, and a few minor towns, some of recent origin.

The upper part of the Amu-Dar'ya (ancient Oxus), called Pyandzh, represents the southern limit of the country. In the north the Syr-Dar'ya flows across the narrow district of Leninabad. There is, likewise in the north, the archaeologically famous Zeravshan, which flows parallel to the Gissar range towards Uzbekistan. Two tributaries of the Pyandzh river, Kafirnigan and Vakhsh, flow through archaeological land in southern Tadzhikistan.

A series of hydroelectric power-stations is being built on the Vakhsh, the most important being the enormous Nurek works. The "Tadzhik Sea" [Kayrakkum reservoir] (2-3a) represents a huge water basin which covers most of the Kayrak-Kumy district. Similar work is being carried on on a big scale in the Pamirs.

Archaeological work in Tadzhikistan has recently made such rapid progress that any survey is bound to be out of date as soon as published. Owing to the outstanding importance of its Stone Age civilization and the spectacular discoveries in western Tadzhikistan relating to the pre-Islamic period, it is on these that the present article will largely be centred. Rock engravings are referred to in the bibliography (Dal'skiy, Mandel'shtam, Ranov).

The student who would like to know more about the multifarious archaeological work done in Tadzhikistan before 1954, will find the necessary information in Litvinskiy's Survey, published in 1954.

Apart from the Pamirs, the activity of Soviet archaeologists relates mostly to Sogdiana, north of the Gissar range, and Bactria south of it. It should be noted in this connexion that in the view of Soviet archaeologists ancient Bactria extended beyond the Oxus (Amu-Dar'ya) and thus included territories of the present Uzbekistan and of Tadzhikistan as far as the Gissar range.

Bactria as well as Sogdiana had been part of the Achaemenid Empire, of Alexander's Empire and subsequently of the Seleucid Empire (3rd century B.C.). Under the Hellenistic rulers of the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. the territory of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom fluctuated, extending sometimes to the north and the west, as it did under Euthydemus, and sometimes towards India as it did under his son Demetrius and after him under Eucratides. As Bactrian civilization could anyhow hardly have been arrested by a river, the archaeology of the Soviet territories north of the Oxus (Transoxiana) is necessarily tied up with that south of the river.

Systematic archaeological exploration of Tadzhikistan began in 1946 with the Sogdian Tadzhik Expedition, subsequently known as the Tadzhik Expedition. After the death of its first leader, A.Y. Yakubovskiy, in 1953, the work was taken over by M.M. D'yakonov who died, however, in 1954. A.M. Belenitskiy then became the head of the expedition.

## II. The Stone Age

Systematic exploration of the Stone Age has taken place since 1953, when A.P. Okladnikov and V. Ranov - the two Soviet archaeologists responsible for the majority of finds - explored the upper part of the Syr-Dar'ya valley, the Kayrak-Kumy desert, as well as the Isfara region.

The following tentative synopsis shows some of the paleolithic and neolithic sites discovered so far. Whereas most of the sites quoted are still little known, it is probable that some of them may rapidly become renowned.

	<u>Paleolithic</u>	<u>Mesolithic and Neolithic</u>
<u>North-West</u>	Kayrak-Kumy (3a) Khodzhi-Yagona group Naukat group	
	Khodzha-Gor (3b) Ura-Tyube (2b)	
<u>South-West</u>	Lower Vakhsh (2c) Kara Bura Kyzyl-Kala Ak Dzhar	Kafimigan (2b-c) Tepe-i-Gazion Kunchi Bibi Khurum
		Vakhsh (2b-c) Kuy-Bul'yen (2c) Kyzyl-Kala (2c)
<u>East Pamir</u>		Markansu (4b) Osh-Khona (4b) Kara-Kul' (4b) Shakhty (4c) Kulak-Kesty (4c) Lake Rangkul' (5b) Nurtek (5c)
	Shakhty Cave	

In spite of occasional vagueness or uncertainty regarding the chronology of the finds, the above abridged synopsis suggests that, whereas the paleolithic sites are mostly in north-western and in south-western Tadzhikistan, the neolithic sites are prevalent in the south-west, as well as in the Pamir mountains.

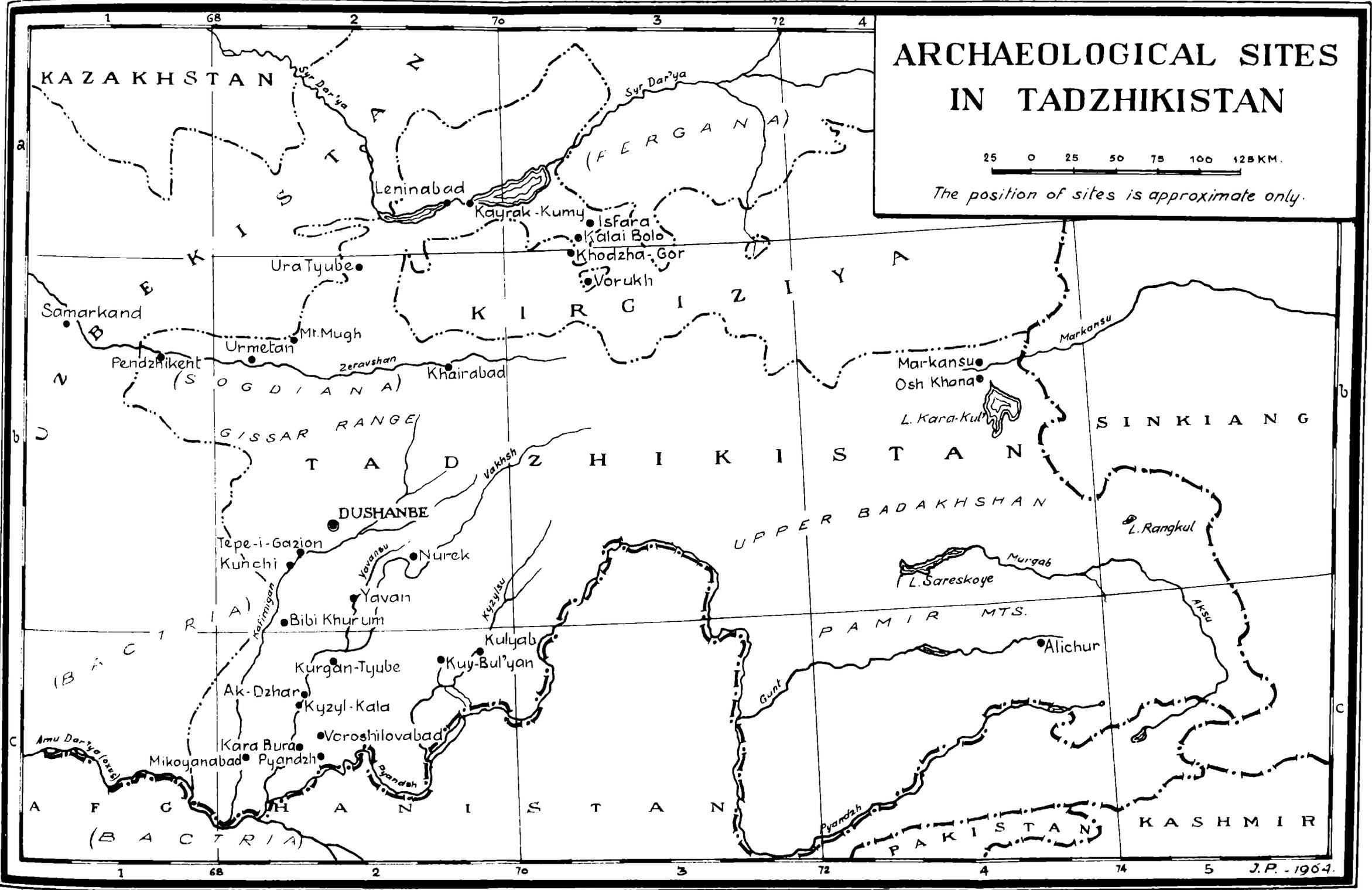
### A. North-West

The exploration of the Kayrak-Kumy desert along the Syr-Dar'ya was a salvage operation begun in 1954, prior to the flooding of its western part and the establishment of a big reservoir, the "Tadzhik Sea". This region proved to be the richest in paleolithic finds discovered so far in Soviet Central Asia.

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN TADZHIKISTAN

25 0 25 50 75 100 125 KM.

*The position of sites is approximate only.*





Over 1,000 stone tools found by A. P. Okladnikov related to the Paleolithic Age, viz. the Acheulian and Mousterian (Neanderthal) period. These finds were of much the same kind as those made in the Karatau mountains of south Kazakhstan (see CAR, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 16). The finds made in Khodzha-Gor (Isfara valley) and those in Ura-Tyube are likewise believed to be Mousterian.

#### B. South-West

Whereas some sites in south-west Tadzhikistan, mostly in the region of the lower Vakhsh, such as Kara Bura, the nearby Kyzyl-Kala and the recently explored Ak Dzhar, appear to relate to the Lower Paleolithic, the numerous neolithic sites are largely concentrated in the valleys of the Kafirgion and the Vakhsh rivers, as well as in the Dushanbe region.

There is, inter alia, on the Upper Kafirgion, south-west of Dushanbe, Tepe-i-Gazion and near to it Kunchi; Bibi-Khurum on the Middle Kafirgion, explored for the first time by Ranov, includes in addition to neolithic also microlithic tools. South-east of Dushanbe in the direction of Kulyab, the site of Kuy-Bul'yen is likely to be a particularly important neolithic centre.

#### C. The Pamirs

In this region the paleolithic and neolithic industries appear to have frequently coexisted, which makes clear distinction between the two sometimes difficult. The scarce paleolithic finds in the eastern Pamirs comprised the Shakhty Cave with interesting rock engravings, among which was a human figure with a bird's head, a feature found likewise in the paleolithic of western Europe (e.g. at the Lascaux cave).

The exploration of the neolithic in the eastern Pamirs, which started in 1957, proved most successful. The richest finds were those near Lake Rangkul' a region with many caves north of the Murgab and Aksu rivers and, further to the north-west, in Markansu (the "Death valley" north-west of Lake Kara-Kul') and, since 1960, the promising Osh-Khona which yielded the richest collection of neolithic tools found so far in Soviet Central Asia. The radio-carbon C14 test shows for Osh-Khona 9530-130 years.

A neolithic site on the desert-like shore of Lake Kara-Kul' (northern Pamirs at a height of about 4,000 metres) explored since 1960, yielded a particularly rich collection of stone tools.

This condensed but nevertheless somewhat tedious list of sites throughout Tadzhikistan suggests that the regions omitted because of the absence of Stone Age sites, are probably those in which no exploration has yet been made.

### III. The Bronze Age and Subsequent Periods

#### A. The Pamirs

With the exception of the Kayrak-Kumy in north-west Tadzhikistan, sites of the Bronze Age were found mainly in the Pamirs (Upper Badakhshan).

In ancient times these defiant Pamirs caused nomads from Kirgiziya in

search of good soil and climate to go round the impenetrable mountains, via the east to the south, before they reached the more hospitable western lands.

After 1946 A.N. Bemshtam explored a great many kurgans, of which the Saka tombs in the eastern Pamirs were the oldest. The rather poor and primitive burial grounds yielded a mass of information on the burial rites of ancient populations, which, judging from the absence of settlements, must have been nomadic. Among the material finds relating mainly to the 6th-2nd centuries B.C., there were bronze objects, ornaments, jewelry in bronze with semi-precious stones, as well as rather clumsy bronze figures of animals, heralds of the Scythian animal art.

Bemshtam's arguments were confirmed and strengthened in recent years by B.A. Litvinskiy. Some animal figures of bronze found by the latter are of a distinctly more pronounced "Scythian style".

## B. South-West Tadzhikistan: Vakhsh and Kafirigan Valleys

Little is still known of ancient Bactria in the first half of the last millennium B.C., but thanks to Soviet archaeologists our knowledge in this respect is beginning to widen. The subsequent periods are better known but the records are still incomplete and their interpretation is frequently tentative. As the result of the inroad of nomads from the north towards Sogdiana and Bactria, the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom collapsed towards 130 B.C. Similarly, the ensuing vast Kushana (Indo-Scythian) Empire collapsed in its turn in the 4th century A.D. under the onslaught of the White Huns (Chionites, Ephthalites). Their empire was itself defeated at the end of the 6th century A.D. under the combined assault of the western Turks and the Iranian Sassanians. The 8th century witnessed the advance of the Arabs and the gradual islamization of the countries conquered.

### (i) Vakhsh Valley

Thanks to explorations by T.I. Zeymal there is at present ample evidence of ancient irrigation systems in a region which is reviving owing to big hydro-electric works and modern irrigation systems.

Recent explorations by Litvinskiy of kurgans in the Lower Vakhsh region, where the rivers Vakhsh and Kyzylsu join the Pyandzh river, yielded valuable results, since the tombs contained in addition to bronze objects, a large quantity of ancient high-grade pottery dating approximately from the end of the second and the beginning of the first millennium B.C. This noteworthy discovery relating to ancient Bactria may be connected, according to Litvinskiy, with the Kobadiyan I civilization (see (ii) Kafirigan below), as well as the movements of Aryans from Turkmenistan to Tadzhikistan. The problem of Aryans remains, however, controversial.

In 1954 Litvinskiy discovered near Voroshilovabad the fortified building compound of Kukhna-Kala, of the Graeco-Bactrian period, stated to present some analogies with Begram(Kapisa), the famous but later site of the Kushana in Afghanistan.

The excavations begun by Litvinskiy in 1963 on the site of Yavan (Varakhsha) are not sufficiently advanced to permit of final conclusions, but have

yielded an overwhelming quantity of pottery of the 3rd to 4th centuries A. D. (possibly up to the 5th century), which is stated to exceed by far the amount of pottery found at Begram or in the Kobadiyan region (see (ii) Kafimigan below). There is, *inter alia*, a collection of clay vessels with human and animal heads on the sides and the handles, seals, as well as stone vessels of a "Taxila type" with hippocampus ornament.

Judging from fragmentary advance information available so far, a prominent Buddhist monument relating to the 7th to 8th centuries was discovered in Adzhina Tepe (near Kurgan-Tyube), where digging begun by T. I. Zeymal in 1959 and 1960 was continued in 1961-2 by Litvinskiy. An artificial mound with 22 well preserved quarters grouped around a square hall with an *ayvan* (verandah), has proved to relate to a sanctuary; its walls were decorated by statues, the biggest of which is estimated to have been seven metres high.

Another building nearby was evidently a Buddhist stupa. This, as well as the Buddhist features of some statues, suggests that Adzhina Tepe was a Buddhist monastery. According to the explorer, some of its architectural features are similar to those of Buddhist and Hindu shrines of India in the 4th and 5th centuries. The sculptural remains present analogies with Eastern Turkestan, the Indian Gupta art, as well as Afghan sites, such as Kunduz and Fandukistan.

#### (ii) Kafimigan Valley

Explorations in the Kobadiyan region, which started towards 1946, have yielded remains relating to Kushana, pre-Kushana and post-Kushana periods. Takht-i-Kobad(2c) (or Takhty Kuwat) is believed by Soviet scientists to be the cradle of the famous treasure of the Oxus in possession of the British Museum since the end of the 19th century. Contrary to the view of O. M. Dalton, this spectacular collection is believed by some Soviet archaeologists to represent not a hoard of golden objects imported from Iran and found all together at one site, but the result of continuous looting. After having been sold in 1877 to Bukhara merchants, these objects, believed to be of local make, found their way to the Peshawar and Rawalpindi bazaars, and from there to the British Museum.

The site of Kobadiyan itself - nowadays Mikoyanabad - proved to be of outstanding archaeological interest and since 1950 the Kafimigan explorations have been focussed on two salient sites, where the ancient settlements are mostly on a narrow stretch of land, already extensively irrigated in the 7th or 5th century B. C., viz. Kalai-Mir and particularly Kei-Kobad Shah.

In a general way all the periods are well represented in the finds, starting with Kobadiyan I of Kalai-Mir (7th-4th c. B. C.), Kobadiyan II (3rd-2nd century B. C., mostly in Kei-Kobad Shah) which coincided with the rise and the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian Empire, Kobadiyan III (1st c. B. C. to 1st c. A. D.) with a huge quantity of grey-ware pottery and numerous small human and animal figures, Kobadiyan IV (2nd c. A. D., period of Kanishka) with an exceptional wealth of red-ware pottery - the grey-ware having disappeared - as well as of figurines, and finally the ultimate post-Kushana period (3rd-4th c. A. D.), rich not only in pottery but also in coins.

As to the Kobadiyan I period in Kalai-Mir referred to above, it is

represented by an ancient Bactrian dwelling of the 7th or 6th century B.C. discovered there in 1951 below the Kobadiyan I layer by two women archaeologists, N.N. Zabelina and Ye.A. Monchadskaya. This oldest site contained pottery analogous to the contemporaneous pottery of Giaur Kala (Turkmenistan), Afrasiab (Samarkand) and the ancient Balkh (Afghanistan).

A wider range of finds was made, however, in Kei-Kobad Shah, buried now in the cotton fields on the outskirts of Mikoyanabad. The architecture of this fortified place, which was founded in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. and inhabited throughout the Kushana period to the 4th or 5th century A.D., presents, as stated by D'yakonov, analogies with Begram (Afghanistan).

Among the remains found in the Kobadiyan region there were also big bases of columns and Corinthian capitals, tokens of Hellenistic influence.

Of the kurgans explored by Mandel'shtam in the Kobadiyan region, especially the Bishkent valley(2b-c), it is possible to distinguish between the tombs of the nomadic tribes which were responsible for the collapse of the Graeco-Bactrian Empire, those of the Kushana period and finally the post-Kushana tombs. Contrary to the usual practice of burying the corpses, some tombs indicate that corpses were incinerated. This suggests that some later tribes - possibly the Huns - crossed the region in the 4th and 5th century A.D. on their way to Afghanistan.

## C. North Tadzhikistan

### (i) Kayrak-Kumy, Isfara

In contrast to Kazakhstan and Kirgiziya which possess many Bronze Age sites, in Tadzhikistan such sites are mostly confined to the Kayrak-Kumy desert which, as already shown, was also of outstanding importance with regard to the paleolithic period.

Besides much pottery, the explorations, mostly by Litvinskiy, yielded in the settlements as well as in kurgans of nomads remains of metal foundries, huge quantities of pottery and a certain number of metal tools, bronze ornaments and other metal products pertaining to over one thousand years, roughly from the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. Whether or not there was an original Kayrak-Kumy bronze culture (Litvinskiy), or whether it was merely a local variety of the Andronovo culture, the finds are probably connected with the still disputed problem of the origin of the Indo-Europeans, reference to which was made in the previous articles.

More recent kurgans of nomadic tribes were explored mostly by Litvinskiy in the Isfara district, especially at Vorukh. In spite of some difficulties of chronology the kurgans, which contained funeral objects, iron tools and much pottery, appear to belong to the period 2nd century B.C. to the 6-7th century A.D.

The Kalai-Bolo castle, situated in the same region and described by Mrs. Ye.A. Davidovich, relates mostly to the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. but also contains, as in the case of Pendzhikent referred to below, interesting wooden sculptures of the 7-8th century A.D.

(ii) Mount Mugh(2b)

A manuscript incidentally discovered in 1933 by a shepherd in an almost inaccessible site on the Zeravshan some 120 km. east of Pendzhikent somewhat beyond Umetan, was identified by Professor A.A. Freyman as an old Sogdian document and, within the same year, a scientific expedition was organized by the Academy of Sciences. The site explored, a mound called locally Mount Mugh (not to be confused with other sites of the same or similar names), consisted of ruins of an ancient castle destroyed by the Arabs in the 8th century A.D. A great many of the objects found there are kept in the Hermitage Museum; they have been described in detail by N.B. Bentovich. The most precious find was, however, a collection of some 90 manuscripts, kept in Leningrad, most of which are in the Sogdian language (see bibliography). These documents, the first Sogdian texts to be discovered on the territory of Sogdiana, represent the archives of Divashtich, a ruler of Pendzhikent who fled to Mount Mugh in 722 from the Arab attack; he was captured and the Mugh castle was destroyed. The documents deciphered by Freyman, and subsequently by Livshits, are invaluable for knowledge of the history, and civilization, as well as the economic and social conditions of this part of Central Asia at the moment of the Arab invasion. It is thus a discovery pertinent to that of Pendzhikent dealt with in the following chapter.

(iii) Pendzhikent

Situated some 70 km. east of Samarkand on the Zeravshan just where this impetuous river leaves the mountain gorges and enters the wider valley, and unexplored until 1946, Pendzhikent rapidly became one of the most prominent archaeological sites of Central Asia. This vast and splendid aggregate of Sogdian buildings which dates from the 6th and even the 5th century A.D., witnessed a remarkable civilization and outstanding artistic activity. It was short-lived, however, and came to a sudden end in the 8th century under the impact of Islam. Its last ruler, Divashtich, who as stated in the preceding chapter, fled from the victorious Arabs to his castle on Mount Mugh, was captured and crucified. The Sogdians practically disappeared from history.

Pendzhikent represents not only a great artistic centre, but the history and the civilization of pre-Islamic Sogdiana, and its discovery is a well-deserved reward for the remarkable team of Soviet archaeologists who frequently toil on thankless tasks. The main explorer of Pendzhikent in the years 1947-51 was A.Y. Yakubovskiy and from 1952 A.M. Belenitskiy.

A chronological account and a detailed description of the successive explorations, which are still in full swing and continue to produce spectacular results, are outside the scope of this article. Their interpretation is, however, necessarily tentative and controversial.

The bibliography on Pendzhikent, practically all in Russian, is too rich to be reproduced in full and a selection, containing in addition a few references in English, French and German, has been embodied in the bibliographical list at the end of this survey.

Pendzhikent consists of a fortress, the actual town (Shahrستان) which includes shrines, of a suburb and a necropolis. In addition to the architecture itself, the major features of the site are quantities of wall-paintings, sculpture

and ornaments in clay or plaster, as well as remarkable wood sculpture and carving. They offer a fascinating initiation into the history of pre-Muslim Sogdiana, its mythology, language, arts and handicrafts, warfare, religious beliefs, burial rites, as well as the mode of living and the clothing of the "upper classes". In spite of their frequently bad state of preservation, the secular and religious wall-paintings convey the spirit of mysterious grandeur; they form a bewildering and varied kaleidoscope of fighting warriors, banqueting knights, religious ceremonies, mythological scenes, charming females, as well as monsters and demons. The length of one of the best preserved paintings is almost 15 metres.

Among the paintings discovered in 1958 there was the surprising representation of four women musicians in floating plain robes with a high waist. These unusual dresses recall the French Empire style rather than ancient Sogdian times. When removing the paintings as well as an underlying second plaster coating, the puzzled archaeologists found on its rear the reflected image of an older painting representing a couple of a distinctly foreign type, possibly Chinese. This discovery confirms another made in 1950 which likewise showed one painting superimposed on another.

Fascinating female wooden sculptures of "Indian style" and almost life size, as well as ornamental wood-carvings were preserved thanks to the wood having been calcinated when the site was burnt down.

A characteristic feature of Sogdian civilization was the multiplicity of religious beliefs, among which were Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Manichaeism. There were, moreover, Nestorian bishops in Samarkand and Merv. This multiplicity of influences largely accounts for the still tentative and debatable interpretation of the finds. Whereas some Soviet archaeologists were thinking in terms of Zoroastrianism and Buddhism, others favoured pan-Manichaeism. Recently some scenes on the paintings were believed to be closely related to the content of Ferdausi's famous "Shah Namé", especially its heroes Rustem and Siyavush. The fact that Ferdausi's masterpiece was written several centuries later and presents some dissimilarities with the paintings is not necessarily, however, an argument against such an interpretation which in the light of recent excavations remains quite credible.

The widely spread Central Asian cult, stemming from other ancient creeds, of the seasonally dying and resurgent nature may be underlying the famous painting of the "scene of mourning"; other sculptural ensembles found in Pendzhikent reflect fluvial rites. The goddess sitting on a lion and holding emblems of the sun and the moon, as well as other representations, such as four-armed deities, suggest influences of ancient and remote worship, in some cases astral, and may be compared with the so-called "Sassanian" silver dishes kept in the Hermitage and the British Museum, reproducing kindred subjects. Similarly, the calendar found in the Mount Mugh castle enumerates the days of the Moon, of Mars, Mercurius, Ormuzd, Anahita or Venus; the ancient pre-Sogdian namings have survived until our days. It becomes in fact increasingly evident that in this, as in other cases (e.g. Surkh Kotal), local worship which stemmed from immemorial traditions and mythology, coexisted with other cults. In Asia the word "and" has been and still is more popular than the word "or". It is therefore a matter of doubt whether any single religious belief can give the key to a satisfactory interpretation of the Pendzhikent representations.

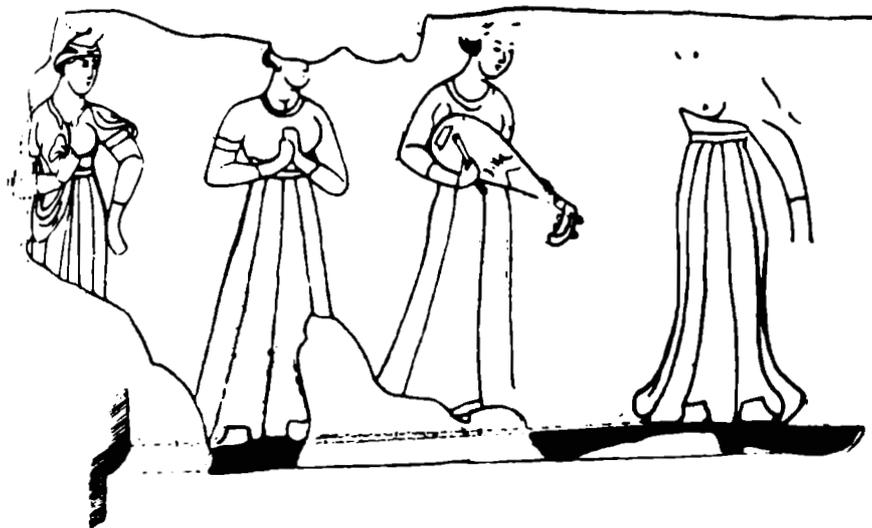


Fig. 1. Pendzhikent : Four female musicians  
(Wall-painting)



Fig. 2. Kalai-Bolo : Carbonized wooden sculpture  
(7th - 8th C. A.D.)

Fig. 3. Pendzhikent : Men feasting under a baldachin  
(Fragment from a large wall-painting)





#### IV. Concluding Remarks

In contrast to Kazakhstan with its primitive tombs and dwellings, or to Kirgiziya with its widely spread Bronze Age culture and its marvellous rock engravings, Tadzhikistan displays within a limited area an astounding diversity of archaeological sites. Although its fame is mostly due to the Pendzhikent paintings, recent explorations throughout the country have led to unexpected discoveries of numerous Stone Age sites, including the most ancient types of Paleolithic. On the other hand less is known, so far, of its Bronze Age.

After the reign of the Kushana had come to an end, Buddhism admittedly declined in the territories under review. The recent discoveries of Buddhist shrines in the Vakhsh valley (Adzhina Tepe) was, therefore, the more unexpected. This, as well as the recent discovery of Buddhist shrines in northern Kirgiziya (see CAR, No.1, 1964), greatly add to our knowledge of the expansion of Buddhism.

With regard to Bactria, there is evidence of the existence of ancient irrigation systems and to some Soviet archaeologists it implies the concomitant existence of big centres as far back as the beginning of the last millennium B.C. Little is actually known of ancient Bactria in that period, but our knowledge begins to widen slightly in this respect. The finds made on the lower Vakhsh, as well as in the Kafimigan region, especially in Kobadiyan and its twin sites Mount Mugh and Kei-Kobad Shah, were the more valuable as their history could be traced back to the 7th century B.C.

Chronology may still be approximate, analysis of pottery and other material may still be tentative, but the results obtained so far are sufficient to suggest that cultural analogies between the territories north and those south of the Oxus existed already in the first half of the last millennium B.C.

The lack of reliable records usually leads to overstatements: this is especially the case with regard to the size and the number of cities, to population, armies (especially those of the enemy!) enemies killed, etc. The lack of factual data and the mania for large numbers account for the "1000 cities of Bactria" and probably also for the alleged splendour of Balkh, "mother of cities".

Be that as it may, the sites of south-west Tadzhikistan are dear to Soviet archaeologists as tokens of Bactrian civilization. Being contiguous to northern Afghanistan this region is bound to be of special interest in connexion with archaeological work done by Western archaeologists, mostly French, south of the Oxus.

Although the creditable sample research made in Balkh by the French Archaeological Delegation represents a rather slender base for Gardin's discerning analysis of Balkh pottery, this French archaeologist made a remarkable effort, not sufficiently known on the Soviet side, to link up the available samples with the Soviet finds, especially at Kobadiyan. The systematic exploration of ancient Balkh is, however, overdue.

On the Soviet side account is frequently taken of the French explorations, especially of Ghirshman's finds in Begram and of Schlumberger's spectacular discoveries at Surkh-Kotal. These explorations south of the Oxus and the Soviet work north of it are obviously complementary not only with

regard to the Graeco-Bactrian and later periods, but still more to the early civilization of Bactria.

It is thus being increasingly realized on both sides that a friendly recognition and sifting of each other's efforts is to mutual advantage in a common task.

The numerous discoveries in Soviet Central Asia in recent years can no longer be ignored or minimized. The discovery of Pendzhikent as well as many others increasingly suggests that these regions had a civilization of their own. Permeated by Iranian and other foreign influences, this civilization was certainly more than a remote recess on the periphery of Iran. Similarly, numerous Soviet archaeologists have shown in recent years that in both their excavations and the scientific treatment of the results, they are inferior to none.

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SA	Sovetskaya Arkheologiya
MIA	Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR
SAI	Svod Arkheologicheskikh Istochnikov (Corpus of archaeological material)
ANT	Ak. Nauk Tadzhikistana
ITN	Istoriya Tadzhikskogo Naroda, Moscow, 1963, Vol. I
DANT	Doklady of the Ak. Nauk Tadzhikistana; IZV ANT: Izvestiya of the ANT; VANT: Vestnik of the ANT
IIAE	Institut Istorii, Arkheologii i Etnografii
Tr. Tad.	Trudy (Returns) of the above Institute
GE	Gosudarstvennyy Emitazh
AR	Arkheologi rasskazyvayut (Archaeologists' Reports) IIAE, Dushanbe, 1959
Po Sl	Po sledam drevnikh Kultur (On the Track of Ancient Civilizations)
MVS	Materialy Vtorogo Soveshchaniya Arkheologov (2nd Conf. of Archaeologists of Central Asia), Dushanbe, 1959
MDAFA	Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan

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1954-61	Annual bibliographies in Tr. Tad. II (1954), III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX (1961)

## B. Selected Alphabetical List

In this list the following presentation has been adopted:

- (i) Books: title in Russian, occasionally abridged. Usually with translation.
- (ii) Articles or chapters in books: usually no title, but reference to content.
- (iii) The annual Surveys of the Tr. Tad. which relate to the archaeological work done during each of the years 1953 to 1961 are referred to in the list by the figures I to IX.
- (iv) The years quoted after the names of the authors are those of the actual publication.
- (v) The letters (A) (B) (P) and (R) relate to publications which contain information on Anthropology, Burial rites, Pottery and Rock engravings.
- (vi) Stalinabad is given under its present name Dushanbe.

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- Ye.A. Manchadskaya 1961 Trudy GE Vol. V (Bactrian and Sogdian rulers, 6th-  
4th centuries B.C.)
- N.N. Negmatov 1959 AR (Khodzhen, Ustrushana) (A)  
A.P. Okladnikov 1956 Tr. Tad. II  
(Stone Age) 1958 MIA 66  
1959 Tr. Tad. IV; MVS
- A.P.O. & V.A. Ranov 1961 Tr. Tad. VI (Kuy-Bul'yen); VII (Kulyab)  
1962 Tr. Tad. XXXIII (Kayrak-Kumy, Khodzh Yagona,  
Naukat)  
1963 ITN (Stone Age)
- V.A. Ranov 1959 Tr. Tad. IV (Pamirs); MVS (Pamirs); AR (Pamirs)  
(Stone Age) V (Vakhsh, Pamirs); AR  
1961 Tr. Tad. VI (E. Pamirs, rock engravings) (R); VII  
(Vakhsh)  
1962 Tr. Tad. VIII (Pamirs, Ak Dzhar); Izv. ANT (28)  
(Lake Karakul')  
1964 MIA 124 (East Pamirs)

- V.A.R. & 1961 Tr. Tad. VII  
 E.D. Saltovskaya (Rock engravings) (R)  
 D. Schlumberger 1953 ARCHAEOLOGY, Vol.6, No.4 (Surkh Kotal)  
 1955 " Vol.8, No.2 "  
 1961 Proceedings of the British Academy XLII (Surkh Kotal)
- B.Y. Staviskiy 1959 AR (Pendzhikent)  
 1963 ITN (History 6th B.C. - 3rd A.D.)
- M.G. Vozobiyeva 1963 ITN (History of Graeco-Bactria, Parthia)
- A.Y. Yakubovskiy 1950 MIA 15 (1946-7 Tadjik Expedition)  
 1951 Po sl (Pendzhikent)  
 1953 MIA 37 (1948-50)  
 1954 ZHIVOPIS' (Pendzhikent)  
 1958 MIA 66 (1951-3)
- N.N. Zabelina 1953 MIA 37 (Kalai-Mir) (P)
- Ye.V.Zeymal 1961 Tr. Tad. VI (Gissar Valley)
- T.I. Zeymal 1959 AR (Vakhsh Valley, Kukhna Kala, Kum Tepe)  
 1961 Tr. Tad. VII (Vakhsh, Adzhina Tepe)  
 1962 Tr. Tad.VIII (Irrigation)  
 1963 ITN
- T.I.Z. & 1962 IZV ANT 1 (28)  
 Ye.V.Zeymal (Treasure of the Oxus)

### The first Tadjik sound film

Twenty-five years ago the premiere of the first Tadjik sound film, THE GARDEN by Nikolay Dostal', took place in Dushanbe.

The story told of a certain gardener, Mamed-Ali, who plants a wonderful garden for the local bey. When the Soviets come to power the bey perishes and the garden belongs to the people. Mamed-Ali lives quietly with his beautiful daughter Zul'fi. Then comes a period of trial. Headed by geologist Said, a band of prospectors come to the kishlak looking for oil, which Mamed-Ali eventually finds in his garden. Should he inform Said and forsake his garden, or not? He decides to do so, but so as not to see the ruin of his life's work he leaves the kishlak. However, later he returns to find oil wells - but his garden too, transplanted tree by tree by faithful friends; and he finds a grandson, for Zul'fi has married Said. KT. 30.5.64

## CRIME AND THE COURTS IN TADZHIKISTAN

### Introduction

In its less realistic moments the Soviet press likes to imagine the USSR as inhabited almost exclusively by an entirely new breed, the "new Soviet man", a being who displays all the civic and private virtues and is in every way superior to any previously known variety of homo sapiens. Reluctantly it is admitted that here and there there are throwbacks who manifest the repulsive vices of capitalist man, but fortunately their number, already very small, is steadily decreasing. Criminal statistics are not available, but a student of the Soviet press is left with a very different picture of Soviet society, and the introduction of the death penalty for certain economic crimes, aggravated rape, attacks by prisoners and attacks on militiamen and voluntary wardens (druzhiniks) in 1961 and 1962 hardly suggests that the Soviet Union is on the eve of eradicating crime.\*

The crimes which are currently given the most publicity in the Soviet press are bribery, embezzlement, speculation, drunkenness and hooliganism. This applies equally to the Muslim republics. In fact, corruption is probably even greater there thanks to the stronger Asian traditions of bribery and of nepotism and favouritism. The main crimes specific to the Muslim people seem to be those against the rights of women. Tadjhikistan has been selected at random to give an idea of the problem of crime in a Central Asian republic, at least as it is reflected in the pages of the Russian-language republican newspaper *KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA* and the central press.

### The bad example of the leaders

Since the introduction of the death penalty for major economic crimes in 1961 and 1962, followed later in 1962 by the return to more active public control of the activity of ministries, industrial enterprises, farms, etc., by the institution of the organs of Party-State control in place of the purely State inspection agencies, a great deal of publicity has been given to the war on bribery, embezzlement and speculation. In Tadjhikistan this campaign came at a time when the First Secretary of the Tadjhik Central Committee, Ul'-dzhabayev, the Second Secretary, the Chairman and a Deputy Chairman of

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\* For the general significance of this extension of the death penalty see "Execution: Hallmark of 'Socialist Legality'" by Leon Lipson and "The Wages of Economic Sin" by Harry Willetts, both in *PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM*, Vol. XI, No. 5, Sept.-Oct. 1962.

the Council of Ministers and 10 other leading Party and Government officials including the Public Prosecutor, had just been removed from their posts and membership of the Central Committee by the VIIIth plenum of the Tadzhik Central Committee (held in April 1961) for grossly inflating the figures for agricultural production in the republic for a number of years, for paying insufficient attention to reports from kolkhozniks about violations of the law and large-scale embezzlement, for nepotism and other abuses. It was said that padding the cotton returns had involved numerous false documents and inevitably provided fertile soil for crime. (KT. 14.4.61) As the new Public Prosecutor, Bulargin, wrote a few months later: "In such an atmosphere speculators, swindlers, thieves and embezzlers of State and public property often went unpunished. Unfortunately the organs of the prosecutor's office, militia and courts were not equal to their task either." However, "as a result of measures taken after the VIIIth plenum. . . a number of serious crimes committed in the preceding years have been uncovered and the culprits prosecuted." (KT. 17.12.61) Although Bulargin described the deeds of Ul'-dzhabayev and the others as "serious mistakes and failures and gross infringements of socialist legality", no legal proceedings appear to have been taken against the major figures in the affair. This is probably because it would have been extremely embarrassing for the regime to put the topmost republican leadership on trial.

#### Bribery in Dushanbe soviet

One of the most important trials for economic crimes in Tadzhikistan reported up to the time of writing was one lasting over two months and involving Babadzhanov, former Chairman of the Executive Committee of Dushanbe soviet; Khasanov, former First Secretary of Dushanbe gorkom; Khuseynov, the former Dushanbe Public Prosecutor; Rakhimov, former Chairman of the Oktyabr'skiy rayon Executive Committee in Dushanbe, and 11 others. Babadzhanov was accused of having traded in State living accommodation and plots of land for bribes in cash and kind, of having spent about 90,000 rubles of State money on doing up his villa and other State funds on drinking bouts, private film shows and a bust of himself, and of having organized the misappropriation of hundreds of kilograms of viscose in a previous post. Furthermore, "exceeding their official powers Babadzhanov and Khasanov interfered in the investigation of criminal cases, put pressure on officials in the prosecutor's office and suggested that cases against out and out rogues should be discontinued on the basis of personal devotion, ties of origin (*zemlyachestvo*), and, of course, for bribes." Babadzhanov was sentenced to be shot and the others to various terms of imprisonment. KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA summed up the case by saying that "the sentence is clear evidence of the putting into practice of the Party's demands that nobody can use his official position to violate the laws of the Soviet regime." (KT. 14.2.63)

Babadzhanov was not the only official of the Executive Committee of the Dushanbe soviet to take advantage of the housing shortage to feather his nest. A number of his subordinates as well as employees of other organizations were sentenced in April 1962 for systematically extorting bribes from citizens in

urgent need of accommodation. (KT. 21.4.62)

### Embezzlement in the food industry

Four major cases of embezzlement in the food industry have been reported in the press. In the first one more than 300,000 rubles were embezzled at the Kostakoz cannery by a group headed by the former director, and including several employees of the republican sovnarkhoz. They speculated in dried fruit which was marketed through contacts in trade organizations in different towns. Sentences of up to 15 years were passed. (KT. 22.1.63) The second case, in the meat and milk industry, only came to court in late 1963 although the crimes were committed in 1959-61. In view of the importance of the case it was investigated by the KGB who handed over 227 volumes of evidence to the court. Altogether about 1,200,000 rubles were embezzled by a group headed by T. Shamil'-zade, an employee of the Dushanbe Meat Packing Plant, and including the director of the plant, several senior officials of the sovnarkhoz, procurement officials and kolkhoz managers. Twenty-three people were in the dock. Shamil'-zade was sentenced to death and the others to terms of imprisonment of up to 15 years. (KT. 11.5.63, 1.12.63, 21.5.64) A loss of hundreds of thousands of rubles was inflicted on the State by a gang of embezzlers in Dushanbe Bakery Combine who sold the products they stole through certain shops in Ordzhonikidzeabad and Kurgan-Tyube rayons and in Dushanbe itself. (KT. 11.5.63)

Continuing embezzlement of "astronomic proportions" in the Leninabad (formerly Khodzhen) Meat Packing Plant was finally brought to light in May 1963 with the publication in KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA (22.5.63) of a letter from an employee in which she wrote that "it is impossible in one letter even to list all the instances of embezzlement and daylight robbery in our Khodzhen Meat Packing Plant." She went on to complain that the managers of the refrigeration and sausage shops who had been caught out embezzling had been allowed to get away with it. "When the inspectors appeared, this [the sausage] shop and others were more like a refreshment bar: the tables groaned under the weight of the food and drink." Further enquiries proved the truth of the facts in the letter and showed how useless local inspections had been and how the Leninabad law enforcement agencies had ignored warning signals about the abuses. When inspectors of the Tadzhik Ministry of Finance came on the scene (even their investigations were "extremely sluggish") they reported that the criminals had destroyed the books for all the shops, but they were able to bring charges against 15 people, including the director, the chief accountant, and the managers of the refrigeration and sausage shops. (KOM.P. 1.8.63)

### Dishonest raykom secretaries

Three important cases of bribery, embezzlement, eye-wash, nepotism and perversion of the course of justice in Kuybyshevsk, Ordzhonikidzeabad and Kirovabad rayons were uncovered after Ul'dzhabayev's removal from the post of First Secretary. (KT. 17.12.61) In each case the secretary of the

rayon Party committee, officials concerned with cotton procurement and kolkhoz managers put large sums of State and kolkhoz money in their pockets through operations involving all sorts of fictitious receipts for cotton deliveries. In Kirovabad rayon the former First Secretary of the raykom and the examiner of the local cotton works got 15 years each, while the 21 other accused, who included the head of the local militia who had accepted bribes for covering up the gang's activities, also received long prison sentences. (KT. 8.1.63) In Ordzhonikidzeabad rayon the four chief offenders were the former secretary of the raykom, whose crimes included taking a total of 7,000 new rubles in bribes during the years 1957-60, and the director of the cotton works and two kolkhoz chairmen who personally misappropriated 24,000, 27,900 and 38,000 new rubles respectively. They were each sentenced to 15 years deprivation of freedom with confiscation of all their property. (KT. 21.8.63)

### Embezzlement and cheating in the trade network

Many of the cases of economic crimes mentioned so far date back to the time when Ul'dzhabayev was First Secretary, but, as the present First Secretary said at the Tadzhik Party plenum held in July 1963: "It is true that since the VIIIth plenum of the Central Committee a considerable amount of work has been done in the republic to put a stop to the criminal activity of many dishonest people who had got themselves into leading posts and shamelessly embezzled national property. But that still does not mean that we have completely got rid of instances of embezzlement. . . The numerous instances of speculation and embezzlement in the Ministry of Trade, in the consumer cooperative movement, in kolkhozes and in construction organizations cause particularly great anxiety." (KT. 10.7.63) The extent to which cheating and speculation are indulged in by employees of both State and cooperative trading concerns is truly impressive but hardly surprising when one sees some of the figures for the number of convicted criminals employed. For instance, as a result of investigations by Party-State control agencies in 1963, 74 persons holding responsible posts in Dushanbe trading organizations who had previous convictions and had continued to commit offences were sacked. (KT. 10.3.64) And in the Kuybyshevsk Rayon Consumers Union until recently there were 16 employees who had previously committed major embezzlements. It was not to be wondered at then that in one of its village shops alone there were 26 speculations totalling 16,500 rubles in 11 months. (KT. 21.1.64) At times unbelievable indulgence is shown towards those discovered cheating or embezzling. Not only are they allowed to remain in their jobs, but they are sometimes even promoted or commended for their work. An instance of this was a crooked shashlyk restaurant manager in Dushanbe with a previous conviction who was awarded 10 certificates of honour in two years. Even when dishonest employees are dismissed they are often allowed to say that they left "at their own wish" or "because of a reduction in staff" and are given good references which enable them to embark on a new career of crime somewhere else. (KT. 7.5.63, 2.8.63) This indulgence on the part of senior personnel is not, of course, entirely due to their soft hearts. For example, when the profiteer Yakubov became chairman of the Rokhata Consumers Society, in seven months he replaced 31 workers

with his own friends. When inspectors discovered major peculations in nine of the 16 shops inspected it was only natural that Yakubov should come to the defence of his proteges. (KT. 18.6.63)

Inspection work in trading organizations is also unsatisfactory and often scheduled inspections are not carried out. This means that "major peculations and embezzlements are only brought to light, as a rule, when shops, stores and warehouses are handed over when workers are released or go on holiday. It is relevant that, because of their fear of being found out, some dishonest people do not take their holidays for years on end." (KT. 7.5.63) A vivid picture of the attitude towards the inspector himself is called up by scenes reminiscent of Gogol's THE INSPECTOR GENERAL which occurred in Leninskiy rayon when a thief and recidivist passed himself off as an inspector and was lavishly wined and dined by all the local trade managers. (KT. 25.9.62)

After an increase in peculation in the trade network in 1962 compared with the previous year, there seems to have been some improvement in 1963. This may be partly due to a number of long sentences meted out to corrupt cooperative officials in 1962 and 1963, and partly to the activities of the Party-State control agencies which devoted a considerable amount of time to investigating trading organizations in 1963. Whether the improvement is likely to last is another matter.

### Speculation

'Speculation' is another problem which is of concern to the authorities in Tadzhikistan. In the Soviet sense the word 'speculation' implies any kind of profiteering "against the laws or public opinion". The criminal variety in Tadzhikistan includes buying up goods in short supply and selling them at a higher price, for example, cars (KT. 17.2.61), and the activities of the various middlemen who buy produce from collective farmers and resell it in the markets (KT. 7.7.63) In some cooperatives all kinds of 'speculators' are entrenched who buy up stolen goods, cut-price merchandise and agricultural produce for resale through the cooperative shops for their own profit. (KT. 21.1.64) Conversely, when the Rokhata Consumers Society procured dozens of tons of dried fruit above the plan, the Chairman Yakubov and his friends marketed 30 tons in all beyond the republic on their own account. (KT. 18.6.63) One of the difficulties in stamping out speculation is that the profiteers are often supplying needs which the State system is unable or too inefficient to satisfy.

### Wage fiddles

While the customer stands a good chance of being cheated in the shops and restaurants, he himself may be engaging in some kind of wage fiddle. Many cases have been reported like that of the record-breaking brigade of house-painters who got forms signed for work they had not done and on 15 jobs alone received illegal payment of 8,000 rubles. (KT. 29.3.62) The extent to which this practice is accepted can perhaps be surmised from an incident in a brigade of Communist labour at the Dushanbe Locomotive Depot. The brigadier, an honest man, was not willing to sign the inflated work returns of some

members of the brigade, so they deliberately beat him unconscious in the park one night saying, "that's so you'll know how to sign our work returns." Even in court the sympathies of other workers in the depot, including Communists, were on the side of the accused. (KT. 7.7.63) Another form of wage fiddling is having several non-existent employees ("dead souls") on the staff to whom wages are paid. For some unknown reason this seems to be particularly common in hospitals, where some of the staff also go in for holding two or more posts and drawing the appropriate number of salaries, though they do no more than an ordinary working day, if that. (KT. 12.4.63, 27.10.63, 25.2.64) A variation on this is provided by the typewriter mechanics in Dushanbe who managed to be full-time employees on the payroll of two, three or even four organizations. (KT. 16.5.63)

### Murder, manslaughter and rape

The only reports on murders in the pages of KOMMUNIST TADZHIK-ISTANA concern those committed in aggravating circumstances in which the death sentence has or is likely to be passed. They are presumably published for their deterrent effect. There have been about nine such reports since the beginning of 1961. Drink and/or a previous record of crime were factors in most of the cases, and a knife was the most common weapon. Three of the cases involved young men. In one Vnuchkov, a Dushanbe garage worker of about 22, broke into the flat of a female acquaintance when drunk and beat her to death when she refused to give him money for more drink. (KT. 31.8.61) In another Leshchinskiy, a lad of about 20, knifed a man in a drunken quarrel at a dance floor in a Dushanbe park. Leshchinskiy's case illustrated the shortcomings of the practice, which was greatly in vogue in 1959-60, of a criminal's former workmates offering to re-educate him. Sentenced to eight years for flagrant hooliganism in 1957 when not more than 17, Leshchinskiy had been released in late 1959 at the request of his former place of work, which had then done nothing to stop him continuing to drink and behave like a hooligan. (KT. 31.8.61, 30.9.61) The third case involving young people was the murder of a woman by a gang of regular thieves while they were burgling her flat. The gang consisted of 10 people, mostly 18-20 year olds, and was headed by Oganyan, a student at the Dushanbe Physical Culture Tekhnikum. The weapon seems to have been a gun, and Oganyan and three others received the death penalty. (KT. 12.1.62)

In view of the authorities continuing uphill struggle against the "feudal-boy" attitude towards women, a lot of publicity was given locally to the murder in Leninabad in January 1961 of a certain Rakhimova, Deputy Head of the Leninabad Oblast Department of Education and a deputy to the town soviet. Rakhimova was stabbed 29 times by her husband, Atayev, a minor administrative employee who had previously done 10 years for embezzling State property and was said to have long persecuted his wife in an effort to make her give up her job. (KT. 11.3.61)

Most recently Aleksandrov, a middle-aged man living in Regar, was sentenced to death for raping and murdering the six-year old daughter of a neighbour. Aleksandrov already had convictions for hooliganism and attempted

rape. (KT. 21.2.64) Following the introduction of the death sentence for aggravated rape in 1962 there has been one report of its application in Tadzhikistan - to the head of a gang who raped a minor in Kurgan-Tyube. (KT. 11.5.63) In another case in Fayzabad rayon when a group of drunken hooligans violated a woman they received only up to 10 years deprivation of freedom (KT. 4.1.63)

A crime which seems to have been regarded as murder, since the death sentence was passed, was the mowing down of several people waiting by the roadside at night by a lorry driven by a certain Makhmudov. Makhmudov was said to have been exceeding the speed limit and to have set out knowing that his headlamps were not working. (KT. 19.1.61)

An unusual case of manslaughter recently involved Mukhamedzhanov, a lecturer at the Dushanbe Medical Institute, and Zaytsev, one of the students. A 19-year old girl died of morphia poisoning after attending a party at Mukhamedzhanov's home. It emerged that, not for the first time, Mukhamedzhanov had dissolved morphia in the wine with the aim of breaking down the girls' resistance. He was given 12 years and Zaytsev five. (KT. 19.12.63)

### Drunkenness and hooliganism

At the plenum of the Tadzhik Central Committee held in July 1963, the First Secretary Rasulov complained that "drunkenness, hooliganism, gang fights (*kollektivnyye draki*) and thefts continue to occur [in the republic]. The fight against hooliganism and drunkenness is conducted feebly, even in Dushanbe." (KT. 10.7.63) This was reiterated by the Minister for the Preservation of Public Order writing in KT. of 4.2.64 when he pointed out that, according to statistics, most cases of murder, rape, hooliganism and road accidents involving loss of life were committed by people who were drunk.

There is little sign that drunkenness is on the decrease. In Kurgan-Tyube, for instance, "the number of 'visitors' to the sobering-up station has noticeably increased recently." (KT. 28.6.62) Despite regulations limiting the sale of vodka and spirits, they are freely on sale at all hours because shops and catering establishments find it the easiest and surest way of fulfilling their plans. Drinking does not seem to be confined only to non-working hours. In the Dushanbe Locomotive Depot not only do "individual workers and even whole shifts turn up for work in an intoxicated state", but "in the repair workshops and at the technical inspection points the workers frequently hold drinking bouts in working hours. Even the former secretary of the Party bureau Nesrorovov engaged in hard drinking at the works." (KT. 7.7.63) Nor do those with a higher education comport themselves any better than their less educated fellow-citizens. Among those who have made a public exhibition of themselves and hit out at militiamen are the director of the Academy of Sciences Publishing House, a surgeon at the Republican Tuberculosis Hospital and a member of the Dushanbe collegium of advocates. (KT. 20.8.61) The trouble is that many of the public condone drunkenness, and no action is taken against offenders. In the first six months of 1962 the Dushanbe sobering-up station on ulitsa Putovskogo sent reports on 1,100 drunks who had caused breaches of the peace to their place of work, but in only 33 cases were replies received that

measures had been taken. (KT. 18.7.62) An employee of a shoe factory who was discovered trying to exchange his wife's shawl, shoes and other belongings for vodka in the square outside Dushanbe station declared: "I always drink for two or three days, and then I make up for lost time. I have clever fingers and so everyone forgives me." (KT. 29.7.63)

Drink is a cause of a great deal of the hooliganism and brawling that occurs in parks, outside cinemas and in other public places. The Central Park in Dushanbe is a black spot. "What the passivity of Party, Komsomol and public organizations leads to can be seen from the abnormal situation in the Central Park of Culture and Rest in the city of Dushanbe. Here drunkards, hooligans and teddy boys. . . feel free to do what they like." (KT. 5.7.63) Hooligans in Sovetskiy Poselok on the outskirts of Dushanbe make it unsafe to go out at night. Young loafers pester passers-by and even beat them up. They whistle or sing obscene songs outside blocks of flats and think nothing of breaking windows. (KT. 26.9.62) There is also a street in Dushanbe known locally as "Shankhayka". When the members of the brigade of Communist Labour at Dushanbe Locomotive Depot beat their brigadier unconscious they carried him here reckoning that it would be thought that the "Shankhay" lads had beaten him up. (KT. 7.7.63) But thanks to an energetic militiaman inhabitants of the airport district of Dushanbe now feel safe when returning home at night. (KT. 10.11.62) Ordzhonikidzeabad, Regar, Nurek and other towns and settlements also suffer from hooliganism, though there has been a substantial improvement recently in Nurek. (KT. 7.3.64)

According to the law, those arrested for petty hooliganism should pay for their expenses in jail and at the same time be shamed into mending their ways by carrying out physical labour in public streets and squares. At one time, writes an inspector of the Ministry of Finance in KT. 6.2.64, there were signs in Dushanbe announcing: "People arrested for petty hooliganism are working here," but these are seen no more. Moreover, many offenders do no physical work at all - the figure was two out of three in Dushanbe in November and December 1963. This means that they lose the moral benefits while the State is out of pocket over their keep. In several other towns minor hooligans get off just as lightly.

Two institutions on which the authorities place great emphasis in the fight with drunkenness, hooliganism and other petty crimes, are the voluntary wardens and the comrades' courts.\* Where these voluntary organizations are active, great successes are claimed in the prevention of crime and the re-education of those who have erred. Unfortunately in many places the wardens are far from active, and occasionally one of their number turns out to be a hooligan himself. (KT. 3.1.63) Also, "with the aim of avoiding unjustified detention of citizens it is necessary to acquaint the wardens with legal knowledge, to hold lectures and publish leaflets and text books for them." (KT.5.2.63)

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\* For further information on both these institutions see "The People Maintain Public Order" in CAR, Vol.IX, 1961, No.3, pp. 272-80.

Similarly, many comrades' courts seem to exist only on paper. But the Government considers that experience has shown that they can be very effective in dealing with petty offenders for whom the prospect of being humiliated before their fellow-workers is much more unpleasant than a fine or a few days under arrest. For this reason the competence of the comrades' courts has recently been extended. (KT. 27.3.64)

### Theft

Ordinary straightforward theft does not make the headlines in KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, but there seems to be a good deal of it going on in one way or another. Pick-pocketing, bag snatching, minor hold-ups, shop-breaking and house-breaking have all been reported. Fish are becoming rarer and rarer in some of the rivers and reservoirs of Tadzhikistan because of the activities of poachers who take whole lorry loads of their illegal catch to the markets in the towns. (KT. 12.7.63) There is also a good deal of petty pilfering in factories and on the farms. The situation is particularly bad at the Dushanbe Meat Packing Plant where "several hundred" people were detained in the first six months of 1963 attempting to steal from one to 10 or more kilograms of meat products. The same people are caught time and time again. One man was recently detained at lunch time trying to steal about 3kg. of meat and the same day after work he was caught trying it on again. All he got was a fine of 10 rubles from the comrades' court, but in most cases no action is taken at all. (KT. 14.7.63)

### Crimes committed by minors

As in other countries young criminals seem to be a particular problem. According to the Public Prosecutor "in a number of places the incidence of infringements of the law among minors has increased" (KT. 11.5.63) and the Tadzhik Minister for the Preservation of Public Order wrote recently that: "The war on offences committed by minors, which occurs as a result of serious shortcomings in the work of the militia, the educational organs and the whole of our society, demands special attention." Among the reasons he gave for juvenile crime were non-enforcement of the law on compulsory universal education and the difficulties adolescents have in getting jobs in some places. He listed Dushanbe, Leninabad and Kurgan-Tyube among the places with bad records for juvenile crime. (KT. 4.2.64) It will already be evident from the accounts of the capital murder cases above that minors are involved in even the most serious crimes.

An unsatisfactory home background naturally plays a big part in crime amongst the young. For example, there was the boy whose father was in prison and whose mother got drunk and had doubtful companions. Left to himself he got into the clutches of criminals and committed a serious crime for which he received four years. (KT. 11.5.63) Another boy, whose father turned him out on the street, also fell in with criminals and has already done two prison sentences. Then there was 14-year old Viktor and his 10-year old brother who stole 196 rubles in a shop and gave half to their father who showed no interest

In where it had come from. The same article quotes the case of a boy who resorted to theft when he was unable to get a job, and of the youth Obvintsev who organized a gang of juveniles who committed thefts in Dushanbe shops. The Komsomol organizations are blamed for not doing more to prevent crime and for the re-education of those already convicted. At times they even display unfounded suspicion towards the latter, thus pushing them into the arms of undesirable companions. In Dushanbe, of the total of minors arrested by the militia 53 per cent are school-children, including Komsomol members. (KT. 6.1.63) School-children and youngsters making their own radio sets, etc. are among the chief culprits in the very extensive damage done to phone-boxes in Dushanbe. In the first two months of 1964 about 200 receivers and several dozen other items of equipment were damaged or removed from phone-boxes in the city. (KT. 25.3.64)

### Crimes against the rights of women

The emancipation of women is far from complete among the Central Asian peoples, and the Tadzhiks are perhaps the most backward of all in this respect. This leads to various infringements of the laws on compulsory education and marriage, many of which go unpunished because a considerable section of public opinion is on the side of the offenders. Native girls are often withdrawn from school before they have completed their compulsory education, and nobody seems to do much about it. In Asht the authorities covered up the absence of 40 girls by continuing to list them among the pupils and giving them imaginary marks for attendance and performance. (KT. 23.5.61)

The parents take their daughters away from school to marry them off in complete disregard of the laws stipulating a minimum age of 18 and mutual consent. Sixteen, 15 and even 14-year-olds have been married in kishlaks in Ordzhonikidzeabad rayon, for example, while the local kolkhoz and sovkhaz managers and Party officials turn a blind eye or say they had no idea the girl was so young. (KT. 29.9.63) And it is the same story in other rayons and even in Dushanbe. In a number of cases officials of the prosecutor's office and the courts connive at this, and there have been dozens of instances where the local ZAGS (registrar's office) have falsified the ages of girls who are then married off by force. There were three cases of this in Dushanbe in a year, 11 in Rokharv kishlak soviet, six in Kushtepa kishlak soviet, and so on. (KT. 28.4.62) Many of the offenders are school-teachers who take a fancy to one of their pupils. Thus in Maskovskiy rayon seven teachers have recently been before the courts for marrying their under-age pupils. (KT. 16.8.63) In another instance a school-teacher married two of his 15-year-old pupils to his sons after persuading the local ZAGS official to alter their ages. (KT. 29.6.62) In yet another case the head of a kishlak library carried off an under-age girl by force during her exams and married her. The secretary of the kolkhoz Party organization and other Communists knew about the forthcoming marriage but did nothing to stop it, while the offender's father, a Communist and teacher, and his sister, also a teacher, did their best to persuade her not to resist. (KT. 16.8.63)

Of course, not all the offenders get away with it. In Pyandzh rayon it is claimed that those who forbid their daughters to attend school are prosecuted, while in November 1962 a man who took a 13-year-old girl to Uzbekistan and married her there got two years. Another man got a prison sentence for giving his under-age daughter in marriage for kalym. (KT.30.5.63) In Tadzhibabad rayon two men have been sentenced for giving and accepting kalym, while a certain Saidov in Leninskiy rayon has been severely punished for persecuting a minor who finally committed suicide rather than marry him. (KT. 28.4.62) In a similar case in Ordzhonikidzeabad rayon, where a girl committed suicide, her father and her prospective husband were both punished by the courts. (KT. 9.8.63)

There are still cases of bigamy both in the towns and in the kishlaks. In the Kurgan-Tyube production directorate, for instance, three men - a kolkhoznik, a teacher and a despatcher - are said to have two wives each with the connivance of local Party and soviet officials. (KT.9.8.63) One bigamist, and a school-teacher at that, was quite unrepentant. After doing time for bigamy he resumed both his teaching and his cohabitation with two wives, and was again arrested and sentenced. (KT. 17.12.61)

#### Other crimes

Among the other crimes that have been reported in Tadjikistan are one case of counterfeiting (KT. 11.10.61) and one of running a gambling den (KT. 23.3.61), and there have been two reports of sentences for slander. (KT. 11.5.63, 30.5.63) A few 'idlers' and 'parasites' have been banished from the towns for a period. The laws against parasitism have also been used against self-appointed mullas and other religious functionaries.

Abuses which seem to be widely tolerated occur in the use of land or housing. The public prosecutor of Leninskiy rayon has complained that kolkhozes, the rayispolkom and the courts in the rayon all take an extremely liberal attitude towards those who illegally occupy State or kolkhoz land. Usually the few who are brought to court get off with a conditional sentence or a fine, and when they are given a term of imprisonment the Tadjik Supreme Court often reduces the sentence. (KT. 10.10.63) Similarly, there are many shortcomings in the application of the 1962 law on the confiscation of houses acquired with unearned income or used to make a profit. (KT. 14.1.64) Another problem that is frequently mentioned is the illegal dismissal of workers. An instance of this occurred in the Ministry of Communal Economy when the head of a department, Nazhmetdinov, sacked his personnel inspector because the latter spoke up about non-fulfilment of their production plan and wage payments to "dead souls". At first Nazhmetdinov ignored the court's order that he should reinstate the personnel inspector and pay for the latter's enforced idleness. Finally he gave in but the compensation was paid not from his own pocket but from State funds. Nazhmetdinov should have been prosecuted but, as in many similar cases, no action has been taken against him. (KT. 26.10.63)

### Corruption in the courts and law enforcement agencies

One of the reasons why crime flourishes in Tadzhikistan is undoubtedly the corruption which has reached right up to the highest court officials in the republic. In the report on the dismissal of the First Secretary Ul'dzhabayev and others it was stated that "the Public Prosecutor of the republic, Kh. Khuseynov, is a fawner and toady. . . . He not only wages a feeble struggle for the observance of socialist legality but, as has been established, he took a direct part in the padding of the reports on raw cotton procurements in Leninskiy rayon." (KT. 14.4.61) A few months later PRAVDA carried an article condemning the activities of the Chairman of the Tadzhik Supreme Court, Nazarov. In an astonishing case a certain kolkhoz chairman, Siyarov, and his friends had between them misappropriated about 2,000,000 rubles from the kolkhoz. Siyarov was sentenced to 20 years, but two years later he was free and shortly afterwards back in the same kolkhoz as deputy chairman. The angry kolkhozniks, who had heard rumours that Siyarov was a friend of Nazarov and of the former Public Prosecutor Khuseynov, sent more than one appeal to republican agencies including the Central Committee, but with no result. They then appealed to PRAVDA. Investigations showed that although Siyarov had been found guilty of personally misappropriating 150,000 rubles, it had been described in the court findings as an "infringement of the kolkhoz charter" and not as embezzlement. This gave the Tadzhik Supreme Court technical ground for releasing him. Moreover, the kolkhoz was ordered to pay Siyarov another 33,000 rubles! The local Party committee hastened to restore his Party membership and recommended him for the kolkhoz post. The USSR Public Prosecutor's Office protested against Siyarov's release, but Nazarov, on the advice of the Deputy Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, deliberately let the time limit for discussing it run out. Nazarov was also involved in other cases where major criminals were acquitted or had their sentences quashed. In PRAVDA's words: "All these facts show that everything is not well in the judicial organs of the republic." (PR. 17.1.62)

Both Kh. Khuseynov and Nazarov lost their jobs but no legal action seems to have been taken against them. Some of their lesser colleagues have not been so lucky. The Dushanbe prosecutor N. Khuseynov, who was involved in the Babadzhanov case, was given eight years for bribe-taking and perverting the course of justice (KT. 14.2.63), and the head of the Kirovabad rayon militia received 10 years for the same crimes. (KT. 8.1.63) Other militiamen, court officers and employees of the prosecutor's office have also been sentenced for bribery. In the Gomo-Badakhshan AO it is said that many cases of embezzlement have been collecting dust in the oblast prosecutor's office because some of the local prosecutors and court officials deliberately hamper investigations and protect the embezzlers. (KT. 16.10.63)

### Other shortcomings

At a plenum of the Tadzhik Supreme Court in early 1964 it was noted that substantial work had been done by various agencies in the fight with crime and "as a result convictions have decreased somewhat in the republic." (KT.

26.3.64) But it is admitted that the number of crimes registered is still high, particularly in Dushanbe where an investigation by officials of the all-Union and Tadzhik Central Committees in January 1964 showed that over one-third of all the offences committed in the republic are registered. Moreover, their number was not decreasing. (PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No.10, 1964, p.9)

There are still many shortcomings in the work of the militia and the courts.

Crime detection (*raskryvayemost'*) is said to be poor in Dushanbe, Kurgan-Tyube, Nurek, the Gorno-Badakhshan AO and Nau rayon. Many investigators and militiamen grossly infringe the time limits for carrying out preliminary enquiries and there is a lot of red tape and formalism. Scientific methods of detection are "very rarely" used, largely because officials do not know how to take advantage of them. (KT. 13.4.63)

As regards the courts, there is also room for considerable improvement. Not only are there cases of unduly lenient or unduly harsh sentences, but there are still cases of innocent citizens being convicted and guilty ones let off. (KT. 6.4.63) In one case in Nau rayon when the court sentenced a man to three years banishment for leading a parasitic life, he had to be sacked from his job in order that the court order could be carried out. (KT. 11.5.63)

### Conclusion

In the absence of any statistics it is impossible to tell whether or not there is a steady decrease in the crime rate in Tadzhikistan, as the press claims there is. There may well have been a decline in the number of serious crimes of violence, but there is no doubt that, in spite of the introduction of the death penalty for serious economic crimes and the efforts of the Party-State control agencies, bribery, embezzlement and speculation are still widespread, and it is difficult to see how they can be stamped out as long as the chronic shortages and the inflated bureaucracy of the Soviet system, which provide such favourable soil for them, persist. It could, of course, be argued that the exposure of the crimes and mal-practices featured so prominently in the press is proof of the vigilance of the authorities and of their determination to raise the standard of public and private morality. It is, however, difficult to avoid the impression that this standard is certainly no higher, and is in some respects lower than in the adjoining non-Soviet countries where such severe penalties are never resorted to and where behaviour is regulated by tradition and sense of propriety rather than by official injunction and propaganda.

It is interesting to note that many of the swindles and abuses which have been "unmasked" appear to have been conducted quite openly and with the connivance, if not with the actual participation, of highly placed Party officials. The latter are sometimes relieved of their duties but there is seldom any mention of their being brought to justice.

## IRRIGATION AND WATER SUPPLIES IN KAZAKHSTAN - PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS

Exploitation of the agricultural and mineral resources of Kazakhstan, two-thirds of whose territory is arid, depends on the availability of large quantities of water. New schemes are, therefore, constantly being devised to tap the rivers and other sources, and channel water to the areas where it is needed. The present article examines the progress made on various projects since 1959,\* new plans to increase water supplies, and the extent to which efficient use is made of the supplies already available. The main emphasis is on irrigation, but the construction of major canals, reservoirs and pipe-lines for industrial and domestic needs and the provision of wells on the desert and steppe grazing lands are also dealt with.

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I. General - II. Alma-Ata Oblast - III. South-Kazakhstan Kray  
- IV. West-Kazakhstan Kray - V. Tselinnyy Kray - VI. The Irtysh  
River - VII. Karaganda Oblast - VIII. Underground Sources

### I. General

#### New emphasis on irrigation

In a speech to a meeting of agricultural workers of the North Caucasus in Krasnodar on 26 September 1963, Khrushchev declared that one of the measures which the Party was taking to prevent grain shortages such as occurred as a result of the poor harvest of 1963 was greatly to increase the amount of grain grown on irrigated land where the yield is high and, more important, the harvest guaranteed even in years of unfavourable weather. Khrushchev saw increased grain production from irrigated land coming partly from increasing the proportion of grain crops grown on land already irrigated and partly from an all-out extension of irrigated farming. Inevitably Khrushchev's remarks led to a spate of conferences and articles on irrigation in the individual republics, and the subject was discussed at a plenum of the Kazakh Central Committee in

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\* For developments up to the end of 1959 see CAR, Vol. VIII, 1960, No. 1, pp. 44-51, and No. 2, pp. 147-50.

November 1963. This was the occasion for much criticism of the efficiency of irrigated farming at present, as well as an examination of future possibilities.

#### Poor use of land and low yields

In 1963 there were 1,280,000 ha. of land prepared for perennial irrigation in Kazakhstan, mostly in South-Kazakhstan kray and Alma-Ata oblast. This was only four per cent of the total crop acreage, but despite "very serious shortcomings" in its use, it produced more than 20 per cent of the republic's agricultural produce. A few kolkhozes and sovkhoses have managed to obtain high yields and also two harvests a year on irrigated land, but in general yields everywhere are very low and some land is not used at all. In 1963, for instance, 258,000 ha. or more than one-sixth, were not used. Bad management is largely to blame for low yields as can be seen from the dozens of examples of adjacent kolkhozes using the same water source which achieve widely differing results.

#### Poor techniques and lack of mechanization

It is quite clear that very radical improvements in irrigation techniques and the condition of the irrigation systems will have to be made if the land is to produce anything near its maximum. At present a crop requiring several waterings in a season is often planted on land where only one or two are possible, or vice-versa. In Dzhambul oblast, for instance, in 1963 maize was planted on 11,000 ha. of land where only one watering was possible, as a result of which no grain was harvested and the yield for silage was also extremely low. The crops were not tended properly, watering was not carried out at the right time and much of it not at all, and far too little fertilizer was applied. Moreover, the commonly used method of flooding and inexpert furrow irrigation ruin the soil. In 1963 spray irrigation was used on only 1.2 per cent of the irrigated area, and the system of elongated furrows (udlinennyye borozdy) on only seven per cent. The low level of mechanization means that more time is spent on watering per hectare than on all the other work involved in growing and harvesting the crop. Since Kazakhstan is short of manpower, mechanization is more important than elsewhere, apart from the fact that it increases the yield. At the same time there is an urgent need for the mirabs and waterers to be instructed in modern methods. In an effort to increase their efficiency a new system of payment by results is being introduced.

#### Condition of irrigation networks

Efforts have been made to improve the condition of irrigation systems on farms in recent years, but many of them are in a deplorable state. Only seven per cent of the irrigated area of the republic is covered by engineering systems. The absence of hydro-technical installations on canals etc. means that a lot of time and labour have to be spent on the construction of primitive temporary barrages of brushwood, earth, stones and reeds. Furthermore, most canals are not lined, as a result of which losses through seepage are very high. Of 11.6

milliard cu.m. of water taken for irrigation in 1963 only 4.7 milliard or 41 per cent reached the fields. It has been calculated that, if anti-seepage measures were taken, the water supply could be improved to roughly 440,000 ha. and an extra 100,000 ha. of land could be irrigated. The outlay per hectare of developing this new land, including the cost of lining the canals, would amount to no more than 600-700 rubles and a further advantage is that it would be in inhabited areas where the people already have experience of irrigation. The lack of drainage systems has also led to large areas of land becoming useless through salination and waterlogging. Though it is clearly more economic to maintain and improve existing systems, local authorities have preferred up till now to spend vast sums on new irrigation works. The resolution adopted at the Kazakh plenum in November 1963 called for an immediate improvement in the state of existing networks and the restoration of lands which have fallen out of use. One writer has also suggested that if kolkhozes and sovkhozes were made to pay for their water they would not be so unconcerned about wasting it.

### Basin irrigation

Experience has shown that basin irrigation can produce valuable crops of grain and fodder, but local organizations have been neglecting it and allowing the area to decrease each year. Thus in 1958 there were 914,000 ha. of basin irrigation, in 1962, 773,000 ha. and in 1963 only 589,000 ha. A target figure of at least 1,024,000 ha. of basin irrigation has been set for 1964.

### Construction of new irrigation works

It has been estimated that the existing water and land resources in the republic are sufficient to allow an eventual increase in the area of perennial irrigation from 1.3 million ha. to 5 million ha., and of basin irrigation from 1 million ha. to 3.5 - 4 million ha. By 1970 it is reckoned that an extra 1.2 million ha. of new land could be perennially irrigated, bringing the total up to 2.5 million ha., but this figure is probably somewhat optimistic as it includes extensions from projects to which final approval has not yet been given. Most of the increase will come from new canals and reservoirs on the Syr-Dar'ya, Ili and Chu, as well as the Irtysh-Karaganda canal, the Ural-Kushum system and the projected Volga-Ural canal. The average cost of development of 1 ha. of new irrigated land has been calculated as 2,200 rubles, of which 1,000 rubles go on irrigation works and 1,200 on reclamation, but this is said to be recouped in a maximum of two years. Unfortunately plans for new irrigation and other water projects fall behind schedule year after year. The main reasons given for this are backward methods of construction and the lack of pre-cast concrete. Another complaint has been that too many organizations have been involved in irrigation and water projects. It was presumably to remedy this that the Kazakh Ministry of Water Resources was transformed into the Ministry of Irrigated Farming and Water Resources in November 1963, absorbing a number of other (unspecified) bodies.

## II. Alma-Ata Oblast

The biggest new project in Alma-Ata oblast is to irrigate up to 450,000 ha. in the lower reaches of the Ili following the construction of the Kapchagay hydroelectric power-station in a ravine on the Ili near the town of Ili, some 65 km. north of Alma-Ata. Preliminary work on the site began at the end of 1962. The earth dam will be 60 metres high and behind it will extend a reservoir 170-180 km. long and 22 km. wide which will impound two year's discharge of the river. It is expected to start filling in 1966 or 1967. The scheme will produce very cheap electricity, prevent flooding and improve navigation. Rice and fodder crops will be grown on the irrigated land and there will be musquash and silver fox farms as well as fisheries.

In March 1964 the Kok-Su left bank canal, one of the biggest in Semirech'ye, was commissioned. From a barrage on the Kok-Su river it brings water to 20,000 ha. of land in Taldy-Kurgan and Karatal production directorates. Sugar beet will be the main crop. Another area which is expected to be irrigated in the near future for growing sugar beet is the Alakul' region, while 70,000 ha. will be watered in the region of the Kulaga and Chilik - Alma-Ata canals, primarily for growing maize and cereals. Precise details of these schemes are not known, but the two canals are probably connected with the Chilik and Issyk hydroelectric schemes for supplying water and electricity to Alma-Ata.

## III. South-Kazakhstan Kray

### Dzhambul oblast

In 1963 there were 240,000 ha. of land provided with irrigation systems in Dzhambul oblast. The target is to increase the area of perennial irrigation to 300,000 ha. by 1970 by continuing to develop land along the Merke branch of the Great Chu canal, by the construction of the Tash-Utkul reservoir and other works, and by improving the existing systems. No details have been given of the Tash-Utkul reservoir which will be in the middle course of the Chu. The Merke or Kazakh section of the Great Chu Canal seems to have come into full operation in January 1963. It is mechanized and large sections are faced with concrete to cut down losses through seepage. Sugar beet is the main crop.

### Chimkent oblast

In 1963 there were 232,000 ha. of irrigated land in Chimkent oblast, and this figure was expected to increase by 360,000 ha. by 1970. Cotton and maize are the chief crops at the moment, but in future more rice will be grown.

Work on the Chardara reservoir, with a storage capacity of 5,700 million cu.m. of water, is nearing completion and it is expected to start filling in autumn 1964. It will feed the 200 km. Kyzylkum canal on the left bank of the Syr-Dar'ya which will provide perennial irrigation for 200,000 ha. of mostly rice and maize (early frosts make it difficult to grow cotton in the area),

basin irrigation for the same area, and water for four million ha. of pastures. On the right bank of the Syr-Dar'ya water will be pumped from the Chardara reservoir to irrigate another 50,000 ha. Twenty-two sovkhoses will be set up along the Kyzylkum canal to grow grain, of which they are expected to produce 19.2 million puds by 1970. A number of sovkhoses producing fruit and grapes have also been suggested.

Construction of the Arys-Turkestan canal continues to drag out interminably. One paper reported optimistically that it would be finished in 1963, but in November 1963 only about two-thirds of the capital allocated for the scheme had been used, so presumably a considerable amount of work still remains to be done (see CAR, 1962, No.3, p.267 and map). It is designed to irrigate 124,000 ha. In 1963, 26,000 ha. were irrigated in three new cotton sovkhoses, and in 1964 the figure was expected to rise to 43,600 ha. The main crop irrigated by the Arys-Turkestan canal will be cotton. The cotton acreage in the oblast will also be extended by the construction of the Charvak hydraulic complex in Uzbekistan which was started in January 1963. It will improve the irrigation of 40,000 ha. in Chimkent oblast and bring water for the first time to a further 113,000 ha.

The reconstruction of a number of older irrigation networks in the oblast is in hand, including the Shaul'der, Kur-Keles and Kent-Baldybrek, which will enable them to irrigate a larger area than at present.

### Kzyl-Orda oblast

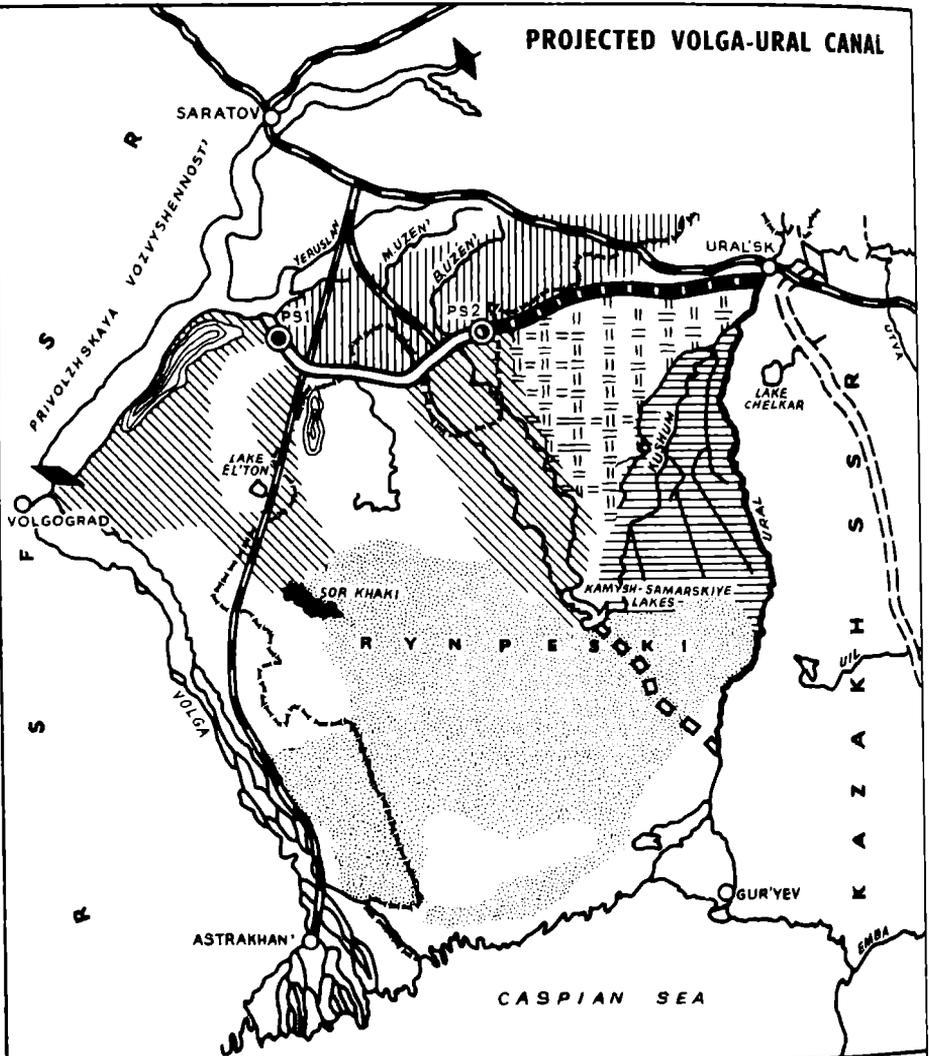
In 1963 there were 235,000 ha. in Kzyl-Orda oblast with irrigation systems, but only 85,000-95,000 ha. were being used. The old systems are in urgent need of modernization. At the same time there have been delays in reclaiming new land. The Kzyl-Orda hydraulic complex started to function in 1956, but work has only just started on irrigating an area of over 180,000 ha. on the left bank of the Syr-Dar'ya, while in November 1963 there were not even any work plans for the right bank tract of over 60,000 ha. A similar situation is likely to arise over the Kazalinsk hydraulic complex, on which work started at the end of 1962, since, up to November 1963, no one had got down to drawing up plans for the related irrigation systems. The Kazalinsk project involves a dam on the Syr-Dar'ya near Kazalinsk from which three canals will run to the left and right, supplying water to about 400,000 ha. of pastures and meadows and 60,000 ha. of rice and maize crops. The Chiili area is the third one in the oblast where an extension of irrigation is expected. It has been estimated that an extra 40,000 ha. can be irrigated here by 1970. This may be connected with the long projected scheme at Yany-Kurgan which has recently been mentioned again.

### IV. West-Kazakhstan Kray

At present there is very little perennial irrigation in West Kazakhstan kray where the emphasis has been on livestock rather than crops. Only 9,600 ha. are irrigated along the Ural river for growing melons, potatoes and fruit. But



# PROJECTED VOLGA-URAL CANAL



**HYDRAULIC COMPLEXES:**  
 Existing and under construction.  
 Planned.

**PROJECTED VOLGA-URAL CANAL:**  
 First Stage.  
 Second Stage.  
 Pumping stations of first (2) and second (1) stages.

**POSSIBLE VARIANTS:**  
 Gravity-fed Ural-Emba canal.  
 Gravity-fed canal feeding spawning grounds in lower reaches of river.

**ZONES:**  
 Water supplied by pumps.  
 Gravity flow.  
 Kushum irrigation system (under construction).  
 Basin irrigation.  
 Overflows.  
 Ancient delta lands.  
 Channels of rivers transformed by Volga-Ural canal.

Based on map in 60 dney po pyatidesyatoy paralleli by V. Boldyrev and S. Rozanov (Moscow, 1963)

in 1964, 6,600 ha. of basin irrigation are being planted with grain and this figure will be increased to 15,000 ha. in 1965.

The main scheme under construction in West Kazakhstan is the Ural-Kushum system. (See CAR, 1960, Vol.VIII, No.2, pp.148-9 and map.) Work started in 1957, and by November 1960 the main work on the Dungulyuk hydraulic complex and the first part of the Taypak and Furmanovo canals had been completed. The Dungulyuk or Taypak reservoir holds 57 million cu.m. of water and the headwork of the Taypak canal started functioning in September 1961. Since then there have been no reports of progress, but in discussing the question of growing more grain crops on irrigated land the secretary of the Ural'sk rural obkom suggested that construction should be speeded up in every way so as to complete the project by 1967 at the latest. At the same time he suggested that modifications should be made to the design. When the Ural-Kushum system was drawn up the needs of animal husbandry were paramount and the question of growing grain was not considered. Hence the design allowed for only 10,000 ha. of perennial irrigation with 65,000 ha. of basin irrigation and the watering of 1,300,000 ha. of pasture. The secretary of the Ural'sk rural obkom would like to see the area of perennial irrigation increased to 50,000 ha.

Water from the Ural river is also being used in Gur'yev oblast where the first stage of the Naryn system was reported to have been completed in May 1963. Water was flowing along a 33 km. canal through the Makhambet production directorate land to water over 30,000 ha. of pastures and hayfields. Other projects under construction in the oblast are the Achisay and Kuraylysay canals, and the Aral'yube irrigation system on the Emba. The latter is planned to provide 10,000 ha. with perennial irrigation and 25,000 ha. with basin irrigation.

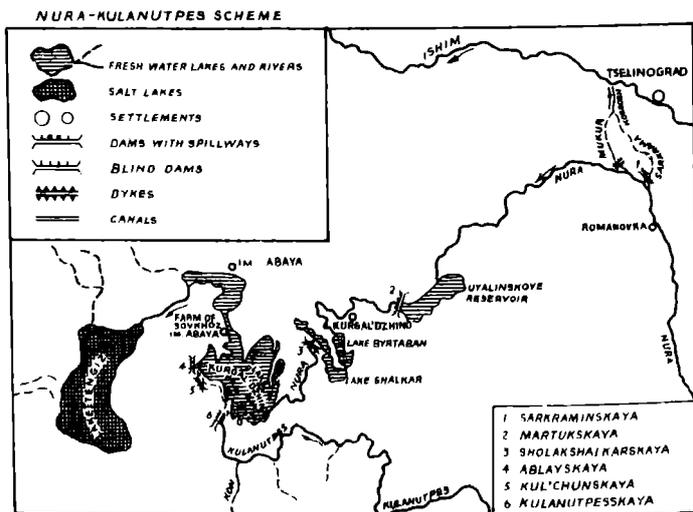
However, with the Caspian getting shallower (both because it is going through one of its natural cycles of shrinkage and because the construction of hydroelectric power-stations on the Volga has reduced the amount of water which flows into the Caspian - see CAR, 1957, No.2, pp.212-15), the fishing beds of the Caspian are suffering, the Ural delta is drying up and local agricultural conditions have deteriorated. The Ural river itself is getting shallower and is likely to get even more so with the construction of further hydroelectric stations and irrigation systems in its upper reaches in the RSFSR and the use of its water for towns and settlements in Gur'yev oblast and the Emba oilfields. Fears have even been expressed about its ability to feed the Ural-Kushum system. The solution proposed for these difficulties is a canal linking the Volga and Ural rivers. The idea of a Volga-Ural canal was first mooted in about 1951 when the Volgograd hydroelectric scheme was under construction. A 500 km. gravity flow canal was proposed running from the head-race of the Volgograd reservoir north of the Kamysh-Samarskiye lakes to the settlement of Kalmykovo on the Ural. But this plan, which would have benefited only animal husbandry and only the southern part of the area, was shelved. By 1960 a new plan had been worked out. The latest version of this envisages a 425 km. navigable canal with powerful pumping stations running much further north and joining the Ural near Ural'sk. The canal would feed the Ashche-Uzen', Bol'shoy Uzen' and Malyy Uzen' rivers and supplement the flow of the

Ural, making possible the perennial irrigation of 330,000 ha. and the watering of 5.5 million ha. of grazing lands. In addition a large reservoir would be built at Rubezhka, 45 km. from Ural'sk, from which a 500 km. gravity flow canal would run south to the Emba providing perennial irrigation for 104,000 ha. The whole scheme depends on increasing the discharge of the Volga by diverting some northern rivers, which at present flow into the Arctic, into one of its tributaries, the Kama. No decision has been taken yet to go ahead with the Volga-Ural canal, but its realization in the near future is regarded as a distinct possibility.

## V. Tselinnyy Kray

### Scheme for the lower reaches of the Nura and Kulanutpes

A scheme for the exploitation of the water resources of the lower reaches of the Nura and Kulanutpes rivers in Tselinnyy kray, drawn up by the Department of Geography of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences, has been approved at a joint conference of the department and the Kazakh Branch of the USSR Geographical Society. At present the Nura flows through a number of freshwater and salty lakes before finally emptying into the bitter salt Lake Tengiz. It is proposed that the flow of the lower courses of the Nura and Kulanutpes should be regulated, thus raising and stabilizing the level of the intermediate lakes and reducing the size of Lake Tengiz. This would be done by diverting the Kulanutpes into Lake Kurgal'dzhin and damming the outflow of the Nura and Kul'chun from the same lake. Lake Kurgal'dzhin would then be stabilized at the high 1959 and 1961 level. Water would be discharged from Lake Kurgal'dzhin via a 3.5 km. canal from the Sultanke'l'dy inlet to the north-east bay



(Based on map in *Vestnik Akademii Nauk, SSSR*, 1963, No. 2)

of Lake Tengiz. As a result this part of Lake Tengiz would become a fresh water lake which could be used for fish-farming and improving the water supplies of a local sovkhos. By building two dams with spillways higher up the Nura seven existing lakes would merge into two large reservoirs holding 300,000,000 cu.m. of fresh water each. In years when the Nura was carrying more water than the lakes needed the surplus could be diverted along the Sarkrama river into the Ishim by building a spillway in the dam erected there in 1932. This would make it possible to reduce considerably the capacity of the spillways lower down the river and consequently make the dams much cheaper to build. The result of completely stopping the flow of the Nura and Kulanutpes into Lake Tengiz for three to four years would be to half its size and increase its concentration of salts three or four-fold, thus turning it into a major source of mirabilit and other natural salts. The enlarged fresh-water lakes could be used to extend fish-farming, to produce reeds for use in construction and as fodder, to increase the number of water-fowl, to improve water-supplies to sovkhos and kolkhozes in the kray, to irrigate vegetable crops and for recreational purposes.

#### Reservoirs and water mains in Tselinnyy Kray

A number of reservoirs and conduits are projected or under construction in Tselinnyy kray. Some of them are being built primarily for industrial and domestic needs in the towns, while others are to supply fresh water to numerous rural settlements and sovkhoses. The reservoirs for industry and town water supplies are:

1. A reservoir holding 50 million cu.m. of water on the Shortandy river near the asbestos town of Dzhetygara. Work started in 1961 and the reservoir started filling in 1963. There are plans to build another large reservoir on the same river in the next few years.
2. The Amangel'dy on the Tobol river 10 km. from Kustanay. This started to fill in 1963.
3. The Karatamar near Rudnyy just below the confluence of the Tobol and Ayat rivers. The capacity of this reservoir is about 700 million cu.m. and it is designed primarily to supply the needs of the Sokolovsko-Sarbay Ore Refining Combine and future combines in the area. Construction is under way and it was expected that the right bank dam would reach its planned height of 17 m. in 1963.
4. The Vyacheslavskoye on the Ishim at the village of Vyacheslavovka 50 km. from Tselinograd. This reservoir, holding 4 million cu.m., is designed to provide water for Tselinograd and the surrounding settlements. There have been no reports that work has actually started.

By 1970 it is hoped to lay 11 or 12 large water mains in Tselinnyy kray with a total length of over 15,000 km. At present hundreds of sovkhoses, kolkhozes and settlements in the area suffer from a chronic shortage of fresh water which they sometimes have to transport up to 30 km. or more. Work is going ahead well on the first two, the Ishim and Bulayevo, which were begun

in 1961 and are expected to be completed in 1965 as scheduled. To feed them a large reservoir is being erected near the village of Sergeevka on the Ishim which will have a storage capacity of 700 million cu.m. From the reservoir the gigantic fan-shaped pipe systems will bring 118,000 cu.m. of water a day to hundreds of farms and settlements in North-Kazakhstan, Kustanay and Kokchetav oblasts. It has been estimated that this water will cost about 10 kopecks a cu.m. instead of the 2-4 rubles being paid at present.

The other projected conduits include the Pavlodar water main, designed to supply 60,000 cu.m. of water a day from the Irtysh to settlements in the western part of the oblast, the Presnovka water main with a total length of about 2,300 km., the 1,200 km. long Nura water main in Tselinograd oblast which will draw water from the Nura and Tersakkan rivers and underground sources, the Kustanay water main and others. In addition it is planned to construct 570 ponds and reservoirs and 6,000 wells in the sovkhoses.

The question of a canal linking the Irtysh and Ishim rivers (see CAR, Vol. IV, 1956, pp.32-35) has been revived and a survey was being carried out in the summer of 1962 to find the best route. The new plans for an Irtysh-Ishim canal envisage the irrigation of about 100,000 ha. of land which will be planted to vegetables, but of equal or greater importance is the fact that it will supplement the flow of the Ishim and later the Tobol which will not by themselves be able to ensure supplies of water for the giant water conduits in the kray. It will also finally solve the problem of the water supply of Petropavlovsk and a number of other towns.

## VI. The Irtysh River

### The Irtysh-Karaganda canal

Work started on the Irtysh-Karaganda canal in spring 1962 and was planned to take six years. (For details of alignment and map see CAR, Vol.VIII, No.2, p.148 and No.4, pp.399-400.) Its main purpose is to supply the needs of industry in the Karaganda and Temir-Tau regions, but it will also irrigate up to 400,000 ha. of arable land and bring water to more than one million ha. of pasture. Work started in two places at once - Yermak on the Irtysh and Kalkaman between Yermak and Ekibastuz. Progress seems to have been slow and the huge earth-moving machines specially designed for the canal have been going through serious teething troubles. A new method using explosives has been more successful. Between April and December 1963 60 men of the Altay section of Soyuzvzryvrom made over 2 km. of the canal bed ready for immediate use with three carefully planned explosions, while 3,000 men with quantities of machinery are said to have dug only 6 km. of the canal in the whole of 1963. However the explosives men complained in IZVESTIYA in March 1964 that their services had been rejected by the organization building the canal which was now employing its own men, whose work was nothing like so satisfactory.

Another, less important, scheme connected with the Irtysh is the construction of a 70 metre-high dam on the Uyden river south of Lake Zaysan,

which was started in 1961 or earlier and is nearing completion. The reservoir, with a storage capacity of 75 million cu.m. of water, was originally designed to irrigate more than 18,000 ha. of the Zaysan basin for growing grain using the efficient spray system. For some reason, however, this has been abandoned in favour of old-fashioned gravity irrigation which will only be able to irrigate 13,000 ha.

### The problem of the Irtysh floodlands

There is considerable controversy about the problem of the Irtysh floodlands, an area of some 300,000 ha. in Pavlodar oblast which also extends into southern Siberia. This huge expanse used to be flooded by the Irtysh from April to June every year producing over four million centners of high-quality hay annually in Pavlodar oblast alone. On the basis of this reliable supply of fodder the oblast had ambitious plans for greatly increasing its head of livestock, but these plans have been upset completely by the construction of the Bukhtarma hydroelectric power-station. The enormous reservoir of the power-station has been retaining the spring floods since 1960 with disastrous effects on the floodlands where the production of hay has dropped catastrophically, the rich meadows are turning into dry steppe, and the trees and bushes are dying, leading to serious wind erosion. In their desperation local farms have been sending workers 2,000 km. or more south to the Dzhambul area to get fodder for their animals, but this works out 8-10 times more expensive. When the power-station was being built a plan was worked out to irrigate the floodlands in such a way as to maintain hay production, but it proved to be too expensive. Since then various views have been expressed on what should be done but no solution has been arrived at. The electricity authorities, headed by Inyushin of Irtyshgesstroy, consider that any idea of trying to preserve the floodlands as hayfields must be abandoned and that the answer lies in intensive irrigated crop cultivation. They claim in fact that the use of the land for hay was wasteful and that the construction of the power-station was beneficial in regulating the flow of the river. If only they could be given funds to go ahead with the construction of another power-station on the Irtysh at Shul'ba (above Semipalatinsk), they say, the river would be brought completely under control and plans for irrigating the floodlands could be easily realized. The agricultural authorities naturally ask what is to happen in the meantime. They have tried various temporary expedients, like small pumps and dams and artificially retaining the ice, with little effect. By 1962 the damage to agriculture was apparently so serious that Gosplan USSR ordered that sufficient water should be let out of the Bukhtarma reservoir in the spring to flood the hayfields, but this was not properly synchronized with the period of flood on the Uba and Ul'ba rivers and the land was not flooded. In 1963 there was insufficient water to repeat the experiment. Inyushin and others have pointed out that such a solution is not only extremely wasteful of potential electric power, but would also damage water transport and would have a detrimental effect on the soil since the water let out from the reservoir would not contain the valuable silt which used to be brought down by the natural floods. At the end of April 1964 Gosplan USSR had still not come to a final decision about

the construction of the Shul'ba hydroelectric power-station (planned in 1955 - see CAR, 1956, No.3, p.275), but they promised that a new plan for the best agricultural use of the Irtysh floodlands would be completed in 1964 and presented for approval.

## VII. Karaganda Oblast

### Dzhezkazgan's urgent need of water

The industrial city of Dzhezkazgan in central Kazakhstan is in urgent need of increased and reliable water supplies. In March 1964 some specialists in the city wrote that if 1964 saw a repetition of the snowless winter and dry summer of 1963 a number of important enterprises in the town would come to a halt through lack of water. At present the city is dependent on the Kengir reservoir and a number of underground sources. The Kengir reservoir was finished in 1954 and holds 173 million cu.m. of water. Not more than 25.6 million cu.m. should be taken from the reservoir annually, but 70 million has been taken and a poor spring flood could bring industry to a halt. In 1956 it was decided to raise the dam of the reservoir and increase its storage capacity to 319 million cu.m., but work only started in 1959 and there have been endless delays since. Although it was once hoped to trap the spring flood in 1963, it now looks as though this will not be possible before 1966. But even the increased capacity of the reservoir will not be sufficient for the town by 1965. Meanwhile the exploitation of underground sources is also suffering from delays, and wells bored only five or six years ago have been allowed to fall into disrepair. Many people see the long term solution to Dzhezkazgan's water problems in the projected Karaganda-Dzhezkazgan water main connecting with the Irtysh-Karaganda canal, but apparently this has not yet been finally approved either. Schemes for overcoming the industrial and domestic water shortage in this area were being extensively discussed nearly a decade ago, but do not seem to have got much further. See CAR, 1956, No.1, pp.32-35.

## VIII. Underground Sources

Work has continued on the investigation of the underground water resources of Kazakhstan. At one time it was thought that it would be a long and expensive job to overcome the water problem in the republic, but studies carried out in the last 10-15 years are said to have shown that it can be done comparatively cheaply and quickly by making use of local underground sources. There are now known to be about 70 artesian and sub-artesian basins in the republic with an area of approximately 1.8 million sq.km. They lie mainly in the southern, south-western and northern regions of Kazakhstan, and impound more than five billion cu.m. of fresh and slightly saline water alone, i.e. 17 times more than the Azov Sea. At the same time there are over two billion cu.m. of non-pressure fresh and slightly saline subsoil waters in the republic, of which over 1,300 milliard are in the sandy deserts of Sary-Ishik-otrau, Muyun-Kum and eastern Kyzylkum.

According to Academician U.M. Akhmedsafin of the Geological Institute of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences, there is sufficient water available from underground sources to irrigate 5-6 million ha. of arid land, provide water for tens of millions of hectares of pasture and supply many towns and settlements. In his view it would be very much cheaper and quicker to use these resources to solve the water problems of the arid regions than to divert water from the Siberian rivers.

Although a good deal of surveying and mapping of underground water resources has been carried out in recent years, it appears that there is still a lot to be done before a far-reaching and comprehensive plan for their exploitation can be worked out. Meanwhile only a minute fraction of underground supplies continues to be used, mainly for watering animals on remote pastures. Every year the sinking of numerous new wells, opening up extensive new grazing lands, is reported. Water from wells has also been used with success in some places for "oasis irrigation" to grow fodder crops and vegetables on livestock farms in desert areas. It is claimed that the initial outlay on this is recouped in one year. But, as with irrigation, the use of existing wells leaves a great deal to be desired. In a review of the use of the 177 million ha. of grazing lands in Kazakhstan in 1962, it was stated that only 84.5 million ha. were watered, while the remaining 93 million odd ha. were deteriorating through lack of use. Of the 84.5 million ha. in use, 35 per cent were considered to be in need of radical reconstruction. At that time there were 29,000 shaft wells, 1,577 tube wells, 2,785 ponds and tanks, more than 4,440 springs, 100 water channels with a total length of 1,523 km. and one 35 km. water pipe on the republic's pastures. But of 19,500 shaft wells on land belonging to the State Land Fund and sovkhazes, only just over half were equipped with any sort of mechanical device for raising water, and in about 75 per cent of these it was of a primitive kind. Only 33 per cent of shaft wells on livestock droving routes were mechanized. Many wells were in such a bad state that the pastures they served could no longer be used. In 1960, for example, 216,000 ha. of grazing lands in east Kazakhstan had to be abandoned because 85 shaft wells were not functioning. Sheep which had put on 6-8 kg. in weight on the well-watered Sary-Arka pastures in the summer, after being driven to the Bet-Pak-Dala pastures where the wells were few and insufficiently mechanized, lost 4 kg. each on average and their wool-clip went down 1-2 kg. Artesian wells seem to be in just as bad a state and at the beginning of 1963 more than half of those on the grazing lands had no regulators and were therefore turning the surrounding land into lakes and marshes. Many bored in recent years were not working. In Kustanay oblast only 54 out of 240 were being used, while in Alma-Ata oblast only one out of 12 was operative. This meant that millions of rubles had been wasted. Several specialists have pleaded that a specialized organization should be set up to take charge of the sinking and maintenance of all wells in the republic in an effort to improve their efficiency.

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Rehabilitation of Central Asian victims of the purges

The 70th anniversary of the birth of Mukhamadgali Tatimov has been celebrated recently. Tatimov, a Party worker in Kirgiziya and Kazakhstan, "fell a victim, in the bloom of his powers, to the unfounded repressions during the period of Stalin's personality cult."

Similarly, in Tadzhikistan, KT tells the story of Shotemar, a powerful Party and State figure who made a large contribution to the creation and development of the Tadzhik SSR, yet became "the innocent victim of slander and arbitrary rule in the period of Stalin's personality cult."

KP. 4.4.64; KT. 4.4.64

Making the Kirgiz labour-passport conscious

The Kirgiz, it is said, support the new idea of a labour-passport and deplore the irresponsible attitude of workers and leaders of enterprises in Kirgiziya towards labour-books. In enterprises and State farms of the Ministry for Production and Procurement of Agricultural Products the situation is particularly disturbing. For example, in the Kenesh sovkhov, Osh oblast, only 230 out of 1,400 workers possess labour-books; many of the books do not show full details of previous employment and reasons for leaving, and often contain false information.

SK. 30.5.64

## NEWS DIGEST

The following items are taken from newspapers and periodicals received during the period 1 April - 30 June 1964. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

## ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES

Turkmenistan

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen SSR of 7 December 1963 the settlement of town type Poselok Severnykh Promyslov ozera No.6 (Sartas) and the inhabited places Bekdash and Omar-Ata, subordinate to the Krasnovodsk town Soviet of workers' deputies, have been united into one inhabited place, Bekdash, belonging to the category of settlements of town type. VVS. 8.1.64

Uzbekistan

By decree of 22 February 1964 (cf. CAR 1964, No.2, p.123) the centre of Namangan rayon, Andizhan oblast, has been transferred from the kishlak Dzhamashuy to the kishlak Turakurgan. VVS. 4.3.64

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR of 30 April 1964, a new rayon, Il'ichev rayon - centre in the town Yangiyer - has been formed within Syr-Dar'ya oblast. VVS. 20.5.64

Kirgiziya

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirgiz SSR of 14 March 1964, the inhabited place Cholpon-Ata, Issyk-Kul' rayon, has been transferred to the category of settlements of town type. VVS. 25.3.64

Kazakhstan

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR of 6 April 1964, the town Krasnoarmeysk, Tselinnyy Kray, has been transferred to the category of towns of rayon subordination as part of Krasnoarmeysk rural rayon, Kokchetav oblast. VVS. 6.5.64

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR of 30 May 1964, the centre of Aksuskiy rural rayon, Alma-Ata oblast, has been transferred from the village Aksu to the village Abakumovka. VVS. 17.6.64

## ARCHAEOLOGY

The archaeological expedition of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences has confirmed that the large mounds, near Lugovoy station (Dzhambul oblast) on the main Kazakh railway, are not burial mounds, as was previously thought, but are the remains of isolated medieval feudal castles. Apart from this the expedition discovered in the area three unknown townships of 7th to 12th centuries. Excavations uncovered a water-supply system consisting of large clay tanks, pebble-dashed on the outside and coated with alabaster, joined to one another by drains and ending in a deep well. These castles are in the area where Academician V. Bartol'd earlier uncovered the ruins of the town Kulan, and which was evidently an agricultural oasis from earliest times. VOP. IST. No. 4, 1964

## COMMUNICATIONS

### Aviation

The first operational flight in Central Asia, from Tashkent to Frunze and Alma-Ata took place 40 years ago. The flight from Tashkent to Frunze and back took four days and it was necessary to make an overnight stop in Dzhambul. Today, by jet liner TU-104 the same flight takes three hours. Aviation plays an extremely important role in Central Asia, not only for carrying passengers, post and freight, but for crop spraying, cable-laying, forest patrolling, atmospheric studies and for medical services. It is hoped that in the next two or three years 90 per cent of the regular flights will be operated by jet airliners.

SK. 14.5.64

### Roads

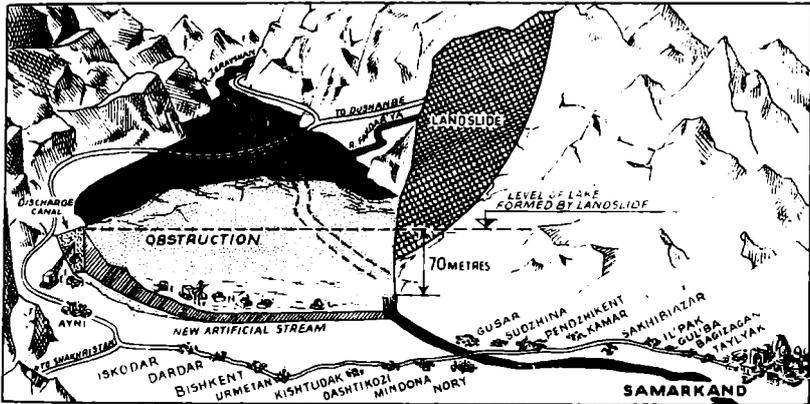
Road workers of Kokchetav oblast, Kazakhstan, have voted to work two-monthly spurts to speed up the building of motorways in the area. They will build 704 kilometres of new roads, of which 272 will be asphalt surfaced.

In other parts of the oblast work is progressing. Sixty-three kilometres of the Ruzayevka "grain road" have now been built. KP. 7.6.64

## CONFERENCES

On the 28 April the second Tadzhik republic conference of solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries was held in Dushanbe. The conference passed a vote of confidence in the activities of the Tadzhik Solidarity Committee and assigned them more tasks to broaden their scope. The Tadzhik poet, M. Mirshakar, was re-elected president of the committee and the delegates to the Baku conference of Afro-Asian solidarity were chosen. The latter conference opened on 8 May, and was attended by delegates from 18 Afro-Asian countries. KT. 30.4.64  
KP. 10.5.64

## GEOGRAPHY



### The Zeravshan landslide

One of Tadzhikistan's foremost seismologists, commenting to IZVESTIYA's staff correspondent in Tadzhikistan on the "Zeravshan landslide" (see map above) of Friday, 24 April, said it was a highly interesting and rather rare phenomenon of nature but not, however, anything unique. Science knows of similar mountain landslides in Tadzhikistan and in other areas of the country. The Zeravshan landslide was similar to that of Usoi in 1911, which resulted in the formation of the famous Sarez Lake in the Pamirs.

The immediate reasons for the slide near the village of Ayni, were the steepness and the heaped-up crumbling surface of the valley-side, continually washed as it was by gritty water. In ten minutes 18 million cubic metres of earth were swept down forming a dam 240 metres high. The lake that gathered threatened Pendzhikent, Samarkand, Bukhara, rice and cotton fields, vineyards, hydroelectric stations, ancient monuments and many homes. For seven days and nights 2,000 volunteers dug a canal one kilometre long and 30 metres deep in parts in order to divert the flood.

While this struggle with the elements was being waged "servants of Allah" made use of the situation and began to spread around the kishlaks dark threats about "the Lord's punishment" - a flood that would inundate the Zeravshan valley for its disobedience to Allah. The threats drew laughter, for, of course, everyone knows that man and science can beat nature. No Allah prevails. However, as there were isolated people to take the bait, a group of biologists, atheists and historians from Leninabad visited Pendzhikent to expose the make-believe of the religious. In special lectures scientists and teachers explained the scientific reason for certain phenomena of nature. KP. 4.6.64, IZ. 28.4.64, PV. 22.5.64, KT. 13.5.64, TRUD. 8.5.64

## LINGUISTICS

The development of national languages ought not to separate one nation from another; on the contrary this development should enable them to draw closer together. In this connexion the proposals of Turkmen and Uzbek literati are interesting. The Turkmen and Uzbek languages have many things in common, and in order to make the reading of books and papers in the other language easier for workers they propose to unify the alphabets of the two languages. It is also proposed to compile and publish Uzbek-Turkmen and Turkmen-Uzbek dictionaries. IZVESTIYA of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences, No.6, 1963

Despite the considerable time allocated to the teaching of Russian, particularly in secondary and 11-year schools, children still have difficulty in mastering Russian as a spoken and written language. There is no uniform programme on Russian language teaching which can be used in Higher Educational Establishments throughout Tadzhikistan. Each establishment has its own method and textbook and there is no collaboration between them. Individual teachers also have their own methods. Some teach grammar only while others concentrate on the spoken language without giving even a grounding in grammar. A special coordination centre should be founded, attached to the Ministry of Popular Education.

There are also serious deficiencies in the teaching of foreign languages in Higher Educational Establishments. This comes mainly from a lack of textbooks. A senior teacher in the department of foreign languages of the Dushanbe Teaching Institute has written a textbook for English teaching, but, although it is the only one of its type, it has not been published. The faculties of foreign languages at the teaching institutes of Dushanbe and Leninabad have departments of English, French and German, with instruction in Uzbek, Tadzhik and Russian.

KT. 12.5.64, KT. 21.5.64

The Uzbek Republic Teaching Institute of Russian Language and Literature was opened in Tashkent on 19 June 1964. This new institute is the first in the Soviet Union which specializes in preparing teachers of Russian from the local nationality.

PV. 21.6.64, PR. 22.6.64

## NATIONALITIES

The problem of friendship between peoples and the drawing together of nationalities plays an important role in the activities of the Institute of History of the Kirgiz Academy of Sciences. This year officials of the institute have been studying the problem of bringing the nationalities and ethnic groups of Kirgiziya closer together in all spheres of life under Communism. There has been an important change in the nationality composition of the population: a large inflow of population into Kirgiziya has been caused in recent years by the transfer of many industrial enterprises from the central regions of the USSR.

In 1926, there were 762,700 Kirgiz living in the Soviet Union; in 1939 there were 884,300 and in 1959, 968,700 of whom 86.4 per cent live in

Kirgiziya. Russians (623,600) and Ukrainians (137,000) live in more or less compact groups in the republic. The Russian and Ukrainian villages are found in the Chu and Talas valleys, the Issyk-Kul' basin and in some parts of Osh oblast. Uzbeks (218,600) make up a significant part of the population in southern Kirgiziya, especially in the towns. And besides these there are 56,300 Tatars, 20,100 Kazakhs, 15,200 Tadzhiks, 13,800 Uygurs, 11,100 Dungans and 39,900 Germans. The process of assimilation which occurred in the distant past can be traced distinctly in the Kirgiz population. Thus, there are several groups which, although counted among the Kirgiz, have another origin, among them the Kurkuree, Kalcha, Kuren and Menke. SK. 12.5.64

### ORIENTAL STUDIES

Since 1950 two basic trends in the research work of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences can be defined: these are the study of the contemporary political and economic situation of the oriental countries bordering on Uzbekistan, the struggles of the peoples of these countries for political and economic independence; and secondly, research into the enormously rich cultural heritage of the peoples of Central Asia and its borderlands. In the planning of the Institute's research programme for 1963 emphasis was laid on the contemporary scene, dealt with in several books and treatises by C.P. Tansykbayev; M.G. Pikulin and A.S. Shamansurov; B.S. Mannanov and D.V. Valiyev; and I.M. Khashimov.

In 1963 the Institute published two collections of articles on the contemporary problem THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE EAST (in Uzbek) and THE INTERRELATION OF THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA AND ITS BORDERLANDS FROM THE 18TH TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURIES (in Russian).<sup>\*</sup> The first deals factually with the political and economic situation in the Borderlands and the role of Soviet aid in their development; the second deals with the political, economic and cultural ties of Central Asia, above all Uzbekistan, with Persia, Afghanistan and other neighbouring countries. There are also many brochures written in Uzbek on the awakening of the East to the national liberation movement.

As regards contemporary literature, the works of writers of Persia, Afghanistan, India and Pakistan such as Khaja Ahmad Abbas, Parvin Etesami, Mirzade Eshki, Saadat Hasan Minto and Kiyamuddin Khadim are being studied.

In the field of cultural history preparations for publication in 1963 included the first volume of the ABDULLAH-NAME by Hafiz Danish of Bukhara (B.A. Akhmedov) and TAVARIKH-I GUZIDE I NUSRAT-NAME by an anonymous author (A.M. Akramov), both of which are valuable authorities on the history of Central Asia and northern Persia and Afghanistan during the time of the last Shaybanid (16th century).

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<sup>\*</sup> A review of this work appears on p. 199 of NARODY AZII I AFRIKI No.3, 1964

With the close collaboration of scholars from Moscow and Leningrad, scientific research works of Central Asian scholars in the fields of medicine, mathematics and astronomy have been prepared for publication.

Scholars of the Institute take an active part in congresses of orientalists. At two meetings held in 1963 in Moscow and Tashkent they discussed with scholars from all parts of the USSR ways of further developing oriental studies; they established a unified ruling on manuscripts, catalogues and monuments. The Institute was represented at the 26th International Congress of Orientalists in Delhi in January 1964, where papers on "The Alphabet of Babur" (see CAR, 1964, No.2, pp.149-155) and "Translations of R. Tagore in Uzbekistan" were submitted.

NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No.3, 1964

## PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

The governments of all the Central Asian republics issued separate statements in early May deploring the opinion of the Chinese delegate at a meeting of 22 Afro-Asian states in Djakarta that the Soviet Union should not be represented at the 2nd World Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, it being a European country. The Central Asian governments vividly pointed out that the dividing line between Europe and Asia runs along the Urals, the River Ural and the Caspian Sea. Any Kazakh child, for instance, who has just started going to school, knows, whether the Chinese like it or not, that Kazakhstan and neighbouring Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and Kirgiziya lie in the very heart of Asia. Kazakhstan alone has more than 1,680 kilometres of common frontier with the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of China.

PV. 10.5.64, KT. 30.5.64, KP. 10.5.64  
TI. 10.5.64, SK. 24.5.64

### Proposal to extend the powers of the Central Asian Sovnarkhoz

In an article in IZVESTIYA (3.4.64), two experts describe the success of the Central Asian Sovnarkhoz in its first year of operation, but go on to say that it has not been able to make the maximum use of its possibilities because the practical decisions on many problems of the guidance of industry still lie with the individual republics. For instance, the Sovnarkhoz wanted to switch funds from a capital construction project in Turkmenistan which was behind schedule to one in Uzbekistan which was ahead, but, as this affected the budgets of the two republics, it could not go ahead until it had obtained the agreement of both republican Councils of Ministers and the USSR Ministry of Finance. The consolidation of industries independently of their territorial location also affects the budgets of the union republics. Of the several ideas expressed on how to extend the powers of the Central Asian Sovnarkhoz, the writers suggest that two deserve special attention. The first is to link the industrial enterprises and organizations of the Central Asian Sovnarkhoz directly with the Union budget. This would ensure normal conditions for the rational and effective solution of questions arising in connexion with the growth of the productive forces of the economic region, and the best deployment of its financial resources.

The other idea is that the Central Asian Sovnarkhoz should be given the right to introduce independently (within the framework of its own plan) the appropriate changes in its indices. If these affect the budgets of individual republics, then the USSR Ministry of Finance should be informed so that it can make the necessary adjustments between the budgets of the republics in question. Naturally republican and other agencies would also be kept in the picture. To carry out these operations, the Union Ministry of Finance should set up a special operational group in the Central Asian economic region or entrust the task to one of the republican Ministries. In this way the budgetary interests of the union republics would be in no way infringed, and each republic would benefit from the acceleration of economic development. IZ. 3.4.64

### POPULATION

At the end of 1963 the population of Central Asia stood at 15.9 millions. For a comparative figure take that of 1865 when the population was about five millions. The population of Kirgiziya has increased 4.3 times, of Tadzhikistan 3.3 times, of Uzbekistan 2.9 times and of Turkmenistan 2.7 times. From 1895 to 1913 the overall increase was 40.5 per cent; from 1920 to 1963 it has more than doubled. In the first all-Russian census of 1897 the urban population of present Central Asia was 813,200; at the beginning of 1963 the figure was 5,876,000. During this period the urban population of Turkmenistan increased by 16 times, of Kirgiziya by 18 times, of Tadzhikistan from 90,800 to 778,000 and of Uzbekistan 621,100 to 3,360,000. According to the census of 1959, 44.9 per cent of the population of Central Asia had jobs, and of this figure 20.4 per cent were salaried workers. In the 1963 census the percentage of population working in transport and industry had increased perceptibly - for instance the figures for the chemical industry in Uzbekistan had increased by 10 times. It is presumed that by 1970 the population of Central Asia will have reached 20 millions. PV. 1.4.64

[These figures leave out of account two facts: that the 1897 census did not include the population of the khanates of Khiva and Bukhara, whose territory was later included in the republics of Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan; and that whereas the Russian and Ukrainian settler population of Turkestan was about 400,000 in 1911, it now stands at 2½ million. - Ed.]

### RELIGION

A seminar of ideological workers of the Central Asian republics was held in Dushanbe to discuss questions of atheistic education. The seminar attacked Islam as sanctifying national narrow-mindedness, and the survivals of feudal attitudes to women. The Spiritual Board of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan had in recent years attempted to rid Islam of exhortations and instructions which run counter to Soviet activity, and which are not used now even by believers. KT., SK. 15.4.64

## OBITUARY

The death has occurred of S.U. Umarov, an academician of the Uzbek and Tadzhik Academies of Sciences, President of the Tadzhik Academy of Sciences, a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and a member of the Tadzhikistan Party Central Committee.

PV. 8.5.64

## BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

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### POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Tsarist sources for various approaches to Russia and appeals for help against the British made by certain Indian princes and other leaders in the latter part of the 19th century were tapped for the first time six or seven years ago by the Soviet historian Khalfin, and published in his book, *BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST* (1957).

A volume of studies under the general description, *THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA WITH THE CONTIGUOUS COUNTRIES, IN THE 18TH TO 20TH CENTURIES*,\* contains an article by P. Rasul' Zade entitled "Overtures Made by Various Indian Rulers to the Tsarist Administration in Central Asia: Second Half of the 19th Century" in which the said overtures have been subjected to further examination.

The interest of the article is in the copious use it makes of the official records. These establish that St. Petersburg had at no stage the slightest inclination to operate militarily beyond her own Central Asian theatre; but did of course set much store by accurate intelligence on Indian affairs.

On this matter of intelligence Rasul' Zade asserts (and repeats) that Russia's negative attitude was in part governed by her "wrong conception of the Indian States." His meaning here is that a genuine liberation movement was afoot; and his suggestion is that Russia, had she grasped this, might have acted positively. He cannot be criticized for taking the proposition itself on trust, for it lies outside his present study; but his suggestion, which hinges on it, seems far from being warranted by the archives on which he professes to lean.

An abridgement follows.

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\* *VZAIMOOTNOSHENIYA NARODOV SREDNEY AZII S NARODAMI SOPREDEL'NYKH STRAN VOSTOKA V XVIII - NACHALE XX VV.*, Academy of Sciences Uzb. SSR, Tashkent, 1963

By the end of the 19th century Tsarism had fastened its direct hold over large territories in Central Asia, and the khanates of Bukhara and Khiva which nominally retained their independence had submitted in practice to the paramountcy of Imperial Russia. The frontiers of Empire had been demarcated: they marched with Persia, Afghanistan and East Turkestan. From British India, Russia was separated by the relatively small Afghan corridor abutting on China. The annexation by Russia of new lands, besides spelling progress to the peoples affected, altered the political situation in the Middle East as a whole, and the repercussions extended to India. "So long", wrote Engels, "as British dominion [there] was exempt from rivalry, even such an event as the Mutiny of 1857 and its savage suppression could be regarded as in the last analysis conducive to a firmer exercise of sovereignty. But when a first-class European military power asserts itself in Turkestan, endeavours by a combination of force and cajolery to make Persia and Afghanistan into its vassals, and moves slowly but doggedly towards the Hindu Kush and the Sulayman Range - there you have a very different state of affairs. British dominion ceases to be ineluctable fate, and a new perspective opens before the native population: what force has created, force can also break assunder."

Belief in that proposition became widespread in North India and in Burma. It is with the former area that we are now concerned, and we shall turn first to the attitude of the semi-dependent state of Kashmir.

### Mission from Kashmir

Not many months after Russia had taken over Tashkent, namely in November 1865, two envoys arrived there from Kashmir and made known a specific wish to be in friendly relations with the new neighbour. (1) Maharajah Ranbir Singh had actually despatched a mission of four, but two members had been murdered on the way. One of these two was the leader and with him vanished the letter which was being carried to the Russians. In considering why the party should have been ambushed, N.A. Khalifin has justly observed that the letter in question had no intrinsic attraction for ordinary robbers and that a political motive can fairly be suspected. (2) In all probability the British Resident in Srinagar had got wind of the mission's departure and was instructed to waylay it.

The surviving envoys, Abdurrahman Khan and Sarafraz Khan, were received by Maj.-Gen. M.G. Chemyayev, Military Governor of the Turkestan Oblast. They explained that while the contents of the missing letter were unknown to them, they had been orally charged to convey a declaration of friendship and also to enquire what might be expected from the Russian side. (3) They added that to be doubly sure the Maharajah was sending a second mission on the morrow of theirs but via the Karakoram and Yarkand. Chemyayev reported to the Governor-General in Orenburg (N.A. Kryzhanovskiy) on 25 November, and he passed on what the envoys had said about the people of India being highly discontented with the British and "waiting for the Russians" whose crossing of the Amu-Dar'ya with intent to begin hostilities was widely rumoured. The possibility of a trap could not, he thought, be ruled out and he would await instructions. Kryzhanovskiy was evidently without competence

to do more than transmit this information to A.M. Gorchakov, the Foreign Minister; which he did on 30 December, (4) having meanwhile instructed Chernyayev to permit the visitors to stay on at Tashkent for a prescribed term. Chernyayev was told not to animadvert on the British in any way in his talks, but to take advantage of the presence of the Kashmiri envoys, as of any others who might subsequently arrive from India, to establish and develop trade relations and to get a picture of the political situation. "If written requests for help", Kryzhanovskiy went on, "are received from British Indians and others under the protection of Great Britain, it will on the one hand be against our interests to give a definite rebuff to persons who may be useful to us in the sequel, particularly for trade contacts; and on the other hand, we must bear in mind that a positive promise to the population of countries behind the Himalayas, without any possibility of fulfilment, would be pointless and only lower the prestige of Russia in the eyes of the Central Asian peoples." (5)

To the Foreign Minister, Kryzhanovskiy's advice was that the existing relationship with Great Britain was too important to be jeopardized. These envoys from Kashmir or others like them should be given a written answer to the effect that the Emperor of All the Russias was on terms of full friendship with the Queen of England, and that so long as there was no unfriendly act on the part of the British Government it was not proposed to move Russian troops to the Amu-Dar'ya; the Tsar's Government seeking no conquests and wishing only a furtherance of trade calculated to benefit the parties concerned. This position was of course perfectly orthodox and there was no likelihood of its being queried in St. Petersburg by anybody from the Tsar down. On any realistic appraisal, the British were masters of much of Asia, and Russia could gain little by forging diplomatic links with the states involved; whereas she might lose much in the attempt. Even, therefore, in the secret papers of the day the Tsarist authorities were compelled by the logic of the facts to dwell on "Imperial friendship with the Queen of England."

June 1866 found the Kashmir envoys still at Tashkent. Maj.-Gen. D.A. Romanovskiy, now Military Governor, reporting on the 23rd of the month commented that nothing had occurred during their long stay to lead to the suspicion that they were anything but what they seemed, namely, honest and intelligent men wishing "to be the first of the inhabitants of India to congratulate us on our military successes." He had scrupulously avoided political issues, he wrote, and kept to the question of trade; which, according to the Kashmiris, could be developed without special difficulty "if only Kokand submits to Russia." As regards the routes from Kashmir, "these can be rendered secure by Maharajah Ranbir Singh, because the Dungans who have now possessed themselves of Kashgar are under his influence." (6)

The archives reveal that the central authorities continued to adhere to their cautious policy *vis-à-vis* the countries of the East, neither giving them the cold shoulder nor coming into political touch with them. The indeterminate position in which the Kashmir envoys were placed was traceable to such a policy. After further sessions with Romanovskiy the two travellers set out on their return journey.

### Mission from Indore

Before the Kashmiris reached home another secret mission from India was on its way to Russian Turkestan. This was the mission which went from Indore, a semi-independent principality situated in the midst of the sub-continent, in the summer of 1866. Consisting of 10 members it got as far as the khanate of Bukhara by the close of the same year, but was held up in the town of Korshi by the local administration. All documents seen to be addressed to the Russians were purloined. With the sole exception of the leader, the members scattered (*razbezhalis*)\*. He himself was detained some six months, during which he kept on his person a letter in invisible ink which the Bukharans had mistaken for a blank sheet. He was then (in June 1867) transferred to Samarkand. This town was in commotion at the time, owing to the occupation of Yani-Kurgan fortress by the Russians. The Indian joined the popular volunteer militia which was about to move to Yani-Kurgan, and took part in the engagement there on 5 July. On the defeat of the Bukharans he succeeded in picking his way to the Russian camp. Lt.-Col. A.K. Abramov, commanding the detachment, directed him to the acting Military Governor of the Turkestan Oblast, Maj.-Gen. Manteyfel'. To the latter the Indian disclosed his identity as the son of the Chief Minister of Indore and the personal envoy of the Ruler, sent to the Russians with a letter addressed to the Emperor soliciting "protection against the British." In producing this missive the Indian asked for something in writing from the Russians in return, but Manteyfel' adhered to the accepted practice and declined on the score that "written declarations were entirely superfluous and inappropriate."

In his report of this approach by the Indian, Manteyfel' wrote that besides the letter two translations in copy were laid on the table, "somewhat of the nature of a deed or covenant." The documents were by way of being a draft treaty as between Russia and Indore, the second-named speaking as leader of a union of semi-dependent Indian principalities. In the terms of the draft treaty the said principalities even accepted the occupation of their towns by Russian troops and merely retained their internal autonomy. What struck one above all was that the union of states led by Indore sought not simply to substitute Russian for British overlordship, but to enlist the support of Russia in a fight against British dominance. Be that as it may, the programme of an Indo-Russian alliance was turned down by Russia. The efforts of the Indore envoy to secure the intervention and support of Russia in a struggle with the British were unavailing. No more successful than his Kashmir predecessors, the Indore messenger had to be content with a piece of paper certifying that he had been received in Tashkent by the Russian authorities and was now returning home. In August 1867 he set out for his native country via Bukhara, Khodzhent and Kokand, and thence through Kashmir.

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\* It is not made clear precisely what happened to these nine. Did they escape, did they go to ground, or what? - Ed.

### Second Mission from Kashmir

In October 1869 Maharajah Ranbir Singh made a further attempt. A mission headed by Baba Karam Parkash set out in that month and reached Tashkent the following June. The leader had been charged to ascertain from the Governor-General of Turkestan whether he had the right to correspond with the Maharajah, and by what route - that is, whether through Afghanistan or through Kashgar - he would agree to maintain commercial and political relations. The reason for wanting to enter into a friendly arrangement with the Russians, the envoy explained, was that the Maharajah, although at peace with the British up to the moment, was not counting on the permanence of this.<sup>(8)</sup> Ranbir Singh, he pointed out, was on good terms with many of the principalities and practically independent of the British who received a purely token tribute from him. It was relevant also to mention that the Maharajah had declined to comply with Great Britain's suggestion that he should attend at Ambala where a meeting had been arranged in March 1869 between the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, and the Afghan Emir, Shir Ali Khan; and that his attitude had caused something of a rift with the Government of India.

This mission awakened little interest, however, and was not even received by any official of standing in the administrative hierarchy. The envoy was compelled to return empty-handed.

At about this time Tsarism entered a new phase in Central Asia: Bukhara (1868) and then Khiva (1873) were reduced to the status of vassals of the Russian autocracy; the Turkestan Governorate-General came into being and swallowed the Kokand khanate (1876). Endeavours by various countries and political sets to establish contact with Russia now became more persistent than ever. The archives published for the first time by Khalifin<sup>(9)</sup> tell the story of such démarches in the 70s.

### Mission from the Namdhari Sikhs

The mission of Guru Charan Singh in 1879 merits particular notice. This Punjabi had on him a letter from "the high priest and commander-in-chief of the Sikh tribes in India" addressed to the Governor-General of Turkestan. The letter was from Baba Ram Singh, leader of the religious-political sect of Namdhari,\* and written on the basis of prophecies of Guru Govind Singh to the effect that India would get rid of the British yoke with the coming of the Russians. It is to be noted that this letter to Russian Turkestan had not been despatched by Ram Singh himself, but by his brother Budh Singh who had taken over the leadership of the Namdharis in the Punjab in 1872 on the arrest and exile to Rangoon of Ram Singh. It called on the Russians to invade the Punjab

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\* An analysis of an article, "The Namdhari Movement and the Uprising of 1872 in the Punjab" by N.M. Gol'dberg and N.I. Semenova, appeared in CAR, 1961, No. 1

and promised the support of 315,000 Namdharis and other Sikhs. The battle which would be joined with the British, the letter declared, would inevitably end in victory.(10)

This mission awakened an interest which had not been displayed previously. Col. Korol'kov, the Chief of Staff, and afterwards Maj.-Gen. Ivanov, Commanding the Zeravshan District, went into matters with Charan Singh. They then forwarded the letter, and the record of their talks, to Kaufman, the Governor-General, who was in St. Petersburg at the moment. Kaufman, cautiously disposed to such missions from abroad, consulted the eminent Indianist I. P. Minayev before coming to the view that the purpose really was the opening of friendly relations. In the sequel a return message was handed to Guru Charan Singh, drafted in such a way, admittedly, as to commit neither of the parties to anything. It read: "Greetings from the Commander-in-Chief and Governor to Baba Ram Singh and Baba Budh Singh. Your letter has been duly delivered by Guru Charan Singh, and read with attention. Its contents have given satisfaction, and I am grateful to you for the information conveyed, but I wish to have detailed and fresher intelligence on the situation in India. The prophecy of Guru Govind Singh and Guru Baba Nanak has been taken into consideration. Everything will be according to God's will. When the hour shall be ripe, the prophets know."(11)

All care had been exercised to keep the mission from the knowledge of the British authorities. However, a spy of theirs in Central Asia named Gulab Khan, as a contemporary historian P. C. Roy(12) tells us, was quick to acquaint the British Resident in Kabul, Louis Cavagnari, with Charan Singh's arrival in Katta-Kurgan from India on 1 May 1879. Gulab Khan was instructed to shadow his man on his homeward journey. This piece of treachery enabled the authorities in the Punjab to confirm that Charan Singh was actually the envoy of Ram Singh. They arrested him but failed, on P. C. Roy's showing, to lay hands on the Kaufman reply which eventually was put through to the addressee. The Punjab patriot was removed to Multan, there to languish in gaol for the next six years. Set at liberty in September 1886 on condition that he should not visit Namdhari headquarters, Charan Singh nevertheless attempted to resume contact with Russia. In April 1887 he applied for permission to visit Afghanistan and Central Asia, but this was withheld.

So ended Charan Singh's last effort to enlist Russian support for the liberation movement of his country. Richly does he merit P. C. Roy's description of him as a hero of the concluding phase of the Punjab's bid for freedom.

These political missions had failed in their design, as they were bound to fail so long as Russia's policy in the East was to steer clear of trouble with her great rival. Relations between Russia and Great Britain in the period we are examining were stretched taut. "Russia was within a hair's breadth", as Lenin put it, "of war with England over the sharing of the spoils in Central Asia." The celebrated battle of Tashkepri in 1885 was not merely a Russo-Afghan clash; it was a Russian collision with the British, since the Afghans were officered by the latter. The swift victory scored by the Russians stopped the conflict from growing into a fully fledged war, into which Great Britain too might well have been drawn.

Though the odds were thus against them, the subject Indian states and other Eastern governments did not abandon hope of gaining Russian support against the British, and continued off and on to direct their representatives to Central Asia. The battle of Tashkepri was in this sense a tonic to India; the British officers had been the first to run away in that engagement, leaving their Afghan protégés on the field; and British prestige had in consequence suffered a sharp decline.

### Mission from Nepal

It was on 9 April 1890 that an Indian (indus)\* dressed as a dervish turned up in Ashkhabad. This was Colonel Ghulam Haydar Khan, and he was the envoy of the Rajah of Nepal.(13) Received by Maj.-Gen. Fisher, Acting-Commander Transcaspian Oblast, he made the following disclosures:

He was a descendant of a Rajah of the Punjab who had lost his dominions at the time of the wars of Ranjit Singh, and was nowadays in the service of the Nepal army with the rank of Colonel of Artillery. On his person he carried letters of introduction in Hindustani, Persian and English from the Rajahs of Bhopal and Bhuj [ ? ] and from various influential persons in those states. He related that throughout North India discontent with the British was universal; they had doubled the amount of annual contribution exacted from the vassal rajahs, stripped rulers of their thrones, played havoc with the frontiers of individual domains.

The immediate occasion of his coming to Ashkhabad was a demand pressed by the British that the Rajah should hand over his son-in-law, former Nawab of Lucknow, who having been driven from his estates there was residing in Katmandu.\*\* The Rajah had refused to deliver his son-in-law; whereupon the Government of India had intimated that if he persisted in his refusal to comply, all Nepal would be occupied by British troops. This outrageous threat had pushed the Rajah into active resistance; he had opened talks with other discontented rulers which had resulted in an alliance between the Rajahs of Nepal, Bhuj, and Bhopal and also certain key figures in the Punjab and Kashmir.

Ghulam Haydar Khan had therefore come to inform the Russians of the position vis-à-vis the British, and was empowered to ask that the said alliance of Indian states should be taken under the aegis of Russia. He had with him no written instructions about this - the risk of such compromising documents was too great - but if the Russians would give him a certificate that he had

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\* The use of the word indus for an Indian irrespective of his religion, although still common, is now considered incorrect. The generic word for an Indian is now 'indiyets', 'indus' being used for 'Hindu'. A third word, 'indeyets', is still used for 'American Indian'.

\*\* The author has neglected to comment on the inherent improbability of a marriage between the daughter of a Hindu Rana and a Muslim from Oudh. - Ed.

performed the errand entrusted to him he could come back within a year and furnish "all the authentic deeds, instruments and written petitions of the Rajahs." We should notice here that the principal article in the secret alliance was "the invitation to the Russians to occupy the British possessions in India with a view to expelling the English for ever from this country." (14)

Fisher reported on 25 April to Lt.-Gen. Kuropatkin, Commanding the Transcaspian Oblast, who minuted: "I am of opinion that we ought to give Ghulam Haydar Khan the desired certificate." Kuropatkin, indeed, as the records prove, attached the highest importance to the case and ordered an urgent memorandum to be prepared for submission to the Tsar himself. The result was the "Note on the arrival in Ashkhabad of an envoy from India, Ghulam Haydar Khan. Submitted in Humble Duty with Schedule giving the Interrogatory and the Application of the Rajahs, 12 May 1890." We may be sure that the competent officers of state were promptly brought in.

A note was also prepared (no doubt at the instance of the central authorities) by the well-known orientalist Lt.-Col. Tizengauzen, which unquestionably played some part in determining the negative attitude which was eventually adopted. This note (15) emphasized first, that the Punjab and Oudh were not only regulation provinces similar to Bengal but were precisely the areas where British dominion was most strongly entrenched in consequence of the Hindu-Muslim antagonism which that dominion artificially encouraged; and secondly, that the Sikhs who were a religious offshoot of Hinduism and once the sworn foes of the British had latterly become their devoted henchmen. "Many Punjab regiments nowadays are composed of Sikhs", wrote Tizengauzen, "and the Government has the utmost confidence in their loyalty."

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, proceeding from a series of baseless assumptions about the principalities concerned and questioning the likelihood of an anti-British pact's having been concluded between them, entertained doubts as to the personal integrity of the envoy; being inclined to suppose him either a spy of the British or some sort of adventurer. (16) In the words of the Foreign Minister, N.K. Girs, it would be undesirable to hand the Indian any written reply, and sufficient to let him know orally through the Commander of the Transcaspian Oblast, that the Imperial Government intended to avail itself of the information imparted when the need for so doing occurred. It was a flat 'no' to Kuropatkin, who of course did not have the powers which Kaufman, for instance, had in the parallel case of Guru Charan Singh.

One more mission had miscarried. The papers produced by Ghulam Haydar Khan were returned to him, and he set off home.

The questions which arise are: Why did Ghulam Haydar Khan contact the Russians in Ashkhabad, and not in Tashkent? and, what was the reason for failure? The answer to the first is that having regard to the success of Russian arms at Tashkepri in 1885 and to the completion of the Transcaspian Railway in 1888, it is understandable that Russia's Asiatic policy should have seemed to the Indians to be more dynamic in Transcaspia than anywhere else in Central Asia. The answer to the second is that Asiatic policy had not really changed: there was no intention, avowed or secret, of conquering India, and it was consequently sought to avoid a collision with Great Britain for the sake of the Indian States.

Mission from Hunza

These realities of policy were fatal, as we have seen, to the issue of any mission that India might send; but faith in the eventual riddance of the British through Russian aid died hard. Especially did the northernmost mountain peoples under the Hindu Kush continue to bank on Russian sympathy. For example, the ruler of independent Hunza, Safdar 'Ali-Khan, several times tried to get into close touch with Russia. In August 1891 his envoys were received at Uch-Kurgan by Vrevskiy as Governor-General of Turkestan. Like Kaufman before him, Vrevskiy gave the Indian envoys on the eve of their departure a non-committal message, amounting to an exchange of courtesies and no more. (17) What else could it amount to? The tide had set and was running towards the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, the Entente, and the First Imperialist War of 1914-18.

Notes

- (1) TsGVIA SSSR, VUA, coll.483, file 95, fo.1.
- (2) Khalfin, N.A. BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, 1957. ANGLIYSKAYA KOLONIAL'NAYA POLITIKA HA SREDNEM VOSTOKE, 1957.
- (3) TsGVIA SSSR VUA, coll.483, file 95, fo.4.
- (4) Ditto, fo.6-7.
- (5) Ditto.
- (6) AVPR, coll. Main Archive, vol.9 SPb 1865-1867, sched.8, file 11.
- (7) TsGA UzSSR, coll.1-715, file 35.
- (8) Ditto, coll. KTGG, sched.34, file 25, fo.20-22.
- (9) Op.cit., pp.145-56.
- (10) TsGA UzSSR, coll. KTGG, sched.34, file 462, fo.89.
- (11) Cited by Khalfin, op.cit., p.164.
- (12) Roy, P.C. PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, 1959, No.4, p.79.
- (13) TsGVIA SSSR, coll.400, sched.261/911, file 51, fo.1-27.
- (14) Ditto, fo.25.
- (15) Ditto, fo.26, 27.
- (16) Ditto, fo.17-21.
- (17) Rustamov, U.A. PRIGINDUKUSHSKIYE KNYAZHESTVA SEVERNOY INDII, Tashkent, 1956.

## THE WORKING-CLASS OF EAST PAKISTAN

The following article is a translation of one which appeared in NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No.2 of 1964. Nothing is known of the author, Ali Ahmed, who is presumed to be a Pakistani since he uses the word "our" (*nash*) in a sense to which readers of the journal must be unaccustomed. Even more unusual, in an implied tribute to the British Ali Ahmed states that progressive trade unionism was demolished on Partition, that in 1956 civic liberties were temporarily restored, and that the working-class could then hope, however, mistakenly for the rebirth of trade union activity.

The article is of interest as showing the impression of working conditions in East Pakistan which the Soviet Government wishes to convey to the Soviet public. Its style and arrangement suggest that it was originally written in English.

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Up to the proclamation of independence in 1947 [the region which then received the name of] East Pakistan was a supplier of agricultural raw material for industry and simultaneously a market for finished manufactured goods produced in the relatively industrialized parts of India. The only important branch of manufacturing industry she had at that time was the cotton industry.

Independence in 1947 gave a certain impetus to industrial production. The jute industry made its appearance, which is today the most important of the manufacturing industries. The manufacture of textiles and matches was expanded; sugar, cement, chemical fertilizer began to be produced in larger quantities; the woodworking and tanning business increased its output and, generally, consumer goods multiplied.

According to the official statistics there are now 4,224 industrial concerns in East Pakistan of which over 1,000 are classed as big. The number of tea plantations has risen from 94 in 1947 to 122 at the present date (these are situated in the three eastern territories: Sylhet, Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts).

The manufacture of the peculiar *bidi*, made of rolled tobacco leaf, was also developed; this being done in a small way by private capital. The Government regards the production of bidis as belonging to industry inasmuch as it possesses - thanks to the exceedingly widespread use of the article in question - a definite economic importance particularly in the northern districts. Bidi production is nowadays on the decline for two reasons: first, the basic material - the bidi leaf - has to be imported from India, which involves an annual expenditure of foreign currency running into tens of millions of rupees;

and secondly, it cannot compete with the expanding production of the cheap cigarette.

### Property and capital investment

In keeping with the Government's policy of a "free economy" the bulk of industrial concerns belong to private capital, foreign or national. There is a State sector, too, managed by the Government-controlled Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation whose function it is to bring Government initiative and finance into touch with private enterprise. The Corporation's policy, indeed, is rather to support private undertakings than to squeeze them out: its principle being that industrial enterprise is something to be encouraged irrespective of who engages in it.

Undertakings are divided into two main groups: those of the Corporation, and the purely private ones. The first group is further subdivided into two categories: (a) concerns in which the Corporation and private capital jointly participate - in other words, public limited liability companies, (b) concerns monopolized by the Corporation.

Jute industry: The Corporation has been instrumental in setting up 12 factories - the equivalent of 7,750 looms. Private persons manage 10 of these factories, and the Corporation runs only two. Capital investment in this industry exceeds 200m. rupees; the Corporation's share in this being 76.5m. rupees. The construction of five more factories (1,500 looms) is being undertaken at a cost of 90m. rupees.

Cotton industry: Of a total of 14 factories, 13 are owned by private capital, only one having been founded by the Corporation in 1954 at an outlay of 20m. rupees, and even this is being converted into a private enterprise.

Of match factories all 19 are privately owned. The largest depends on Japanese capital. Both of the two paper mills owe their origin to the Industrial Development Corporation, but one of them has already passed into the hands of a large private firm in pursuance of the policy of restricting State capital investment.

There is a shipyard at Khulna belonging to the Corporation in which 23.5m. rupees were invested. In Narayanganj a shipyard and an engineering works dating from 1954 were initially with the Corporation, but the direction was transferred to a limited company four years later. Another shipyard in Narayanganj is the property of Pakistan River Steamers Ltd. This Company belongs partly to an old British concern called Joint Steamers Company and partly to the Government of East Pakistan, the owners of Joint Steamers being its operators. All launches and motor craft on the river system are privately owned.

Railways, together with their shops, are Government property. Motor transport is mainly in the hands of small individual proprietors. The Government recently formed a Road Transport Agency which, in consultation with private transport organizations, controls the transport services of the capital, Dacca.

Sugar mills are eight in number, the largest belonging to Carew and Co (once British but now Indian). Four others are the property of local businessmen;

and of the remaining three, one is a Colombo Plan project involving an outlay of 11.06m. rupees of which total New Zealand put up 7.5m. The other two are Corporation property representing between them investments of 41.53m. rupees.

The single concern producing cement gets its capital from India, but Pakistan has operational charge.

The tea plantations are mainly dependent on British investors, but of late years there have been signs, admittedly not too many, of local people being ready to put capital into them. The Government has favoured the exercise of some measure of control over the production of tea.

It is observable that the proprietors of major industrial concerns (not being dependent on foreign capital) are usually non-Bengalis. In the jute industry, for example, only two comparatively small factories out of the 17 are in the hands of Bengal capitalists. The rest are mostly owned by West Pakistanis.

### Distribution of workers among industries

The greatest number of workers are engaged in the jute mills which employ 55,542 persons not counting some 25-30,000 auxiliary unskilled labourers who do the maintenance of plant etc. In the cotton industry there are 33,758 and in the match industry, the figure fluctuates between 10 and 14 thousand. The paper mills provide work for over 7,000, and the total in shipyard and docks is about 4,500. A few thousand seasonal workers are wanted in sugar production; the permanent personnel in this industry is generally of European stock. The cement works takes some 5,000. On the railways there are 55,000, of whom 13,000 are concentrated in the workshops at Chittagong and Saidpur (Rangpur District). To man and service the river steamers 10-12,000 are needed, with another 5,000 for launches and motor boats.

The overall industrial labour force is officially given as 350,000; and a breakdown shows 250,000 including 65,000 women to be employed in 1,000 undertakings from a total of 4,224. About 100,000 work on tea plantations, and another 150,000 make bidis.

### Conditions of employment and wage-structure

The working conditions of the proletariat had always been deplorably bad, and an eight-hour day was never observed. Of recent years the situation has even deteriorated. In the jute mills, for instance, they introduced two-hours overtime at rates of pay conforming with the legal wage requirement. At first glance this was inoffensive; but in practice the period of overtime was made compulsory; and the "minimal" standard of output for piece-workers was set so high that even the most skilful would have to spend 10 hours on it. Labour was therefore obliged to work 12 hours a day or more, with serious consequences to the health of the already undernourished. On the railways the working day is anything from 10 to 14 hours. So that if this is the situation among the most go-ahead sections of the proletariat, one can imagine how grim conditions must be for the ill-organized strata of the working-class.

Prior to the military coup, wages varied from Rs.40 per mensem (un-

skilled) to Rs.60 (skilled). After World War II the cost of living rose by between five and seven times, while industrial wages were at most only doubled. A galloping cost of living compelled the authorities to attend to a minimum industrial wage, and the matter was under debate at the time of the coup d'etat. The new administration inherited the issue and set up committees to study the different industries. The findings of one such committee (investigating the match industry) were published in the Government Gazette on 14 May 1959, and revealed that "merely to subsist at all the industrial worker needs to earn Rs.70-75 a month." The committee went on to remark that the industrialists here concerned were making a good profit and could well afford an increase in wages. To the disappointment of the workers, however, the Government fixed the monthly minimum in the industry as follows: For unskilled - Rs.32.5; for semi-skilled - Rs.41; and for skilled - Rs.52. In the cotton industry the figures announced were Rs.50, 65 and 75 respectively; and in the jute industry they were Rs.60, 64 and 72 for the corresponding categories. Further, the whole idea of a guaranteed rate was reduced to absurdity because the actual classification was handed over to industrial management: with the result that only the most practised and dextrous, which meant a few in every thousand, could hope to be classed as skilled; the majority of those previously treated as such being now demoted to the semi-skilled or unskilled category. It was also very rarely indeed that the "minimum" of the official announcements was in practice other than a "maximum".

### Housing conditions

Housing conditions are shocking. In the showpiece of the most profitable of the industries, the Adamji jute mills, the state of affairs is appalling, and how it stands elsewhere must be left to the imagination. The Government maintains that 25 per cent of the workers have been provided with a roof, but in actual fact scarcely 12 to 15 per cent of them are thus settled. There are 45 huts attached to the mills, consisting of windowless rooms measuring 15x18 feet, each room being intended to house 12 to 18 persons. The monthly payment on account of this accommodation is one rupee. Cookhouse there is none, and people have to make their messing arrangements off the premises. In allotting the rooms there is no system, and constant bickering results. The police and military make such disputes an occasion to use physical violence. Those not supplied with living accommodation by their employers - which, as seen above, means 85 per cent - have to fend for themselves. The problem of housing workers' families is insoluble. A vast number of these live in subhuman conditions in shacks made of rags and matting, in comparison with which a gipsy's tent looks absolute luxury.

### Enrolment procedure and guarantee of work

Workers have no guarantees whatever in respect of employment. Anyone at any moment and on any pretext can be rendered jobless. Employers find all manner of ruses to defeat the relevant legislation. For example, a worker who in the course of a stated period satisfies definite conditions is to be deemed

permanent. But the employer will often transfer a man to another section on the eve of his completing his prescribed term; so that continuity of service within the meaning of the Act is broken and the individual loses all advantage as a permanent employee.

The most common way of recruiting labour, especially in the major industries, is through a contractor who enrolls for temporary work: e.g., in the Kalurghat Ispahani Jute Mills in Chittagong 60 per cent of the workers are temporary hands. Nor is there any chance of being selected for work under this procedure without bribing both the Sardar (contractor) and the administration of the particular department [in the Mills] to an amount usually equivalent to two months' wages.

### Social maintenance

One of the official committees appointed to fix minimum wages [see under Wage Structure above] reported in these terms: "So far as social benefits are concerned, employers grant either very little or nothing whatever. . . Many factories have their dispensaries so styled, as required by law, designed to render first-aid to the victims of accidents. But on closer acquaintance with them these dispensaries will be found to have no staff and to be without any of the essential drugs. . . We ascertained that agreements on the free education of workers' children are non-existent. . . On factory premises, there are no meal stations. . . In a number of concerns the workers are refused the paid leave contemplated by the law." In the years which have elapsed since this report the Government has done next to nothing to improve things.

### Safety arrangements

This is what a local newspaper wrote on the unsatisfactory safety arrangements in factories: "Measures to ensure the safety of the workers are utterly inadequate. Consequently, in the course of a single year more than 3,500 persons have suffered industrial injuries; and more than 400 of the accidents have been grave and 13 have been fatal. The majority of these occurrences have been in the larger jute or cotton mills. . . The foregoing figures are borrowed from reports submitted to the proper quarter. But a very large number of accidents pass unnoticed, many of them occurring in undertakings which are not officially classed as "industrial".

### Conditions of work on plantations

Words cannot be found to express one's feelings on the truly desperate plight of the 100,000 workers on the tea plantations. They have no settled wage, they have no fixed working week. Work is offered them not more than four days a week, and payment is by the piece. As a result they earn from R.1 to R.2.8 a week [?]. All the members of a family must work on the plantation. Housing conditions are extremely bad. Workers live on the plantation itself, and nobody may visit them without the proprietor's permission. This last circumstance gives scope to cruel exploitation.

### Fantastic profits

The unbelievable exploitation of the working-class brings in enormous profits to foreign and home capital. According to the published figures the jute industry (in which capital investments had totalled Rs.220m.), made profits of Rs.250m. in the course of the financial year 1960-1. This means that the exploitation of each individual worker yields Rs.4,545.5 per annum, whereas his hard-won earnings only come to between Rs.720 and Rs.800.

In support of these conclusions so influential a personality as M.A.Kh. Ispahani who has occupied a series of responsible posts in the Government\* may appropriately be allowed to speak. Here is his comment on the working and living conditions of the proletariat: "Profits, fantastic profits - these alone hold the attention. The worker may have, or may not have, a roof over his head - nobody worries about that. With rare exception, the masters of industry do not lift a finger to provide the workers with housing or such kinds of social service as medical assistance, hygiene, schools or child care."

### The trade union movement

Before the partition of the subcontinent the only industrial centre in what is now known as East Pakistan was the Dacca-Narayanganj neighbourhood, the heart of cotton production, which with its five factories was remote indeed from the principal areas of Indian industry. Notwithstanding the small number of the workers there, trade unionism grew as part and parcel of the wider all-India movement. In railway transport similarly the local unions formed part of the countrywide unions, while in river transport they were part of the Bengal unions. In the cotton industry and the railway services the leadership was generally in progressive hands, but in the case of river transport opportunists of the type of Aftab 'Ali and Faiz Ahmed were only too prominent. Partition with its attendant migrations in either direction played havoc with the movement. Those who formed the backbone of the progressive textile and railway unions belonged to the Hindu community, and went off to India.

The Pakistan authorities at once showed themselves inimical to the progressive unions. Many leaders were gaoled and others forced underground: and it was not difficult for the Government to pretend that trade union leadership as such was working on behalf of India against Pakistan. Into the vacuum came a new set of leaders, reformists in name but opportunist in character. Aftab 'Ali and Faiz Ahmed migrated from Calcutta and lost no time in founding the East Pakistan Federation of Labour. Recognized by the Government and concerned to protect the employers' interests, it achieved nothing for the betterment of the working-class. It allied itself to various international organizations, some of them imperialist like the Administration of International Cooperation (USA) and enjoyed the financial support of these.

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\* M.A. Ispahani was Minister of Industries and Commerce 1954-5, and is a member of the Supreme Council of Reconstruction. - Ed.

All this was not good enough for the new generation of the proletariat which more and more felt the need of a dynamic, militant movement. In 1956 when the Awami League took office, civic liberties were restored; and although the official policy towards trade unionism hardly improved, a new atmosphere had been created in which the working-class was able to prepare for a revival of trade unionist activity. For the next two years (that is, until the coup d'état) there were to be strikes and demonstrations at the industrial centres of Dacca-Narayanganj, Chittagong and Khulna. It was not to be expected that the leaders of the Federation of Labour would back these efforts.

Eventually the isolated groups perceived that they must coordinate their action, and at the beginning of 1958, the various local bodies to the number of 113 were amalgamated in the East Pakistan Workers' Federation. In the short seven months preceding the military coup, this Federation displayed the utmost energy, won official recognition, and represented the workers on the Government's Consultative Committee on Labour questions.

The position thus painstakingly established was rudely demolished by the military revolt of 8 October, 1958. The Workers' Federation and all associated with it became the object of particular persecution. Its central bureau and its branch offices were closed, its property confiscated, its leaders - or many of them - put in gaol.

The Government announced that it would introduce "a new labour policy": all strikes and gatherings were held illegal, and registered unions were advised that they should link up with the East Pakistan Federation of Labour which was alone to have official recognition; persons who had not worked in a given concern were debarred from holding any office in a union connected with that concern, and the right to nominate presidents and secretaries of trade unions was reserved to the Government. The infringement of these orders rendered the offender liable to rigorous imprisonment extending to 14 years, and to corporal punishment. Employers were authorized to impose penalties on "the disobedient", and in the event of their requiring extra assistance against their workers the cooperation of the Government was guaranteed. This "new labour policy" very soon made itself felt. It enabled employers to ride roughshod over the rights of the working man, and to ignore pay agreements and everything else.

In retaliation there were strikes in the major undertakings round Dacca. Things started in the cotton industry when workers in the spinning department of a textile factory stopped work in protest against an unprecedented deferment of pay. The authorities reacted instantly; 13 of the leaders were dismissed and sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment. The jute industry followed suit. For a long time there had been no fixed holiday in the mills at Narayanganj, and certain of the workers discussed - and did no more than discuss - strike action. For merely being vocal the ringleaders were tried under military emergency legislation and given six months' rigorous imprisonment. Repression was no deterrent, however; other jute factories joined in, and presently 25,000 men were on strike. Sterner measures were used, nine leaders being given sentences of from four to six years with five strokes of the birch. Troops were called out and quartered at the different mills, and individual workers were subjected to strict police surveillance. Trade union activity came to a full stop.

To the clamour of the working-class was now added the disapproval of international opinion, and it was in obedience to outside pressure that the Government modified its previous policy and restored certain rights to the workers. Yet even these concessions could be, and in the event were, nullified by the emergency legislation. Many leaders who in the first flush of the reaction had been set free were soon under arrest again, and the only organization really allowed to function was the East Pakistan Federation of Labour which was utterly discredited in the eyes of the workers themselves. Aftab 'Ali was foisted on to one of the prominent unions of the jute industry; into other unions bad characters were introduced by the management in collusion with the police. The Government was determined to destroy the potential of all the progressive unions. Sundry "innovations" were brought in: there was, for instance, in the Adamji jute mills the so-called Workers' Council, presided over by the colonel commanding the unit quartered on the premises. Under its rules the Council was incompetent to attend to economic demands; its jurisdiction was limited to the settlement of personal disputes among workers, to the arranging of games and athletics, and to what was euphemistically termed the amelioration of cultural and living conditions. On pay day everybody was compelled to subscribe a membership fee at the rate of eight annas a month. It was not long before the indignant workers appealed to the managing director, only to be told to submit what they had to say in writing. They then put in several thousand individual petitions. This acted, and the subscription was reduced by half. Not many days later, however, the police were hunting out the "instigators", and a dozen of these were sacked. More than 200 permanent police posts were about this time opened in the Narayanganj industrial zone.

Our industrial proletariat constitutes a new generation of workers who have yet to build their traditions and their experience of trade unionism. Their corporate consciousness is still undeveloped. The denial of civic freedoms after the attainment of independence (but for the two years immediately preceding the military régime) has been fatal to the trade union movement.

Looking ahead, the problem is formidable. The workers will never give up the heroic fight against their exploitation, and time will correct their inexperience. But they suffer an inherent handicap. The working-class consists of two national groups - the Bengalis, and the non-Bengalis (speaking Urdu); and it has been the unremitting endeavour of the reactionaries to wreck its unity by kindling hatred between these groups. Thus, when the United Front came into office on the defeat of the Muslim League in 1954, the reactionaries saw to it that some bloody clashes should take place between the two nationalities both in the jute and paper industries. In this situation the Central Government dissolved the East Pakistan cabinet, making out that it was incapable of preserving law and order. It will be seen, therefore, that the very national composition of the proletariat stands in the way of the unity of the movement. Thus riven, it is a prey to opportunism and corruption; and to standing visitation by the police. It invites, finally, direct interference on the part of the Labour Attachés of the U. S. Embassy.

## THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN AFGHANISTAN

Educated Soviet women of Central Asia, especially if they be of Muslim background or parentage and are Persian speaking, are peculiarly well fitted to comprehend the difficulties encountered by the feminist movement in Afghanistan. Writing in *KRATKIYE SOOBShCHENIYA INSTITUTA NARODOV AZII* 73, Moscow 1963, A. A. Dzhafarova surveys the chequered story of this movement from its beginning in King Amanullah's reign until the present time.

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Down the centuries women in Afghanistan have been in a position of inferiority and bondage. The Shariat, which strictly regulates the personal and social life of Muslim woman, did not recognize her as having any rights. Nobody was concerned about educating her, and the sayings of the Koran took the place of learning in her case. The girl was brought up merely as a woman-to-be. Between the ages of 13 and 15 she was given in marriage at the discretion of the parents who would have received the prescribed purchase-money from the bridegroom. The Afghan woman had no right of divorce; and should she be divorced at the husband's instance, she lost the custody of the children. She was humiliated by the practice of polygamy.

Among the Koranic precepts on marriage, divorce and inheritance is a law which says that as soon as the Afghan girl becomes betrothed (from the age of 10 to 12) she is under obligation not to go out from the house except veiled.\* Customarily, however, it is only in the larger towns that women wear the chador, or veil: conditions of life in the countryside scarcely permit observance of the rule. With the nomads, the Hazaras (a people of Mongol extraction) and the Jamshidis, the womenfolk when they go out put a motley shawl over their heads, and the Nuristani women a coloured kerchief.

The first steps on the path of emancipation were taken in the reign of Amanullah, shortly after the proclamation of the country's independence. A new spirit in society, affecting every department of life, made itself felt in those years, and the leaders of the bourgeois-social movement, the Young Afghans, were zealous reformers. They placed on the agenda, among the urgent and major items, the problem of the position of women. Women made up half the population, but were prevented from sharing the social life of the country, and the reformers proposed to concede to them anyhow the elementary rights.

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\* The wording of this slipshod sentence is reproduced intact. - Ed.

The foremost thinker in the new movement, Mahmud Tarzi, founder and editor of the journal SERAJ-AL-AKHBAR which had been coming out since 1911, wrote copiously on the need of female education, and advocated secular schools for girls. He was as eloquent in verse as in prose, and one of his poems pleaded powerfully that woman, as mother of the race, must hold her own in learning. Thanks to the efforts of such enlightened and advanced minds, the first reforms in this direction were introduced in 1921 when the Government opened a school for women (Maktabe Masturat). This was followed a few months later by a second institution of the sort, called Maktabe Esmat. The instruction in both was conducted in French, and the curriculum included reading and writing, foreign languages and domestic science. The schools were attended by the daughters of privileged families who went on to Turkey afterwards to complete their studies.

In the same year 1921, on the date of the second anniversary of the Afghan independence, the first number appeared of a woman's weekly, ERSHAD OL NESVAN. The wife of Mahmud Tarzi was the driving personality behind this publication, which devoted the eight pages of each issue to the cause of feminine education and a changed moral outlook. The journal aroused considerable interest both in Afghanistan and in the neighbouring countries.

In 1927-8 Amanullah issued his ferman forbidding the wearing of the veil and his decree on the changed position of women. To put across to the urban populace of Kabul the idea of abolishing the veil, a special meeting of women was convened at which the King spoke in strong condemnation of the custom. In these years a non-official Board was formed for protecting women's rights, but in practice this charitable association was not given wide scope and restricted itself to isolated cultural measures. Worse still, when the Young Afghan Government fell in 1929 the reforms connected with women's status were reversed; the secular schools for girls were closed and the compulsory use of the veil was reintroduced. Something was done by the new government of Nader Shah (1929-1933) and afterwards by that of his son, Mohammad Zahir Shah, towards bettering the situation of women, and lessons in the Maktabe Masturat were revived. In the 30s certain steps to organize the classroom teaching of women were taken; in the larger towns municipal girls' schools, and in the provinces rural girls' schools, were opened alongside the parallel institutions for boys, as also courses to combat illiteracy.

After the Second World War further measures were adopted. In 1948 the Ministry of Education worked out a scheme for training women teachers, and a branch of the Higher Normal School was established in the Malalay lycée. On completion of their fourth year at this institution students in the faculty of letters or natural sciences take a diploma qualifying them as teachers in girls' schools. A second lycée, named Zarguna, was opened in Kabul in 1950. The unprecedented vigour of the national liberation movement throughout the East in these post-war days profoundly affected Afghanistan's social life as a whole, and created conditions in which feminism asserted itself more insistently. The demand that "the Afghan woman should be granted her legal rights" figured in the political programme of the Active Youth movement at that time, and an even more important event in this period was the opening of Kabul's Women's

Charitable Association (Mo'assaseye tahririye Nesvan).<sup>\*</sup> The aim as defined by the consultative council of this body was "the raising of women's status in the community", and the activities in the early stages depended, as the Association's name suggested, on charitable donations: in other words, the work was limited to helping indigent women and children with gifts of clothing and so forth. A group of educated women was in immediate charge, accountable to a Controlling Council of five; namely, the Ministers of Home Affairs, Finance, Commerce, Planning, and Social Work. Gradually the Association's scope was widened, and in 1959 the Council approved of six sub-sections. These were:

- (i) Literacy Section. This carries out the free instruction of women and girls in the following subjects: religion, history, geography, hygiene, literature, Persian, and Pushtu; and also arranges courses at which the care of children and the sick, work at the spinning-wheel, drawing etc. are taught.
- (ii) Trade Section. This engages in the marketing of the handiwork produced by members of the Association, such as knitting, embroidery and gold-woven fabrics.
- (iii) Contract Section. This complies with Government and private orders for sewn goods and affords work to more than 1,500 women in Kabul.
- (iv) Press and Information Section. This tackles the spread of general knowledge among women, and attends to the publication of the journal MERMYN (Woman). Catering for various strata in society, this periodical was a quarterly until 1960 but since then has been a monthly magazine. The Section organizes lectures and conferences on matters of sanitation and on the fight against superstition and prejudice; it arranges talks on public health, and on maternity and child welfare; and it manages a club where concerts and exhibitions take place.
- (v) Domestic Science Section. Here women learn sewing, knitting, embroidery, and other accomplishments. The needy, and in the first instance students, are offered employment in making up linen for the medical and military departments, in the tailoring of clothes and in the manufacture of toys for sale to the public.
- (vi) Cultural Relations Section. This is concerned with establishing and maintaining contact with women's organizations abroad.

From its inception the Association began to prepare the ground for the eventual emancipation of women, and long before the official abolition of the veil those of its members who were educated and properly qualified were being placed in posts in certain of the Government offices.

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<sup>\*</sup> From 1960 the Association has been known as Da Memryn Tolyna (Women's Association). - Author's note.

It was in 1959 that the Afghan Government cautiously approached the subject of the veil, giving orders to the police not to take action if women appeared in the street or in public places with their faces uncovered. The way had already been paved, thanks to the Association. The office-bearers had some while previously taken the initiative in breaking with convention and had won over the authorities to their side. This formal step was made to coincide with the celebration of Independence Day on 24 August 1958. For the next several days the intrepid leaders were travelling round the country holding meetings at which the cause they advocated was explained. Women were invited to these gatherings, and the authorities both in the capital and the provincial centres guaranteed that all attending them unveiled might do so with impunity.

The emergence of the Afghan woman from the veil was greeted with much satisfaction in the world at large. Addressing the people of Moscow on 2 March 1960 on the results of his tour of Indonesia, Burma, India and Afghanistan, N.S. Khrushchev spoke particularly of this: "I shall not conceal from you," he said, "that what touched me beyond all, was that among the tens of thousands lining the streets of Kabul one could distinguish so many unveiled and smiling female faces, could hear the words of their welcome. The women were there, alongside their menfolk, innocent of the paranja which used to disfigure them so and turn them into faceless apparitions."

Soon after the decision to discard the veil, orders were passed to make room in the Ministries and other departments at Kabul for such women as should be found suitably qualified. But it is at this point necessary, if the reader is not to gain a wrong impression, to make a reservation about numbers: the decision to abandon the veil was far from applying to all; indeed it was confined mainly to the urban women of the privileged class. Nevertheless it is to be accounted an advance that juveniles in several of the main towns such as Kabul, Jalalabad and Kandahar, nowadays dispense with the veil. If, therefore, for the time being the chador still stands between Afghan women and their emancipation, the partial success in abolishing it attests the growth of their self-consciousness and a longing to emerge at last from the state of subordination which has through the centuries been theirs.

As noticed above, Afghan women have now a chance of employment in administrative spheres, and can appear in public places; and those who have received the necessary training under the auspices of the Women's Association (Da Mermyn Tolyna) have been installed in such organizations as the airways company Ariana, the Afghanistan Bank, the Ministry of Education, Press, etc. In the Rural Development Department the number of posts held by women is quite considerable: 716 according to the published figure for July 1960. At the beginning of the same year there were 1,116 women, as estimated by the newspapers ANIS and ESLAH, in Afghan undertakings.

Schoolchildren are beginning to join the Girl Guides, and in 1961 this movement had attracted over 400 between the ages of nine and 12. At the celebration of the 42nd anniversary of independence, girls for the first time took part in a physical-culture parade, and around the same date graced the pavilions of the International Exhibition at Kabul. Slowly but surely women are taking their place in the cultural life of the country and in art. Thus, in the Kabul

theatre there are now actresses, and female voices are increasingly heard on Kabul Radio. A notable woman painter, Shokur Vali Simona, has exhibited in her salon a picture entitled "The Awakening" in which an Afghan woman is portrayed casting aside the veil. This attracted wide attention and won public acclaim. Press and radio preach the cause of female emancipation: ANIS and ESLAH devote special sections to it headed "Woman's World" and "Family", which carry articles culled from foreign sources dealing with the status of women in contemporary society. Soviet material on the life of women in the USSR is featured in this context. Kabul Radio has daily broadcasts for women. The Cultural Relations Section of the Women's Association, mentioned earlier on, is being given a high priority, and it is due to the exertions of this Section that Afghan women were able to take part in the XIXth Conference of the International Union of Women held in Ireland in August 1959. The leader of the Afghan delegation, Kobra Nurzay, spoke in that forum on the position of Afghan womanhood and on the activities of Da Mermyn Tolyna. It can be safely assumed that the entry of this Association into the said Union, in which 36 Afro-Asian countries are represented, was one of the matters discussed during the talks.

Of recent years the feminist movement, led by Da Mermyn Tolyna, has been noticeably active. The principal task of the Association is, as it has been from the start, the conquest of illiteracy and the identification of women with the life of the community. The Association has been organizing visits to the capital by women from the different provinces to acquaint them with the work that is being done, and the Association's own Branch in Kandahar has been particularly successful in that part of the country. With the Association's assistance a department of female instruction has been set up in Kabul, and at the Ministry of Mining Industry a bureau has been opened for the engagement of qualified women workers.

Much has been done; much remains to be done. Among the complicated problems still to be solved are such legal questions as the conditions of marriage, the equality in law of husband and wife, the system of polygamy, female rights to inheritance, and many others.

In Afghanistan the measures tending to further the spread of feminism are of vital consequence to society, and make for the solution of the problems that face the country on its road to national development.

### Gerasim Lebedev

Readers of the article on Lebedev in CAR, 1963, No.3, may be interested to know that his GRAMMAR OF THE PURE AND MIXED EAST INDIAN DIALECTS has, after 162 years, reached its Second Edition. The first edition was published in London in 1801. The present edition (K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1963) is limited to 300 copies and has been edited with a biography

and bibliography by Dr. Mahadev Prasad Saha and a Foreword by Dr. S.K. Chatterji.

In his Foreword Dr. Chatterji writes that Lebedev sets out to present "distinct grammatical principles, hitherto so little understood by those who have written on them and less so by those who have reprinted them. . . It would appear, from what Lebedev attempted, and has actually achieved in the field of Linguistics, that his intentions were high and great but his actual performance fell very short of what he wished to do." It is clear that Lebedev himself was far from possessing a proper grip on the language, and his grammar in its original form is a linguistic curiosity, of historical value only. It does, however, reveal, as Dr. Chatterji says, "the genuine desire of a restless spirit from Russia. . . to help the Indians in making them understood to the world outside."

#### Soviet help for Afghan gas exploration

Soviet specialists are helping in the search for gas in northern Afghanistan. In 1963 large amounts of gas were found at Sultan Kot, and at the beginning of April 1964 further reserves, 2,226 metres down, were struck at Yatym Tag.

SK. 16.4.64

#### Soviet-Persian trade agreement

Discussions have been taking place in Tehran on the development of trade between Persia and the USSR. A three-year agreement on commodity exchanges and on payments were concluded; both were signed in Moscow on 20 June 1964.

PR. 22.6.64

#### Afghan visit inspires Turkmen poet

A new book of verse by the Turkmen poet Ann Kovusov, AFGANSKIYE VSTRECHI (Meetings in Afghanistan), has been brought out by the publishing house "Sovetskiy pisatel". The verses were inspired by the poet's journeyings in neighbouring Afghanistan. The first set of poems tell of the friendliness of the Afghan people; the second are lyrical poems based on Afghan folklore. The poems have been translated into Russian by Yakovom Kozlovskiy.

TI. 25.4.64

## THE BORDERLANDS IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on the borderland countries appearing in Soviet newspapers received during the period 1 April - 30 June. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

### AFGHANISTAN

In the absence of any event of signal interest, advantage was taken of four routine items during this quarter to harp on the theme of Soviet-Afghan amity. These were: The New Year (observed in Afghanistan on 20 March, but not carried in the Russian press until April); Greetings to Mr. Khrushchev on his 70th birthday; Afghan Independence Day; Visit of Dr. Muhammad Yusuf to Moscow.

The formal exchanges between Messrs. Brezhnev and Khrushchev on one side, and H. M. Muhammad Zahir and his Prime Minister on the other, on the occasion of the Afghan New Year were prominently and fully reported by PR on 9.4.64 and 10.4.64.

The King's message to Mr. Khrushchev on his birthday came out in PR 17.4.64.

A good deal was made of the forty-fifth anniversary of Afghan Independence, 27 May 1919. PR 27.5.64 carried the texts of congratulatory telegrams from Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Khrushchev, and KOM.P of the same date reported the content of these messages. On that date too PR and IZ printed articles over the names of M. Viktorov and K. Perevoshchikov in which the country's headway during those 45 years was recapitulated. Viktorov recalled "how in May 1919 the Afghan army had gained the day against the British colonizers, and how the Afghan people having expelled the foreign oppressors applied themselves to the liquidation of an age-old backwardness." Numerous major undertakings had since transformed the country. These owed their success to two things: the policy of neutrality; and the friendly hand which the Soviet Union had extended. Perevoshchikov wrote of the unhesitating support which Afghanistan had enjoyed from the young Soviet Russia in those early days and ever since. The sheer fact of the existence of the Country of the Soviets compelled the colonizers to toe the line. "The Afghan nation had too many ill-wishers in the West"; in imperialist circles there were machinations to thwart the hard earned independence. But happily there was one frontier, "if only one, where Afghanistan was secure - the frontier with the great northern neighbour." Friendship, continued Perevoshchikov, knows no distance; friendship knows no barriers. And when we in the Soviet Union say 'friendship' we do not intend a barren emotion but something exceedingly concrete. A wise Afghan proverb has it that sweetness comes not to the mouth through simply repeating 'sugar'.

Soviet Afghan friendship was strong because it actually brought people peace, tranquility, a better life.

A third signed article of the sort was that by M. Yur'yev (TASS) appearing in SK 27.5.64 under the caption "The Fires of New Life", and in TI 27.5.64 under the direct title of "Forty-Five Years of Independence". This similarly dwelled on Afghanistan's debt to Soviet Russia.

The courtesies shown to the Afghan Prime Minister during his recent visit to Moscow for medical treatment were featured by PR and IZ in the early part of June. A luncheon to which Dr. Muhammad Yusuf was invited by Mr. Khrushchev on the first of the month was amply reported on 2.6.64, and PR of that date had a photograph of the visitor with his host.

## INDIA

Throughout April India was kept well in focus as the recipient of Soviet aid. The list of references is too long for inclusion here, but some specimen headings of reports and signed articles may suggest their range and style: The Helping Hand; With USSR Assistance; A Brother for Bhilai (meaning Bokaro in Bihar, the site of the projected metallurgical works); Friendly Aid; Hand-some Gift from Soviet People; India's Eternal Gratitude; Co-operation Strengthens; Help that is Welcome; Deserts Shall Blossom; The Grateful Indian Worker; Ahead of Schedule; A Grand Day.

Telegrams of greeting received by Mr. Khrushchev on his 70th birthday from Pandit Nehru, President Radhakrishnan and S. A. Dange were published in the leading organs on the 17th, 18th and 19th of the month.

The entire press, metropolitan and republican, allotted a generous proportion of its total space at the end of May and the beginning of June, to the death and succession of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The passing of India's Prime Minister on 27 May was told next day in full pages, edged in black and generally accompanied by large scale photographs of the deceased. These obituary notices were markedly sympathetic in expression, and there was none that did not pay unstinted homage to the character, stature, and attainments of the man. More graphic, and embellished with more obvious journalistic tricks of phrase, were the accounts of the obsequies at Delhi, Allahabad and elsewhere which presently filled column after column of the daily papers. They in turn, as June opened, gave place to biographies and word portraits of Lal Bahadur Shastri; the most noteworthy of these being one by I. Belyayev in PR 3.6.64. Shastri was described unanimously as a good man, a trusted lieutenant of Nehru and likely to hold to the course plotted by his predecessor. It was predicted that that course would be fraught with peril from the violent elements of reaction, now that the practised helmsman had been removed. In the next days, established commentators on the Indian scene such as A. Kutsenkov, I. Serebryakov and V. Mayevskiy, (PR), Yu. Popov and K. Pervoshchikov (IZ) and N. Pastukhov (KOM.P) took up, as one of them put it, the questions, Who after Nehru? and, What after Nehru? Most correspondents favoured the claims of Indira Gandhi to high cabinet office; all spoke adversely of Morarji Desai, S.K. Patil and T.T. Krishnamachari. When the choice was declared, enthusiasm

was tempered, as comment was governed, by these prejudices. Of the two questions, the first (Who after Nehru?) had been answered, but it would be less easy, the commentators thought, to hazard a reply to the second.

The Memorial Meeting held in Moscow on 8 June occasioned a final wave of reporting. Descriptions of the proceedings were exclusively detailed, covering in some cases two whole pages. Though PR (see below) was alone in carrying Mr. Kosygin's long discourse word-for-word, the remaining journals gave substantial extracts from it; and all offered summaries of the speeches of the others invited to the rostrum. These others were: Triloki N. Kaul (Indian Ambassador); M. Tursun-Zade, the writer (President, Soviet Committee of Solidarity of Countries of Asia and Africa); H. E. the Afghan Ambassador (Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps); B. G. Gafurov (Director, Institute of Peoples of Asia, USSR Academy of Sciences); B. V. Voyevodin (Chief Engineer, Bhilai); and L. A. Vasil'yeva (a girl student who had been in India). Of the version in PR 9.6.64 two-thirds went to the verbatim report of Mr. Kosygin's address. The speech, as here reproduced, was not so much a funeral oration in the Western sense as a political eulogy of the services rendered by the USSR to the cause of freedom. Mention of the Soviet Government and People occurred in it 52 times.

On 23.6.64 PR published an article from its Delhi correspondent entitled "Call to Unity". This article was significant because it revealed to Soviet readers what until then had been glossed over: the dissension and disorder reigning within the Indian Communist Party. The writer reviewed in some detail the events of April and May. At the very juncture when a new situation had arisen in consequence of Nehru's death, he said, and when the progressive forces in the country must needs go into battle against internal reaction, those forces are split asunder. "To India's great misfortune, there is no unity in the ranks of the advance-guard."

## NEPAL

The signing of two agreements in Katmandu under which the Soviet Union will give Nepal free aid in the construction (a) of a section of the East-West Highway measuring 125 kilometres, (b) of a factory for the production of agricultural implements, got adequate publicity in PR/IZ/KOM.P 10.4.64. Dr. Tulsi Giri was quoted in the context as declaring: "We are very grateful to the USSR for providing us with this effective assistance."

On 21.4.64 PR carried the lengthy address of the Central Committee of the Nepal Communist Party to Mr. Khrushchev on his 70th birthday. The message made it plain that the Communists of Nepal regarded him, and venerated him, as the world leader of their movement.

PR/IZ 12.6.64 reported the reception held by the Nepalese Ambassador in Moscow on 11 June to mark the King's birthday.

## PAKISTAN

References to Pakistan were few, but their tone was friendlier.

Appreciative remarks by the Director of Pakistan's Forestry Research

Institute at the close of a fortnight's seminar arranged under the auspices of FAO in Kazakhstan were published in KP 25.4.64.

PR 11.5.64 noticed briefly the inauguration of the Pakistan Airways new service Karachi-Moscow-London.

SK 14.5.64 carried a TASS agency message from Karachi under the boldly lettered heading "With due regard to Soviet experience." The message said that President Ayub Khan, writing in MORNING NEWS, had paid a high tribute to the progress achieved by the Russians in the educational domains since the October Revolution. Through the attention given to scientific training the Soviet Union had won notable success in mastering the Cosmos, and Pakistan must broaden its educational system "having regard to Soviet experience."

TRUD of the same date (viz., 14.5.64) printed in heavy type the complimentary statement issued by the leader of a Pakistan delegation attending the 1st May celebrations in Kazakhstan. The delegation represented the joint council of the East and the West Pakistan Federations of Labour, and its leader, S. Solayman, spoke of the deep impression made on the members by the evident achievement and standing of trade unionism in the USSR.

IZ 27.5.64 commented on the continued rise in the rent, and deplorable fall in the standard, of living accommodation in the cities. It cited MORNING NEWS to the effect that families are commonly herded together in insanitary premises, ill-adapted to the purpose, and that the rent is frequently as much as 50 per cent of a man's monthly wages.

PR 15.6.64 noticed the signing at Rawalpindi of an agreement with the Soviet Union on cultural and scientific cooperation.

IZ 16.6.64 carried the same item.

## PERSIA

There is no holding the Pentagon top brass, wrote "Onlooker" in PR 1.4.64. The presence of some 7,000 American troops on Persian soil engaged in manoeuvres on the southern frontier of the USSR proves that the recent betterment of Soviet-Persian relations has been unpalatable to Washington. The American endeavour now, said Onlooker, is to revive a dangerous international tension in this theatre. But what, he asked, are we to think of Persian leadership? Not long ago this was declaring its wish for an improved relationship, but has now acquiesced in these provocative gestures by the USA, and indeed participated in them.

PR 18.4.64 published a letter signed "Central Committee People's Party of Persia (Tudeh)" congratulating Mr. Khrushchev on his 70th birthday, and looking to him as the author of the XXth and XXIIInd Party Congresses, and as the captain of world Communism today.

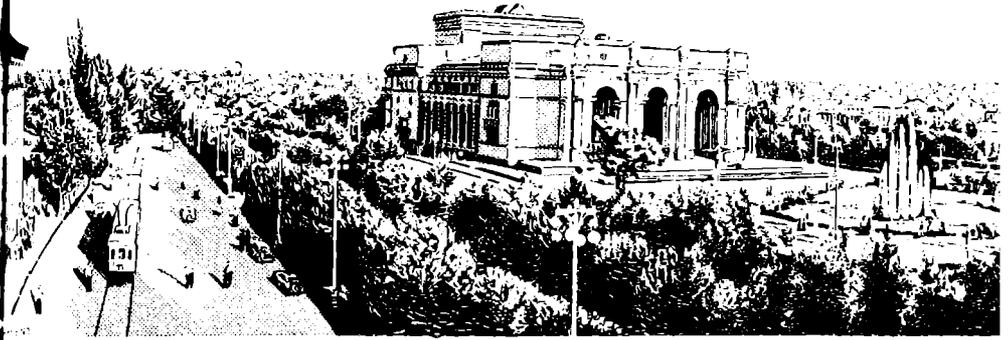
An elaborate statement signed in the identical fashion, which PR published on 20.6.64 under the heading "Categoric Condemnation of Chinese Dissidence", developed the same thesis. Reproduced in Russian from the journal MARDOM of 5 April 1964, the statement was a detailed endorsement of the Soviet position versus that of the Chinese Communists.

Politics were largely set aside early in June in the press accounts of Princess Ashraf's visit to Russia. There was favourable comment on the extent of the tour, which took in, apart from Moscow and Leningrad, Volgograd, Tashkent, Samarkand, Dushanbe, Sochi, Tbilisi and Yerevan. Prominence was given to two of the remarks passed by the Shah's sister: one was that she was glad the feelings between the two countries had latterly improved after a period of strain; and the other was that she had been afforded facilities to see everything she wanted.

#### SINKIANG AND TIBET

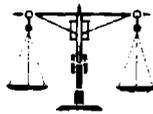
There was no mention of these countries in the papers examined.

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Central Asian Research Centre in association with St. Antony's College (Oxford) Soviet Affairs Study Group

# CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW



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## ERRATA

### CAR, Vol. XII, No. 3

- P. 173, para. 5, l. 7 should read : 9530  $\pm$  130 years.
- P. 179, para 3, l. 7 should read : twin sites Kalai-Mir and Kei-Kobad Shah
- P. 181, 3rd line from bottom should read : 1061 Tr. Tad. VI
- P. 183, Litvinskiy, 1963 should read : 3rd B.C.-3rd A.D.  
Ranov, 3rd line from bottom should read : Izv. ANT 1 (28)
- P. 184, for M.G. Vozobiyeva read : M.G. Vorobiyeva
- Map facing p. 172, square 2b : Mount Mugh should be approx. 20 km. due south on left bank of Zeravshan.

## Maps

Fergana Valley	facing page	296
Sinkiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region	„ „	318
Soviet Socialist Republics of Kazakhstan, Kirgiziya, Tadzhi-kistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan		at end

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## Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the Review when referring to the Soviet Academies of Sciences, and to newspapers and periodicals etc. employed as sources, are as follows : -

AN/SSSR	Akademiya Nauk (Academy of Sciences) of USSR
AN/Kaz. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Kazakh SSR
AN/Kirg. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Kirgiz SSR
AN/Tad. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Tadhik SSR
AN/Turk. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Turkmen SSR
AN/Uzb. SSR	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ Uzbek SSR
SAGU	Sredneaziatskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet (Central Asian State University)
IZ	Izvestiya
K	Kommunist
KOM. P	Komsomolskaya Pravda
KP	Kazakhstanskaya Pravda
KT	Kommunist Tadzhi-kistana
KZ	Krasnaya Zvezda
LG	Literaturnaya Gazeta
NT	New Times
PR	Pravda
PV	Pravda Vostoka
SK	Sovetskaya Kirgiziya
SU	Soviet Union
TI	Turkmenskaya Iskra
VVS	Vedemosti Verkhov-nogo Soveta

# CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

VOL. XII, NO. 4

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## EDITORIAL

It is only rarely that Central Asian Review publishes a full translation of a Soviet article. This is partly for reasons of space, and partly because the prolixity of much Soviet writing often makes abridgment not only possible but desirable. Occasionally, however, the editors find it appropriate to give a full translation of an article either because its scholarly quality does not permit of abridgment, or because its political significance is so great that abridgment could inadvertently present the theme of the article in the wrong atmosphere and perhaps suggest to readers that the sense had been deliberately distorted. Such an article is that on "Problems of the Development of National Soviet Statehood During the Present Period" of which a full translation will be found in the present issue.

During the past four years we have frequently drawn attention to the increasing emphasis laid by the Soviet authorities on the need for the creation of a unitary multi-national state in which the barriers of national frontiers, languages and cultures would no longer exist. In this eventuality, even if the national republics were to continue to exist in name, which is by no means certain, they would be shown even of the faint semblance of self-determination and sovereignty with which they were endowed in 1924. Recently, a number of articles have appeared in metropolitan periodicals explaining the nature and advantages of the proposed new structure, which to Russians, in so far as they are interested, may appear proper and logical. Articles on the same subject in Republican periodicals and academic journals have been in a somewhat different strain: without quoting chapter and verse they show unmistakably that the new prospect has been by no means universally welcomed. This will hardly surprise close students of Central Asian affairs who, while failing to detect any indication of positive nationalism amounting to a desire for separation from the USSR, have noticed an increasing interest in the idea of the nation as distinct from the fast disappearing tribal and clannish loyalties.

The significance of the article we have selected for translation lies in the fact that it has appeared in the series devoted to the social sciences published by the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, culturally by far the most advanced of the Muslim Republics. To non-Marxists this article will appear to combine the hamiletic drone of a sectarian religious tract with the drumming and repetitive insistence of a tribal dance, and they will find it hard to believe that it could bring reassurance or comfort to any but the most dedicated Uzbek Party

members in whom was left no spark of national consciousness. How, it may be asked, would a similar proposal have struck the intelligentsia of the Indian sub-continent, of Nigeria and all the other numerous Asian and African countries which have recently achieved genuine independence and complete sovereignty? It is, of course, true that the British Government was constrained by circumstances to grant complete independence to India and Pakistan much earlier than was originally intended; but complete transfer of power was conceived as the ultimate objective before any element of compulsion existed. The various projects of provincial self-government, dyarchy and the like which were devised between the two wars were only put forward as stages on the road to complete independence; no British Government thought or pretended that any of these projects could fully satisfy Indian national aspirations, nor was an attempt ever made to foist on India or any other colony a plan which claimed to grant complete self-determination and sovereignty while retaining the control of economy, defence and foreign relations in British hands. No Indian or African nationalists would have been hoodwinked by a plan of such palpable casuistry; it would have outraged British as well as world liberal opinion; and its enforcement would have been quite impracticable. The situation is not at all the same in regard to the Soviet plan. Even if the Muslim intelligentsia realize its full implications they have no means of combating it; Russian and world opinion is indifferent; and finally, because of Soviet Central Asia's geographical contiguity to Russia on the one hand and to China on the other, what amounts to the resuscitation of the idea of greater Russia is not only practicable but in Russian eyes inevitable.

In March 1955, a lecture delivered before the Royal Institute of International Affairs on the subject of Soviet policy in Central Asia ended with these words:

What might deter the Russians is the attitude of the Chinese who attach great importance to the principle of Asia for the Asians and who in spite of Communism may continue to regard the Russians as no less exotic than the Western imperialists. This consideration might at some later stage impel the Russians to grant or at any rate hold out some prospect of a measure of genuine self-government. Such a change of policy would, however, only be adopted as a dire necessity, or because the Russians decided that not only would it contain no inherent threat to the Soviet régime but might even act as a stimulus to production. This contingency may seem very remote at present but it should not be entirely excluded.

*This forecast, which seemed reasonable enough at the time, has been proved quite wrong in almost every respect; so far from being likely to defer to Chinese susceptibilities by reducing the rate of non-Asian colonization and granting a measure of genuine self-determination to its Asian nationalities, the Soviet Government now regards the Chinese presence on its frontiers with such apprehension that any relaxation of central control over the republics must seem quite out of the question.*

---

Soviet policy towards the national republics of the USSR is in marked contrast to the latest Soviet line towards the new independent states of Africa and Asia. Up to last year the Soviet attitude towards states which had not adopted socialism or were only inclined towards socialism of a non-Marxist type was uncompromising. More recently, Khrushchev, then at the height of his power, hinted that neither socialism of the Soviet kind nor the idea of "national democracy" were the only valid principles of government. "It stands to reason," he said, "that this [i.e. national democracy] does not preclude other forms of development along the path of national liberation and progress." He added, however, that "all progress leads towards socialism."

The adoption of a more accommodating attitude towards the non-Communist and non-Socialist countries of Asia and Africa was partly dictated by the desire to achieve solidarity with these countries not only against the West but against the Chinese. Thus, KOMMUNIST No.8 of 1964, criticized Chinese attempts to exclude the USSR from the Afro-Asian solidarity movement as well as those "right-wing nationalist leaders in some young states whose interpretation of neutralism leads them to reject solidarity with the Soviet Union."

But solidarity with the young states cannot be achieved without some concession to nationalism, which in the national republics of the USSR is absolute anathema. "The experience of recent years," writes KOMMUNIST, "shows that nationalism, if it really proceeds from patriotic considerations, must inevitably develop on the side of socialism," that is to say, it results in the expulsion of foreign based capitalism. In the past 'national communism' and 'national socialism' have been roundly condemned, but it now seems that from practical considerations some kind of marriage of nationalism and socialism must be arranged. Thus, in an article in AFRIKA I AZIYA SEGODNYA, No.2 of 1964, the pros and cons of 'socialism of a national type' (the term 'national socialism' is for obvious reasons avoided), are carefully weighed up. Such an ideology, it is found, expresses "the striving of the patriotic forces to liquidate the positions of foreign monopolies and internal reaction," and "objectively promotes non-capitalist development."

The difficulty as well as the necessity of reconciling orthodox ideology with practical modern requirements is now readily admitted by the Soviet authorities. A discussion on the subject of the Soviet attitude towards the developing countries recently took place in Moscow and was reported in detail in MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, Nos. 4 and 6 of 1964. The Central Asian Research Centre has recently published an abridged version of this in English.

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The information contained in a small book called SSSR V TSIFRAKH V 1963 GODU (The USSR in 1963 in Figures), Moscow 1964, is revealing on the subject of the population of the Central Asian republics. It appears that whereas the population of the USSR as a whole increased by approximately eight per cent between January 1959 and January 1964, the average increase in the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan was over 20 per cent. When it is further seen that the average increase in the three republics of RSFSR, Ukraine and Belorussia was only six per cent it seems clear that the greater part of the

increase in the Central Asian republics must be due to migration from the west of the Union.

The greatest increases in population since 1959 are in Kazakhstan (27 per cent) and Kirgiziya (20.8 per cent). The increase in the capitals of these two republics in the same period is phenomenal - Alma-Ata 33.3 per cent and Frunze 50.9 per cent. According to the 1959 census the population of Alma-Ata was composed of 333,480 non-Asians (Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians), 39,410 Kazakhs, and 31,341 other Asians. Frunze's population included 169,712 non-Asians, 20,610 Kirgiz and 21,010 other Asians. Thus, in each of the capital cities of the two republics bordering on Sinkiang the non-Asian population outnumbers the Asian by more than four to one. In the whole of the Alma-Ata oblast, with its 400 mile frontier with China, the non-Asian population outnumbers the Asian by nearly two to one. The increases since 1959 probably make these disparities even greater.

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In CAR No.4 of 1963 we referred to an article by Major-General Taipov published in KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA of 29.9.63 strongly criticizing the present Chinese régime in Sinkiang and the repressive measures being carried out against the Muslim minorities there. This article has now been republished in IZVESTIYA (13.9.64) with some small textual modifications some of which are highly significant. To begin with, the new version of the article is evidently designed to give the impression that General Taipov, formerly of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, has only recently arrived from Sinkiang, whereas the original article stated that he arrived nearly three years prior to the time of writing, that is, some time in 1960. The word 'barricade' which is used in the title and text of the original article is now changed to 'frontier', and the Ili-Kazakh district of Sinkiang is no longer described as 'autonomous'. In the original article General Taipov spoke of the Soviet Union as his mother country and himself as hailing from Semirech'ye. It is now disclosed that he is an Uygur and is therefore most probably a descendant of one of those who emigrated from Sinkiang during the last century.

The Soviet propaganda policy in regard to Sinkiang is by no means easy to understand. Since October 1963 there has been virtually no mention of Sinkiang in the place where one would logically expect to find it, namely, the press of the republics adjoining the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region. There might, of course, be a case for keeping Sinkiang out of the press altogether simply from a reluctance to satisfy western curiosity on a remote and little-known region; but it is hard to discern the object in presenting the Soviet public with this warmed up titbit.

## SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

—

 THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL  
 SOVIET STATEHOOD DURING THE PRESENT PERIOD

Below is a translation of an article by M. Kh. Khakimov "O nekotorykh voprosakh razvitiya natsional'noy sovetskoy gosudarstvennosti v sovremennyy period" (Some Problems of the Development of National Soviet Statehood during the Present Period), which appeared in OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE, No.6 of 1964. This article, with its emphasis on the increasing "internationalization" of national Soviet statehood and the reinforcement of "federal" principles in the single (yedinyy) Soviet multi-national state, is perhaps the most significant of a number of recent Soviet articles. These make it plain that the national republics, at any rate as originally conceived as the expression of the sovereignty of the individual socialist nations, are destined to disappear.

Khakimov makes the point that "the vehicle of the sovereignty of a union republic is that nation after which it is named and its population as a whole." But B. L. Manelis, in an important article in SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No.7 of 1964, entitled "Yedinstvo suvereniteta soyuza SSR i suvereniteta soyuznykh respublik v period razvernutogostroitel'stva kommunizma" (The Identity of the Sovereignty of the USSR with the Sovereignty of the Union Republics in the Period of Full-Scale Communist Construction), goes even further than this when he states that "in the course of socialist and communist construction the sources of sovereignty have undergone important changes. The source of sovereignty of a union republic now is the people (narod) inhabiting the republic, who are homogeneous and monolithic in the social sense and becoming more and more heterogeneous in the national sense." This surely means that the Kirgiz SSR, for instance, where the Kirgiz constituted only 40 per cent of the population in 1959, and the Kazakh SSR, where the Kazakhs are not even the most numerous nationality, can hardly be said to express any longer, even theoretically, the national sovereignty of the Kirgiz and Kazakhs respectively or to fulfil the criterion of national homogeneity.

At the beginning of his article Manelis reiterates Khakimov's arguments about the "organic unity" of the sovereignty of the USSR and that of the union republics, his assertion that the sovereignty of both is, by nature, complete and unlimited (something only possible under socialism), and the distinction he makes between sovereignty and competence. This presumably means: (a) Since the unity of the sovereignty of the USSR and union republics is based on an identity of interests, what the Party does in the interests of one is automatically in the best interests of the other. (b) Since the sovereignty of both the USSR and the

union republics is complete and unlimited by definition, any interference with the rights of the republics cannot be said to infringe their sovereignty, but only affects their powers (kompetentsiya).

As regards the respective powers of the USSR and union republics, Manelis rejects earlier hard and fast classifications into union, republican and joint, on the grounds that few, if any, matters are the exclusive concern of one or the other. At the same time he notes the growing importance of the various forms of coordination of the powers and activity of union and republican agencies, such as the increased representation of the union republics in the highest organs of state and the transformation of a number of union and republican economic and cultural agencies into union-republican bodies.

According to Manelis, "the reinforcement of the unity of the sovereignty and competence of the USSR and the union republics, and also the further development of the principle of democratic centralism, have been clearly displayed in the creation of a number of inter-republican economic regions and inter-republican agencies," with Central Asia acting as the pacemaker. In a footnote Manelis disagrees with the suggestion that the relations between the Central Asian republics are federative relations of a new type [see an article by A.I. Lepeshkin abridged in CAR, 1963, No.4, pp.333-42]. "At the same time," he continues, "it is not excluded that future developments could, in certain circumstances, lead to the creation of a federative unification (ob'yedineniye) of the republics of Central Asia and the transformation of the existing Central Asian agencies into federal agencies."

Side by side with the increasing emphasis in Soviet writing on the internationalization of national Soviet statehood and Soviet life, as well as on the emergence in the Soviet Union of a new historical international human community, the single Soviet people (yedinyy sovetskiy narod) (this was the subject of an article by N.V. Mansvetov in VOPROSY ISTORII, No.5 of 1964), it is stressed that Soviet federation has still far from exhausted its potentialities. This point was made yet again by E.V. Tadevosyan in an article in VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No.4 of 1964, entitled "V.I. Lenin o gosudarstvennykh formakh sotsialisticheskogo razresheniya natsional'nogo voprosa" (Lenin on the Political Forms of the Socialist Solution of the National Question). Tadevosyan criticized P.G. Semenov for talking of the "denationalization" of autonomous and even union republics and thus underrating the possibilities latent in Soviet federation and autonomy. "In the field of national state construction," he writes, "to try to hasten artificially the extinction of the forms of socialist national statehood, as well as refusal further to perfect and develop them, can bring only harm."

The statements by Khakimov and others to the effect that "there is no doubt that the Soviet constitutions of the period of the full-scale building of communism will give the force of law to the unity attained by the Soviet people and will show the way for the further internationalization of our national state formations," suggest that the draft of the new Soviet Constitution will be of considerable interest. The commission to draw up a new Constitution, with Khrushchev as chairman and 96 other members, was appointed at the first session of the newly-elected USSR Supreme Soviet in April 1962 on Khrushchev's recommendation. Khrushchev forecast that the new Constitution would be

adopted during the life of the present Supreme Soviet, i. e. by 1966. (P. 26.4.62) The Constitutional Commission met on 16 July 1964 under the chairmanship of Khrushchev. The report on the work of the subcommittee on questions of the nationalities policy and national state building was made by Mikoyan. No details of the reports or discussions were given. (P. 17.7.64) Meanwhile another straw in the wind is that in a recent book (SSSR V TSIFRAKH V 1963 GODU (The USSR in Figures in 1963) Moscow, 1964), for the first time the population breakdown is given by economic regions, with the inter-republican regions then broken down into republics.

There is one final point as regards the nationalities policy which has been made in a number of recent Soviet articles for example that of Mansvetov quoted above. This is that Stalin was wrong in asserting that the future intra-national language would be the result of the merging of all the national languages. Linguistic unity will come rather "through widespread mastery of one of the most widespread national languages, such as Russian is in Soviet conditions."

Every effort has been made to make the translation of Khakimov's article which follows as faithful and as readable as possible; but it cannot be claimed that the article makes easy reading either in Russian or in English. Notes on some of the words used are appended at the end of the translation.

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### Some Problems of the Development of National Soviet Statehood during the Present Period

By M.Kh. Khakimov

Our country's entry into the phase of the full-scale building of communism marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of national relations in the USSR, the chief feature of which is the further drawing together of the nations and the attainment of their complete unity. "The building of the material and technical base of communism," says the CPSU Programme, "leads to an ever closer unification of the Soviet peoples. The exchange of material and spiritual riches between the nations becomes more and more intensive, and the contribution of each republic to the common cause of communist construction mounts."(1)

There is increasing migration by the population and it becomes more and more multi-national in its make-up, particularly in those republics and oblasts which are rich in natural resources but have a comparatively low population density and need a numerous and skilled labour force.

Nowadays it is difficult to name any construction project of communism on which representatives of dozens of socialist nations are not engaged and which is not the fruit of the labour of the whole Soviet people. At the Bratsk GES [hydroelectric power-station], for example, members of more than 50 nationalities of the USSR, including the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, are working. Workers of 41 nationalities took part in the construction of the

Kremenchug GES, and the machinery for it was supplied by the undertakings of 12 union republics. The whole country participated in the creation of Sumgait and Mingechaur, the major new industrial centres of Azerbaydzhan.

On the Vakhsh river in Tadzhikistan the biggest GES in Central Asia, the Nurek, is under construction. Its design was worked out in Leningrad, Tashkent and Tbilisi. The turbines for Nurek are being produced by industrial undertakings in the Russian Federation and the Ukraine. The gigantic Bukhara-Urals gas pipeline has been brought into being through the efforts of many Soviet republics. A very large number of such examples could be quoted. The creative partnership of Soviet peoples of different nationalities is widespread throughout all sectors of economic and cultural construction.

In accordance with the main trends in the development of socialist production, the evolution of the Soviet federation and its component national states is characterized now by the following dialectically interrelated fundamental principles. On the one hand, there is the strengthening in every way possible of the USSR as the political form of the fraternal friendship of all the socialist nations and narodnost', and on the other the further development and thriving of all forms of Soviet national statehood. Under Soviet conditions national statehood cannot be considered in isolation from Soviet federation, in exactly the same way as the USSR cannot be conceived without the union republics, and the single Soviet people without the Soviet socialist nations and narodnost'.

While the Soviet socialist nations are the basis and vehicle of national Soviet statehood, the new historical intra-national (mezhnatsional'nyy) human community, the single Soviet people, forms the basis and vehicle of the single (yedinyy) Soviet multi-national state. Just as the formation and subsequent perfecting of this new historical human community have been and are being assured by the all-out development and prosperity of each Soviet socialist nation and narodnost', so too the further strengthening and development of the single Soviet multi-national state results from perfecting in every way possible all the forms of Soviet national statehood.

Soviet national statehood and the Soviet multi-national state cannot be separated in their tasks and aims. Thus, during the phase of the building and triumph of socialism the soviet multi-national state as the political union of the Soviet nations secured and consolidated the achievements of Great October. It was precisely within the framework of this union that the emancipation of the formerly oppressed peoples was accomplished, that their *de facto* inequality was overcome, and that their economy and culture prospered. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ensured the close friendship and mutual assistance of the Soviet peoples, thanks to which the *de facto* inequality of the formerly backward nations was eliminated on the basis of their transition to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage of development.

During the phase of the full-scale building of communism the role of the Soviet multi-national state increases still further. The creation of the material and technical base of communism, the transformation of socialist social relations into communist and the education of the new man are inseparably linked awe-inspiring tasks, all of which require the strengthening in every way of the USSR as the political form of the fraternal friendship of the socialist nations and

narodnost'. But the reinforcement of federal principles in the conduct of the economic, political and cultural life of the whole USSR in accordance with the objective requirements of the development of socialist social relations, is accompanied by the constant strengthening of all forms of Soviet national statehood as a most important instrument for carrying out the tasks of communist construction.

Naturally, in the future too the forms of national Soviet statehood will constantly change and be perfected. In corresponding fashion, the forms of Soviet federation will also develop and be perfected on the basis of the union and autonomous republics. And just as the further development and flourishing of the Soviet socialist nations intensifies the process of their drawing ever closer together, so too the evolution of the forms of Soviet autonomy and federation will result in the constant strengthening and perfecting of federal ties and the internationalization of Soviet national statehood.

This tendency can be observed in the development both of the union and autonomous republics and of the single (yedinyy) Soviet multi-national state, including their most important constitutional attributes.

Take, for example, the question of the constitutions of the USSR and the union and autonomous republics. The constitutions of the national republics of the period of the transition to socialism did not differ in any vital way from the all-Union constitution as regards the definition of the forms of the social and state structure. In the constitutions now in force there are also no really important differences between the USSR and the union and autonomous republics in the principles on which the state agencies, public organizations and the forms of their activity are built. From the very beginning a complete identity of basic principles (the declaration of the basic means of production as socialist property, possession of state power by the workers and peasants, the granting of democratic rights and freedoms to the toilers, etc.) was characteristic of the constitutions of the Soviet socialist republics.

There is no doubt that the Soviet constitutions of the period of the full-scale building of communism will give the force of law to the unity attained by the Soviet people and will show the way for the further internationalization of our national state formations. At the same time the new constitutions of the national republics will also reflect the main peculiarities of their economy, culture and way of life.

An analogous process can also be observed in the sphere of customary law. As is generally known, in the period of the transition to socialism the laws of the national republics, by virtue of the traditions which had grown up there, differed materially from all-Union legislation, for example as regards the system of courts and criminal legislation, and civil, labour and family law.(2) With the triumph of socialism and the development of the economy and culture of the socialist nations, the legal standards connected with distinctive national features in the past way of life of the peoples of the union republics began to die out gradually.(3) The uniformity of legal standards operating in the union republics has become particularly evident with the adoption of the new legislation of the USSR and the union republics.

The same thing is happening too in the development of such an attribute of state as territory. According to the existing constitutions, the territory of

union or autonomous republics cannot be altered without the consent of the republics themselves. This statute, which expresses one of the sovereign rights of the national Soviet republics, remains unchangeable during the present period too. However, the grounds and motives for altering the frontiers between the national Soviet republics, i.e. the main trends in the development of their territory, are now changing materially.

In the period of the transition to socialism, which coincided for the peoples of the Soviet East, for example, with the period of their national consolidation and the formation of their national Soviet statehood, whether territory belonged to one or another national state formation was determined by the national and ethnic composition of its population, and also in accordance with the direction in which it gravitated economically. Autonomy was granted to those oblasts which showed distinctive features in their economy, national makeup and way of life. It was on the same principles that the national union republics were set up and developed.

However, under the influence of new factors, which have received comprehensive development under full-scale socialist construction and particularly in the period of the transition to communism, the grounds and motives for altering the frontiers between the republics and oblasts are changing materially. These factors include the constant consolidation of the indestructible fraternal friendship and mutual aid between all the nations and *narodnost'* of the Soviet Union, the growing tendency of the Soviet socialist nations to draw together, the increasing mobility of the population and the growth of the multi-national composition of the Soviet republics and oblasts. As a result of these and other factors, the frontiers between the union republics within the USSR are more and more losing their former significance, which is also a reflection of the internationalization of national statehood and the consolidation of federal principles common to all nations (*obshchenatsional'nyy*) in the development of the territorial organization of the national Soviet republics and the Union of the SSR as a whole. The transfer, in January 1963, of 3,663,000 hectares of arable and pasture lands in the *Golodnaya Step'* zone from the Kazakh SSR to the Uzbek SSR is one of the numerous examples of such a change and development of the territory of the union republics.

In this connexion it is important to note the following fact. In the territory handed over to the Uzbek SSR, Kazakhs constitute a majority of the population. Therefore these territories gravitate towards the Uzbek SSR not for national but for economic reasons. This friendly act was dictated by international tasks, namely the interests of the further development of cotton growing, and the necessity of bringing management closer to the localities and simplifying state administration.

The trend in the development of national Soviet statehood and the single (*yedinyy*) Soviet multi-national state indicated above is also borne out by the evolution of the linguistic life of the peoples of the USSR. As is generally known, the period of the national consolidation and development of the Soviet socialist nations and their national statehood was at the same time one of the rebirth and development of national languages, of the steady and constant extension of their sphere of application, and of the growth of their social functions.

With the aim of creating and developing national culture and national statehood, of bringing the machinery of state closer to the local population and ensuring its broad participation in running the state, in each national republic the study and widespread application of the main national language was given pride of place. This constituted one of the natural laws of development of national relations in the USSR in the period of the transition to socialism.

A completely different situation is taking shape in the linguistic life of the peoples of the USSR in the period of full-scale socialist construction and particularly under the conditions of the transition to communism. The development of national relations in the USSR at the present time is characterized by an extension of intra-national relations in all spheres of public life in accordance with the objective demands of the development and transformation of socialist production relations into communist, and by the increasing tendency of the nations to draw together. At the same time the role of the Russian language, which has become the intra-national language of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, grows in importance.

Thus the national and the intra-national language have begun to play an equally important role in the life of each nation, thereby intensifying the process by which unilingual nations become bilingual. (4) This is also an illustration of the internationalization of national Soviet statehood, and of the consolidation of all-federal principles in the organization and activity of the Soviet multinational state of the whole people.

One could dwell on other attributes of national statehood too, for example citizenship, the flag, national anthem, etc. But I think the points already examined provide sufficiently clear confirmation of the thesis advanced above about the main trends in the development of Soviet autonomy and federation at the present stage of communist construction.

When speaking of the dialectic of the development of Soviet federation and autonomy during the present period, the following very important point must also be stressed. There are now more than 100,000,000 people united in soviets and various public and amateur organizations of the working people, which is a clear indication of the popular (vsenarodnyy) character of our public and state system. In Uzbekistan alone there are more than 34,000 amateur organizations, in whose activities more than 376,000 people take part. It would be difficult to find any links in the chain of the state and public system which do not in one way or another embrace almost the whole adult population and all the nationalities of the territories they serve.

On the one hand this process demonstrates that our democracy involves the whole people, and on the other it shows that all state and public organizations, both in their membership and in the substance of their activity, are becoming more and more representative and multi-national, and that one of the characteristic trends in the development of the Soviet republics is, in fact, the further extension of their popular nature (obshchenarodnost') and their internationalization.

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The cardinal tendency in the development of national Soviet statehood in the present period, i. e. the reinforcement of federal principles and the internation-

alization of national Soviet statehood, has long demanded a re-examination of the ideas about the relationship of the sovereignty of the USSR to that of the union republics which have taken shape in specialist literature. The question of the correlation of the sovereignty of the union republics situated in a single economic area acquires special urgency with the formation of inter-republican agencies in a number of economic regions.

Meanwhile, as Prof. M. S. Dzhunusov has rightly remarked, in published works the question of the strengthening of the sovereignty of the union republics is still dealt with in isolation from their increased international obligations.(5) Those who take this view see the strengthening of the sovereignty of the union republics only in an extension of their rights.(6) Moreover, some writers assert that the preservation of national sovereignty and the safeguarding of the frontiers established between the union and autonomous republics, are almost one of the main internal tasks of the Soviet state, and that this is, in general, a function which is typical and characteristic of a socialist state.(7) It is obvious that such assertions do not reflect the main trends in the development of national Soviet statehood. *On the contrary, they contradict them.*

In the present case it is appropriate to refer, in fact, to the evolution of the concept of state territory as regards the union republics situated within the bounds of one or other economic region. Here, life itself brings to the forefront not the "safeguarding of frontiers", but the problems of the expedient development of productive forces and the strengthening of highly efficient territorial production links and their corresponding organizational forms within the economic regions of the country. In general it must be borne in mind that the same concepts and categories cannot be used either in defining the essence of socialist and bourgeois federation, or in revealing the substance of the sovereignty of the members of these fundamentally opposite types of union state.

However, some research workers, when talking about the sovereignty of the Soviet union republics, list first and foremost all the attributes of a state which they possess - the existence of their own constitution and legislation reflecting the distinctive features of their economy and national way of life, their system of higher and local government bodies, their territory, citizenship, flag, national anthem, capital, etc. Under Soviet federation all the attributes of the members of the federation listed above, as well as others, are real and vigorous and express the sovereignty of the nation and national statehood. But, important as they are, these categories do not by themselves reveal the rich content of the sovereignty of the Soviet union republics and even less the relationship of their sovereignty to the sovereignty of the USSR.

The determining factors lie not so much in these attributes of state as in the nature and character of Soviet federation itself, namely the completely voluntary participation and equality of its members, the national Soviet union republics. But it is beyond question that sovereignty as a property of state power, signifying its supremacy, independence and indivisibility in the execution of the tasks and functions of the state both inside and outside the country, is inherent in both the Union of the SSR and each union republic under Soviet federation.

The question of the correlation of the sovereignty of the USSR and of the union republics is another matter. In the Soviet federation it cannot be resolved by setting the sovereignty of the USSR against the sovereignty of the union

republics, or vice versa. The definition of the sovereignty of the USSR as complete and the sovereignty of the national republics as incomplete and limited cannot be applied here either. (8) Sovereignty as a property of state power cannot be incomplete or limited, and such a method is quite inapplicable in defining the correlation of the sovereignty of the USSR and the union republics.

The theses put forward at the XXIIInd CPSU Congress about the two interconnected, progressive tendencies determining the development of national relations under socialism ought to be the methodological basis for the solution of this question. When revealing and substantiating these trends, Khrushchev said: "In the first place a rapid and all-round development of each nation is taking place and the rights of the union and autonomous republics are being extended. Secondly, under the banner of proletarian internationalism the socialist nations are drawing ever closer together and they are more and more influencing and enriching each other." (9) The fact that at the present time the development of national Soviet statehood is characterized by a reinforcement and perfecting of federal principles in the determination of state (obshchegosudarstvennyy) policy on economic and cultural construction in all the republics and oblasts and by the internationalization of the national state formations themselves, is a reflexion of these trends in the constitutional superstructure of our society.

In these circumstances there is every reason to maintain that from the day of the formation of the Soviet federation the question of the correlation of the sovereignty of the USSR and a union republic has been, both in reality and legally, a question of the unity of the sovereignty of the USSR and the union republic on the one hand, and on the other, of differences in the limits of operation and sphere of manifestation of the sovereignty of the USSR and the union republic. At the same time, the basis of the unity of the sovereignty of the USSR and the union republics is the community of their ideology and programme (the building of communism), their social and state systems, the bases of their legislation, etc. The CPSU, whose agencies are constructed and function on the basis of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, serves as a mighty force cementing this unity.

Since the USSR is a genuine fraternal commonwealth of socialist nations, in speaking of the supremacy, independence and indivisibility of the state power of the USSR we infer just the same concerning the state power of the union republics. In exactly the same way the supremacy, independence and indivisibility of the state power of a union republic are a form of manifestation of the sovereignty of the USSR. It is no accident, therefore, than an infringement of the sovereignty of a union republic is an infringement of the sovereignty of the USSR and vice versa. The granting of rights of citizenship by one or other union republic to this or that person means that that person becomes simultaneously a citizen of each of the 15 union republics as well as a citizen of the USSR.

The identity of the sovereignty of the USSR and union republics does not exclude, on the contrary it presupposes, a difference in the limits of operation and sphere of manifestation between the state power of the USSR and the state power of the union republics. To begin with, the vehicle of the sovereignty of the USSR is the Soviet people, while the vehicle of the sovereignty of a union republic is the nation after which it is named and its population as a whole.

The state power of the USSR operates within the USSR, while the state power of a union republic operates on the territory of the latter. Thus the supremacy, independence and indivisibility of the state power of the USSR and union republics is exercised respectively over different territorial expanses.

As indicated above, both the sovereignty of the USSR and the sovereignty of the union republics, as properties of their state power, are real, complete and unlimited. But at the same time there exists a delimitation of the sphere of competences between the USSR and the union republics based on the Leninist principles of equality and voluntary participation, and on a judicious combination of the general and particular interests of the USSR and its component national republics. The organizational form of resolving this problem is the principle of democratic centralism, which ensures unity and centralization in determining economic and technical policy on an all-federal scale, and the complete independence of the union republics in exercising operational management and realizing any of their tasks with allowances for their national economic and cultural peculiarities. At the same time, it goes without saying that the sphere of competence of the USSR is wider than that of a union republic. The correlation of the sphere of competence of a union and an autonomous republic is analogous. And the difference in the extent of the sphere of competence of the agencies of the USSR and the union republics predetermines the different limits of the manifestation of the sovereignty of the USSR and the sovereignty of the union republics. The sovereignty of the USSR is manifested in the realization of all matters which, in accordance with the constitution of the USSR, have been assigned to the competence of federal agencies, while the sovereignty of the union republics is manifested in the realization of all matters assigned to their competence in accordance with the constitution of the USSR and union republics.

In connexion with the setting up of inter-republican agencies in a number of major economic regions, one must also dwell on the nature of the correlation of the sovereignty of those union republics themselves which are in the same economic zone. The determining principle here is not so much the organizational forms themselves as the substance and nature of intra-national relations. What is novel here is that, in accordance with the objective economic laws of socialism and with a view to the rational development of the productive forces and labour resources of the country, isolation and duplication in the management of the economy within an economic region are being overcome, in which both the union republics forming the given region and the USSR as a whole are interested to an equal degree.

However, in resolving this problem one must take into account the legal status of the agencies of the economic region which are, as a rule, inter-republican, and, in individual cases, all-federal, and possess in the main planning and coordinating functions. Thus in both cases it is not a question of new state formations but of new state agencies, which work in close contact with the agencies of the union republics, offering them assistance in arriving at an expedient and rational solution of complex economic problems.<sup>(10)</sup> All this shows that the creation of the new agencies did not entail changes in the legal status of the union republics and did not lead to any limitation of their rights. It only regulated the economic relations between the republics situated

in the same economic region and facilitated the settlement of problems affecting their joint interests. Consequently, the creation of the inter-republican agencies provided greater opportunities for the union republics to carry out their complex state functions in a competent fashion, and served as an additional guarantee of the reality and feasibility of their great rights and obligations.

In this connexion it is appropriate to recall Khrushchev's words during a talk with members of the Research Institute for Cotton Growing in Tashkent, apropos of the setting up of a single Central Asian *sovnarkhoz*:

"... There may be some local workers who will ask: but aren't they limiting our rights and our sovereignty?

"If anyone has such a doubt, it means that he does not understand the position and is not yet a sufficiently mature Communist.

"We Communists are the builders of a new society. That is the chief thing, to which we give pride of place. If we really are Communists, then we ought to find those organizational forms which will allow us to make the utmost use of the material and spiritual resources of our society in order to enhance our economy, science and culture."(11)

Khrushchev went on to stress that, on the scale of the Central Asian economic region, such inter-republican agencies should be set up as would not belittle the role of the republics and would take into account all their potentialities. "It is a question first and foremost," continued Khrushchev, "of centralized planning and the centralized elaboration of scientific problems. A dual control is envisaged: the *Sovnarkhoz* will be inter-republican, while the republics should have their own kind of agencies, so that the Party organization runs practical matters and is responsible for them."(12)

There is no doubt that the efficiency of the union republics in the exercise of their rights increased greatly after their efforts were combined on the scale of the unified economic regions.

Unfortunately, we still have few studies of how the union republics have used the more extensive rights they have had since the XXIIInd CPSU Congress. Meanwhile a summing up of the experience of the activity of the republican economic organizations before and after the establishment of the inter-republican agencies is of great theoretical and practical interest.

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In his report to the XXIIInd CPSU Congress Khrushchev, when defining the Party's tasks in the field of national state construction during the period of the full-scale building of communism, said: "The development of the socialist nations also finds expression in the perfecting of the national statehood of the peoples of the USSR. The Party will continue to meet the requirements which have arisen in this field. It is necessary to make full use of all the potentialities inherent in the Soviet principles of federation and autonomy."(13)

This Party directive embodies the Leninist theses on the dialectic of the development of the nation and national statehood. At the same time, as Lenin remarked, if under capitalism national "equality" in everything, including state construction, means war, isolation, aloofness and the privileged position

of the ruling nation, then under socialism the toiling masses themselves will never agree to isolation, bearing in mind first and foremost the interests of the economic and cultural development of their countries. But the political union of the Soviet nations in the person of the USSR not only does not exclude, on the contrary it presupposes the existence of national features in the state construction of its component national union republics. "Until every kind of state disappears altogether," wrote Lenin, "a diversity of political forms, freedom to secede and essays in state building will all be the basis of a rich cultural life and a guarantee of the acceleration of the voluntary drawing together and merging of the nations."(14)

### Author's Notes

- (1) PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1961, p. 113.
- (2) This is illustrated in particular by the existence in the 1920s of such institutions as the "kazis' court" and the "biys' court"; the admissibility of reference to the canons of the shariat in certain categories of property and family disputes, or some standards of criminal law covering responsibility for social (bytovyye) offences.
- (3) It is no accident, for instance, that Article 9 of the Criminal Code of the Uzbek SSR of 1926 "On responsibility for local social offences" was deleted from the new 1959 Criminal Code of the Uzbek SSR inasmuch as, as a result of raising the consciousness of Soviet people, a number of crimes which were a survival of the clan way of life have almost ceased to be encountered in legal practice. Individual survivals of the old way of life, which are chiefly connected with an incorrect attitude towards women, are dealt with in Articles II and V of the new Criminal Code of the Uzbek SSR.
- (4) See K. Kh. Khanazarov. THE DRAWING TOGETHER OF THE NATIONS AND NATIONAL LANGUAGES IN THE USSR, Tashkent, Izd. AN/ UzSSR, 1963, pp. 182-9.
- (5) M. S. Dzhunusov. ON THE DIALECTIC OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE PERIOD OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNISM, Moscow, 1963, p. 22.
- (6) See, for example, L. M. Strel'tsov. THE EXTENSION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE UNION REPUBLICS AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION (based on material from the Ukrainian SSR). Thesis for degree of Candidate of Juridical Sciences, Khar'kov, 1963, pp. 5, 13, 15-16.
- (7) G. L. Furmanov. V. I. LENIN ON THE HIGHEST FORM OF STATE, Moscow, 1962, p. 42. These and other theoretical errors in this book were subjected to just criticism in the review by A. P. Kositsin and M. A. Shafir (see VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1963, No. 6, pp. 174-6).
- (8) The wording of clause 15 of the current USSR Constitution ("The sovereignty of the union republics is restricted only within the limits

- indicated in clause 14 of the USSR Constitution", which contains a list of questions coming within the jurisdiction of the USSR) does not reflect the real state of affairs. In effect it proceeds from an erroneous interpretation of sovereignty as the aggregate of the state's dictatorial authority (*vlastnyye polnomochiya*), or as the sum of the rights necessary to exercise the competence of the state.
- (9) XXIIND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, Stenographic Record, Vol.1, Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1962, p.215.
- (10) This can be illustrated by the following example. In December 1963 the third session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the Sixth convocation, passed The Law on the State Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1964-5. Here for the first time the targets for the Central Asian republics were defined not only for each republic, but also for the agencies of the whole Central Asian Economic Region. However, this circumstance does not detract from the economic development plans of each Central Asian republic for the period in question; on the contrary, the plans of the SREDAZSOVNARKHOZ and other inter-republican agencies were drawn up in such a way as to reflect fully the special features of the development of the economy of each republic. Therefore in the present case one cannot talk of a limitation of the sovereignty of the union republics, inasmuch as the activity of the newly-formed agencies of the Central Asian Economic Region is aimed at the further, more effective and more rapid development of the economy and culture and at strengthening the sovereignty of the union republics which make up the region.
- (11) N.S. Khrushchev. THE CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNISM IN THE USSR AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE, Vol.7, Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1963, p.225.
- (12) *Ibid.*, p.229.
- (13) XXIIND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, Stenographic Record, Vol.III, p.313.
- (14) V.I. Lenin. WORKS, Vol.22, p.324.

#### Note on Words

The rendering of some of the political terms used in this article requires comment.

Yedinoye sovetskoye gosudarstvo is rendered as 'single Soviet state', and yedinyy sovetskiy narod as 'the single Soviet people' means 'the Soviet people as one indivisible whole'.

Yedinstva means 'oneness' and may be rendered as 'identity'.

Kompetentsiya rendered here as 'competence' has the meaning of 'responsibility'.

Vsenarodnyy rendered here as 'popular' has the meaning of 'common to all peoples irrespective of their nationality'.

Obshchenatsional'nyy means 'common to all nationalities'.

Obshchegosudarstvennyy means 'to all states of the Soviet Union'.  
Mezhnatsional'nyy means 'international relations within a multi-national state' and is translated here as 'intra-national'.

The following excerpts from the PHILOSOPHICAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA (Moscow 1962) throw some light on the significance of the term internatsionalizm:

INTERNATIONALISM, Proletarian the international (mezhdunarodnoye) unity of the working-class in the struggle to overthrow capitalism, to build socialism and communism, for peace, the national independence of all peoples and democracy; a most important principle of Marxism-Leninism and of the policy of Communist and workers' Marxist-Leninist parties. A higher stage in the development of proletarian internationalism is socialist internationalism, embodied in the social, economic and political collaboration (sodruzhestvo) of the peoples of the socialist countries. . . . Under socialism, proletarian internationalism has turned into socialist internationalism. The field of operation of socialist internationalism extends not only to relations with the toilers of capitalist and colonial countries, but also to relations between the socialist nations within multi-national socialist states and between socialist countries, which are built on a basis of complete equality, political independence and sovereignty. The mutual aid and fraternal collaboration of the peoples of the socialist countries in all fields of public life are the most important features of socialist internationalism. An important characteristic of socialist internationalism is that it is the state policy of the socialist countries and the ideology of the whole people.  
 . . . Socialist internationalism is inseparably connected with socialist patriotism, which is embodied in devotion and loyalty to one's motherland (rodina) and to the whole commonwealth of socialist countries and organically includes solidarity with the toilers of the whole world.

### The travelling "Atheist" club

The "Atheist" club on wheels, organized by Osh oblast cultural department travels widely in the district making mock of "holy places" and velvet-covered stones, goats' horns and wooden chocks excavated from tombs. Tours of the oblast sovkhoses and kolkhoses include lectures delivered at irrigation points or shepherds' pastures on the following subjects: "The origin and reactionary nature of Islam", "How man created God", "Islam and woman" and "Chemistry un.masks religion".

SK. 26.8.64

SOME SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS  
OF 16TH CENTURY CENTRAL ASIA

The following is a summary of Ye. A. Davidovich's article "Materialy dlya kharakteristiki ekonomiki i sotsial'nykh otnosheniy v Sredney Azii XVI v." (Material for a Description of the Economic Structure and Social Relations in 16th Century Central Asia) in IZVESTIYA OTDELENIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK AN/Tad. SSR, Vyp. 1 (24), 1961. Davidovich is an historian and archaeologist who has made a special study of medieval Central Asian coinage and the light it throws on the history of the area. Her present article is based mainly on contemporary documents, both published and unpublished.

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This article is devoted to certain aspects of the social and economic history of Central Asia in the 16th century which have either not been dealt with at all or only partially by P. P. Ivanov and other scholars.

Character of land cultivation (according to documents of the archive of Juybari Sheykhs)

The documents of the archive of the Juybari Sheykhs contain only fragmentary information on agriculture, but its value lies in the fact that it all concerns a definite area - the central part of Mavarannahr, mainly the Bukhara region. Moreover, it has not previously been used.

The basis of agriculture in Central Asia in the 16th century continued to be tillage, primarily irrigated. There were no changes in the implements used (yoke, wooden plough, spade, etc.), but in irrigation some progress was registered. Major irrigation works were carried out in various places and new areas irrigated.

Wheat, barley, dzhugara, millet, rice, masha (a legume), peas and clover were among the chief crops. Wheat and barley occupied large acreages of irrigated land in the Bukhara region. They were sown in winter after the land had been watered twice in the autumn. Exactly the same quantity of wheat or barley was sown to the tanab of irrigated land at this period.

There is no direct information on the scale of cotton growing or sericulture in the 16th century, but various specialist workshops for processing raw cotton and silk cocoons are mentioned and it is known that silk and cotton materials were exported to Russia. Indian merchants also purchased silk fabrics in Bukhara. At the same time fabrics from India and Persia found a market in Bukhara. Another indication is that plantations of mulberry trees were valued highly in the 16th century. Mulberry trees were planted in small numbers in

orchards and vineyards. There were also some special large plantations.

The growing of vegetables, melons, fruit and grapes was highly developed. The considerable size of some orchards and vineyards near the big towns indicates that the fruit and grapes were grown for sale. Viticulture occupied pride of place. Mixed orchards and vineyards were often called just vineyards, and in deeds of sale as a rule the number of vines is given exactly, while the number of fruit trees is not usually indicated. Pomegranates were prominent among the fruit grown and pomegranate orchards were referred to separately. In Bukhara there was an arcade where only pomegranates were sold. Other fruits mentioned include peaches, apricots, plums, pears, apples and almonds. Among the non-fruit-bearing trees karagach (kind of alder) and silver poplars were specially favoured. The medium-size and large orchards were usually divided into sectors, each planted with a single variety of fruit tree. There were some large specialized orchards planted with only one or two varieties. In the orchards there were often various buildings and tanks with non-fruit-bearing trees planted round. Special plant nurseries also existed.

#### Definition of mulk lands and the size of feudal rent in the 16th century

Diametrically opposed views have been expressed as to whether mulk lands in the 16th century were the absolute private property of feudal lords and others, or whether they could also be state lands. An analysis of all the available material suggests a new definition for mulk lands as the undivided feudal property of two co-possessors - private individuals and the state. This definition has been strikingly confirmed by new 16th century documents recently published by R. N. Nabiyev. The two co-possessors shared the total feudal rent between them, but could divide up the land too, proportionately to their shares of the rent. Under such divisions one part of the mulk land became state land, while the other turned into privately-owned land. Each co-possessor of mulk land could dispose of his share of the rent. Private individuals could sell mulk lands. Legally this was formulated as the sale of all the land, but the state continued to receive its share of the feudal rent independently of the change in its co-possessor. In reality it was only a "partial" sale - of a share of the rent with the right to a proportional part of the undivided land - and this was reflected in the much lower prices for mulk than for "tax-exempt" lands. The state exercised its rights not only by receiving its share of the rent, but also by granting its share of the rent to other private individuals or to its co-possessor. Since the state's grant of its share of the rent did not infringe the rights of the private owner, such mulks cannot be regarded as state lands. Everything falls into place if mulks are regarded as the undivided feudal property of two co-possessors. It also follows that feudal grants for service and conditional feudal land possession were based not only on state lands, as thought up till now, but also on mulk lands.

The only ideas expressed so far as to the scale of feudal rents from mulk lands in the 16th century have suggested that the state's share was up to two-thirds or three-quarters of the harvest. These views were based on documents which showed that the state received this proportion of the land when mulks were divided up and are erroneous, since the division was made on the basis of the share of the rent received by the two co-possessors, and the total rent

was, of course, equal to only part of the harvest. In fact there were various forms of mulk lands. In some cases the state's share of the rent was the larger, in others that of the private individual. Usually the feudal rent was divided into two unequal parts (one-third and two-thirds), corresponding to one-tenth and two-tenths of the harvest. This was the usual rate, but at times it was higher. From a document of 1556 it can be deduced that the rent then reached 40 per cent, of which the state took three-quarters. From the same document it is clear that the total rent consisted of two parts: the basic part (40 per cent of the harvest) and unspecified additional dues.

In the 16th century, as both before and after, all land was divided into four categories: mulk, state, privately-owned "tax exempt" and waqf. Other things being equal the size of the feudal rent from all four categories was identical. The differences in the amount of rent paid by peasants for the same type of land in the same district depended not on the category of land, but on the category to which the peasants belonged (see below).

The legal status of waqf lands differed from that of the other three categories. In the latter cases the owners had the absolute right to dispose of both land and rent. Waqf lands, on the other hand, could not be alienated and the rent had to be spent in accordance with the benefactor's conditions. Not all waqf lands were free of state taxes, as has been claimed. In fact the majority were former mulk lands from which the state continued to draw its share of the feudal rent after the transfer. The waqf lands from which the state received nothing were those which had previously been privately-owned or to which the state had renounced its rights.

### The correlation of cash and kind forms of feudal rent in the 16th century

Feudal land rent in the 16th century was paid in kind, cash and labour. It is not possible at present to determine the exact proportions of each, but there is evidence to show that the basic rent from arable land was paid in kind. The rent collection staff of the Juybari Khoja Sa'd, a very big land-owner, included a "manager for the conveyance of money and grain." Sa'd is also known to have owned a number of enormous grain stores. The fact that senior officials were usually rewarded for their services with both money and a grant of land indicates that the state also collected its rent from arable mulk lands in kind. Waqf documents, naming definite quantities of grain or grain and money, provide even clearer evidence that the rent from arable waqf lands was paid in kind.

The rent from orchards and vineyards was collected in cash. This means that the peasants had to realize the produce of their orchards and vineyards themselves in order to pay the rent in cash.

The import of agricultural produce into the towns was apparently pretty substantial since most of the urban population had to buy their foodstuffs. The names of certain quarters and bazaars reflected the large place of agricultural produce in urban trade. The feudal lords accumulated enormous quantities of grain and meal, and the grain market in the towns of the 16th century was entirely in their hands. The considerable scale of peasant imports (mainly fruit and vegetables, and some milk products apparently) is confirmed by numismatic

evidence. Thus when the government periodically withdrew the current copper coins and issued new ones, to speed up the exchange special temporary mints were set up even in the villages. This shows that the rural population had accumulated a large number of coins, that the exchange between town and country was in the form of money, and that the peasants, therefore, were forced to turn some part of their rent in kind into money.

Since arable land predominated, it can be said that rent in kind was the general rule in the 16th century, but in fact part of the rent in kind had a concealed cash nature since it was not used in its natural form but turned into cash in the market. The peculiar feature was that this was done by the feudal lords and not the peasants. In reality, therefore, much more rent was turned into cash than would appear at first sight. Thus, for the 16th century there was not a real but only a formal prevalence of rent in kind.

### The three groups of peasantry

From the information available in written sources it is possible to deduce that there were three groups among the direct agricultural producers in the 16th century: (1) the owners of small plots of mulk land; (2) peasants who may be provisionally called "communalists"; and (3) tenant-sharecroppers of various categories.

The first group were the best off since they paid the least rent, only paying the state part of the feudal rent since they were co-possessors of the land with the state. However, they often had to rent extra land as their plots were very small, they were few in number, and they were constantly being swallowed up by the big feudal lords.

It seems very likely that the rural commune or some survival of it existed in 16th century Central Asia even where irrigated agriculture was most developed. This is suggested by the nature of legal deals for the sale or alienation of qariye, a term applied to a village and the land connected with it. The land could be state, waqf or mulk, and was often sold in parts, so that one village had several co-possessors, but the parts were never in fact separated and it was only the feudal rent which was divided. This indivisibility of the village lands suggests the existence in the 16th century of a commune or hardy survivals of it. Moreover the existence of peasants whose position was different from that of tenants is shown by the use of the term ra'āyā. In the broad sense ra'āyā meant subjects generally, and also all peasants paying taxes. But in some lists of the population both ra'āyā and muzari'an (tenant-sharecroppers) are given, therefore ra'āyā must designate some independent group of the peasantry. The conclusion that it denotes "communalists" is supported by a 17th century document which speaks of sharecroppers and villagers. The "communalists" paid the owners of the land the basic land rent and all other dues. The advantage of their situation was that their rights to the use of the land of the qariye were hereditary and held "in perpetuity".

The position of the tenant-sharecroppers was much more onerous. The length of their leases varied and there was no security of tenure. Moreover, in most cases the rent was higher than the feudal rent paid by the "communalists", probably equalling half or even more of the harvest. Sixteenth century

legal documents often record cases when the land belonged to one owner and the orchards, vineyards, etc. planted on it to another. Where the sharecropper owned the orchards and only rented the land, he probably paid roughly the same rent as the communalist. Where he rented both, the terms were naturally much stiffer. Among the most shackling leases were cases of a double lease, as it were, where a feudal lord owned *sakināt* (plantations, buildings, etc.) on land he himself rented, and leased both *sakināt* and land to the direct producer.

It seems that some sharecroppers lived isolated from the villages, while others settled in *qariye*. It is not clear at present whether these *qariye* were "communes" in which the sharecroppers settled without becoming members, villages where survivals of the commune had already disappeared, or villages which only came into being as tenant settlements.

### The slave-owning system

The slave-owning system still played a certain role in feudal Central Asia. The contingent of slaves was reinforced by the numerous wars to the north and south and by purchase. Among the slaves were Persians, Hindus (*indus*), Afghans, Russians, Kalmyks and others. On the other hand a number were emancipated, usually for ransom but sometimes gratis. Free release was granted mostly to old men unfit for work. There were naturally considerable variations in the price of slaves, depending on their age, health and suitability.

In the 16th century slaves were apparently used mainly for domestic work, but slave labour is also known to have been used in urban handicrafts and agriculture, for example, 95 Indian slaves were used on irrigation works near Turkestan. Probably slaves tended the very big orchards which the feudal lords used as summer residences. Sometimes slaves were included with other *waqf* property to tend the object of the benefaction. For example, one benefactor stipulated the purchase of a Hindu couple as cleaners for a medrese.

### Land rent in the town and the process of ruination of the small traders and craftsmen

In the town there were the same categories of land ownership as in the country - state, *mulk*, privately-owned and *waqf*. As in the country, the land was most often in the possession of people other than its owners. The combinations of ownership and possession were extremely varied - there could be private and *waqf* buildings on state land, state, *waqf* or private on *mulk*, etc. Land and buildings were only sold together when they belonged to the same owner. The sale of buildings on land belonging to another was possible because legally the owner of the land could not turn out the person in whose possession it was. This relationship between owner and possessor in the town was a counterpart of that between the owners of the land and the "communalists" in the country. Where land and buildings belonged to one owner he could lease them on any terms. This duplicated the relationship between the owner and tenant in the country. In other words land relations in the town were the same as in the country, which is one of the characteristics of the Central Asian town in the 16th century.

Most of the urban land and buildings belonged to feudal lords, and there was the same concentration of land in their hands as in the country. The feudal lords bought up all kinds of urban buildings as well as land, and some owned hundreds of workshops, booths and dwellings of various sizes. This meant the increasing ruination of the ordinary townfolk. By taking away the workshop or booth of a craftsman or petty trader, the feudal lord took away part of his means of production. The craftsman or trader had to pay a kind of double rent for both land and buildings. If the ordinary townsman had to rent his house as well, his position became very difficult. The various categories of landless townfolk corresponded to the categories of peasant-sharecroppers, and the same law of feudal land rent prevailed. In addition there were specifically urban taxes paid to the state. The main one was the tax on crafts and trade called the tamgha. Special taxes and duties were exacted on imported goods. On the whole these taxes were very considerable and ruinous for the townfolk. It seems that the tamgha was 10 per cent of the value of craft production entering the market. On more than one occasion supplementary taxes were imposed. From Samarkand alone in one year the treasury received 1,600,000 silver ten'gas from taxation.

The treasury made a considerable profit from minting silver and particularly copper coins. Another of the most important indirect taxes on trade was the practice of frequently making new issues of silver coins of the same weight and standard as the old, but giving only 90 new coins in exchange for 100 old. This meant a minimum profit of 10 per cent for the treasury. The rulers always resorted to this device whenever they wanted money for wars. Similar operations were carried out with copper coins. Abdullah-khan II removed this indirect tax as soon as he ascended the throne, which had a very beneficial effect on trade.

The process of ruination of the ordinary townfolk was accelerated by the flourishing usury and lending on security. The sarrafs were professional money-lenders and carried on their operations in special buildings. In Bukhara, for instance, they occupied one of the largest monumental domed structures. Others, including big feudal lords, also engaged in usury. Since the shariat forbade usury of any kind, the legal documents had to be drawn up in a veiled form, as an uncompleted sale or payment for imaginary work, for example. From these documents the rate of interest can be calculated. Some examples from Samarkand at the end of the 16th century show annual rates of from 35 to 49 per cent. In some cases the rate of interest is not indicated, even in veiled form; apparently the social position of high-ranking usurers obliged them to be careful.

## THE ARABS AND JEWS OF CENTRAL ASIA

The following is a summary of two chapters in the recently published fundamental ethnographic work *NARODY SREDNEY AZII I KAZAKHSTANA* (The Peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan), Vol. II, Moscow, 1963. The chapter on the Central Asian Arabs was written by B. Kh. Karmysheva, and that on the Central Asian Jews by Ya. I. Kalontarov.

### I. THE CENTRAL ASIAN ARABS

According to the 1959 census there are 6,400 Arabs in Soviet Central Asia, of whom 5,400 are in Uzbekistan and 500 in Tadzhikistan. Of these 2,077 consider Arabic their native tongue. These figures are much lower than those registered in earlier censuses, which shows that the Arabs have been merging with the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks. In Samarkand oblast, for instance, the Arabs now call themselves Uzbeks for official purposes, although in everyday life they also continue to consider themselves Arabs and have in fact retained typical Arabic looks. The Central Asian Arabs are settled mainly along the middle and lower course of the Zeravshan, the Amu-Dar'ya and its right tributaries, and the lower reaches of the Kashka-Dar'ya. There is one group in the Fergana Valley. In the past they lived in a compact group in the towns or in an Arab kishlak. Now everywhere they live mixed up with other nationalities. The Arabs of Central Asia used to be divided not only into territorial, but also into clan groups. Now only about 20 clan names are remembered. Clan loyalties are manifested mostly by participation in family celebrations, mutual assistance and the existence of a clan cemetery.

#### Language

The majority of the Central Asian Arabs have long forgotten Arabic and speak Uzbek or Tadzhik. Arabic is preserved as a second language only in certain villages. Due to their isolation the Central Asian Arabic dialects are quite different from any other. They are completely free from the influence of literary Arabic, and the original Semitic material in the language is less changed than elsewhere. At present there are at least two distinct groups of Arabic dialects in Central Asia - the Bukhara and the Kashka-Dar'ya. The difference between the two is so great that those speaking one cannot understand those speaking the other. There is evidence that the basic differences existed even before the Arabs migrated to Central Asia, though they have been intensified by the influence of the Turkic languages on the Kashka-Dar'ya group and of Tadzhik on the Bukhara group.

### Historical information

It has not been finally determined when and whence the Arabs came to Central Asia, but it is certain that they did not all come from the same area or at the same time. It seems likely that a substantial number migrated from northern Afghanistan at various times, while some present-day Central Asian Arabs may be descendants of the original conquerors of the 7th-8th centuries. Anthropological studies have shown that the Arabs who settled in Central Asia were of both the northern (Mesopotamian) and southern (Mediterranean) types.

Although the Arabs kept pretty much to themselves, circumstances led to their gradual merging with the more numerous Uzbeks, Tadzhiks and Turkmens over the centuries, but the process was not complete when Soviet rule was established. Among the Arabs in the Central Asian khanates there was profound class stratification due to the profitability of karakul breeding in which most of them engaged. At the same time the closed nature of the clan community preserved the patriarchal system, cleverly concealing property inequality and exploitation. In the khanate of Bukhara a 'mir-i-hazar was appointed by the Emir to administer each Arab group and the Arabs paid a special tax.

### Main occupations

The main occupations of the Central Asian Arabs have always been animal husbandry (karakul sheep, camels, and also fat-tailed sheep) in the steppes and deserts, and crop cultivation in the river valleys. In the past in many areas the Arabs grew nothing but wheat and barley for their own needs and luceme for their riding horses. It was only in thickly populated areas of cultivation, like the vicinity of Samarkand, that they had orchards and vineyards. Now all the Arabs in rural areas work in sovkhozes and kolkhozes. They have successfully mastered cotton-growing and they also engage in horticulture, viticulture and sericulture, and grow various other crops. For instance, in a kolkhoz in Samarkand oblast with seven villages of Uzbek-speaking Arabs and two of Uzbeks they produce cotton, fodder crops and fruit, and keep a dairy herd. Field work and work in the dairy farm are mechanized. In kolkhozes in the lower reaches of the Kashka-Dar'ya and Bukhara oblast karakul breeding is more important.

Carpet-weaving was and is the only domestic craft practised by the Arabs. Their speciality is a pileless carpet with a variegated weft and very close weave known as Kamashi, Karshi or Arabi. Originally the carpets were made only for their own needs, but gradually they turned into the main source of income for some households. They were in great demand because of their beauty and originality, wearing qualities and comparative cheapness. The carpet trade came to a halt during the First World War and civil war, but it revived in the 1920s in the villages of Kamashi and Dzheynau when special artels were set up. Pile carpets are now made too. The Arabs of the Pyandzh valley did not make Arabi carpets, but striped pileless ones like the rest of the local population and also deep-pile zhulkhirs, made up of narrow strips.

### Dwellings

In the past most Arabs led a semi-nomadic life, living in a yurt whose wooden frame they acquired from the Uzbeks and whose coverings they made themselves. The poor lived in various kinds of shacks made of reeds and other materials. In the early years of Soviet rule the semi-nomadic Arabs were in various stages of transition to a sedentary life. Only those living in or near the towns lived regularly in houses. Now the settlements and dwellings of the Arabs are the same as those of the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks and a village inhabited solely by Arabs is rare. Many villages are being reconstructed on modern lines. The houses are furnished in the same way as the Uzbeks' with carpets on the walls and floors. Wall embroideries, usually purchased in the market, have become popular in recent years.

### Dress and diet

The dress of the Central Asian Arabs is similar to that of the local Uzbeks and Tadzhiks. The elderly keep to the traditional styles, while the middle-age and young men wear ready-made European clothes with tyubeteykas and khalats, and the women wear the same as their Uzbek and Tadzhik neighbours. There is still some distinctiveness in female dress, particularly in the adornments and headdress in the villages of Kamashi and Dzheynau. Here girls and women of all ages have only two plaits, but married women wear them in front of their ears and the unmarried behind. In Dzheynau some women still wear the unique old headdress gizzi. For a betrothed girl this is of red material and hangs down almost to the ankles at the back. The part framing the face is decorated with appliqué bands and coins, buttons, etc. Married women wear a white gizzi of different cut which hangs down in a triangle at the back and in front completely covers the chest and shoulders like a Kazakh kimeshek. It too is ornamented about the face and to it are stitched horsehair spirals which rest on the cheeks.

The diet and household utensils of the Arabs are the same as those of the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks in the area. With improved living conditions their diet has become more varied.

### Family life

The Central Asian Arabs used to keep strictly to marriage among their own people. The marriage of an Arab girl to a non-Arab was particularly rare and severely censured. Now intermarriage with Uzbeks and Tadzhiks is more common. The evolution of the position of women and young people in the family is similar to that in Uzbek and Tadzhik families. The small family is most common but some large joint families still exist.

The marriage, birth and death customs of the Central Asian Arabs also have much in common with those of the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks. One of the main differences was the absence of the bride-price among the Arabs of southern Tadzhikistan. Unlike the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks, the Arabs still observe nearly as strictly as before the custom of burying the dead in the clan cemetery. In the present day Arab family the old are still respected, but the women are equal and

the young freer and more independent.

The radical reconstruction of the life of the Central Asian Arabs under Soviet rule can be seen from the kolkhoz in Samarkand oblast already mentioned. It embraces about 5,000 people and is prosperous enough to rebuild its villages. It has its own hospital, crèches, schools and libraries etc. In 1959, 50 people with higher education, the vast majority natives of the kolkhoz, were working in it.

The Arab townfolk at the present time do not differ ethnographically from the Uzbeks and Tadjiks.

## II. THE CENTRAL ASIAN JEWS

The Central Asian Jews are those Jews who live in Central Asia and speak a dialect of Tadjik. They call themselves yahudi. In 1926 there were 18,698 Central Asian Jews in the USSR. In 1934 about 24,000 Central Asian Jews were registered in Uzbekistan, of whom about 20,000 lived in the towns: Samarkand (5,750), Tashkent (3,340), Bukhara (1,850), Kokand (2,000) and others. In the last 25-30 years about 5,000 have emigrated to Tadjikistan. All the Central Asian Jews speak their own dialect [i.e. of Tadjik - Ed.], and nowadays the great bulk know Russian. The vast majority of Central Asian Jews living in the Fergana Valley and Tashkent also know Uzbek.

### Historical information

Written sources do not record when the Central Asian Jews came to Central Asia or from which country, and traditions on the subject are contradictory. Some say they came to Samarkand and Bukhara in the 13th century from Persia, others from Shiraz in Timur's time, and yet others say they came from Baghdad. Their migration to Tashkent and the Fergana Valley towns was of a later date. It seems that they were lax in the practice of their religion until the end of the 18th century when rabbis from Palestine started to strengthen the links of the Central Asian Jewish communities with Palestine. By the end of the 19th century there was a flourishing colony of Bukhara Jews in Jerusalem. As most of the Central Asian Jews did not know Hebrew, the Pentateuch was translated into Tadjik. After the Russian conquest of Central Asia, Judaic ideas became stronger and the number of synagogues increased.

Right up until the Soviet period the Central Asian Jews were a repressed heterodox element which lived as a separate community subject to special laws. They suffered from various humiliating restrictions as regards place of residence, dress, etc., and every adult Jew in Bukhara had to pay a poll tax. Each community was headed by an elected elder (kalantar) who was recognized by the State and together with the rabbi saw that the Jews carried out State orders. Patriarchal relations helped to conceal class contradictions, and exploitation was masked by charitable activity. Persecution led a number of Central Asian Jews to adopt Islam. In Bukhara such converts (who were often converts in

name only) were called chala and formed an endogamous group. Conditions eased for the Jews after the Russian conquest and a group of big traders and industrialists soon emerged owning factories in Fergana, Tashkent and Samarkand.

Despite their disabilities the Jews were on good terms with the Muslims. The synagogues were the centre of Jewish public life where they worshipped, discussed public matters and held certain ritual ceremonies and entertainments. The public activity of the Jews consisted of the collection of offerings for the needs of the community and for charitable purposes. The religious schools attached to the synagogues were similar in both methods and results to the maktabs. After the Russian conquest a Russian-native school was opened for Jews in Samarkand. Very few Jews were literate.

### Main occupations

Since the Jews had no right to acquire land they were forced to live in the towns and engage in handicrafts and trade. Their main occupation was dyeing, but they also worked as silk weavers, jewellers, distillers, tailors, shoemakers and hairdressers, and the women were laundresses, baked bread for sale and worked as cooks. The dyeing trade in Central Asia was almost exclusively in Jewish hands. It was an honoured craft believed to have been inherited from their ancestors in Persia and was normally handed down from father to son, although occasionally apprentices were taken on. The indigo dye was usually brought by merchants from Peshawar in hard lumps.

The Jews began to engage in agriculture when they got land under the Soviet water and land reforms in the 1920s. At first they organized separate agricultural associations and kolkhozes, which later merged with Uzbek kolkhozes. The Central Asian Jews found it easier to adapt themselves to industry than agriculture and the number employed in various factories as well as handicraft artels has increased constantly under Soviet rule. Women constitute a majority among Jewish industrial workers. Central Asian Jews are also active in all the professions.

### Dwellings

The Central Asian Jews used to live exclusively in the towns in compact groups. There were large separate Jewish quarters (mahalla) only in Samarkand and Bukhara. In Kermine, Shakhriyabz, Khatyrchi, Pandzhshambe, Katta-Kurgan and Margelan there were smaller Jewish quarters (guzar). In the 20th century the Jewish bourgeoisie began to acquire houses in the new part of towns in Russian territory. The Jewish quarter in Bukhara consisted of three parts, the oldest probably dating to before the 16th century. In Samarkand the Jewish quarter covered about 30 hectares. It had no shops but there was a small foodstuffs bazaar where trade was particularly lively on Fridays. After the Revolution Jews began to settle outside their quarter and members of other nationalities took up residence in the Jewish quarter.

The houses of the Jews were of basically the same type as those of their Tadzhik and Uzbek neighbours, but they were not divided into men's and women's halves. The sole furniture was a low table which they usually used for

meals only on Saturdays and holidays. Most of the poor lived in rented houses or in communal houses built with community funds. After the arrival of the Russians the rich began to build European-style houses in the Jewish quarters. Since the Revolution the appearance of the medieval Jewish quarters has changed completely and they now look exactly like other parts of the town.

### Dress

The most distinctive item of male dress of the Central Asian Jews was their headgear, which consisted of a round cap of karakul with a velvet crown worn over a tyubetyka. In winter they wore a fur cap edged with fox with a velvet or karakul crown, or a sheepskin cap found among other Central Asian peoples. Married women wore kerchiefs on their head tied in a special fashion while the girls wore tyubetykas of plain velvet, sometimes embroidered with beads. At home the Jewish women did not cover their faces or avoid men, but they went veiled in the street. In the new part of the town, where the Russians lived, many took off the veil, and after the Revolution all abandoned it.

After the arrival of the Russians rich Jews began to wear European dress, but the men wore silk khalats over their suits on holidays. Now European dress is worn more and more, and only the old folk dress in the old way. The young women wear Uzbek-style dresses.

### Diet

Until recently religion exercised a strong influence on the diet of the Central Asian Jews. Rich families had a varied diet of Jewish and Central Asian dishes, including rice, meat and fish dishes, flour confections, jam, grape treacle, fruit and vegetables and pickles. They made and drank their own wine and spirits. Poor families ate mainly bread, mash (a legume), vegetables and cotton-seed oil.

Now, besides the traditional dishes, the Central Asian Jews include in their diet a lot of food common to the Russians and others. Religious prohibitions are gradually dying out. The Central Asian Jews eat mazzoth during Passover week, and for Purim they bake special pies and pastries which they send to each other on trays.

### Family life

In the past the patriarchal system prevailed in the family life of the Central Asian Jews and large joint families were fairly common. The women had more freedom than among the Muslims, but, since they did not work, were dependent on their father or husband and rarely received any education. Barrenness was considered a misfortune for which the woman was to blame and various cures, both magical and otherwise, were resorted to. If a woman had no children a man could divorce her after ten years. Occasionally a man took a second wife with his first wife's consent.

Various customs were observed during pregnancy and childbirth. Infant mortality was high, so magic practices, similar to those of the Uzbeks and

Tadzhiks, were common. Now childbirth takes place in maternity homes and infant mortality has dropped sharply. Placing the first-born in its cradle, and cutting a child's nails and hair for the first time were occasions for celebration. Boys went to school at four or five, and at 13 achieved their majority which was marked by a special religious ceremony.

The marriage age for boys was 15-16 and for girls 12-13. Sometimes children were betrothed in the cradle. Marriages between cousins were common. Betrothal was marked by a feast. Later at a special ceremony the groom saw the bride for the first time, thereafter visiting her regularly. Weddings usually took place on a Wednesday in the house of the bride, preceded by special rites and customs performed on the previous four days. The marriage agreement was drawn up on the eve of the wedding in ancient Hebrew with the items of the dowry listed in the native tongue. The dowry was usually worth much more than the bride-price, but there were occasions when Jews from distant parts paid a large bride-price and took no dowry for the bride. The reception of the bride at the groom's house had certain similarities to Tadzhik and Uzbek practices. The various celebrations there lasted another seven days. A young wife was not allowed to visit her family until the first child was born. A divorced woman could only re-marry after 90 days or after her children had reached the age of two. A childless widow was bound to marry her late husband's brother and could only get out of this for a large ransom and after the ritual of taking off his shoes. Now these onerous customs are receding into the past and marriages are registered in the Registry Office and celebrated with a big family party.

The funeral rites of the Central Asian Jews embodied Judaistic, Muslim and animistic beliefs.

### Culture

After the Revolution, Jewish Public Committees were set up to manage the affairs of the community and were concerned with such things as opening schools, theatres and hospitals. In Samarkand immediately after Soviet power was established several hundred Jewish Communists set up a local Bolshevik Party organization in the Jewish quarter. Secular schools were opened in the Jewish quarters, and in 1922-3 teaching in the native tongue [presumably a dialect of Tadzhik - Ed.] was introduced. In 1928 a Latinized script was substituted for the Hebrew and later the Central Asian Jews adopted the ordinary Tadzhik script. Nowadays the children usually attend Russian schools, but a considerable number also attend Tadzhik ones. The number of Central Asian Jews who have received higher education is fairly high. The first medical institutions, clubs, libraries, etc. were organized in the Jewish quarters after the Revolution. There are now many doctors among the Central Asian Jews.

In the past the literature of the Central Asian Jews was devoted mainly to religious and biblical subjects. Its language was the same as that of the Tadzhik and Persian classics. A well-known work was the 9th century poem BAYDI KHUDOYDOD about the martyrdom of a Jew from Bukhara. The Central Asian Jew knew the works of the Persian Jewish poets which, with the Persian classics, were transliterated into their ancient Hebrew script. The ghazals of the classical poets were very popular among the people. In Soviet times the Central

Asian Jews have produced their own poets, prose-writers and dramatists.

The folklore of the Central Asian Jews was largely borrowed from their neighbours. Specifically national characteristics were parables on biblical subjects, and proverbs and riddles reflecting certain aspects of the Jewish way of life. Proverbs are still often used in speech, and the old ritual songs accompany weddings and funerals.

Singing had long been highly developed among the Central Asian Jews. Jewish folk-singers were renowned as among the best performers of the classical Uzbek and Tadjik melodies before the Revolution and some were known throughout Central Asia. They also sang their own national melodies on religious occasions. Before the Revolution there were hardly any professional singers among the Central Asian Jews, although some women from poor families lived on the tips they received for singing and dancing at Jewish and Muslim weddings. Since the Revolution the Central Asian Jews have had greater opportunities to develop their talents, and they have produced well-known folk and opera singers, composers, musicians, actors, artists and an outstanding film producer.

The Central Asian Jews, who have shared the fate of the peoples of Central Asia over many centuries and, in spite of religious differences, adopted many features of their way of life, are now participating, in close collaboration with the Tadjiks and Uzbeks, in the economic and cultural life of the Central Asian republics.

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#### Editorial note

The 1939 and 1959 censuses do not give a breakdown of the various Jewish ethnic groups in the Soviet Union. The present number of indigenous Central Asian Jews in Central Asia is, therefore, not known. However, the 1959 census does state that, among the Jews in the Soviet Union who consider the language of their nationality their native tongue, there are 20,763 Central Asian Jews who consider their native tongue Tadjik. The vast majority of these are in Uzbekistan. It is not possible to hazard a guess as to how many Central Asian Jews may now consider other languages their native tongue, but the number of those claiming Russian is probably increasing since, as Kalontarov says, the majority of children of Central Asian Jews now attend Russian schools. Rudolf Loewenthal, in "Les Juifs de Boukhara", CAHIERS DU MONDE RUSSE ET SOVIETIQUE, Vol.2, No.1, January-March 1961, pp.104-8, quotes the estimate of about 60,000 Persian-speaking Jews currently resident in Bukhara and former Russian Turkestan given in President Ben-Zvi's book THE EXILED AND THE REDEEMED (Philadelphia, 1957). The total number of Jews in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan is much higher than this. The 1959 census gives a figure of 147,495 made up as follows:

Uzbekistan	94,344
Kazakhstan	28,048
Tadzhikistan	12,415
Kirgiziya	8,610
Turkmenistan	4,078

According to Loewenthal many of these are Jewish refugees from Europe who fled from the Nazis to Uzbekistan and the other Central Asian republics during the Second World War.

#### Underground irrigation in the Golodnaya Step'

Seepage and evaporation losses are being cut by the first underground irrigation network in the Golodnaya Step' in Uzbekistan. The network operates automatically and covers about 2,500 acres under cotton. Pipes, laid at a depth of over one foot, do not hinder ploughing; water is driven into them under pressure, then spurts up and falls to the ground. SU. 1964, No. 174

#### Portable electricity

A 750-watt hydroelectric generating unit that fits into a suitcase has been designed by engineers in Kirgiziya. A length of hose is laid along the bank of a stream, and the intake ducked into the water higher upstream. The plant provides enough electricity to light a house and use an electric range, an electric iron and a radio set. It has had successful tests on mountain streams. SU. 1964, No. 174

#### Shipwreck on Lake Issyk-Kul'

A 58 year old fisherman had no chance to pick his ten favourite books or gramophone records before he was marooned on a tiny desert island in Lake Issyk-Kul', in the mountains of Kirgiziya. He was setting nets when a squall of hurricane force hit his boat, knocking out the motor, breaking the rudder, and finally washing him ashore on the island. He spent nearly three days there without food or drink (Issyk-Kul' is a salt lake) before fellow villagers found him. SU. 1964, No. 174

## ENTERTAINMENT IN FRUNZE 1963-1964

The following account of entertainment in Frunze in the 1963-4 season is based almost entirely on news items, reviews and advertisements in the Russian-language republican newspaper SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA.

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Introduction

Frunze is a city of some 220,000 inhabitants (1959 census figure)\* which, as the capital of Kirgiziya, is the focal point of Kirgiz cultural life. At least it is here that the Kirgiz State Opera and Ballet Theatre and the Kirgiz State Dramatic Theatre have their home. At the same time, the Kirgiz account for only 20,610 or nine per cent of the city's population while the Russians number 150,698 or 69 per cent. (With 17,911 Ukrainians the Slav percentage of the population rises to 77 per cent.) It is obvious, therefore, that Russians predominate in most audiences and that theatrical and concert managers, who have their financial plans to fulfil like anyone else, cater largely for Russian tastes.

Besides the Opera and Ballet Theatre and the Kirgiz Drama Theatre, Frunze has a Russian Dramatic Theatre, a Puppet Theatre and a Circus. Concerts and light entertainment are provided by the Philharmonic Society, and there are about a score of cinemas, some of which are open-air and function only in summer.

The Kirgiz State Opera and Ballet Theatre\*\*

The 1963-4 season at the Opera and Ballet Theatre ran from 20 July 1963 until 2 July 1964. During this period the theatre presented 16 operas, 11 full-length ballets and one programme of three one-act ballets, the musical drama ADZHAL ORDUNA about the 1916 revolt in Kirgiziya, a Kirgiz musical comedy entitled THE BACHELORS, and THE PRICKLY ROSE, a Belorussian lyric-comic opera about students. In addition a number of concerts were given whose nature is unknown. In the spring of 1964 the visiting State Volga Folk Choir, the Berezka Dance Ensemble and the Belorussian Song and Dance Ensemble each occupied the stage of the opera house for a few nights. The theatre also interrupted its activities to allow the Kirgiz Supreme Soviet, the Congress of the Kirgiz Communist Party and other large gatherings to meet there. After the

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\* Since going to press the most recent estimate of the population of Frunze has been received. This is 342,000 as at 1.1.64. (SSSR V TSIFRAKH V 1963 GODU, Moscow, 1964.)

\*\* For the early history of the Kirgiz opera and dramatic theatres see CAR, 1954, pp.333-8.

resident company had finished their season, the Krasnoyarsk Theatre of Musical Comedy took over the opera house for about a month in which it presented a dozen or so works. These were mostly Soviet, but included such old favourites as THE MERRY WIDOW by Lehar, and also Jerome Kern's SHOWBOAT.

The 16 operas staged by the resident company during the 1963-4 season comprised four Kirgiz operas (TOKTOGUL, A MOTHER'S HEART, AYCHUREK and DZHAMILYA), three Russian operas (EUGENE ONEGIN, OPRICHNIK and LEGEND OF THE TSAR SALTAN), eight foreign works (RIGOLETTO, TOSCA, LAKME, AIDA, TRAVIATA, FAUST, THE BARBER OF SEVILLE and MADAME BUTTERFLY), and one opera for children (THE SMALL TOWER ROOM). Ten of these had already been in the repertoire for at least three seasons, and some for very much longer. Only two (LEGEND OF THE TSAR SALTAN and DZHAMILYA) were new productions. The musicologist V. Yankovskiy welcomed the production of LEGEND OF THE TSAR SALTAN as "an outstanding event in the theatrical life of the republic" whose "musical realization . . . makes it stand out favourably among the other works in the theatre's repertoire." Yankovskiy was particularly impressed by the general improvement in the orchestral playing obtained by the theatre's chief conductor, V. Rutter. At the same time, the standard of the string section was still low, and the chronic shortage of string players and lack of a harp and a celeste did not help matters. Yankovskiy found the chorus better than usual, and the production as a whole in keeping with the work, although there was a tendency to exaggerate its comic aspects and the action on the stage did not always fit the music. Most of the soloists, both Kirgiz and Russian, were good too, but their diction could have been much better. (SK.9.4.64) Yankovskiy's enthusiastic welcome for LEGEND OF THE TSAR SALTAN reflects the views generally expressed about the indifferent standards of many of the theatre's operatic productions, particularly some of those which have been in the repertoire for many years. A recurring criticism is of the woodenness of the acting. The level of the Kirgiz national operas is said to be particularly low and "at many performances there is practically no audience." (SK.8.2.63) The lack of new Kirgiz operas worthy of the epoch is constantly deplored. On 12 April 1964 the silver jubilee was celebrated of AYCHUREK, the very first Kirgiz opera based on an episode in MANAS and the only one which seems to have achieved any real popularity, having been given over 500 times. At the jubilee performance the title role was sung by S. Kiizbayeva, one of the two original singers in the part. (SK.12.4.64) It is too early yet to say whether the revised version of the opera DZHAMILYA (Jamileh), which had its premiere on the very last day of the season, will be a success. It is based on the story of the same name by the Kirgiz writer and 1963 Lenin Prize winner Chingiz Aytmatov, with music by M.R. Rauhverger. The earlier version staged in 1961, and particularly the music, received very mixed notices and was taken off because it did not go down with the public. (SK.23.3.63) For the 1964-5 season a new production of the opera MANAS is promised, as well as Shostakovich's KATERINA ISMAYLOVA. (SK.14.5.64) MANAS, with music by V. Vlasov, V. Fere and A. Maldybayev (who together with Rauhverger and S. Germanov have composed the music for a large number of so-called Kirgiz operas and ballets), was first staged not long after the war. A very lavish production, it had to be withdrawn

for ideological reasons, on the grounds that Manas was shown as a feudal ruler and the role of the people was belittled.

The standard of opera at the Kirgiz Opera and Ballet Theatre may not be high, but according to the company's leading ballerina Bibisara Beyshenaliyeva it is improving noticeably through having fairly frequent guest artists. During the year the latter included soloists from the Bolshoi, Kiev and Belorussian opera houses as well as a Bulgarian and a Rumanian. The ballet company on the other hand, says Beyshenaliyeva, is neglected and is no longer one of the best in Central Asia. The first five or six performances of a new work are tolerable, but after that standards drop, and the ballets that have been in the repertoire a long time are quite unrecognizable. Beyshenaliyeva puts most of the blame for the dancers' apathy on the ballet-masters who, in her view, are not up to their job. She also criticizes the theatre management who are quite content to let things be as long as attendances continue to be satisfactory. Apparently at present the soloists are left to rehearse entirely on their own, and for two years or more there has been no pianist for rehearsals and classes. (SK.30.5.64) Beyshenaliyeva herself is an outstanding dancer who has been awarded the title of People's Artist of the USSR and invariably receives rave notices.

The ballets given in the theatre in the 1963-4 season were SWAN LAKE, THE SLEEPING BEAUTY, GISELLE, CORSAIR, ESMERALDA, LAURENCIA, ROMEO AND JULIET, PETER AND THE WOLF (for children), THE GREAT WALTZ, MINIATURES (three one-act ballets), and two Kirgiz ballets, ANAR and CHOLPON. None of these were new productions, and many had been in the repertory for several years. However, after the season proper had ended and in the middle of the Krasnoyarsk Musical Comedy Theatre's tour, the resident company put on for one night the premiere of THE FOUNTAIN OF BAKH-CHISARAY. Perhaps by way of reply to Beyshenaliyeva's criticisms two soloists of the Kiev ballet danced the leading roles in ROMEO AND JULIET, SLEEPING BEAUTY and GISELLE at the end of June 1964.

The critics apparently consider LAURENCIA the most successful recent ballet production (SK. 15.8.63, 26.10.63), but, judging from the number of performances given, the most popular ballets were THE GREAT WALTZ and MINIATURES. THE GREAT WALTZ is based on the pre-war Hollywood musical of the same name about the life of Johann Strauss. Its success and that of the Belorussian lyric-comic opera THE PRICKLY ROSE have been quoted by Professor Frenkel', one of the chief critics of the complacency and indifference at the opera house and other theatres, in support of his efforts to get the opera house to stage operetta and the like. Far better, he says, to stage an original Strauss operetta than a travesty of Strauss' life like THE GREAT WALTZ or a second rate piece like THE PRICKLY ROSE. (SK. 1.8.62, 9.10.62, 7.1.64) The opera house remains deaf to his pleas, but the success of the Krasnoyarsk Musical Comedy Theatre which "could hardly cope with the rush for tickets even with two box offices" enabled him to return to the charge. "Surely", he asks, "such a thirst will not remain unslaked any longer?" (SK. 9.7.64)

### The Kirgiz State Dramatic Theatre

Although it is the national dramatic theatre, the Kirgiz State Dramatic Theatre is said to be housed in "extremely cramped premises". (SK. 9.10.62) It is, perhaps, for this reason that it presents its production of KING LEAR at the Russian theatre on a Wednesday when the Russian theatre is normally closed. In the last few years the first Kirgiz producers, trained in Tashkent, have taken over at the theatre, and the chief producer since 1961 at least has been young Dzhaliil Abdykadyrov. Apparently only the set designers are not Kirgiz, but prominent Russian producers and critics visit Frunze now and then to offer advice and assistance to the Kirgiz and other theatres. For instance, the prominent Moscow producer L.S. Rudnik had three sessions with the cast when KING LEAR was in rehearsal in late 1962. (SK. 15.11.62) The theatre's most prominent actor is Murtabek Ryskulov, a People's Artist of the USSR, who with several others has been with the theatre since before the war. There are also some talented younger actors trained in Tashkent or Moscow.

The 1963-4 season at the Kirgiz Dramatic Theatre lasted from 31 August 1963 until 10 May 1964. During this period a total of 25 plays were performed, five of them being new productions. An innovation during the season was the provision of simultaneous translation into Russian at a number of performances of A FATHER'S FATE, FACE TO FACE, THE WARD, NAZAR STODOL'YA and ON HIGH GROUND. Four of the 25 plays presented were for children, including one Kirgiz and one Tadzhik play. Of the remaining 21, 14 were Kirgiz, the other seven being KING LEAR, TYPHOON (a modern Chinese work), NAZAR STODOL'YA by the 19th century Ukrainian writer Taras Shevchenko, two Soviet Russian works and one Kazakh and one Bashkir.

The most successful of the season's new productions seems to have been A FATHER'S WORD MUST BE HONOURED, the first play by B. Omuraliyev, a young actor at the theatre who was trained in Moscow. According to a review in SK. 30.1.64, thanks to improvements made by the young producer M. Nazaraliyev, the original script has been turned into an attractive show of educative value. It is about a university student who is expelled for not doing well in his studies. The setting is his native village in Kirgiziya and the virgin lands of Kazakhstan, and the play shows how the hero turns over a new leaf under the influence of his parents and the enthusiastic young people of various nationalities in the virgin lands. The author himself plays one of the two leaders of a small gang of criminals who attract inexperienced youths out for kicks and temporarily lead the hero astray.

Another new production was THE WARD by the Russian Soviet dramatist S. Aleshin, translated by the young Kirgiz playwright B. Dzhakiyev. This received a long review by A. Borov in SK. 3.11.63. It is a modern psychological drama with little action which takes place over a few days in a Moscow hospital and involves the relationships between four patients, one of whom is an old-style Party man who cannot adjust himself to the post-Stalin era. Borov considered that on the whole the production was a success, although Kirgiz actors have little experience of modern psychological drama. No doubt this is the reason why the older generation of actors were on the whole failures in their parts, while the younger ones were much more successful. Borov was

particularly enthusiastic about the acting of B. Omuraliyev, the author of *A FATHER'S WORD MUST BE HONOURED*, in one of the main roles. He also commented that the fears of some people that the play would not go down with a Kirgiz audience had been unfounded.

The other new productions were *NAZAR STODOL'YA*, which a visiting Ukrainian writer said seemed to have caught the Ukrainian atmosphere very well (SK.14.9.63); *THE RED KERCHIEF* by Sergey Mikhalkov for children; and, at the very end of the season, *THE MATERNAL FIELD* based on the story by Aytmatov first published in 1963. This tells of a Kirgiz woman who loses all her family during the war. The dramatization was originally done by B. L'vov-Anokhin for the production at the Stanislavskiy Theatre in Moscow. The review of the Frunze production in SK.17.5.64 was, on the whole, favourable.

Of the older productions in the repertoire *THE COOK* (*Stryapukha*), a village comedy by A. Sofronov translated by the producer Abdykadyrov, *A FATHER'S FATE* by B. Dzhakiyev and *FACE TO FACE* have been mentioned as among the most successful, while *OUR MOTHER* by K. Dzhantoshev and *ADYL'S CASE* by K. Malikov, both veteran Kirgiz playwrights, have been sharply criticized. *OUR MOTHER* is about a revered woman teacher, whose outlook, the critics have complained, is backward and narrow by present-day standards. It has also been objected that the play is closer to folklore than real professional art. (SK.8.2.63) *ADYL'S CASE* is set in a medical research institute where the dishonest and immoral deputy director tries to persuade a young research worker, Adyl, to make him co-author of his thesis for a doctorate. When he is unsuccessful he plants his mistress in Adyl's laboratory where she upsets his research by killing off the dogs on which he is experimenting. The truth only comes out when the mistress splits on the deputy director when he fails to fulfil his promise to divorce his wife and marry her. This play has been described as primitive and superficial with characters quite unlike the real scientists of today. (SK.29.2.64)

The chief criticism of the work of the Kirgiz Theatre is that it concentrates almost exclusively on showing the everyday life (*byt*) of the Kirgiz. This was the theme of an article by K. Krivitskiy in the journal *TEATR*, No.9 of 1963 (reprinted in SK.28.11.63). As one example he quoted *FACE TO FACE*, an indifferent dramatization by two Kazakhs of yet another of Aytmatov's stories about a wartime deserter and his young wife. The theatre regards this as one of its most significant modern plays, says Krivitskiy, but "everywhere where it is possible to abandon a complex psychological treatment in favour of everyday life (*byt*) and rhetoric, the theatre never fails to do so, without thinking of the end result of such a substitution." Krivitskiy's second example was *A FATHER'S FATE*. This is about a man whose son is killed and whose daughter-in-law has to return to her own family with her son in accordance with old Kirgiz customs. Krivitskiy commented that it was a well-written and moving play and well-acted, but the setting could just as easily have been half a century ago as today, since the play does not deal with vital contemporary problems. The performance of Kirgiz actors in *KING LEAR* has shown that they can play psychological and heroic drama, but at present the tradition, in which both actors and audience have been brought up, is too strong. Krivitskiy suggests that the theatre will have to make more strenuous efforts if it wants to avoid

turning into just a museum providing magnificent illustrations of the national way of life. Concern at the low ideological and artistic level of Kirgiz dramaturgy led to a two-day meeting being held in February 1964 to discuss the problem. Among the speakers were a member of the drama commission of the USSR Union of Writers and an official of the USSR Ministry of Culture. (SK. 29.2.64)

There seems little doubt that the Kirgiz audience likes plays showing their national way of life. OUR MOTHER is still performed often in spite of the critics' strictures, while in past seasons productions of Russian classics such as UNCLE VANYA and ANNA KARENINA have been withdrawn after only four or five performances. (SK. 31.3.63) Among the plays regularly performed in the 1963-4 season were KURMANBEK by Dzhantoshev and DZHANYL by Malikov and A. Kuttubayev, both based on the epics of the same name, and KANYBEK which tells of the life of the Kirgiz in the years before the revolution. Both KURMANBEK and DZHANYL were written during the war and have apparently been continuously in the repertoire of the Kirgiz Theatre since 1944 and 1946 respectively.

#### The Russian Dramatic Theatre im. Krupskoy

The 28th season of the republican Russian Dramatic Theatre im. Krupskoy, situated in Dubovyy Park, ran from 25 August 1963 until 19 May 1964. During this time the theatre put on five new plays, and also performed 10 other plays already in its repertoire.

The first of the new productions was Ostrovskiy's satirical comedy MONEY TO BURN (Beshenyye Den'gi). This seems to have been a success with the public. The Moscow critic Yuriy Osnos found much to praise in both the production and the acting. In his view the main flaw was that one leading actor played his part as though it were a farce. (SK. 20.11.63) The second new production was THE SPANISH CURATE, a comedy by John Fletcher (1579-1625). This was apparently equally popular with the public, though it drew some harsh criticisms from one woman theatre-goer who headed her review "Surely this isn't art?" She objected in particular to the vulgar performance in the title role of E. Prag, and accused the theatre of chasing easy success and relying on the audience not being very demanding. (SK. 7.1.64) The theatre's next new offering was a dramatization of D. Granin's recent novel I GO TO MEET THE STORM (Idu na grozu) set in a modern scientific research institute. Apart from the shortcomings of the dramatization, the main fault of this production, according to a critic writing in SK.31.1.64, was that it failed completely to catch the atmosphere of a present-day physics institute with several of the scientists played as stock professors of the end of the last century. This time the public seems to have agreed with the reviewer that the play was unsatisfactory, and it received only a handful of performances before apparently disappearing from the repertoire at the end of February 1964. The New Year saw the production for young people of a patriotic piece by M. Shatrov entitled IN THE NAME OF THE REVOLUTION. Set in 1918, at the time of the intervention, civil war and famine, it shows members of the Komsomol defending the achievements of the Revolution and convincing some homeless children that they

should side with Lenin in suppressing the counter-revolution and "building the bright kingdom of socialism". The role of Lenin is played by the theatre's leading actor, Kazakov. (SK. 7.2.64) The season's final offering and only original work was SACRED STONES, a new play by the Kirgiz dramatist T. Abdumomunov. It tells of a talented young writer, Bektur, whose close friend, Aydar, writes a very critical review of his latest story in the press. Since all the other critics have been enthusiastic about it, and Aydar's wife left him for Bektur, Bektur suspects that Aydar is motivated by jealousy and only realizes finally that his story is weak ideologically and divorced from the people when he hears shepherds criticizing his work on a trip to a mountain lake. The reviewer in SK. 16.5.64 noted that the play marked an undoubted advance for the dramatist and involved the audience in its tense plot and complex characters. He also remarked on the gentle good-natured humour permeating many of the scenes.

It is too early yet to say whether SACRED STONES will enjoy the success of Abdumomunov's earlier play NOT SUBJECT TO APPEAL, which the Russian theatre put on in December 1962 and is one of the few Kirgiz plays to have been staged in other theatres of the Soviet Union. NOT SUBJECT TO APPEAL is about a young doctor with a bright future who, through lack of trust in others and the intrigues of careerists and slanderers, abandons his bride on their wedding-day and commits a crime in a fit of anger.

The remainder of the 1963-4 repertoire consisted of NO HAY BURLAS CON EL AMOR, a satirical comedy by the 17th century Spanish dramatist Calderon, which is a popular survival from the 1961-2 season; Gor'kiy's SAVAGES, also from the 1961-2 season, but now rarely performed; a children's play, THE SECRET OF THE BLACK LAKE by Ye. Borisova; and six Soviet plays. Of these latter, if the number of performances is anything to go by, the public enjoys most those censured by the critics, namely SUITCASE WITH LABELS, which ridicules present-day petty bourgeois types who worship material things and anything foreign; AN AWAKENED CONSCIENCE about the re-education of an idler and criminal on a building site, of which Osnos wrote that the plot is obvious from the start, the characters hackneyed and the whole thing a waste of time for the actors (SK. 20.11.63); and thirdly, a very poor production of IRKUTSK STORY which has been running for three years at least (SK. 16.6.61) The other three are OCEAN, an "intellectual drama" about naval officers, and two plays by Pogodin - KREMLIN CHIMES from his trilogy about Lenin, and his last play, LOYALTY, about people who suffered under the cult of personality.

Commercially the Russian theatre is a great success and never fails to overfulfil its financial plan. The theatre's critics assert that the public patronize it because there is nowhere else to go in Frunze in the evening, but the truth seems to be that the theatre knows its public - this could surely be the only explanation of why the theatre chose to represent foreign drama in its repertoire by two obscure 17th century comedies. Even the quatercentenary of Shakespeare's birth was not commemorated, although it is announced that the 1964-5 season will probably open with RICHARD III. (SK. 14.5.64) It is a long time since Brecht and Shaw, and even Pushkin, Tol'stoy, Chekhov and Gogol, were produced in the theatre. (SK. 7.1.64) However it is not only the low

artistic and ideological standards of the repertoire which come in for criticism. Some of the older actors who have been with the theatre for many years are accused of playing to the audience, while others mumble or don't bother to rehearse. The younger actors, many only talented local amateurs with no professional training, are said to be equally indifferent to artistic standards since they know that they will get parts anyway. (SK.12.10.63) Professor Frenkel' gave a vivid illustration of the theatre's indifference when he recounted how it refused to alter spelling mistakes on the drop-curtain in one production until the Ministry of Culture intervened. (SK.7.1.64)

In the summer of 1964 the Frunze Russian Theatre went to Karaganda, while the Karaganda Theatre appeared for a five-week season in Frunze. Among the plays presented by the latter were Ibsen's NORA, KING LEAR and Gor'kiy's CHILDREN OF THE SUN.

### The Kirgiz Philharmonic Society

The Philharmonic Society is responsible for concerts of classical light and folk music, variety shows, etc. It runs the Kirgiz State Orchestra of Folk Instruments, acts as manager for various soloists, and has recently organized its own variety ensemble. Performances are given in its own hall, and in summer in the Summer Theatre in Panfilov Park. The concert hall of the Frunze Garrison Officers' Club is also used for some concerts of classical music.

Lovers of classical music in Frunze complain with justification that the Philharmonic Society has a "distinct bias towards variety". (SK.23.11.64) During the 1963-4 season they were treated to only a score or so of concerts of instrumental music during the winter months, while no concerts at all were advertised in the press during the summer. The majority of concerts consisted of violin and piano recitals and chamber music, and virtually no modern Western music was performed. No foreign musicians included Frunze on their tours, but some top Soviet artists appeared including the violinist Klimov accompanied at the piano by Yampol'skiy, who drew a packed house, and the Moscow Chamber Orchestra. (SK.12.12.63) These concerts and some others were held in the Philharmonic Society's own hall, but in November 1963 some music lovers complained bitterly that "In order to take away finally the desire of Frunzians to go to concerts of classical music the administration of the Philharmonic Society has started to hold them in the hall of the Garrison Officers' Club, which is quite unsuitable from the point of view of acoustics and renowned for its delapidated old piano." (SK.23.11.63) This did not deter the Philharmonic Society from holding further concerts in the hall, but in January 1964 it was announced that a Bluthner concert grand had been installed there for recitals. (SK 14.1.64)

As yet Kirgiziya does not boast of a symphony orchestra of its own, and the only one to visit Frunze during the 1963-4 season was the Kazakh Symphony Orchestra which gave a series of five concerts at the end of December 1963, one of which was entirely devoted to Kazakh works. Musicians and music lovers alike have pleaded for a symphony orchestra for years, claiming that the good attendances at concerts disprove the arguments of those who oppose the creation of an orchestra on the grounds that there is not yet a sufficiently large potential audience in Kirgiziya to justify it. The poor attendances at the

concerts of the Kazakh Symphony Orchestra were attributed by Yankovskiy to preoccupation with preparations for the New Year holiday. (SK. 10.1.64)

During the 1963-4 season Frunze received visits from the State Academic Russian Choir, the Cherkass Ukrainian Song and Dance Ensemble, the State Volga Folk Choir, the Berezka Dance Ensemble, the Belorussian Song and Dance Ensemble and the Daghestan Dance Ensemble. The last named seems to have been particularly popular since it was announced that an extra performance was being given at public demand.

The Kirgiz State Orchestra of Folk Instruments with its komuz ensemble gave a number of concerts during the year, and there were several other concerts of Kirgiz music which included oytishi (singing competitions), Kirgiz folk kyuu (melody), satirical interludes, contests of akyns and recitation. In a review of recent performances by the orchestra of folk instruments (which includes Russian as well as Kirgiz instruments), Aziz Saliyev noted that, although efforts to reconstruct the komuz, one of the main Kirgiz folk instruments, to make the sound produced loud enough for a modern auditorium had been unsuccessful, some recent arrangements of kyuus by the orchestra's chief conductor Asankan Dzhumakmatov, had been successful on the whole in putting across the essential characteristics of the kyuu. Saliyev claims that this is a very valuable way of making Kirgiz music accessible to other nationalities, and also of accustoming the Kirgiz to orchestral music. The orchestra also performs Russian folk music and world classics such as a rondo by Mozart. Saliyev was full of praise for three of the instrumental soloists and five of the vocalists, including a Russian, Zaytsev, who arouses "storms of enthusiasm" with his renderings of Kirgiz songs. Unfortunately there are still some very bad female singers. In Saliyev's view, thanks largely to Dzhumakmatov's efforts, the professional level of the orchestra is now high enough for it to perform abroad with success. After only two rehearsals with the orchestra of the opera house it was able to give a successful first performance of Shostakovich's Overture on Russian and Kirgiz Folk Themes, composed in honour of the centenary of the voluntary accession of Kirgiziya to Russia. (SK.3.11.63)

Musicians have lamented the disappearance from the Kirgiz musical scene of the outstanding State Choir of the Kirgiz SSR after an existence of over a quarter of a century. This was disbanded in 1963 (SK.4.3.64), presumably for financial reasons.

There is no doubt that the greater part of the Philharmonic Society's activity is devoted to the organization of an endless procession of visits by singers, bands and other variety artistes. In April 1964, for instance, the Variety Ensemble of North Ossetia was followed by evenings of lyric songs with Kapitulina Lazarenko and a variety orchestra, variety concerts given by Leningrad artistes, evenings of lyric songs with Irina Brzhevskaya, and Georgian variety. The only parts of the Soviet Union from which variety troupes do not seem to have come are the other Central Asian republics. During the year there were three evenings of Yiddish songs, two performances of variety in Yiddish, and a two-night stand by the Leningrad ensemble of vaudeville and comedy in Yiddish. It is hoped that the orchestra of the newly formed Kirgiz Variety Ensemble will soon develop into the first professional variety orchestra in Kirgiziya. (SK. 4.3.64)

The critics and more articulate members of the community who write to the press may rail against the numerous "hack ensembles" produced by the Philharmonic, but their performances are invariably sold out. (SK. 7.1.64) However, even the general public are said to have been very indignant at a variety concert in November 1963 when, after sitting through what was by all accounts an extremely boring programme, it was announced that a well-known film star who was the main attraction would be unable to appear for reasons of health. It turned out that the administration had known at midday that he was drunk and would not be able to appear, but had sold the tickets without saying anything. (SK. 17.11.63)

### The Circus

The Frunze circus was open for the autumn season from 27 August 1963 until 10 November 1963 and for the spring season from 17 April to 12 July 1964. The programmes, which were changed during each season, included the usual assortment of lion tamers, performing monkeys, jugglers, clowns, etc. The autumn season opened with a three-week stand by the Mongolian State Circus making its first appearance in Frunze. An item entitled "Young Kirgiziya", put on in honour of the centenary of the voluntary union of Kirgiziya with Russia at the end of October 1963, marked the very beginning of a native Kirgiz circus. A small group performed a pantomime based on Kirgiz folklore and using traditional Kirgiz swings for complicated gymnastics, trapeze work and acrobatics. It is suggested that future turns may include rough-riding displays and a large mixed group of the animals inhabiting the forests and mountain slopes of Kirgiziya. (SK. 28.9.63)

### Cinemas

There are about 15 cinemas in Frunze open all the year round and several other open-air ones which operate only in summer. The cinemas in the centre of the town open in the morning, sometimes as early as 9.30, while those on the outskirts only open in the afternoon, and the open-air cinemas, naturally, cannot function until after night-fall. The last showings are around 9 or 10 p.m. The programme usually consists of one main feature film with, perhaps, a news-reel or a short. Occasionally documentaries are shown. Under the system prevailing in Soviet cinemas, a big cinema may show three or four different feature films in a day, and the order and contents of its programmes often vary from day to day. The Kirgiz film distribution agency receives about 15 to 20 new feature films a month, about half Soviet and half foreign (the latter include a large number of films from the Communist countries of eastern Europe). It also has a large stock of old films, some of which are frequently revived, and the actual number of films shown in Frunze in any one month may well total 70 or more.

At the end of October 1963 the first panoramic ("cinerama") cinema, the "Rossiya", seating 1,000, was opened in Frunze. It can, and does, show any type of film, ordinary, wide-screen and panoramic. The new cinema has attracted large crowds and patrons have complained of enormous queues, while

tickets are sold on the side. (SK. 3.3.64) There have also been technical teething troubles. One cinema-goer related how the showing he attended started 10 minutes late with the secondary film, which should have been shown at the end. When the main film finally came on the lights had to be turned on five times in the first 35 minutes when either the sound failed or the film broke. (SK. 5.2.64) During the year a number of the other cinemas have extended their activities by setting up cinema clubs for both adults and children. (SK. 7.3.64, 15.3.64, 28.4.64)

According to a report in January 1964 (SK. 17.1.64), there was an improvement in the functioning of Frunze cinemas in 1963. For instance, various festivals were held and more Soviet film classics were shown. The publication CINEMA NEWS also improved. But cinema managers still showed a tendency to be governed by commercial considerations rather than aesthetic ones in their choice of programmes. This was obvious from the frequent showings of films like SEVEN BRIDES FOR SEVEN BROTHERS, THE MAGNIFICENT SEVEN, THE THREE MUSKETEERS and others. The report also commented on shortcomings in the projection of films. "Late starts, poor sound, blurred pictures and breakdowns are frequent occurrences in the work of almost all the cinemas." The cinemas on the outskirts of the town came in for special criticism for admitting drunks and hooligans, and for a total lack of comfort. For visitors to some of them "winter. . . is a time of toughening up", while in summer they are like a steam bath. Moreover, as a result of inadequate advertising, they are not always full. Quite often such advertisements as do appear are not a reliable guide to what is actually being shown.

For cinema-goers the high spot of the year was probably the Week of Soviet Cinema held in September 1963 in honour of the forthcoming centenary of the voluntary union of Kirgiziya with Russia. For this a large number of prominent Soviet film producers and film stars came to Kirgiziya and met the public in factories, clubs and cinemas, while the best Soviet films were shown in all the cinemas. "Hundreds and hundreds" of Frunzians went out to the airport to greet the visitors. (SK. 4.9.63-17.9.63) Frunze cinemas marked a number of other events during the year with showings of selected films; for example, a week of films from the various national republics entitled "The Peoples of the USSR are Brothers", in honour of an all-Union conference on national relations held in the city in October 1963, and a week of films about the Komsomol and young people for the 45th anniversary of the Komsomol. In December 1963 there was a special week of Czech films, and in February a series of Arab films were shown.

The Kirgiz cinema industry is still in its infancy and the only new Kirgiz feature film during the year was DZHURA, which had its premiere in June 1964 at the "Rossiya". This is the first Kirgiz widescreen film and is based on a book about the fight with the Basmachi. It was made by a Leningrad film producer, and some of the main roles are played by actors from other republics. The standard of Kirgiz newsreels is generally regarded as poor (SK. 3.12.63), but some excellent documentaries have been produced by the Kirgiz film studio. An 18-minute documentary of the life of Frunze produced by Yu. Gershteyn and shown for the first time in September 1963 received high praise from the well-known Soviet producer Yutkevich. (SK. 15.9.63, 22.9.63)

Of course, only a select number of films from the non-socialist world are given a showing in the Soviet Union. Those shown in Frunze during the year included films from Japan, Brazil, Mexico, Greece (ELECTRA), France (BABETTE GOES TO WAR), Italy (ROCCO AND HIS BROTHERS, DIVORCE ITALIAN STYLE and others), Britain, the US, and India. The Indian film LOVE IN SIMLA was among those frequently revived.

### Conclusion

There is no doubt that Party requirements that the stage and screen should serve to educate the new Soviet man are in constant conflict with any notion of popular, let alone commercial, success. The Kirgiz obstinately cling to their folklore and folk music, while the majority of Russians in Frunze visit the theatre or cinema in search only of light entertainment. It is difficult to reach any conclusion other than that standards at the opera house and the Russian theatre are thoroughly provincial and, lacking the stimulus of visits by high-class foreign and Soviet performers, there seems little likelihood of any sudden improvement. As for the Kirgiz theatre, the future of such a forced growth is hard to predict, but the chances are that, if it does produce any original dramatists writing in the European idiom, it will be some time before they win general acceptance from the mass Kirgiz audience.

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### Anniversary of the kishlak Ayni

The Tadzhik kishlak of Ayni (renamed Zafarobod - see p.292) is about to celebrate the 1,400th anniversary of its foundation. Formerly named Varzom the kishlak was built at the foot of Mount Sukhta which was to become famous for its unstable character. Nine hundred years ago a landslide destroyed the village which was, however, rebuilt on the same site around a minaret from which the behaviour of the mountain could be observed. The 1964 landslide (see CAR, 1964, No.3, p.213) was the seventh since the kishlak was rebuilt.

I.Z. 16.9.64

## NEWS DIGEST

The following items are taken from newspapers and periodicals received during the period 1 July - 30 September 1964. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

## ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES

Tadzhikistan

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Tadzhik SSR of 30 July 1964, the settlement of town type Ayni has been renamed Zafarobod.

VVS. 14.8.64

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Tadzhik SSR of 29 August 1964, the kishlak im. Vose has been transferred to the category of settlements of town type.

VVS. 16.9.64

Kirgiziya

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirgiz SSR of 22 June 1964, the following rayons have been formed:

Kirovskiy rayon - centre, village Kirovskoye,

Sokulukskiy rayon - centre, village Sokuluk.

VVS. 1.7.64

Kazakhstan

By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR of 1 July 1964, the name of the town Aktau, West-Kazakhstan kray, has been changed to Shevchenko.

VVS. 18.7.64

## ANNIVERSARIES

October 1964 is the climax of the 40th anniversary celebrations of the formation of the Turkmen, Uzbek and Tadzhik republics and Communist parties. Historical, cultural exhibitions mark the occasion and in early September Tashkent devoted one week to the "friendship of the 15 nations of the USSR".

Grain, cotton and maize harvesters, builders, transport-workers - in fact everyone, are urged to show unprecedented success in jubilee year.

The following is a diary of some events of 40 years ago now being recalled:

- 3 August 1924 A session of the Sredazbureau of the CC of the RCP (b) was called to judge the work of the national commissions ~~who were~~

engaged on the preliminary demarcation of territorial boundaries between the newly-formed republics; on drawing up constitutions, agreements, budgets and plans for the national economy; and the organization of the State and Party apparatus. The creation of a central boundary commission to be organized with the collaboration of representatives of the new republics and autonomous oblasts to demarcate territories and State property, was considered.

4 August 1924 A meeting of the executive bureau of the Turkmen oblast committee of the Turkestan Communist Party was held to organize mass propaganda of the Politbureau's resolution on national boundaries. The campaign was due to finish in Poltoratsk (now Ashkhabad) about 15 August and in the villages about 1 September.

5 August 1924 The Sredazbureau of the CC of the RCP(b) considered and granted the petition of the CC of the Khorezm CP to annex the Uzbek part of Khorezm to the Uzbek republic and the Khorezm republic proceeded with the demarcation.

9 August 1924 A session of the Turkmen political commission was held at which the boundaries of the Turkmen republic were decided. At a meeting of the Party aktiv of Poltoratsk to hear the report on boundaries, it was remarked that only the national policy of the Soviet State satisfied the interests of large and small nations, ensuring full freedom.

Tl. 14.8.64

## ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeologists of the Hermitage and the Tadzhik Academy of Sciences working at the archaeological site of Pendzhikent, have uncovered a masterpiece of Tadzhik art, a wall-painting which encircles in two tiers the Sogdian palace hall of Pendzhikent. The mural, said to be unique in Central Asia, depicts battle scenes with horsewomen whirling among heavily-armoured horsemen, the ancient epic theme of war with the Amazons, or possibly the two sexes fighting a common foe which is met with in Central Asian epics. The lower circle has not yet been fully revealed, but so far shows folklore motifs such as birds laying golden eggs, hares daringly seated before wolves and three red-bodied, caudate devils, one of which is holding a man by his legs above a boiling pot. It is thought that at least some of these subjects belong to the Indian collection of tales KALINA AND DIMNA, which is known to have been translated into Sogdian, and which Rudaki translated into Tadzhik.

KT. 9.9.64;

SK. 12.9.64; 12.11.9.64

In connexion with the Soviet Union's contribution to UNESCO's international campaign for the preservation of cultural monuments, Kirgiziya has organized an exhibition of historical Kirgiz monuments, where, in addition to photographs, detailed diagrams, plans for reconstruction, models of filigree work like the Manas and Uzgen mausoleums, reproductions of the Osh mosque ceiling paintings can be seen. The most remarkable monuments in Kirgiziya are the mausoleums and minarets of Uzgen which date from the 11th to 12th centuries and are of the Maverannahr (Transoxanian) school. Examples of Dungan work can also be seen.

SK. 11.9.64

The director of the Pamir archaeological department, on his return from excavation work on the site of the medieval town situated near the Bazar Dara river at a height of 3,800 metres in the eastern Pamir, said that the town could well be "Maly Samarkand". This has yet to be ascertained by further excavations and archive study. Many articles written to date, are already labelling the town as such, but this is premature supposition. It is well known that the town was linked by a caravan route with Fergana, the western Pamirs and Kashgaria, but the director is puzzled by the origin of traces of certain fruits and fragments of spherical vessels, possibly used for carrying mercury, which may be connected with local silver- or gold-mining. It is hoped that leather documents written in Arabic and found on the site will give more valuable information.

KT. 29.9.64

## THE ARTS

### Films

The studios of the Central Asian republics have been active during the 40th anniversary year of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan. The Kirgiz film BURNING HEAT, which has been criticized in the Soviet Union as harmful and justifying feudal-bay attitudes to women (IZ. 2.9.64), and the Kazakh STORY OF A MOTHER were shown at Karlovy Vary. At the first all-Union film festival in Leningrad from 31 July to 8 August, the Kazakh Amina Umurzakova gained the award as best actress for her performance in the latter film. The Tadzhik films CHILDREN OF THE PAMIR, TIGER GORGE and IN FULL DAYLIGHT were commended. IZ. 31.7.64; KP. 12.8.64; KT. 11.8.64

At the third festival of Central Asian and Kazakh films in Frunze the Turkmen film CONFLICT gained the first award and THEY CALL ME KOZHA from Kazakhstan second; commended were the first Kirgiz wide-screen children's film DZHURA and the Uzbek YOUR FOOTSTEPS. CONFLICT is based on the story SHUKUR-BAKHSHI by N. Sarakhanov about a conflict of two philosophies, of reason and force, creation and destruction, faith and unbelief. Shukur-bakhshi, the bard, sings of peace and freedom in a warring state to a kinsman embroidering the ruler's golden coat; he challenges Shamet-ar-khan who is sure that the ruler is always right, that weakness and reason must bow to power and force, that Allah does not meddle in the affairs of men; therefore let one rule and destroy!

Other festivals have included Uzbek films in the Tadzhik capital and provinces, Tadzhik films opening in Ashkhabad at the start of a nation-wide tour, showing among others the new films TWELVE HOURS OF LIFE and TILL TOMORROW. A festival of Turkmen films began in the republic capital at the end of September. Some other new works by the Uzbek studio have been UZBEKISTAN TO-DAY, TADZHIKHON SHADYEVA and ASKIYA; a film of the new highway through the Hindu Kush is in preparation.

SK. 17-20,

24.9.64; KT. 20, 23.9.64; TI. 16, 19.8.64; PV. 6, 23.9.64

## Literature

It is reported from a Party meeting of the Kazakh Writers' Union that during the years since the June 1963 plenum of the CC CPSU (with its emphasis on the "new man") "the masters of culture" of Kazakhstan have become more active and mature in Communist art and the flow of young talent into the field of literature has intensified. However, the writers of Kazakhstan have sometimes proved unequal to the responsibilities given them by the Party.

Showing concern about the state of affairs in the Kazakh writers' organization, the CC of the Kazakh CP has noted that the journal ZHULDYZ was often isolated from the vital problems of literary development and failed to understand the urgent questions of Kazakh Soviet literature. ZHULDYZ published almost no material analysing new processes in the development of literature. The problems of socialist realism and of the Party-mindedness of literature and its closeness to the people were elucidated poorly and unskillfully. Articles on mutual influence, enrichment and the drawing together of fraternal cultures and on their international unity had disappeared from the journal's pages. The editors of ZHULDYZ and a Kazakh newspaper, KAZAKH ADEBIYETI, have been removed from their posts for fostering dissent among writers. KP. 12.7.64

Organized literary events have been prominent during September; a decade of Russian literature and art has been celebrated in Kazakhstan, a Leningrad literary week in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, and a Kara-Kalpak literary week in Khorezm. Welcoming the Leningrad delegation, Uzbek First Secretary Rashidov said that 30 years previously a few mud huts and felt yurts had stood on the banks of the Amu-Dar'ya at the spot where Nukus, capital of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, had been founded with much help from Leningrad. Since that time cultural exchanges had been frequent and had given prominence to Kara-Kalpak literature. KP. 13, 27, 29.9.64; PV. 13, 16-19.9.64

At a conference of readers at the Turkmen state library there was animated discussion as to which contemporary Turkmen literary heroes could be called the heirs of Pavel Korchagin. Those that had influenced readers the most were Ashir, Artyk Babaly and Ayna from Kerbabayev's novel THE DECISIVE STEP (analysed in CAR, 1955, No.3); Charyyar and Yalkab from the poem about the blood-rimmed tide by Ch. Ashirov; Tuvakbibi Sakhatov, from the story by A. Mamedov I LOVE YOU, ASHIR; the heroes of B. Khudaynazarov's poem BURNING STEPPE, about the construction of the Karakum Canal; Gozel' from R. Esenov's LETTERS was acclaimed for her campaign against illiteracy and the veil. The quality in these characters that won them most approval was patriotism. TI. 16.9.64

## COMMUNICATIONS

### Aviation

A new turbo-jet airliner, the AN-24, is soon to come into operation on flights from Tashkent to Samarkand, Bukhara, Fergana, Termez, Andizhan, Namanagan, Karshi and Nukus, outstripping the outmoded IL-14 at present used, in speed, comfort and design. The journey to Samarkand by the latter takes

55 minutes, but 35-40 minutes by AN-24. PV. 25.7.64; 12.8.64; 18.8.64

### Railways

In an article on the electrification of the railways it was pointed out that rural areas can, and do, benefit from electric energy used for railways that pass nearby. This same energy can also be used for agricultural purposes, etc. The electrification of another 900 kilometres of the Barnaul-Pavlodar-Tselinograd line could solve the problem of providing surrounding areas with electricity; but, for purely departmental considerations, this, together with the electrification of lines running near several highly organized agricultural regions has been scrapped from the plan. It is to be deplored, say engineers, that the financial outlay involved is considered in excess of the benefit these services would give. IZ. 18.8.64

### Roads

#### Tadzhikistan-Afghanistan

The highlight of this quarter was the opening at the end of August by the Afghan King and the Soviet President of the Council of Ministers, A.N. Kosygin, of the new highway through the Hindu Kush. The road runs from Kabul to Kyzyl-Kala on the Amu-Dar'ya and cuts the distance between the two to 200 km. The Hindu Kush reaches a height of 3,800-4,400 metres and separates the monsoon-influenced climate of the south from the arctic winds to the north. At one point the road climbs to an altitude of some 3,800 metres and here runs up against the last sheer wall of the ridge, through which a 2km tunnel has been constructed. PV. 5.9.64

#### Kirgiziya

Work on the 141 km. Frunze-Osh highway is progressing and should be completed by the end of 1965. A 67 km. stretch, including a tunnel through the Tuya-Ashu with snow galleries at the north and south entrances, should be ready by the end of 1964. Much of the road will run at an altitude of 2,500 metres; this, plus the fact that service stations have to be added, makes the work seem rather slow. SK. 9.8.64

#### Kazakhstan

Work has begun on the road from Iliysk to Bakanas, linking new sheep-breeding country to a railway-line and the Kazakh capital. The 140 km. long road will cross desert, semi-desert and quicksands between Lake Balkhash and the northern Tyan'-Shan'. This project is part of a 5-6 year plan to develop sheep-farming areas in Kazakhstan and to link them to cultural and administrative centres by thousands of kilometres of new roads. PR. 15.8.64



## IRRIGATION

Kazakhstan

The Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR have sent a congratulatory message to the workers of the Chardara project (cf. CAR, 1960, No.1, pp.48-49) on the completion and ceremonial flooding of the reservoir which is part of a vast plan to use the waters of the Syr-Dar'ya which for centuries have flowed unrewardingly into the Aral Sea. Six years ago construction of the Chardara hydro-complex in southern Kazakhstan was begun. A six kilometre alluvial dam leads out on the left bank over former sand drifts to form the reservoir of about six million cubic metres' capacity, with a maximum length of 90 km. and width of 25 km. It is the starting point of the 200 km. Kyzylkum canal to irrigate the surrounding desert, making 200,000 ha. fertile for rice-growing. Furthermore, estuary irrigation will provide 20,000 ha. of pasture-land for sheep-farming. A hydroelectric station occupies the opposite bank. KP. 6, 11.10.64

Tadzhikistan

The completion of an irrigation network in the Dangar valley in southern Tadzhikistan has been announced. It is connected with the, as yet incomplete, Nurek hydroelectric station. (See CAR, 1963, p.399) PV. 30.7.64

Uzbekistan

The Bol'shoy Fergana canal has begun to take water from the Kerkidon reservoir to the Kuva, Fergana and Altyaryk areas. Work has begun on the canal from Kerkidon to Markhamat, Andizhan oblast. (See CAR, 1963, p.142) PV. 23.8.64; 2, 3.9.64

## LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS

A regular plenum of the Supreme Court of the Turkmen SSR held recently, heard the report of the Deputy Chairman "On court practice in cases of crimes constituting survivals of the past with respect to women," in which he pointed out that these crimes were decreasing, but still did take place. Courts on the whole judged these cases properly but permitted serious shortcomings which reduced the effectiveness of the struggle against feudal manifestations. According to the report, instances of the application of mild punishments for "these dangerous crimes" persisted.

The plenum ordered the courts to intensify the struggle against those who bore "feudal bay" opinions of women, and to punish severely, not only the immediate executors of the crime, but instigators and accomplices of, for instance, the giving of a minor in marriage or the payment and acceptance of bride-money. TI. 22.7.64

## LINGUISTICS

Before 1963 the aims of the Oriental studies department of Tashkent State University were theoretical research into the languages and literature of the east, the compilation of grammars of these languages and the study of the problems of imperialism in the east. Since 1963 its aims have been defined as language statistics (*lingvostatistika*), lexicology of Oriental languages and the historical, economic, cultural and literary relations of the peoples of Central Asia with Persia, Afghanistan, China and the Arab countries. At a conference in January 1964 scholars reported on work in these fields. Many works have been published on such subjects as impersonal sentences in modern Uzbek; the passive voice in modern Pushtu; word formation in Persian; the phonetics and morphology of the language of A. Navoi from the works MAHBUB AL-KULUB, KHAMSA and SAB'AI SAYYARA; old Uzbek; the linguistic styles of Persian, Arabic and Uygur writers. In the field of language statistics I.A. Kissen has done remarkable statistical research on the modern Uzbek literary language, and has compiled a card index of seventy thousand examples of word usage and frequency lists of some of these words. In addition, he and Sh.U. Rakhmatulayev have produced a teach-yourself Uzbek grammar for adults.

In mid-1963 an independent Oriental department was established in the Kirgiz Academy of Sciences from the Turkological and Dungan sections previously incorporated in the Institute of Language and Literature. It is made up of two separate sections for general Turkology and Dungan studies and there is a staff of 11 to work on the following problems: (1) Philology, with special attention to "The origins of the formation and development of the Turkic languages of Central Asia and southern Siberia", and "The Tokman dialect of Dungan"; (2) History, with special reference to "The history of collectivization and socialist reforms of the Soviet Dungans"; (3) Literature, with special reference to "Folklore of the Soviet Dungans". In addition, I.A. Batmanov is co-operating with the Tuvin Pedagogical Institute on the examination of Old Yurt literature of southern Siberia.

Numerous works have been published and the Dungan section has compiled textbooks to improve the teaching of the native language in Dungan schools.

NARODY AZII I AFRIKI 1964, No.4, pp.257, 259

Between the 9-14 September, Samarkand was the scene of a linguistic conference on "The real problem of contemporary philology and the linguistic heritage of E.D. Polivanov". Polivanov, former professor of linguistics at Tashkent University, who was arrested and lost his life in the 30s, was fascinated by problems of general and applied linguistics, phraseology, Oriental studies, grammar and style, comparative linguistics, methods of teaching languages and Uzbek dialectology, all of which were discussed at the conference. Former colleagues of Polivanov also spoke on his life and work, which is valuable for scholars today.

PV. 29.8.64; 5, 13, 22.9.64

Other conferences

The fourth all-Union four-day conference of Iranian Philology was held in Tashkent. Among topics discussed were the mutual influence and enrichment of Irano-Tadzhik and Turkic literatures, the relationship between the Persian and Uzbek progressive poets Nazim and Mashrab, the works of the 20th century Persian poet Malek osh Sho'ara Bahar and the development of a coordinated plan for research work in Iranian philology. PV. 25.9.64

A strong contingent from the Uzbek Oriental department and the Institute of history and archaeology attended the seventh international congress of anthropology and ethnography held in Moscow in August. The new Soviet Atlas of the Nations of the World attracted much attention and it was recorded that ethnic cartography has a long history in the Soviet Union.

IZ. 6.8.64; PV. 13.8.64

## RELIGION

A three-day republic seminar on questions of scientific atheism was opened on 8 July by the leader of a lecture group of the Turkmen CC. Lectures were delivered on such subjects as "Time-serving tendencies in modern ideology," and "Comparative Communist and religious morals." TI. 9, 11.7.64

In August 1964 a delegation of Libyan Muslims visited Uzbekistan at the invitation of Mufti Z. Babakhanov, President of the Spiritual Directorate of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, who visited Libya in 1962. The head of the delegation was the rector of the Muslim University of Muhammad Ben Ali Senussi, Shaykh Abdul Hamid Atiyya Dibani.

PV. 21.8.64; IZ. 3.9.64

## BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

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### THE USSR AND PERSIA

The temper of Soviet writing on Persia has altered during the last year or so. Persia's undertaking of 15 September 1962 not to allow rocket bases on her soil has induced, or been made the occasion of, a milder tone. Emphasis had always been laid on what were called the objective realities of the case: it was a postulate (*veleniye*) of Nature herself that the two peoples should be close friends; the long common frontier of 2,500 kilometres was there to unite, not divide; and so forth. But it was no less emphatically taught that the Persians were indifferent to these realities.

Typical of the current, less censorious mood is the portrait of Persian attitudes contained in L. Alekseyev's recent study, *THE SOVIET UNION AND PERSIA*.<sup>\*</sup> The first, and by far the longest, chapter in the 55-page brochure, that on political relations, surveys the period 1917-1962. As a sample of what is nowadays being put to the intelligent man or woman in Russia, this deserves to be brought to the notice of our readers, and we are giving a precis below.

The evident desire of the Soviet Union to bring to a halt, if only temporarily, the long campaign of vilification and abuse of the Persian regime and successive Persian governments is to be welcomed. Students - and particularly Persian students - of the events recorded will, however, look askance at the garbled version presented by Alekseyev and at the absence of any reference to some of the outstanding episodes in the period treated. Among the many notable omissions are: the landing of Soviet forces in Gilan in 1921 and the declaration of the short-lived Republic of Gilan; the signing in January 1942 of the Tripartite Agreement by which the USSR with Britain and the USA undertook to withdraw her forces from Persia within six months of the end of hostilities with Germany and her allies, an undertaking which the USSR failed to observe until compelled to do so by UNO; and the forcible prevention of Persian forces from entering into Azarbaijan during the separatist movement there. For a full description of these events and of Soviet writing about them the attention of readers is directed to *CAR*, Vol. IV of 1956, pp. 303-31, 383-96 and 403-5.

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<sup>\*</sup> *SOVETSKIY SOYUZ I IRAN*, Moscow, 1963

Our point of departure is the eve of the Russian Revolution. Until then Persia had been a semi-colonial country divided into spheres of influence between the Tsarist Empire and the British. The noose of financial enslavement had been drawn tight about her throat, and she was indebted to her Russian and British masters to the tune of £4.75m. and £2.05m. respectively. She was an impoverished, underdeveloped appendage of a pair of ruthless capitalist states. But on 20 November 1917 the Soviet Government in its address 'To all Muslim Workers of Russia and the East' denounced the Imperial policy towards Persia and declared the treaty on the division of her territory to be null and void. So soon as hostilities should cease, it was promised, troops would be withdrawn and from that moment the Persians would be free to mould their own destiny.

The young socialist state was as good as its word. A Note dated 26 June 1919 waived all payments due to Russia, removed the superintendence of customs, telegraphs and postal services, and abolished the consular courts which had insulted the sovereignty of the Persian people. It was this document that paved the way for the later annulment of Capitulations which the Persians were able to announce with effect from 10 May 1928.

The magnanimity of Soviet behaviour was countered by British colonialism. To the latter the exodus of Russian troops was a heaven-sent opportunity. Almost the entire country was overrun, so that the establishment of diplomatic relations between Soviet Russia and Persia became a matter of extreme difficulty. On Lenin's instructions I.O. Kolomiytsev had proceeded to Tehran in November 1918, but the reactionary Vosuq od Dowleh who then headed the government declined recognition. The British, for whom he worked, descended on the mission, but Kolomiytsev himself was quick enough to evade arrest and got back to Moscow. In the following summer another attempt was made, and this time Kolomiytsev was waylaid on the road to Tehran by White Guards under British command. With the complicity of Vosuq od Dowleh's Government he was executed on 14 August 1919.

This affair was in keeping with the over-all plan of British Imperialism to use Persia as a base of operations against Soviet Russia. That plan was similarly implemented in 1918 by the invasion of Baku and Transcaspia by forces under Generals Dunsterville and Malleon, by the one-sided treaty known as The Anglo-Persian Agreement which was foisted upon Persia on 9 August 1919. The terms of this agreement empowered the British to depute their advisers to every department and ministry, and to assume responsibility for the reorganization of the Army by a team of officer-instructors. It meant that the British could take complete charge in return for a loan to Persia of £2m. - and this payable only when their own official had actually assumed his duties at the Persian treasury. No wonder that the signing of this treaty aroused the indignation of progressive society in the country; no wonder the Government of Workers and Peasants, dismayed at the misfortune into which its neighbour had fallen, refused to recognize the legal validity of so shameful a pact.

The encouragement of Soviet Russia at that time was invaluable. "The revolution in Russia had occurred," wrote the poet and publicist Malek osh Sho'ara Bahar in his book A BRIEF HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN PERSIA, "and we were free." In addressing the Mehregan Club as recently as

3 February 1959 the former President of the Senate, S. Hasan Taqizadeh, put it thus: "If the Russian Revolution had not taken place towards the end of the First World War, today not a trace of Persia or Turkey would remain. For Persia that Revolution removed the noose from her neck as she was at the last gasp." Typical, too, are such expressions of gratitude as this in KAYHAN of 28 December 1955: "First to strike off the chains that shackled us was the Soviet Union. From the Soviet Union we drew the strength to shake free from other bonds. . . This instilled in our hearts a love that nothing shall efface."

Magnanimity, sincerity, humanity - these could not but conquer the Persian people. There was nothing the British could do about it, try as they might. The nation was bent on establishing normal relations with us. Vosuq od Dowleh was driven out of office, and his successor, a noted national figure of the name of Moshir od Dowleh, lost no time in opening negotiations. The first political treaty between the RSFSR and Persia was signed on 26 February 1921. It was to be followed on 1 October 1927 by a second political treaty - the Treaty of Neutrality; and upon these two documents has rested the good neighbour relationship of the two peoples. Some account of each will be in point.

### The 1921 Treaty

The first equitable treaty ever to be concluded with Persia by a foreign state, this commits the Soviet Government to the most solemn abjuration of the policy pursued by its Imperial predecessors. It handed over to Persia the numerous Russian enterprises and installations, and it voluntarily terminated the various concessions enjoyed hitherto. It made over the Uchetno-Ssudnyy (Discount Loan) Bank with its property to the value of 64m. gold rubles, and it formally cancelled all obligation in respect of Tsarist loans amounting to 67.5m. gold rubles. It officially confirmed the ending of consulate jurisdiction in respect of Russian citizens. It recognized the right of Persia to maintain its fleet on the Caspian, which she had not been allowed to exercise since the beginning of the 19th century. Furthermore, this treaty stipulated an obligation on the Persian side not to allow on its territory any military intervention by third parties tending to convert the country into a base of operations against the Soviet State; and a corresponding right on the Soviet side to take, should circumstances warrant, the counter-measures necessary to self-defence. At long last the Persians had been dealt with as equals, and it is significant that on this very 26 February 1921 they declared the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 9 August 1919 to be a dead letter. Within a couple of months the British had no option but to withdraw nearly all their troops and Persia was able to set about creating her own army. Lord Curzon viewed the situation "with feelings of disappointment and almost despair."

The spirit of this treaty was scrupulously observed during the insurrections in Gilan and other areas of North Persia in the course of 1920-1. Those disturbances, however violent, were domestic and, as Chicherin expressed it, "the basis of our policy in Persia must be a meticulous neutrality. . . and a most rigid resolve not to meddle in her internal affairs." The War Minister, Reza Khan, was among those who applauded our attitude at that time. "The

Russia which has overthrown a despotic regime in its own case," he wrote in the newspaper GOLSHAN of 26 June 1921, "has not merely freed herself from oppression but is doing the same for neighbouring countries. This is the Russia that has cancelled the rapacious concessions. . . this is the Russia that has held out a brotherly, helping hand to us. . ."

In pursuance of Article 13 of the 1921 Treaty (on the Concessions) the Persian authorities bound themselves not to make over the surrendered concessions and properties to the ownership, disposal or use of any third state or subjects thereof, but to retain the said rights and titles in their own keeping for the good of the Persian people [the author's italics]. Unhappily, there were some pro-Western politicians of prominence who would not hesitate to infringe that article. In 1922 Qavam's Government granted the Sinclair Oil Corporation concessions in the northern provinces bordering the Caspian, and in 1937 the Delaware Company got a concession in Khorasan and Gorgan. In 1939 a concession was given to the Algemeine Exploitatice Maatschappij. The fact that all three were annulled as a result of vigorous protest by the Soviet Government does not excuse the behaviour of the administrations which accorded them.

### The 1927 Treaty

This, while endorsing all the provisions of the 1921 Treaty, extended their validity to the entire territory of the USSR (which had taken formal shape only with effect from 1922). In the terms of Article 3 "each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes not to participate, whether practically or formally, in political unions or pacts prejudicial to the security on land or sea of the other High Contracting Party; or to its integrity; or to its independence; or to its sovereignty."

It is obvious that both Persia's entry in 1955 into the aggressive Baghdad bloc (subsequently known as CENTO) and her conclusion of a bilateral military agreement with the USA on 5 March 1959 were in disregard of her undertaking in the 1927 Treaty. Not seldom is it alleged by the opponents of our policy of rapprochement with Persia that we are the ones who have violated the treaty obligations. They point to the presence of Soviet forces in Persia in the war years 1941-1946 as a notorious piece of aggression, a flagrant infringement of neutrality. What are the facts? After treacherously attacking the Soviet Union, Hitler's Germany, had proceeded to consolidate her footing in Persia where she had hopes of appropriating the oil industry, and whence she might dominate both Transcaucasia and Central Asia. A horde of Fascist agents posing as consultants, instructors and experts had worked their way into key positions. Reza Shah, bearing no resemblance to the man he had been 20 years before, was in the pocket of the Germans. The danger was that contemplated in Article 6 of the 1921 Treaty, and to avert it we went in as the Article enabled us to do so. Events then moved swiftly. The Persian Army disobeyed the Shah's orders to resist us, and laid down their weapons. The German coup had been anticipated, and Reza Khan who had lent himself to German designs, abdicated in favour of his son Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. A new government under Ali Foruqi breathed freely, and a people at large was happy to treat our officers

and men not as occupying troops but as friendly visitors. Naturally enough, the partisans of America, the Ali Aminis, persist in declaring: "our country was occupied and our neutrality violated." But the facts speak louder: the country had indeed been occupied - by the Hitlerites, and neutrality indeed violated - by Reza Shah and his associates.

### Soviet precept and Soviet practice

Soviet determination to regard Persia as a sovereign entity was proclaimed from the start, and has been practised ever since. At the time of the Lausanne Peace Conference, Chicherin argued powerfully in support of Persia's claim to participate, appealing to the principle of equality among eastern and western nations, but was out voted by the bloc controlled by the USA and Great Britain. Take, too, the Declaration of the Three made on 1 December 1943 in the course of the Tehran Conference reiterating the desire of the Powers concerned to preserve the complete independence, sovereignty and territorial inviolability of Persia. So far from honouring this engagement, the USA and Great Britain decided to profit by the occasion offered in World War II and make Persia into a protectorate; Bevin with American concurrence proposing a Triple Commission on Persian Affairs to settle questions affecting the internal life of the country. The strenuous refusal of the Soviet Government to be a party to this plan, alone defeated the scheme. Finally, there is our record in the oil crisis. When Great Britain backed by the USA attempted to utilize the Security Council of UNO in order to coerce Persia into acquiescence, and lodged a "complaint" against her, the Soviet Union spoke against the raising or discussing of the matter in that forum and associated itself with Dr. Masaddeq's contention that the nationalization of the oil industry was a domestic issue.

The above does not exhaust our record of considerate and disinterested initiative. It was at Soviet insistence that talks were opened which culminated in the Agreement on Frontier and Financial Adjustments of 2 December 1954. This embodied the amicable settlement of all the pending boundary questions, as also of the mutual financial claims of the two parties arising from World War II. In view of Persia's recognition of the Firuz district as an integral part of the USSR, she was now compensated territorially by areas at Moghan, Sarakhs and other places amounting to some 145.3 sq.km. Her people were well impressed, as were our own, with this proof of bon voisinage, and the Shah spoke enthusiastically in Parliament of an agreement "putting an end to disputes with the northern neighbour which had dragged on for 150 years."

There was still, however, much field work to be done, and the years 1955-7 were occupied with the physical demarcation and re-demarcation of the frontier along its length of 2,500 km. More than 1,000 pillars were erected and the corresponding maps drawn up, accepted and signed by the two Governments. A Mixed Commission charged with this task had engaged hundreds of Soviet citizens and Persian subjects who cheerfully bore the rigours of 'mountain top and desert plain' in the accomplishment of their common purpose. Disagreements that had for so long bedevilled the relations of the two countries were at

last obliterated. On the morrow of this notable achievement, namely 14 May 1957, there was signed a Treaty on Frontier Rule & Regulations, providing for the adjustment of day-to-day incidents or mishaps and the proper observance of the boundary as now established.\*

### Tensions

The period we are surveying has had its difficult moments. Again and again the Soviet side has done everything in its power to remove the cause - so frequently of a purely subjective character - at the bottom of the particular dispute. We think of the beginning of 1959. At the instance of the Persians we were negotiating a treaty of non-aggression and were studying their first draft. The Soviet delegation was dissatisfied and produced one of its own which was a great improvement. But for the sake of reaching accord without more ado, it said that it would sign what the others had drafted. Our Government acted thus on the assumption that the Persian Government would honour its promise, several times repeated before that date, not to conclude with a third party any bilateral engagement aimed against the USSR. It presently came out, however, that Eqbal's administration was at that very hour parleying behind the scenes with the USA with a view to a military pact directed against the Soviet Union, which in the event was signed at Ankara on 5 March 1959. The negotiations with us automatically fell through, the Persians withdrawing their own proposals. Was it surprising that we voiced our anxiety at the way things were going?

Let it here be said that whenever we have spoken out bluntly on the subject of Persia's association with the USA our statements have had one and only one, motive: our concern for peace and for the principles on which genuine friendship between Persia and ourselves must rest. Eqbal's perfidy could strain but could not break the thread of our endeavours. We laboured tirelessly to normalize relations and here is Khrushchev's appreciation of the case on 31 October 1959: "Of Persia's policy from now on we shall have to judge by the concrete behaviour of those who are shaping it. What we know is that. . . Persia possesses the full objective capacity to make her contribution to the cause of reducing the tension in this part of the world and of bettering her relations with her peace loving neighbours."

### Change for the better

It was therefore with profound satisfaction that the Soviet Government learned on 15 September 1962 of Persia's undertaking not to allow rocket bases on her territory; as also of the Shah's announcement that his Government would never permit Persia to become a tool of aggression against the Soviet Union. A light, said ETELA'AT, was glowing on the horizon of our relationship at last, and our own journals commented with no less optimism.

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\* Instruments of ratification were exchanged on 20 December 1962 and the Treaty came into force from that date.

The rocket bases of imperialist states pose a threat not merely to the socialist nations but to the peoples in the countries where they are placed. They are magnets attracting to themselves the shattering might of retaliation. That is why this understanding redounds to the security not only of the Soviet Union but of Persia herself.

We should not, of course, disguise the fact that not a few obstacles still bar the approach to real friendship. Nothing short of a decisive swing in policy away from the disastrous military blocs would answer the need of the situation. It stands to reason that neutralism will alone spell salvation for Persia. And it is something that ever since 1961 statesmen of the calibre of Ziauddin Tabatabai and S. Fakher Hekmat, and several influential organs of the press have been pleading for this.

It is not that the Soviet Union objects to Persia's being on good terms with the USA and Great Britain: on the contrary. What we object to is that the association should harm the interests of peace. When people allege that the USA is "anxious to rescue Persia" from the Soviet Union, there spring unbidden to the mind those wise words of the immortal Saadi: 'Kindness I do not expect of you; only at least cause me no hurt.'

### Guests of Uzbekistan

An agricultural delegation from western Pakistan visited Tashkent in July at the invitation of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade. The visit included a tour of the Goladnaya Step' to study the construction and working of the irrigation network.

An Afghan delegation including specialists from the Sarde reservoir and the Jalalabad canal, visited Uzbekistan in August. They saw irrigation schemes in the Goladnaya Step' and Fergana Valley, and in Tashkent they saw irrigation equipment being assembled to meet Afghan orders. PV. 29.7.64, 12.8.64

### Troubled frontiers

It was reported from Delhi that on 27 August a Chinese military patrol encroached upon territory of the Indian protectorate, Sikkim, 14 miles north-east of Gangtok. An Indian patrol was sent to investigate, whereupon the Chinese withdrew.

TRUD 4.9.64, KZ. 5.9.64

## E D U C A T I O N   I N   P E R S I A

Rather more than two years ago (vide CAR, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1961) a work entitled *Persia's Educational System* (SISTEMA PROSVE-SHCENIYA V IRANE, Moscow, 1959) by Ye. A. Doroshenko was analysed in this Review. A further study of this important subject has appeared in SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No. 2, 1964: namely, "Sistema Obrazovaniya v Irane", by M. S. Ivanov. We think that many of our readers will wish to know whether the forth-right judgments contained in the earlier work have been modified or not in more recent Soviet criticism.

An abridgement of Ivanov's article is given below. If read in conjunction with our analysis of Doroshenko's book it will be seen as considerably more objective, although still critical of the state of Persian education.

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In economically underdeveloped countries like Persia, any all-round progress will hinge very largely on the extent to which popular and higher education may have advanced. To make up leeway resulting from her long dependence on foreign imperialists and from her adherence until but yesterday to archaic feudal survivals in her countryside, Persia must countenance the radical reform of her whole polity, and no small item in such a programme must be the overhaul and expansion of the school and university system. Meantime it is by the yardstick of educational achievement that conditions in contemporary Persia can be measured.

### One century of education

To gauge developments up to date, it is necessary to look back for a moment to the scene 100 years ago. Until the middle of the 19th century Persia had preserved intact the medieval subordination of the schools to clerical control. The *maktab*, as the primary school was called, dating from the spread of Islam to Persia, was by custom held at the mosque itself. These *maktabs* could not cope with any considerable numbers and those they took were the children of the well-to-do. There was no course of prescribed duration, but the pupils entered at the age of seven and studied the Koran, the Shari'at and Hadith. They also learned reading, writing, Arabic, arithmetic and geography and were introduced to the Persian poets and the prose classics. They were not separated into classes, but worked in a bunch irrespective of age. Each *maktab* had one, and only one, teacher - the *Akhund*; and the amount and quality of the instruction he imparted was nobody's business.

Apart from these *maktabs*, there were the upper ecclesiastical schools, the seminaries known as *madrasesh* which prepared the theologians, judges, clergy, and sometimes the *tabibs*, or physicians. The syllabus at the *madrasesh* embraced divinity, Muslim law (*Shariat* and *Feqh*), Arabic grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, geography, astronomy and astrology.

The first secular school in Persia was founded in 1851. This was of European type and had Austrians, Italians and French on the teaching staff. A high school on the polytechnic model, it offered a six-year course and a curriculum wide enough to cover military science, mathematics, medicine, foreign languages, and some other disciplines. It catered for the sons of the nobility, and for them alone. Around the turn of the century, other secular institutions came into being, in Tehran and Tabriz notably.

But it was the constitutional movement (styled as the Persian Revolution, 1905-11) that led to a really appreciable advance. The Constitution of 1906-7 provided for a Ministry of Education which should control all State and private schools. This actually materialized in 1910 as the Ministry of Education, *Waqfs* and Fine Arts, and next year the second *Majles* passed a law making primary education compulsory. The law remained a dead letter. In 1911 itself there were only 123 primary schools in Tehran, accommodating 10,500 pupils; and the entire provincial total was somewhat below the latter figure. A prominent authority, 'Isa Sadiq, estimates that no more than two per thousand of children between seven and 13 years of age were attending school at that time; nor was there any marked increase in the following decade. By 1919 the primary schools in Persia had not risen beyond 244, with 24,290 pupils of whom only 1,802 were girls.

A significant stride in the direction of national education synchronized with the 10 years between 1920 and 1930 when in the wake of the national liberation movement (1920-2) the Qajar Dynasty was overthrown and replaced by the regime of Reza Shah Pahlavi. From 1927 until 1934 different enactments legislated for compulsory primary education free of charge, and for secondary and higher education involving the payment of fees; for a network of secular State schools, for teachers' training colleges; and for a university. A feature of these legal provisions was the withdrawal of schools from the jurisdiction of the clergy; henceforward all schools whatever, including *maktabs* and private or foreign foundations, were to come under the control of the Ministry of Education. From that time onward until roughly the beginning of World War II some headway was registered both in the primary and the secondary departments. In the former, the number of schools jumped from 3,285 to 8,281; their pupils from 108,959 to 457,236; and their teachers from 6,089 to 13,078 (the figures compared are for 1925 and 1940). In the latter, i.e. secondary department (comparing the same years), schools increased from 56 to 287, and their scholars from 8,345 to 20,410. The number of girls rose from nil to 5,200; the number of teachers from nil to 2,142, of whom 308 were women. The same years witnessed a decline in the number, and still more in the appeal, of the ecclesiastical *madrasesh*: 282 with 5,984 students dropped to 206 with only 784 students.

There were also some notable excursions in this period into the almost untrodden territory of vocational and technical institutes. The various

Ministries - Industry, Communications, Public Health, Agriculture, etc., as well as Education, were involved - came into this picture, and the results were presently visible in Tehran, Tabriz, Esfahan, Mashhad, Shiraz and Kermanshah. Nor was adult illiteracy ignored. Under a scheme which started in 1936, there were 2,133 classes functioning by 1940, attended by 157,197 persons. To turn, finally, to higher education, it was in 1934 that the Majles passed an Act which created the Tehran University from the several separate colleges (law, medical, veterinary and so on) which already existed. Before the 30s went out, there were some 2,000 undergraduates on the University books, and an equivalent number attending the remaining places of higher education such as the Agricultural Institute at Karaj, the Military Academies, the Normal Colleges, and the School of Fine Arts. With all this, the educational edifice was painfully inadequate, and the budgetary allocation to it no more than four per cent of overall expenditure. Schools, all said and done, were for the children of the comfortably off. The number of the illiterate was still formidable.

In 1943 the Government committed itself to a programme of compulsory and free primary education to be put into effect over the next 10 years; but once more in this sad story the law, having gone onto the statute book, could not be implemented. Funds, buildings, teachers - all were in short supply. In the rural areas particularly, schools were actually being shut for these reasons. In 10 years from the date of the law in question, i.e. in 1953, there were 5,956 primary schools in the country with 746,473 pupils: in other words, a decrease of more than 2,000 schools as compared with 1940, even though the number attending them had gone up by nearly 300,000. The intelligentsia and the progressive forces generally in Persian society were throughout these years hammering at the door of Government for a proper recognition of the educational claim, and it is the measure of their success that the allocation in the financial year 1960-1 was approximately 10 times what it had been in 1947-8.

#### The present educational structure outlined

In some 30 odd years little or no change has been imported into the system of education as such. It ranges from the pre-school kindergarten, through the primary dabestan, the secondary dabirestan and the various vocational and specialized institutions up to the higher foundations at university level. A fair proportion of the said kindergartens, primary and secondary schools are non-governmental, being privately supported by foreign missionaries or the various religious communities (Zoroastrian, Armenian, Jewish). In urban primary schools the recognized course is six years; in rural primary schools it varies from two to four years. Children in the former learn reading and writing, and also study arithmetic, geometry, geography and elementary history: in the latter they mostly do not get beyond the three R's. To bring up the child in a spirit of devotion to the Shah and Islam is the mandate given to these schools. In the secondary school the course is six years, consisting of two three-year "cycles" as they are called. The first cycle is occupied with general subjects, Arabic, a European language, book-keeping, accountancy and drawing. On finishing this junior cycle and passing the appropriate examinations the student

gains a certificate qualifying him either to work in a Government office or else to continue his education in one of the vocational institutes. Should he, however, elect to stay on at secondary school he is now promoted to the second cycle and for the next three years will be prepared for university entrance or for a senior grade administrative post. In this second cycle there is a choice between arts and science. An important place in the syllabus of all secondary schools is filled by religious instruction; the 'divinity' subjects being the Koran, Shariat, Hadith, and Feqh.

### Facts and figures of today

The latest available statistics applicable to the ascending rungs in the educational ladder must now be glanced at.

#### (a) Schools

Kindergartens in 1961 numbered 350, of which 235 were privately run, and accommodated 22,007 children. Primary schools totalled 9,642 in October 1960, of which 9,108 were State schools and 534 private. Pupils were 1,431,626 including 464,450 girls. About one-quarter of these schools and one-third of the attendance were concentrated in and around Tehran. The countrywide figures indicate that only about 40 per cent of children of school-going age were actually receiving a primary education. Maktabas, having decreased of late years, stood at 518 in 1960, with 8,505 youngsters attending them. A passing mention should here be made of a novel organization dating from the 50s: namely, several hundred mobile 'schools on wheels' for the benefit of the tribes. The Adult Literacy Campaign was conducted in 1960 at 11,176 centres at which 301,302 men and women were enrolled. To combat the acute shortage in teaching personnel, the number of normal schools has latterly been stepped up: it was 52 with an enrolment of 4,360 (including 643 women) in June 1960, but climbed to 66 with an enrolment of 6,093 (including 1,392 women) in the following academic year.

Coming to secondary education, one notices that the 1960-1 figures - 1,189 schools and 279,741 students - are roughly double the 1953 figures; and, as with primary education, there is a heavy concentration of over one-third of the schools and 42 per cent of their students in the Tehran and Central Ostan. But notwithstanding this marked expansion of late years the secondary school still takes hardly more than 10 per cent of the country's children in the relevant age group. Technical and vocational training have been given considerable attention in these last years. There were 10 primary schools of agriculture accepting 1,187 pupils in the academic year 1959-60; and at the same date there were 22 vocational schools for different callings attended by 4,021 boys; 27 secondary technical schools with an attendance of 2,780 including 712 girls; and nine secondary schools teaching arts and crafts to 842 including 350 girls. By the following year the overall number of vocational and technical schools had swollen to 64 with 8,368 students. The madrasesh meantime had picked up. As compared with the 206 of these with their 784 students in 1940, there were 315 with 12,942 students in 1960. The madrasesh now teach, in addition to theology, general subjects up to the standard of the secondary schools.

Their students belong to the age-group 16 to 25 years, and for admission must possess the first cycle secondary school certificate: all those accepted are given stipends. The principal centre of these madrasehs is Qam, but they are also common enough at Esfahan, Mashhad, Yazd and elsewhere.

(b) Universities and colleges

There has been some attendant broadening of higher education in this last decade. We shall review the present position of the universities and then of the miscellaneous institutes of similar standing. The universities of Persia are State-supported but entirely independent of the Ministry of Education. Tehran, the first and largest, has 11 faculties, viz. medicine, pharmacy, philology, agriculture, physics and mathematics, technology, theology, dentistry, law, veterinary science, fine arts. The number of undergraduates (including students of the Pedagogical Institute which is under the wing of the University) was 13,157 in 1959-60, some 2,000 being women. The teaching staff comprised 1,169, including 154 women. Fees are payable, scholarships are few, textbooks etc. are insufficient to go round, and hostel accommodation is inadequate. Tabriz University was originally founded by the Azarbaijan democrats in 1946, but after the suppression of the democratic movement was practically wound up. In 1949 the Government opened three universities, one of them at Tabriz, and the others at Shiraz and Mashhad. The Tabriz University boasted the following faculties or colleges in 1960: medicine, midwifery, technology, philology, agriculture and pedagogy; and had 1,476 students on its rolls. Shiraz University in the same year, with faculties of medicine and hygiene, philology and agriculture, had 944 students; and Mashhad University, teaching medicine, philology, and theology, had 893 students. The year 1955 saw the foundation of an Ahvaz University which five years later had 179 students belonging to its two faculties, medicine and agriculture. Still younger is the University of Esfahan, dating from 1958, with faculties of medicine, philology, and pharmacy which had 854 students according to the 1960 returns. Besides these State universities there is a new private foundation called "Daneshgah-e Melli", opened at Tehran in 1961. This comprises a college of banking and a college of architecture; and a third college, of medicine, is contemplated. It had 653 students, and 82 on the staff, in 1961. It is financed by non-official sources plus subsidies from the Shah's civil list. Among other higher educational establishments of university equivalence, must be counted the Polytechnic Institute of Tehran which was founded with the help of Belgian experts in 1960, and within whose walls 356 students receive training in different branches of engineering. Of importance, too, is Tehran's Higher Technical College where teachers to the number of 87 are trained for the vocational schools. Then there are the four military colleges: the Military Academy (Daneshgah-e Nezami) with 3,532 cadets and 218 instructors; the Staff College (Daneshgah-e Jang) with 183 places and 22 lecturers; the Army Officers School, with 1,573 under-officers and 150 instructors; and the Police Officers School, with 405 student officers and 56 instructors. In his analysis of the 1960 figures for higher education, 'Isa Sadiq puts the undergraduate population at 23,817 (including 2,755 women) and the teaching body at 2,124 (including 183 women). The standard of higher education - even at its best, as at Tehran University - leaves much to be desired. In commenting thus, we

are echoing the leading academic authorities. In its issue of 16 January 1960, the KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL published an outspoken address by Dr. Farhad, Rector of Tehran University, who lamented that a foundation which was meant to be an advance-post of progress had turned out to be no such thing. "Its syllabus by any European criterion," he declared, "is nothing more than a secondary school syllabus. The curriculum pursued in secondary schools abroad is the best we can offer at Tehran University." To blame for this state of affairs, he said, were the poor training of university teachers in Persia, the absence of equipment for carrying out research, and the inadequacy of university grants. To the low standard of instruction is added the incapacity of the higher educational facilities to cope with growing demands, and the net result is that many thousands of young people, chiefly from the upper classes, go abroad for study. In 1960 some 15,000 students were at foreign universities or colleges: the USA and West Germany took by far the greater number, but Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, Austria, Lebanon and Turkey also had their share. Certain of the students, many of them being of well-to-do parents, receive Government scholarships. On the evidence of IRAN ALMANAC, 1962, p.425, many of those singled out for favour are the sons and daughters of people close to the Government, and fritter away their allowances on amusement instead of education. An inescapable concomitant of all these unfortunate features is the undue foreign influence which has up to now enveloped higher education. The USA is particularly influential in university matters: for example, many of the 48 foreign professors at Tehran University are Americans, and Shiraz University is subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation.

### Foreign influence

American influence over the whole educational system derives from Persia's acceptance in 1952 of the so-called Point Four Programme. The Mission sent out to implement this Programme installed itself in Tehran with branches in Tabriz, Rasht, Mashhad, Kermanshah, Esfahan, Shiraz, Ahvaz, Kerman and other towns, and by 1957 was staffed with 293 persons. These advisers and experts associated themselves with every department of educational practice and planning. Of recent years, too, the influence of the Federal Republic of Germany has asserted itself, especially with regard to vocational training. A 1954 treaty on economic and technical cooperation gave Western Germany a share in the training of teaching personnel; and under another agreement dated 1959 she assumed responsibility for the equipment of the vocational schools in Tehran and Tabriz. Not only in the said schools, but in those at Esfahan, Shiraz and Mashhad, Germans have meantime been appointed to the teaching staff. A third agreement, signed in 1960, enables the FRG to organize, and pay for, agricultural schools in Fars. It goes without saying that these American and West German advisers make the most of their ample opportunities for propaganda on behalf of their respective governments and for the spread of the expansionist ideology of these two imperialist powers.

### No cause for complacency

The recent growth in the country's student population, as the foregoing survey has brought out, is appreciable and sustained. The official grand total which in the academic year 1958-9 was 1,900,000, was touching 2,354,000 in 1960-1. Nevertheless, the percentage of literacy remains very low. According to the 1956 Census, 10.5 million or 85 per cent of the population above the age of 10, were completely illiterate. (In Turkey the 1955 percentage of illiteracy, above 15 years of age, was 61.2; in Iraq, 1947, it was 68.9; and in Kuwait, 1957, it was 62.) Dr. Khanlari, the Minister of Education, stated in 1962 that the existing schools could accommodate only 48 per cent of children of an age to attend them. In an interview reported in KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL on 14 September 1963 the same authority revealed that 8,000 teachers working in rural schools had received insufficient training. Buildings, by and large, are unsuitable and in a shocking state of disrepair. Newspapers like ETTALA'AT, PAYGAM-E EMRUZ and DAD tell their readers of crumbling walls, collapsing ceilings and the consequent injury to the children crowded inside the dilapidated premises of schools throughout the rural area and in the capital itself.

### Treatment of minorities

Ingrained in the system of public education is the principle that the teaching in all schools, including those in localities peopled by national minorities, should be conducted in the Persian language. The national minorities according to the official definition are limited to the non-Muslim communities: Armenians, Assyrians, Zoroastrians, Jews. At one time, in the 20s, these had their separate schools, but the arrangement was terminated in the 30s. At the present time it is only the Armenians who have their own schools, where the instruction is in the Armenian tongue. But all said and done these religious minorities constitute an insignificant proportion of the total people. What of the great bulk of the national minorities (Azarbaijanis, Qashqa'is, Turkmens, Kurds, Lurs, Bakhtiaris, Baluchis, Arabs etc.) speaking other languages than Persian, who make up, as the Census indicates, about half the population? The answer is that these peoples have no means of schooling their children in their native idiom.

### Looking ahead

The educational system which is now in being will be powerless to overcome illiteracy in the next several decades. Dr. Khanlari has calculated that at the present pace of achievement Persia in 12 years' time (he was speaking in 1963) will still have 12 million illiterates. At the Shah's instance the Government prepared a bill in 1962 for the formation of an "Education Corps" to be recruited from among ex-students of secondary schools and university graduates, who are subject to military call-up, and to be eventually about 12,000 strong. The bill was approved by general referendum and became law on 26 January 1963. In their first four months recruits do their military train-

ing and are also prepared as teachers; then, in the remaining 14 months of service they will give reading and writing lessons to people in the rural areas, earning sergeant's pay for the job. This scheme, if put into proper effect, would be a step towards tackling the problem of illiteracy. The ruling set, however, is endeavouring to utilize the Corps as an instrument to strengthen its hold on the peasants and neutralize their anti-imperialist and anti-feudal attitude.

Without doubt the latterday growth of the student body and the literacy campaign, viewed objectively, are progressive in character inasmuch as they make for raising the cultural level and arousing the consciousness of the people. But these developments all told are inadequate - and Persia's educationists admit them to be inadequate - to their appointed ends. If mass illiteracy is to be conquered and the cultural level lifted, nothing short of radical reform will be of avail: namely, the liquidation of the remnants of feudalism and foreign dependence, and the cancellation of huge military charges in lieu of which the expenditure on public education could be increased.

#### Russian-Hindi phrasebook

A Russian-Hindi phrasebook by two orientalists, S. Gorodnikov and L. Kibirskhtis has been published by "Soviet Encyclopaedia". It is directed primarily towards those Indian visitors who are seriously interested in the study of Russian. The book contains an explanation of the grammar of the language in Hindi.

PR. 14.9.64

#### Peking's geographical "discoveries"

Mount Everest and a considerable part of eastern Nepal have appeared as Chinese territory on the latest maps published in Peking. The India Press Agency points out that previous maps published under the 1961 boundary agreement between the two countries show the above-mentioned territories as Nepalese.

PR. 3.9.64

RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKESTAN  
AND SINKIANG 1900-1917

The following article is an abridged version of an essay which appeared in a collection called *VZAIMOOTNOSHENIYA NARODOV SREDNEY AZII I SOPREDEL'NYKH STRAN VOSTOKA V XVIII-NACHALE XX. V* (Tashkent, 1963). (Relations Between the Peoples of Central Asia and the Neighbouring Countries of the East from the 18th to the Beginning of the 20th Centuries). The essay in question asserts that revolutionary ideas were first imported into Sinkiang from Turkestan during the 1905 revolution by the intermingling of the Muslim population of the two regions. Sinkiang is also mentioned as a hotbed of British and German intrigue aiming at the subversion of the peoples of Russian Turkestan. Although the author speaks of abundant evidence to prove these two assertions, he does not say where or what this evidence is.

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At a time when the friendship of the Soviet Union with the peoples of the East goes from strength to strength, it is natural that our interest in the historical background of those peoples, and particularly of those among them who are actually our neighbours, should be intensified. It is proposed in this article to deal in outline with the seldom studied theme of the relationship which existed between the Turkestan Kray and Sinkiang at the beginning of the century: at the period, that is, when the revolutionary liberation movement of the toiling masses in Russia and China was under way and when the international bonds uniting their respective peoples were consequently tightened.

The last quarter of the 19th century and the first decade of this witnessed the gathering crisis of feudal relations in Sinkiang and the emergence of a rudimentary capitalism. With a growth in the marketability of agricultural produce and the participation of the province in external trade, land became attractive to the investor. The result presently was a concentration of land in the hands of Chinese and local bourgeoisie, landowners and clergy: some 85 per cent of peasant households in the province owned approximately 43 per cent of all cultivated land, whereas 58 per cent of the cultivated land had already passed into the possession of the wealthier 14.4 per cent of the populace. Land tax, poll-tax and other dues swallowed 30 to 40 per cent of the poor man's annual earnings from the soil, and a tenant-farmer might have to pay out from a quarter to six-sevenths of the yield to his landlord. And this omits from the reckoning the amount of time and labour exacted from the peasantry in the performance of various corvées such as road building and the construction of dams and canals.

On the reorganization of Sinkiang in 1884 as the nineteenth province of

China, the administrative structure was brought into line with the pattern in the other provinces, and was thenceforward calculated to intensify the feudal dependence of this province upon the Centre. Inasmuch as the Chinese provincial administration received an extremely modest maintenance from the treasury, and local volost prefects nothing at all, the entire machine functioned on legal and illegal takings from the populace. The nomads were no better off than the rest, being cruelly exploited by the feudal element, the officials and the money-lenders; and being deprived on one pretext or another of their cattle and their tribal pastures. Workers employed in the handicrafts put in 14 to 16 hours a day for a miserable remuneration which barely kept them above the starvation line. To crown everything, national discrimination was never absent from the mind of Chinese officialdom. The net result was that agriculture and industry went into a general decline. The Ili oblast, noted as the granary of north-west China, was actually importing rice from Tashkent, and wheat and barley from Dzharkeht (now Panfilov), at the close of the century. Widespread impoverishment led to civil commotion and upheavals in which the Chinese administrators and local landowners were attacked and even murdered. In this highly charged atmosphere the gaze of the exploited turned to the Turkestan Kray; people thought that the Russian authorities behaved better than their Chinese counterparts towards the Muslims. In December 1886 a secret message from some Kashgaris to Mulla Uvale Ullah Akhun then residing in Zaysan, was intercepted. The writers described the arbitrary behaviour of the Manchu dynasty and begged that their dire condition should be brought to the notice of high authority. In 1888 the Russian Consulate at Kashgar was repeatedly approached by Uygurs wanting entry passes to the Russian dominions, but consular and administrative officers were bound to strict neutrality in the terms of an instruction dated 1884 from the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Moved by the tragic lot of their fellows many of the progressive members of the budding intelligentsia of Sinkiang searched for an escape from this cul de sac to which Chinese colonial policy had led, and thought to submit the vital issues of the time to the verdict of public opinion. But they were hampered by the immaturity of their social and economic attitudes and incapable of grasping the authentic causes of their impoverishment. They were optimistic enough to imagine that improvement could be attained by isolated reforms, and in the absence of a local press they got their articles published outside by such journals as the *TURKISTAN VILAYATINING GAZETI*. The feudal-religious outlook and behaviour of the mullas and ishans, the obscurantist approach to education in the old Muslim schools, the campaign for the genuine enlightenment of the people and in particular its women were among the subjects treated in that paper. The Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905-7, which inaugurated the phase of Asia's awakening, gave to the Chinese people in this first decade of the 20th century a national self-consciousness and a revolutionary pattern of thought. That people could no longer reconcile itself to the abject slavery to which its semi-colonial and semi-feudal country had been reduced by the perfidy of its rulers hand in glove with the foreign imperialists. The years 1906-10 witnessed the growth of a "new spirit" and "European trends". Throughout China revolutionary organizations sprang up

among students, among the bourgeoisie, in the army and civil service: revolutionary thought was presently the common property of wide sections of the community, so that Lenin could comment in 1913: "Was not China only yesterday a classical example of complete age-old political stagnation? Well, now she is seething with political life; the movement of society and the democratic upsurge are released and in full flood." The MIN'BAO, which was the paper of the Chinese revolutionaries, argued that the Russian revolution had confirmed the unsuitability of constitutional monarchy, and called that revolution the mirror in which the Chinese people had only to examine itself in order to perceive the necessity of similar action in its own country.

In 1905 the great Chinese revolutionary Sun Yat-Sen had founded a new political party, the United League (Tun Myn hoy) which coordinated the revolutionary forces in 17 provinces. The league's programme as formulated by its founder embodied the three fundamental principles: nationalism (expulsion of the alien dynasty and restoration of China's independence); democracy (establishment of a republic); social prosperity (implementation of equitable land-tenure). It was under the banner of this programme that the masses were rallied and able to leap forward, eventually achieving the revolution of 1911-1913. This revolutionary enthusiasm was not restricted to the central provinces of China, but swept equally the remote outposts of empire, and in particular Sinkiang.

That province was directly influenced by Russia, whence revolutionary thought arrived via Central Asia. This could happen because of the free intercourse of the populations concerned. The rural poor of Sinkiang was in the habit of seeking seasonal agricultural work in the adjacent Turkestan Kray, especially in Fergana and Semirech'ye, the conditions in those neighbourhoods being favourable in comparison with Sinkiang. During the last quarter of the 19th century and the opening years of the 20th, the Turkestan Kray had begun to be drawn into the orbit of the Russian economy. Cotton-growing, melon cultivation, horticulture, the karakul industry, the extraction of mineral resources (oil, coal) developed apace; cotton-processing plants, oil presses, railways (Transcaspian; Orenburg-Tashkent; Fergana etc.) were built. Out of a countrywide total of 220 cotton-ginning factories, 208 were in Turkestan in 1908. Cotton plantations rose from 138.3 thousand desyatins in 1895 to 489.2 thousand in 1910. The labour demand expanded proportionately. In 1900, Kashgaris finding work in the Turkestan Kray numbered 3,616; by 1904 the figure had risen to 13,934. In 1905 over 16,000 seasonal emigrants were attracted to the Fergana oblast, and in 1908 their total exceeded 28,000. At times the influx was such as to beat down the price of labour, and we find General Kolpakovskiy corresponding with Mr. Consul Petrovskiy with a view to controlling the flow.

These temporary exiles were among people akin to them in origin, language and culture. Wrenched from "lonely places, off the beaten track, backward, forsaken by history" they found themselves imbibing the revolutionary ideas of their kinsmen. Uygurs and Kazakhs from Sinkiang who had shouted "Down with Autocracy!" and "Long Live Freedom!" as loudly as any of the local workers of Vernoye, were unlikely to be docile when they returned home. From 1905 to 1907 unrest became frequent in the army, in the peasantry, and among

the traders of a society now openly indignant at a régime of monstrous exploitation, hunger and poverty.

The provincial government manoeuvred to save the situation by certain reforms, and on orders from Peking adopted various measures "to develop" the provincial economy: it was decided to build up the manufacturing industry, to exploit natural riches, and to attend to popular education, the judiciary, and municipal self-government.

The emerging national bourgeoisie was hard put to it, having to contend not only with a feudal régime but with a Russia entrenched in the Sinkiang market. It did what it could to get rid of its powerful competitor, and was driven into a chauvinistic frame of mind in the process. It palmed off its narrow class-interests as those of the people at large "confusing the whole population, instilling into each and all the notion that the Andizhanlyks were the authors of every ill." The agents of Great Britain, Germany and other imperialist powers who were bent on squeezing out Russia and making the province a base for future intervention in Central Asia, fanned the chauvinistic flame. From 1910 the lot of the Russian nationals became unenviable indeed; they were saddled with all manner of extra dues, and every obstacle was set in the path of their commercial activities, including the prohibition to acquire immovable property. Quarrels were picked with them; incidents were staged. To the credit of the mass of the working people it must be said that the bulk of the population had no share whatsoever in this russophobia; the ancient economic, political and cultural connexions bred nothing but confidence and goodwill. Nor, be it noticed, did the entire provincial administration by any means lend itself to the combined intrigue of the imperialist secret service and the local bourgeoisie. A proportion of the civil officials in the Aksu, Yangi-Hissar, Lop, Kargalyk, Sarykol and other uyezds correctly understood the inevitability and the benefit of neighbourly relations with Russia.

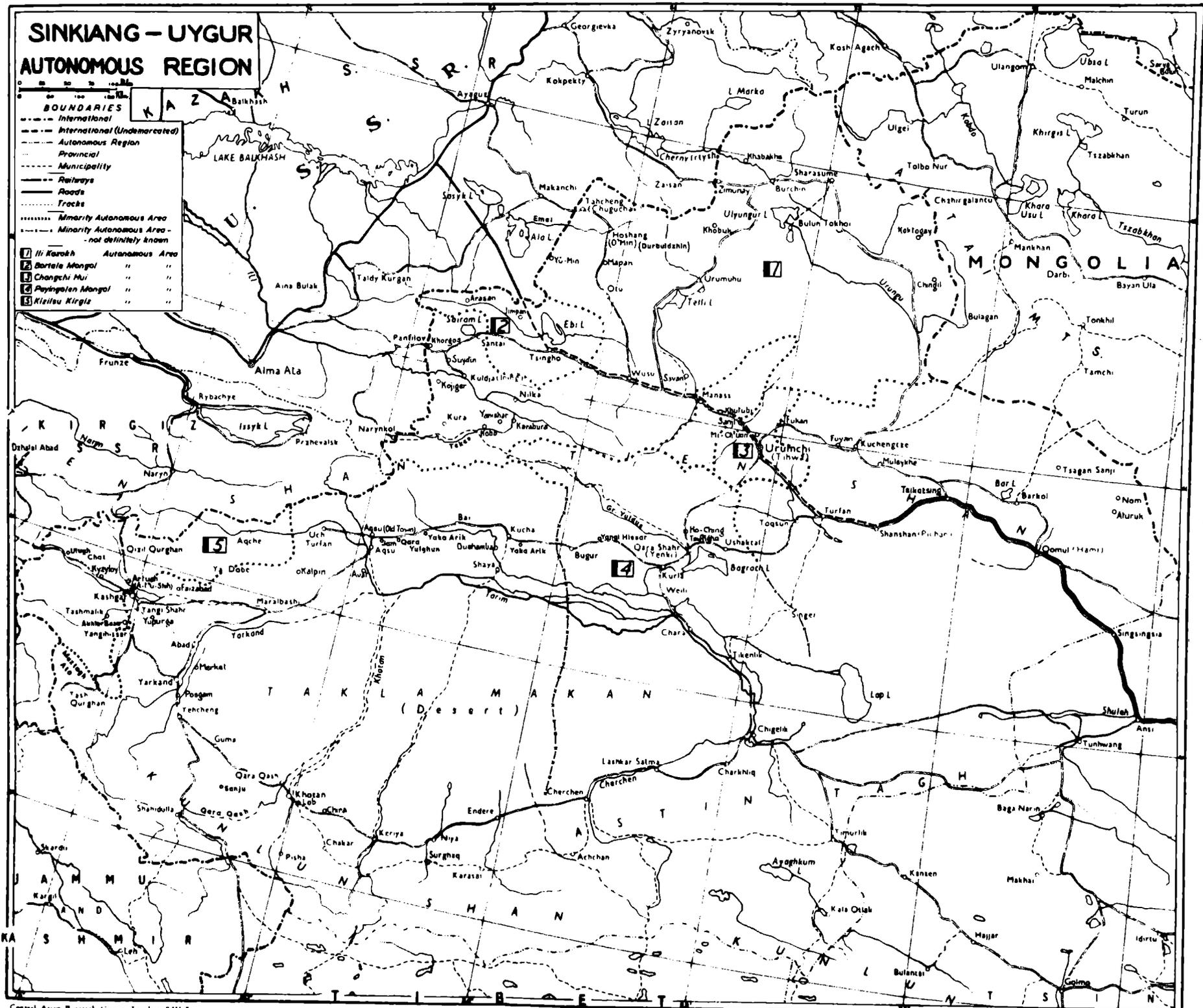
The Turkestan Administration was justifiably alarmed at the anti-Russian turn which events had taken in Sinkiang, and there was no small dismay at the Centre [sc. St. Petersburg]: An inter-departmental committee was set up which went into the position thoroughly and arrived at the finding that "at the present time it is necessary to relegate the political approach to the background and attend mainly to the cultural penetration of the country through a development of commercial and economic activity and through the furnishing of real aid to the local populace in its day-to-day needs." In the light of this verdict, measures were taken to improve the roads and postal and telegraphic communications between the Turkestan Kray and Sinkiang. In 1910 the shipowner D. V. Sirotkin together with the Dzharkeht millionaire V. Yuldashev entered into a contract with "the chief prefect of the Ili Kray, Du-du Huan-fu" which entitled them to prospect for minerals during a five-year term, to construct factories, to enjoy the use of timber and water, to operate vessels on the Ili river, and to build a railway. Though the matter petered out through a failure to reach understanding with the Chinese authorities over the articles of agreement, the mere fact of its being pursued at all attests the wish of Russia's entrepreneurs to open up the area. Carriage facilities were improved in 1912 when a regular Eastern Transport Company took over this work from individual carters. Sinkiang producers and manufacturers were invited to attend, and compete for prizes at,

# SINKIANG - UYGUR AUTONOMOUS REGION

**BOUNDARIES**

- - - - - International
- - - - - International (Undemarcated)
- - - - - Autonomous Region
- - - - - Provincial
- - - - - Municipality
- — — — — Railways
- — — — — Roads
- — — — — Tracks
- ..... Minority Autonomous Area
- ..... Minority Autonomous Area - not definitely known

**1** Ili Kazakh Autonomous Area  
**2** Bortala Mongol " "  
**3** Changchi Hui " "  
**4** Puyinglan Mongol " "  
**5** Kizilsu Kirgiz " "



the different exhibitions held on Russian soil. The Russian consulates contributed their mite. That at Kashgar obtained sanction for a permanent doctor, whose fame as a dispenser of free treatment to all comers spread far and wide. Such moves countered the tide, and enabled the normal historical relationship to reassert itself.

The revolution to which events had been moving broke out in December 1911. It was led by the Chinese bourgeoisie in concert with progressively minded army officers and civil servants. The proletariat and peasantry participated, but there was no close liaison between these. The pattern of the revolt was first the clear-cut battle of the bourgeoisie as such versus reaction in the shape of the Manchu regime of the Tsins; then, after the overthrow of the latter, the gradual split of the bourgeoisie into two uneasy camps. To the extent that the monarchy had been brought down and a republic proclaimed, the protracted, implacable struggle had ended in victory; but changes in the political structure of China had not led to social changes, and to that extent the issue was still unsettled. The semi-feudal, semi-colonial system survived.

How did revolution affect official relations between Sinkiang and Turkestan? In the initial stages the Tsarist Government, believing that its own interests were not at stake, opted for neutrality; consuls were told not to dabble in the internal affairs of the province and to deal with those in authority whoever they might be. When, however, the revolutionary authority had implemented some portion of its democratic programme, the "neutrality" to which the Russian army had been adhering no longer suited the imperial book in Turkestan. "Anarchy" was on the doorstep, and the ideas which had given impetus to the insurrection were being assimilated by the Russian Uzbeks, Dungans and others who were on business in the province. There is documentary evidence to prove that these people - and they did not exclude such prominent merchants as B. Musabayev of "Musabayev Brothers" - were active members of the local secret societies.

On the pretext of protecting the life and property of Russian subjects Tsarist troops were moved in in June 1912. The position of the dominant class was thereby strengthened, and Yuan Shih-K'ai profited by the Russian presence to extend his dictatorial authority to the disaffected parts of the province. Russia, in a word, showed herself the ally of Chinese reaction and the enemy of the national-liberation movement.

The material condition of the workers of Sinkiang around this time was so grim that the "seasonal" emigrants to Turkestan started to remain there for years at a stretch, settling in with their families. The 1913 statistics show 52,094 Kashgari Uygurs and 353 Dungans of West China origin to be residing in the Fergana Valley, and such emigrants were also to be found in the Samarkand, Syr-Dar'ya and Transcaspia oblasts and in Semirech'ye. On the eve of the October Revolution the overall figure in Turkestan was 279,000. The labour was unskilled, and distributed among the coal-mines, the cotton-ginning factories, the rice plantations and the small workshops. In that one year (1917) 20,000 emigrants had arrived, and the number grew annually. The difference between the figure of those who had gone to China and those who had come out of China in 1912-1913 was 13,175.

These emigrants witnessed and took part in revolutionary happenings in Russia, and were subsequently able to propagate revolutionary ideas in Sinkiang and invigorate social thought. It was they who inspired the Sinkiang poor to form its own political party and to make a bid for national and social freedom.

From 1914 to 1918 there was an increasing drain of livestock, raw materials and foodstuffs from the Kray "for war purposes". Sowings were curtailed, prices of essentials soared; and famine loomed. The Tsar's Ukase of 25 June 1916 on mobilization for home service brought the population of Central Asia and Kazakhstan to the end of its tether, and it rose in revolt. One of the forms in which the protest of the people manifested itself was the trek over the border into western China. Tens of thousands from Semirech'ye and the frontier volosts of the Fergana oblast abandoned their native places and crossed into Sinkiang. The Administration was compelled to take emergency measures to forestall a flight en masse.

In the most backward regions the feudal-clerical elements and the bourgeois leaders, posing as "friends of the people", attempted to rouse the populace to Holy War and to tear Central Asia and Kazakhstan from Russia. The foreign agents (of Great Britain, Germany and Turkey) backed this endeavour and Sinkiang became a seat of operations. In particular did the German-Turkish secret service nurture the hope of making Sinkiang the point d'appui from which to deliver a blow at the Turkestan Kray. There were those among the Sinkiang bourgeoisie, feudal nobility and reactionary clergy who were Panislam and Pan-Turk-minded, and from these the Turkish and German Intelligence recruited its agents to introduce subversion into the Turkestan Kray.

The manaps and mullas of Semirech'ye were also of Pan-Turk persuasion, and highly susceptible to the propaganda of the Turks and Germans. Kuldja was the centre which arranged the transmission of weapons to groups of insurgents, and by the same route considerable bands of Chinese subjects also crossed over from Sinkiang to organize provocative action against the Russians. Thus, the Mariinskiy volost prefect, one Madzhina Marafu, recorded that long before the uprising in the Przheval'sk uyezd several thousand Chinese subjects had come together "for some special purpose". They were soon engaged actively in the "disorders". And in August 1916 Kuropatkin had occasion to telegraph the Minister of War, D.S. Zhuvayev, about troops from Urumchi being moved to the frontier.

But the endeavours of foreign powers to push the people of Turkestan into a "Holy War" failed. In most parts the uprising had a national-liberation stamp, being directed just as much against native exploiters as against Tsarist colonizers. Martial law was declared, and the bloody reprisal which ensued drove many to emigrate to China. The refugees headed mainly for the Kashgar district, and the Uch-Turfan and Aksu oases, and their number exceeded 300,000. The lot of these fugitives was hard; many perished of hunger by the wayside; all the cattle, 90 per cent of the horses, three-quarters of the sheep and half the camels were lost. Scurvy and typhus took their toll. The treatment meted out to the refugees on arrival varied; the ruling set and the administration not only ignored their plight but took advantage of it; allowing them to enter on payment of 5,000 rubles, the surrender of their weapons and

the handing over of opium and livestock. On the other hand the workers gave them a sympathetic welcome, and staged a demonstration of protest outside the Russian Consulate at Kuldja. At this centre and at Chuguchak, Aksu and Kashgar circles were presently formed by the Muslim youth, ostensibly for cultural work but secretly for propaganda against Tsarist Russia.

The Mobilization Order of 1916 [see above] had been applied indiscriminately. According to P. Fesenko not less than one-quarter of those called up were of Sinkiang origin. This is doubtless an exaggeration, but there can be no doubt that large numbers were involved, who were thus introduced to Bolshevik precept and practice at first hand. It was a turning point. The summons to join battle with the Provisional Government to which they hearkened on Russian soil, was no less a summons to take the field against "their own" exploiters. And when they returned to their native villages and towns they were morally conditioned, so to speak, for revolution.

Meanwhile, Turkestan's cause was their own, and they fought in the ranks of the Red Guards and Red Partisans against White Guards and White Cossacks. In the numerous associations which now mushroomed, such as the Amalgamated Union of Muslim Workers organized in Vernoye in May 1917, Uy-gurs from Sinkiang were as prominent as their kinsmen of Semirech'ye. Another association of the sort was the DzharKent Workers Union. "Our organization received its baptism of fire," writes its founder Gapparov in his memoirs, "during the First of May demonstration in 1917, when counter-revolutionary, nationalist elements tried to break up a procession. We resisted, and this at once raised our authority in the eyes of the working population. Henceforward the ranks of the Union began to fill out in fine style, and its influence penetrated to the auls and kishlaks."

Over in the province, the tidings from Turkestan were making a deep impact on people's minds. People began to think things out for themselves and the Provincial Administration could no longer count on their implicit obedience. When, for instance, the Kazakh feudal aristocracy in Sinkiang in collusion with the Panislam agitators uttered the call to participate in Turkey's Holy War against Russia and China, the rank and file of the Kazakhs denied the competence of the traditional meetings of elders, which merely echoed the interests of those above, to govern their life in society, and demanded executive committees elected by popular vote as in Russia.

Our brief survey has shown how through each succeeding year of trial and tribulation over the period studied, the fraternal ties between the peoples of Russia and of China were enhanced and strengthened. The interaction of two tendencies was marked:

1. Contact between the peoples of Sinkiang and those of Central Asia at a time when the latter were being subjected to the wholesome influence of the Russian proletariat, meant the transmission of that revolutionizing influence to the workers of Sinkiang. The policy of the Turkestan Administration and of the Tsarist Government (insofar as it embraced the construction of industrial enterprises in Sinkiang, the mastery of natural resources, the building of roads and the opening of postal and telegraphic communications), and the services rendered by the Russian Consulates in the province materially assisted economic and political connexions between Sinkiang and Turkestan.

2. Side by side with this, Sinkiang was an admirably suitable area (from the standpoint of certain imperialist states, Germany and Great Britain especially) from which to plot and execute subversion in Central Asia. After the victory of Great October, the Soviet State put into effect Lenin's policy of peace and friendship among the peoples, and left no stone unturned in adjusting close economic and cultural relations with China, including Sinkiang. But this programme collided with the Kuomintang plan of action as inspired by the foreign imperialists, and in the event it was only the victory of the people's revolution in China that initiated a new era in the mutual relations of the two great peoples.

## THE BORDERLANDS IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on the borderland countries appearing in Soviet newspapers received during the period 1 July - 30 September 1964. A list of abbreviations used will be found at the beginning of the Review.

### AFGHANISTAN

By the standard of the past year or two, coverage was modest. In an uneventful period the most was made of official delegations in either direction, and of the 45th anniversary of Afghan independence. The brief visit of Mr. Mikoyan to Kabul early in July when he was taken out to view the tunnel through the Salang Pass and also inspected the house-building centre, was carried in PR and other papers on 7.7.64. But the main feature of the month was the presence of an Afghan military party in USSR. Led by the Defence Minister, Gen. Khan Mohammad Khan, this group spent two weeks visiting Moscow, Leningrad, the Crimea and Tbilisi, and was fairly well written up and photographed.

That delegation, however, was but sketchily covered compared with Mr. Kosygin's in September. The celebrations attending the completion of the Salang Highway to which the statesman and his fellow-delegates had been invited, provided the entire press with an opportunity to discuss this engineering feat as "the symbol of fruitful cooperation between two brother-peoples." There were photographs and plans to illustrate "the ribbon of cement stretching 678 kilometres" and linking the northern districts with the capital. The piercing of the Hindu Kush was graphically described in a number of signed articles abounding in such picturesque imagery as "the way of the Eagles" and "the capitulation of the frowning, inexorable crags" (see also p. 296). It was repeatedly emphasized that the Afghans were keenly appreciative of the financial and technical aid which had rendered the achievement possible. "The word most commonly uttered in the newspapers these days is dusti which in Pashto (po-afganski) means 'friendship'."

The only other item to claim any space was the ceremonial observance of Independence Day. Independence was officially proclaimed on 27 May 1919, but the celebration of the event takes place annually in late August "to suit the agricultural calendar." All papers, reporting the military parade at Kabul and the formal congratulatory messages, dwelled on a traditional amity and fellow-feeling which of late years had been expressed in the material assistance proffered by the Soviet Union.

## INDIA

The references to India were as abundant as usual, and no incident apparently was too trivial to qualify for notice. From the bulky folders of cuttings only items bearing directly on the Indo-Soviet relationship will here be selected. In particular, it will be seen that the mid-August anniversary of independence prompted certain of the established commentators to sound some notes of warning; that the Government's handling of the civil disobedience campaign, or satyagraha, organized by the Indian Communist Party towards the close of the month called forth the sharpest censure; but that in the context of Dr. Radhakrishnan's visit to Russia in mid-September the tone of sympathetic approval, to which Soviet readers have nowadays become more accustomed, was reasserted.

The Anniversary of Independence was featured adequately, and with the customary journalistic exposure of the enmities of the British raj. Against that record could be set what Soviet Russia had done for India in a tenth of the time. As India squares up to her fourth Five-Year Plan, wrote I. Serebryakov in PR 14.8.64, one may appropriately take stock of the assistance which her economy has received from the USSR. Already there are 34 major industrial undertakings. . . and so forth.

But India, as another familiar commentator, P. Kutsobin, pointed out in PR 20.8.64, must make up her mind pretty quickly where she is going. "Whereas in the world at large socialism is growing from day to day, the Indian monopolies and their political organizations, bargaining with foreign capital as they do, are out to keep India in a condition where capitalism may pursue its classic path." "And let not the people of India be misled into imagining," this commentator continued, "that there is a purely Indian socialism," different from the Marxist pattern, which does not postulate the abolition of private enterprise. The danger looms large. To the "idol" of big business, Morarji Desai, the hour seems particularly propitious to resume his career, and more loudly than during Nehru's lifetime that "Indefatigable patriarch of reaction" and leader of the Swatantra Party, Rajagopalachariya, preaches his anti-social ideas.

A fortnight later the official action taken to smash the civil disobedience campaign mounted by the Indian Communist Party in protest against food prices came in for some forthright condemnation. Factually reported in the majority of other newspapers and without comment, the events of 24-28 August were twice made the occasion of hostile criticism of the Indian Government in the pages of PRAVDA. On 28.8.64, a signed article by I. Aleksandrov asserted that on "the formal ground" of this satyagraha, over 3,400 Party members from S.A. Dange and the rest of the office-bearers down, had been gaoled. Their only crime had been to focus attention on the scandalous mismanagement of the food situation in the hope of redressing it. The police had not acted against the real culprits, the speculators and black-marketeers, but against the workers. The fascists and reactionaries "are taking the organizers of hunger under their protection"; and the U.S. Ambassador, Chester Bowles, "unable to keep out of things, endeavours to shift the blame onto the peasants." The victims of the mass arrests had been working for national ends, Aleksandrov

said, and the Soviet public treats their incarceration "as an act of anti-democratic character." In a second article dated 31.8.64 the same correspondent, alluding to the demonstrations with which the streets of Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Cawnpore "had seethed for five days," interpreted the campaign as "the latest verification of the strength and organized solidarity of the Indian Communist Party," and as the proof that "the people sees in the Party the advocate of its cause." Not surprisingly, therefore, the measures adopted by the authorities to suppress it had appalled not only progressive Indians but their friends in the entire world.

The visit of Mr. Chavan, India's Defence Minister, lasting more than two weeks from the end of August, was played down. The purely formal notices contained no hint of an undertaking (as given out in the West) to supply India with MIG-21s, tanks and helicopters.

The eight-day visit of the Indian President, taking in Moscow, Lenin-grad, Yerevan, Simferopol' and Yalta was covered closely by the press as a whole. Scarlet headlines, the boxing of this or that remark passed by the visitor in his several speeches, and a wealth of photographs signalled the item and compelled the reader's attention. The addresses of welcome and the replies were reproduced in full, and so was the lengthy joint communiqué issued at the end of Dr. Radhakrishnan's stay. Brought out with particular effect, perhaps, were (1) Mikoyan's elaborate account (in his Kremlin speech dated 18 September) of literacy and education in Tadzhikistan as compared with France; (2) Radhakrishnan's sentence (from a speech on 11 September) that whereas the empires of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Holland had practically been dissolved, others still remained which think to continue in the old spirit; (3) the identity of the Indian and Soviet position as to the principles of international behaviour. Generally speaking, India basked in the sunshine of smiling approbation during these eight days, to judge by Soviet press comment; and no Aleksandrov was allowed to spoil the effect. According to one paper the Soviet comrades learned to address their guests as *bhai*, and *maitri* "which means 'friendship' in Indian (*po-indlyski*)" was a word that gained rapid currency in Moscow and other cities visited. Writing in PR 21.9.64, A. Kutsenkov reviewed the favourable reactions of such organs of the Indian press as PATRIOT, STATESMAN, and THE TIMES OF INDIA.

## PAKISTAN

The reporting consisted mainly of a small number of miscellaneous snippets unobtrusively inserted. Such news as these insertions conveyed was not calculated to build in Soviet minds a happy picture of Pakistan, being chiefly about tear-gas, smuggling and epidemics. The single article was one by Yu. Pavlinov in KP 21.8.64 entitled "Twist, Cha-Cha-Cha and Lepers" which opened in Karachi's fashionable hotel, the intercontinental, una led up to the "miserly provision" made for over 205,000 lepers.

The only items which touched the international scene were those carried in IZ 25.7.64 and IZ 30.7.64. The former quoted DAWN as saying that the participation in military blocs thwarts the establishment of good relations with the Soviet Union, but that "recently the Government of Pakistan has come to

recognize that isolation from the USSR and the Socialist camp is not to the interest of the country." The latter reported how the USA and China had become "reluctant allies" in the Gilgit area; the Americans strengthening the air bases there, and the Chinese helping "to create a ramified system of strategic communications."

A Pakistan parliamentary delegation led by Fazlul Qader Choudhuri which toured the Soviet Union in the second half of September got mostly notices of five or six lines. There was one somewhat longer account and a solitary photograph.

The brief intimation that the President of Pakistan had accepted an invitation to visit the Soviet Union at a date to be announced later, appeared in PR/IZ/KZ/TRUD and TI.

### PERSIA

Persia was seldom in focus during this period, and it is doubtful whether any items caught the eye of Soviet readers except the three which are cited here. On 6.9.64 the announcement was made of the Shah's acceptance of an invitation to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in the latter half of June 1965. Secondly, KP 13.9.64 had "a letter from Tehran" describing how gum-tragacanth - which ranks after cotton, carpets, fruit and sheepskins as Persia's fifth most valuable export - is obtained in the highlands of Azarbaijan. And finally, there was a detailed record in PR 15.9.64 of an interview granted in Moscow by Reza Radmanesh of the People's Party (Tudeh). According to this record, the said Party (which nowadays has to work underground) condemned China's attempt to split world communism, and endorsed the Soviet Administration's proposal to call a conference of Communist Parties in the style of those convened in 1957 and 1960. As to the situation within Persia, the governing clique, simply to postpone its own doom, had introduced some half-way measures of agricultural reform which were demagogic and did not answer the demands of the nation. No comment accompanied the publication of the above statement.

### SINKIANG

Apart from reprinting the report of the interview given by Mao Tse-tung to Japanese journalists in August and Khrushchev's comments on this interview made in September, references to Sinkiang during the period under review have been confined to two items. The first of these was a slightly modified version published in IZ 13.9.64 of the article by the Uygur general, Zunun Taipov, which appeared in KP 29.9.63. This has already been commented upon in the Editorial of this issue. The second item was an article in PV 17.9.64 by Makhmud Kutlukov, a former soldier in the National Army of Sinkiang. This describes the great change since 1949 in the attitude of the Chinese authorities towards the minorities of Sinkiang and also towards the Soviet Union. Among the hostile acts by the Chinese cited in the article are the burning in Sinkiang of all works of Russian and Soviet literature and the description of the Uygurs, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirgiz and Tatars there as

"tribal communities of the Chinese nation." By contrast, the article quotes the consistent upholding by the USSR of Chinese sovereignty over Sinkiang and in particular the Soviet help given in frustrating Japanese designs in 1938 and American attempts made between 1947 and 1949 to separate Sinkiang from China and unite it with Pakistan.

#### NEPAL AND TIBET

There was no mention of these countries in the papers examined.