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PARTY AND STATE (XVI)

Growing Pains in Kazakhstan

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"The Leninist Central Committee of the Communist Party, its Presidium, and personally Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev have created all necessary material and technical conditions for the development of agriculture in our republic....

"Considering the state of work at the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes, I must say that our republic still supplies the country with much less grain, cotton, sugar beet, meat, milk, and wool than possibilities warrant. In this connection Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev's criticism at the December plenum of the PSU Central Committee of our unsatisfactory work is absolutely fair and from his criticism everyone of us is obliged to draw his conclusions."

Z. Tashenev
Radio Alma Ata, 25 January 1960

INTRODUCTION

The recent reorganization of the Party-State leadership in Kazakhstan, the third most important agro-industrial republic in the USSR, has drawn more than the usual attention allocated to routine Party purges because of the involvement of Nikolai Belyaev, member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU and since December 1957, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party. Even before consideration of the long bill of particulars presented by Khrushchev against his former subordinate in the CC secretariat and RSFSR Buro, it should be noted that since 1953 frequent replacement of Party leaders in the Kazakh republic has been the consequence of failure to solve the tremendous tasks assigned to a succession of Moscow procurators. Except for Leonid I. Brezhnev whose presence at the Kazakh plenum the newly appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers acknowledged in terms usually reserved to Khrushchev -- "one of the greatest (public workers) of our Party and State"¹ -- none of the others has reaped any rewards for their efforts in implementing Khrushchev's dual program of reclamation of virgin lands and expansion of industrialization in the republic which stretches from the Volga to the Irtysh. Thus, in the post-Stalin period, the parade of secretaries in Kazakhstan has reflected Moscow's chronic dissatisfaction with the inability of its chosen representatives to master old and new problems. In tabular form, the personnel shifts may be summarized as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>1st Secretary</u>	<u>Subsequent Assignment</u>	<u>Chairman Council Min.</u>
1952	Shayakhmetov, Zh.	1st Sec. S. Kazakh Obk.	Taibekov, Ye.
1954	Ponomarenko, P.	Ambass. to Poland	
		" " India	
		Netherlands	
1955	Brezhnev, L.*	Secretary, CC, CPSU	Kunaev, D.
		Cand., Pres., CC,	
		CPSU, Feb. 1956	
		Member, Pres., CC,	
		CPSU, July 1957	
1956	Yakovlev, I. D.*	1st Sec. Ulyanovsk Obkom	
1957	Belyaev, N. I.	Not yet known	
1960	Kunaev, D. A.		Tashenev, Z.

* Second secretary Kazakh CC at time of election.

Although the disgrace of Belyaev has resulted in the return of a representative of the native Kazakh population to the top Party post for the first time since the ouster

¹ Radio Alma Ata, 25 January 1960.

of Shayakhmetov six years ago, the simultaneous election of two Russian Party functionaries, N. N. Rodionov² as 2nd secretary and T. I. Sokolov³ as secretary is evidence that no surrender of centralized Party control is involved in this shift which again brings Kazakhstan into line with the practice in the other Central Asian Republics.⁴ With natives as heads of the Party and government and State,⁵ the appearance of Republic autonomy is refurbished, but the reality of Soviet rule is unmistakeably reaffirmed.

These latest changes at the summit of the Party/State should, therefore, be considered as reminders of the perennial problems of Soviet colonialism and internal expansion rather than as definitive proof of irreparable policy errors or conclusive demonstration of failure to reach impossible agricultural and industrial targets. It is certainly obvious that Khrushchev's risk venture -- despite the colossal investment in men and material -- has paid incalculable political dividends in the harvests of 1956 and 1958 and, for him at least, the weight of Kazakhstan's bread was a decisive factor which cannot be measured in terms of costs alone. Once the political struggle had been won, however, the economic and sociological facts of life in the multi-national and increasingly "Europeanized" (settlement by Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, etc.) Kazakhstan have had to be recognized and the pages of the Soviet press during the final months of 1959 made no secret of the material shortcomings and the ideological deviations with which the people and the Party must contend.

The frequency and intensity of the attacks for bureaucratic failures⁶ in the economic sectors -- industrial and agricultural -- suggest that the practical problems of socialist construction had been given an overwhelming priority over the theoretical and ideological issues which flow from the various "vestiges of nationalism" still latent in the Kazakh population. Nevertheless, until the December plenum there had been only indirect evidence that the industrial troubles had become acute enough to warrant intervention from Moscow. Thus, shortly after K. F. Lunev,

² 1953-1956 - 2nd secretary, Leningrad Gorkom.
1956-1957 - 2nd secretary, Leningrad Obkom
1957-1960 - 1st secretary, Leningrad Gorkom.

³ 1957-1958 - 1st secretary, Novgorod Obkom
1958-1960 - 1st secretary, Perm Obkom.

⁴ See Party and State (XII), Moscow and the Moslems, Background Information, 8 August 1959.

⁵ F. Karibzhanov, formerly 2nd secretary of the Kazakh CC, replaced as Chairman of the Presidium of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet, Z. Tashenev, the new Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

⁶ See Human Problems in Kazakhstan, Background Information, 7 December 1959; also below pp. 1-5.

1st Deputy USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, had been appointed Chairman of the Committee for State Security on 11 October,⁷ I. G. Koval, an inspector of the Central Committee of the CPSU, participated in a plenum of the Karaganda Obkom⁸ at which two more "outsiders" were brought into key posts: M. Solomentsev, formerly 2nd secretary of the Chelyabinsk Obkom and since February 1958 Chairman of the Chelyabinsk Sovnarkhoz, was elected 1st secretary of the Karaganda Obkom and B. F. Bratchenko, formerly chief of a USSR Gosplan section and Deputy USSR Minister of the Coal Industry, replaced D. I. Onika as Karaganda Sovnarkhoz Chairman.⁹ Since the 2nd secretary, S. Ya. Yakovlev, and another secretary A. A. Alikhanov, as well as the deputy chief of the Department of Party Organs, I. N. Kotov, were also removed at this plenum,¹⁰ the purge of the Karaganda Obkom apparat was nearly complete. Yet, despite a stream of critical articles involving most, if not all, of the other oblasts, the Karaganda example was not repeated. In fact, only one other oblast secretary, (Sh. Karsybaev -- Aktyubinsk) was removed for inefficiency while two others, I. Yu. Yusupov (South Kazakh) and M. S. Sapargaliev, were promoted, the former to the Republic Party secretariat and the latter to head the Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs.¹¹

It can, therefore, be assumed with a reasonable degree of certainty that the still unresolved problems in transforming Kazakhstan into the next great metallurgical base were only indirectly related to the subsequent changes of the Party-State leadership. With equal assurance it can be argued that the other manifestations of "nationalism" which are treated at great length by Party Secretary, N. Dzhandilin¹² also played only a secondary role in the January reshuffle. At this phase of Kazakhstan's industrial development, its contribution to the Soviet's economic potential is still a matter for the future and absolute shortcomings at this time have only a minimal effect on the national totals, except in the case

⁷ See The Party and the Police (IV), Background Information, 13 October 1959.

⁸ Radio Alma Ata, 23 October 1959.

⁹ See New York Times (International Edition), 9 December 1959, which relates these changes to a strike in the city of Temir-Tau.

¹⁰ Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 21 October 1959.

¹¹ Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 19 November 1959.

¹² Kommunist, #13, 1959; see below pp. 6-12 for an abridged version.

of certain non-ferrous metals. The periodic references to bourgeois nationalist tendencies, on the other hand, remain primarily reminders of the past which, however much it may still project itself into the present and future, has been reduced to controllable proportions throughout the Soviet Union. At moments of troubles in other sectors, it almost invariably reappears, as frequently to conceal the real issues as to expose difficulties in the nationality republics from the Baltic to the Chinese border.

Only in one sector -- agriculture -- does Kazakhstan, as of now, play a major role on an all-union scale. Economically and politically, the success of the virgin lands in producing marketable grain -- and meat -- is of the utmost importance to Khrushchev and any failure is pregnant with punishment for those whom he holds responsible. Reprisal is all the more certain when, according to the First secretary, Kazakhstan, as was the case this year, "raised a good crop." It is, however, as misleading to overlook Kazakhstan's performance in 1959 by noting only the criticism by Khrushchev and the admissions of error by Kunaev as it would be to accept Belyaev's attempts to conceal this year's decline in output by quoting average figures for the last four years (1956-59) or only for those two years (1958-59) in which he was in charge.¹³ Decisive for any interpretation of the disgrace of Belyaev is the fact that the Republic which in the years 1950-53 produced only an average of 251.5 million poods of grain with deliveries of 112 million, this year sold to the State 700 million poods, or just slightly below the 724 million pood average for the 1956-59 period.¹⁴ For Khrushchev this "below average" record resulted exclusively from the organizational and human failings which permitted 1,618,000 hectares of ripened grain to be lost, approximately 1 million tons.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the third good harvest in four years was apparently deemed reason enough to acknowledge Belyaev's services with a reward of the medal "For Labor Valor";¹⁶ his inability to provide the leadership necessary to exploit to the fullest the unexpected bounty, however, has led to his fall from favor. As proof that average, or even slightly better than average performance, is not sufficient to meet the changing prerequisites of leadership fixed by Khrushchev, the criticism of Belyaev by the First secretary for inability to

¹³ Pravda, 24 December 1959.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ According to Belyaev in 5 of the 6 past years, the average yield has been 6 centners per hectare. (Ibid.)

¹⁶ Pravda, 16 January 1960

fulfill pledges is a timely warning to all apparatchiki. For those who have been promoted by Khrushchev during the intra-Party struggle leading to his supremacy, Belyaev's loss of personal prestige and delegated power is a reminder that their records too will be subjected to the same arbitrary standards before the XXII Party Congress next year. As chief Party prosecutor, Khrushchev will present the cases against his subordinates, the early supporters and those who joined the bandwagon later; as supreme judge he will decide their futures in the manner openly demonstrated at the December plenum. For the lesser figures, there will, of course, be no comparable publicity; for none, neither for the former mighty such as Belyaev and Kirichenko, nor the rank and file will there be any appeal.

It is, therefore, important not to fail to recognize what has been achieved in Kazakhstan despite the organizational failures and the callous disregard of costs in terms of human beings and material. In comparison to the Stalinist methods of forced industrialization, Khrushchev's means of creating a secure granary in the virgin lands must, nonetheless, be considered relatively humane, if not remarkably efficient.¹⁷ Despite the forecasts of most agricultural specialists in the West and the doubts raised by Khrushchev's opposition within the Party, the six-year period from 1954 through 1959 has provided no evidence to refute Khrushchev's expectations of 2 good and 2 average, and 1 poor year in 5. On the record, as summarized in the following table comparing the harvests in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, the First secretary can prove that, thus far at least, men and not nature must bear the main responsibility for failure:

	<u>Total Harvest</u> (mill. tons)		<u>Procurement</u> (mill. tons)		<u>Procurement as</u> <u>% of total</u>	
	<u>Kazakhs.</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Kazakhs.</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>Kazakhs.</u>	<u>Ukraine</u>
1940	2.5	26.3	1.3	9.4	52%	36%
1950	4.8	20.5	2.1	8.7	44%	42%
1953	5.4	21.4	2.4	9.0	44%	42%
1954	7.7	14.3	4.0	5.0	52%	35%
1955	4.8	34.2	1.7	11.1	35%	32%
1956	23.82	23.75	16.1	5.3	68%	22%
1957	10.6	26.3	4.8	7.2	45%	27%
1958	22.0	31.3	15.1	9.1	69%	29%
1959	16.3	27.8	11.5	7.4	71%	27%

(From 1940 to 1958 the area under grain increased 4-fold in Kazakhstan (5.8 mill. hectares to 23.2); during the same period the Ukraine showed a decline from 21.2 to 18.2 million hectares.)

¹⁷ Note, for example, the fact that 140,000 tractorists and mechanizers left Kazakhstan during the past two years because of unbearable living conditions (P. Kumpa, Baltimore Sun, 26 January 1960, quoting D. Kunaev from Kazakhstanskaya Pravda (no date).

Except for 1957, Khrushchev's prediction¹⁸ at the moment of the first successful virgin soil harvest has been fully confirmed, if procurement and purchases, not total production data ~~are~~ taken as the basic criteria. Although the tremendous expansion in areas sown to grain in Kazakhstan in an exceptionally favorable year -- 1956 -- did enable the Central Asian Republic to produce slightly more grain than the Ukraine, this is far less important than the stabilization of the Kazakh Republic as a source of grain second only to the RSFSR. Nor does the latest target (1.5 billion pood/24.6 million tons)¹⁹ suggest any aspirations that Khrushchev's new favorite is expected to overtake his former bailiwick as a producer of grain. Only as the source of marketable grain must Kazakhstan, where procurements have reached a high 71.1% of total output, maintain its superiority over the Ukraine. Thus, in fact, Belyaev's admission that it was the problem of plenty rather than a question of scarcity provides the key to his removal:

The party organization of the republic recognizes its responsibility for the nonfulfillment of the state plan and is taking all the measures for preventing the recurrence in 1960 of the mistakes and defects which occurred in the harvesting and grain delivery campaign in 1959.

In the last few years the production of marketable grain in the republic has grown much faster than the expansion of the elevator and warehouse system of the grain procurement points. All this makes it necessary to transport grain over long distances and temporarily store large quantities of grain in large heaps in the open air at sovkhoses....

It must be stated that the state committee for grain products does not display proper concern for technical progress and the introduction of new machines to its enterprises. At many elevators and grain procurement points in Kazakhstan, the level of mechanization is still extremely low, and the machines available for cleaning and drying grain are of low productivity as they were planned for a very small volume of production. As a result the elevators and the grain procurement points cannot handle grain coming directly from the combines on a large scale, and during the heat of the grain delivery campaign they manifest

¹⁸ Tass, 29 July 1956 -- "The Ukraine will find it difficult to rise higher than third place" (as source of marketable grain)

¹⁹ Pravda, 27 December 1959.

grain phobia (khleboboyazan) and hold up the delivery of grain in every possible way.²⁰

For the people who produced this grain, however, the problem of real shortages still remains and the glowing promises made at the time of their recruitment have been left unfulfilled to a much greater extent than the margin of failure for which Belyaev has been penalized. Once again pledges to the army of resettlers and volunteers in the virgin lands are being reiterated, but these words are less likely to be translated into deeds by the Party/State authorities than the newly approved targets. No matter how much grain is grown and sold in Kazakhstan next year, neither the material needs of the new settlers nor those of the native inhabitants will have been satisfied; and long after Khrushchev's economic targets have been achieved the search for a solution to the complete integration of the Moslem minority²¹ will continue in multinational Kazakhstan. The new first secretary, Dinmukhamed A. Kunaev, a native Kazakh Communist will lead the next phase of the fight against those "nationalist survivals" which have always plagued Moscow's proconsuls in the era of Stalinist terror no less than in the briefer period of Khrushchevian persuasion.

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²⁰ Pravda, 24 December 1959. The same situation of inadequate processing facilities occurred with respect to meat: "The rapid increase in the production and delivery of meat in Kazakhstan this year created serious difficulties in the organization of the processing of livestock. The meat industry was found to be in no condition to process all the meat procured at one time."

²¹ See below, pp. 16 ff.

VIRGINLANDERS ARE TIRED OF LAME EXCUSES

Komsomolskaya Pravda
November 28, 1959

Our newspaper has written more than once about shortcomings in the work of the consumers' cooperatives in Kazakhstan's virgin lands. A dependent attitude and a desire to obtain finished goods and to sell only what is being shipped are what obstruct the better satisfaction of the growing demands of virgin land inhabitants and hinder trade in the necessary food products, clothing and children's goods. The newspaper has criticized the cooperative workers for making poor use of the great resources of the virgin land regions, e.g., their failure to grow and procure vegetables, to catch fish in the waters of the steppe and to organize the hunting of game.

"One Man Trades, Seven Men Manage" was the title of a report published on March 28, 1959. On the basis of the opinion of experienced virgin-landers, the newspaper proposed that the Kazakhstan consumers' cooperatives be rid of their unwieldy and artificially inflated apparatus. This point of view was supported by a republic meeting of the consumers' cooperative aktiv. The huge administrative apparatus, many speakers said, burdens the consumers' cooperatives, while the bulk of the shareholders have no part in day-to-day affairs. The editors received letters from various districts of the virgin land region that also called for a radical change in the work of the consumers' cooperatives. But there was no letter from Alma-Ata. The board of the Kazakhstan Union of Consumers' Cooperatives remained silent even after Komsomolskaya pravda reminded officials of this organization once again that critical warning signals in the press must be answered.

The Komsomolskaya pravda article "Step Out Into the Farm!" reported new instances of clumsiness and inertia in Kazakhstan's consumers' cooperatives. It said that young families on the virgin land found it necessary to maintain their own personal farms because the cooperative workers did not want to sell them milk and other food products.

And again there was no response from officials of the Kazakhstan Union of Consumers' Cooperatives. They stubbornly remained silent for more than three months. Only very recently did a large envelope containing answers to all the newspaper's articles at once arrive from Alma-Ata. Could the reason for such a long delay have been a desire on the part of the officials of the board of the union and its chairman, Comrade S. Aderikhin, to analyze

the state of affairs profoundly and to report to the editors on concrete measures taken in response to the articles? Nothing of the sort!

The documents mailed by the board of the Kazakhstan Union of Consumers' Cooperatives are nothing but bureaucratic excuses. The board does not deny anything, but neither does it confirm the facts reported in the newspaper. Most important, however, is the fact that it says nothing about what has been done.

"In the nature of information on the actual state of affairs we report***" the chairman of the board of the Kazakhstan Union of Consumers' Cooperatives writes to the editors. Then he enumerates "reasons" why the staffs are inflated and why the cooperatives cannot become more flexible, enterprising and truly autonomous. In this connection, he refers to the shareholders themselves: "Without the consent of the shareholders, the board of the Kazakhstan Union of Consumers' Cooperatives is not entitled to close down or to amalgamate state farm workers' cooperatives." It turns out that the shareholders -- young tractor drivers, combine operators and dairymaids -- are satisfied with the present state of the cooperatives and want to preserve seven salaried officials for every dealer. The shareholders, you see, enjoy the spectacle of many thousands of salaried officials who are often inactive, sluggish and divorced from life. They like it so much that the Kazakhstan Union of Consumers' Cooperatives simply "is not entitled" to do anything about it.

"The staffs cannot be considered inflated," Comrade Aderikhin asserts flatly. He tries to back up his assertion by pointing to the great sales volume. True, many expensive goods are shipped to the virgin lands, and the sales volume of the state farm stores is great. This is fine. But should one be content simply because the figures run to several digits? Is it not better to see how they are achieved?

A diaper is an inexpensive item and does not bulk large in the sales volume. But for more than five years now, the virgin land population has been imploring and demanding that infants' sweaters, diapers and underwear for babies finally go on sale in the virgin lands. Young people have been writing about this to central, republic and province newspapers and complaining to Alma-Ata and Moscow. Yet it is still easier to buy a piano or a car in the virgin lands than a flannelette diaper. It was pointed out only recently at a plenary session of the Kazakhstan Young Communist League Central Committee that children's garments are no more available in the virgin lands now than they were five or six years ago.

How can you take credit for a sales volume in the millions, Comrade Aderikhin, when for years it has been impossible in the virgin lands to buy tooth powder, saddle soap, cabbage, fruit juices and many other necessary goods that the country has in abundance, even though they may not add much to the sales volume?

References to the great sales volume prevent the officials of the consumers' cooperatives from facing the truth. Let us take as an example the Kurgaldzhino District Union of Consumers' Cooperatives. It has a substantial sales volume, but what makes it so large? To the virgin-landers, who have nothing at all to buy with the money they earn, the consumers' cooperatives offer vodka! At harvest time the cooperative workers brought in dozens of cases of alcoholic drinks to the Stormy Petrel, Poltava and Abai State Farms. The tractor drivers in the second brigade at the Ushakov State Farm speak indignantly of the state farm workers' cooperative, observing that vodka is practically their basic article. Comrade Omelchenko, Vice-Chairman of the Oktyabrsky District Union of Consumers' Cooperatives, Kustanai Province, "acquired" at harvest time thousands of liters of vodka "in excess of funds" from the Magnitorgorsk Vodka Plant. In view of this, is there any reason to be proud of the great volume of retail trade?

In answer to the second question posed by Komsomolskaya pravda, the Kazakhstan Union of Consumers' Cooperatives again depicts a perfectly happy state of affairs: The situation was reviewed and the province unions of consumers' cooperatives were asked to organize trade in a proper manner. As for the concrete facts cited by the newspaper, Comrade Aderikhin does not consider it necessary to answer them. But we prefer facts, and so we asked the secretaries of a number of state farm Y.C.L. committees in various districts and provinces of Kazakhstan whether trade in the virgin lands was improving. Below are a few of the letters we received.

"Our state farm is almost six years old. Much has been accomplished, but the consumers' cooperatives have not moved out of the starting gate. Nor is there any improvement now. Winter has come, but here you cannot buy clothing, headgear, warm mittens or even gloves. Three of us live in one room; we have collected money to buy a cheap plug-in radio, but even that is not in the store. There is a saying among us: 'I shall go to the Ukraine on my leave and buy a suit, a cape and slippers.' The virgin-landers supply much grain to the country, but the bakery at our state farm, thanks to the consumers' cooperatives, is worthless; the bread we receive is simply terrible. Comrade Shaulsky, chairman of the district union

of consumers' cooperatives, knows this very well. Have the virgin-landers really not earned the privilege of buying the necessary goods here where we work? -- V. Bury, secretary of the Y.C.L. committee, Kirov State Farm, Akmolinsk Province."

"Many representatives of the consumers' cooperatives come to us. They write down the shortcomings -- there are many -- in their notebooks and promise that the Kazakhstan and Central Unions of Consumers' Cooperatives will intercede and take measures. But there are no changes. Winter has come, but it is summer in the store: Nothing has been prepared for the winter. We have no canned fruit, and canned fish and vegetables are rare. Of course, the young people work to the limit of their strength and disregard difficulties, so it is very distressing that the cooperative workers are lagging so badly. -- I. Lonchakov, secretary of the Y.C.L. committee, Key State Farm, Kustanai Province."

"We have developed 20,000 hectares of virgin land and have harvested 13.5 centners of wheat per hectare in 1959. We furnish 1,500,000 poods of grain a year. At first we were all reconciled to poor trade and understood that it was difficult to normalize everything at once. But it must be said that matters do not improve at all. The virgin land consumers' cooperatives do not sell the most necessary goods. I won't even mention canned goods and sausages: We simply never see them. It sometimes happens that our store has no bread for two days in a row. In my opinion, the consumers' cooperatives are largely to blame for the turnover of personnel in the virgin lands. -- P. Golodov, secretary of the Y.C.L. committee, Timiryazev State Farm, North Kazakhstan Province."

"Let us be frank: Our consumers' cooperatives work very poorly. You cannot even buy such a simple thing as a comb. Cigarettes appear in the store only rarely, and at one time there was not even any makhorka. On the other hand, alcoholic beverages reach us in abundance. Our collective decided to limit the sale of vodka. Then the state farm workers' cooperative began selling vodka straight from the warehouse, through the 'service entrance,' just as scarce goods are sold to the dealers' acquaintances. Rugs, apples and watermelons were sold through his 'service entrance.' The shareholders have no say here, and the board exists only to sign papers about the spoilage of goods and about expenses. -- S. Yermolenko, secretary of the Y.C.L. committee, Panfilov State Farm, Kustanai Province."

We have cited only a few of the letters received by the editors. The virgin-landers report how isolated the cooperative workers are from the needs of the shareholders and how luxuriously the embezzlers of the consumers' cooperatives live. At a single state farm, the Virgin Land State Farm in Kokchetav Province, 438,000 rubles have been embezzled.

These are the facts. They have been fully confirmed by a recent Komsomolskaya pravda raid in which virgin land Y.C.L. members, youth correspondents and our staff correspondents participated. What are we to say now about the rosy pictures you painted in your belated answers, Comrade Aderikhin? It is obvious that you want to cover up shortcomings and deceive the public.

The virgin-landers insistently demand a restoration to the consumers' cooperatives of their truly self-governing character, making the shareholders the complete masters of the cooperatives. They believe that the people in charge of dining rooms and all other officials should be elected by open ballot. This corresponds to the spirit as well as to the letter of the consumers' cooperative statutes.

The virgin-landers propose that the cooperatives organize the production and procurement of vegetables and other food products on the spot, that they help organize sausage factories, tailor shops, etc. After all, should diapers really have to be shipped from Moscow, and mittens from Leningrad?

The virgin-landers are making proposals. Is it not time to listen to their proposals and to take concern, at long last, not about the honor of the corps but about the essence of the matter? Today we are addressing this question not to the board of the Kazakhstan Union of Consumers' Cooperatives alone; we are addressing ourselves also to Comrade A. P. Klimov, Chairman of the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives. No longer does anyone in the virgin lands believe in the excuses and promises of the Kazakhstan Union of Consumers' Cooperatives.

There is legitimate surprise here about the fact that although officials of the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives have been receiving serious warning signals concerning trade in the virgin lands for years, they are unable to set this important matter in order.

Comrade Klimov, the virgin-landers await your answer to a question that distrubs thousands of people working in the expanses of Kazakhstan: When will the consumers' cooperatives finally see to it that the residents of the new state farms can buy all they need in the stores?

SOME PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL* EDUCATION

By N. Dzhandil'din
Central Asian Review
Vol. VII, No. 4, 1959

The following is an abridged version of an article which appeared in KOMMUNIST No. 13, September 1959. It should be read in conjunction with another article by N. Dzhandil'din reproduced in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 16-24. N. Dzhandil'din is Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

The present article contains many points of interest for students of Central Asian nationalism. (See also the article "'Nationalism' in the Soviet Muslim Republics" below.) So-called bourgeois nationalist survivals are usually supposed to be confined to the older generation but it is shown here that they also persist among young people. The resistance of the peoples of the eastern republics to modernization, to the russianization of their languages and the use of Russian is attributed to objection to modernization in principle. The possibility that at least part of the resistance is not due to the process of modernization per se but to its introduction by an alien people is left entirely out of account. Treatment of the matter of great-power chauvinism, against which Lenin warned so strongly, is confined to two almost perfunctory references at the beginning and end of the article.

The subject of the article is defined as the education of the man of the future communist society in loyalty to the Leninist principles of the unity of the socialist nations, in proletarian internationalism and in Soviet patriotism. Although the number of people who are still insufficiently informed on these matters and who adhere to outworn survivals is insignificant, they nonetheless interfere with the "international" education of the workers.

"The multi-national Soviet state provides a striking example of the wisest and justest solution of one of the most complicated problems of human life, the national problem." Giving Kazakhstan as an example of Soviet achievement in this respect, the article describes the economic

* The Russian word used here is internatsional'nyy. When used with vospitaniye (education) as here, this word seems to refer only to the nationalities of the Soviet Union. The word mezhdunarodnyy is never used in this narrow sense, but only as referring to all the nations of the world.

economic and cultural advantages gained by the Kazakh people. The fact that these advantages could only have been gained with the assistance of the Russian people is strongly emphasized. It is precisely through jealousy of these achievements that the imperialist world is trying to besmirch the Soviet Union and to pretend that the peoples of Central Asia are hostile to the communists. The manifest stupidity of the nauseating ideas contained in such books as *TURKESTAN IN THE XXTH CENTURY* by Baymirza Hayit, does not mean that every effort should not be made to defend the Leninist ideology of the friendship of the peoples against every attack. "This is necessary not only because imperialist reactionaries are continually trying to undermine the friendship existing among the Soviet peoples, but because there are still in our viery midst relics of the old bourgeois views on the subject of relations between the nations, that is to say, nationalist survivals. They take the form not only of great-power chauvinism, but also of local nationalism. The first expresses itself in a desire to belittle the importance of the culture, language and traditions of the national minorities and to ignore the principles of national equality; and the second, in the tendency of individual nations to hold themselves aloof from the others and to retire into the shell of narrowly circumscribed interests.

"In Soviet society, where the fullest equality of the peoples has been realized, and where the people of the various nations constitute one brotherly family founded on Leninist principles of proletariat internationalism and the friendship of peoples, nationalist survivals cannot and do not take the form of an open struggle against the socialist commonwealth of nations. In practice these survivals find their expression first and foremost in localism (mestnichestvo).

"The development of the economy and culture of each Soviet republic is based on the one hand on the most effective use of its natural resources and on the other on the correct coordination of the interests of that republic and the country as a whole." The article goes on to discuss how these two objectives are to be attained, but observes that "people are occasionally met with who, if not openly then under cover, oppose the developments of the productive forces and the use of the natural resources of their republic because they fear the participation in their affairs of the representatives of other friendly republics." The slightest tendency to this kind of thing by local workers should be regarded as a manifestation of nationalist narrow-mindedness and should be most vigorously opposed. If such a harmful tendency had gained the upper hand for example in Kazakhstan, it would not have been possible to carry out the grandiose task of mastering the Virgin Lands. Fortunately, however, the absolute majority of the Kazakh peoples responded to the desire of the Communist Party in this respect.

"National narrow-mindedness not infrequently shows itself in the violation of Leninist principles in the selection of cadres. A short while ago public opinion in the republic sharply condemned the expression by individual representatives of the intelligentsia of the opinion that in Kazakhstan only such persons should work in responsible posts who knew the Kazakh language, as if there was some necessity to return to the policy of 'nativization' of the administrative machine which had been followed in the early years of Soviet power."...

"Our Party has always exercised the greatest care in the training and education of national cadres. This is the most important constituent part of Lenin's national policy. Special attention to the interests of separate nations, the necessity of which Lenin frequently underlined, has a direct relation to the question of selection of cadres. But this matter should not be understood only in a one-sided way. While demanding the care and attention of the Russian communists, the representatives of local nationalities are obliged in their turn to show in their own republics the same attentiveness towards the representatives of the Russian and other nationalities.

"The Leninist principle in the selection of cadres in the conditions obtaining in the national republics has two sides to it: strict regard to the national composition of the population and the selection of cadres according to their political and practical qualities. These two sides are inseparably connected and cannot be divorced from each other. It is impossible to select cadres simply on the basis of their national qualities and without taking into consideration their practical and political qualities. A member of any nationality can be put into any post provided that he is suitable in respect of his political and practical qualities. At the same time, in this important political matter the national feelings of the Soviet people should in no case be overlooked or ignored. This goes without exception for all nationalities living in any given republic.

"Before, when national cadres were in some cases weak, it was not always possible to combine the two things, but the position has now changed. Well trained cadres exist in sufficient number in every nationality. It is simply a question of studying and knowing them properly and of educating them in the spirit of Communist efficiency and Party principles."

Most of these nationalist prejudices find their expression in the ideological field, in science, literature, and art. This results in an exaggeration of the individual achievements in economy and culture of the various peoples and in a corresponding tendency to belittle the role of

other nations. A great deal of work has been done in combating these tendencies. Nevertheless, cases are frequently encountered of national narrow-mindedness in the understanding and interpretation of problems relating to the development of national culture, and to national traditions and customs. "In our country, every peoples has exceptionally favorable opportunities for the universal development of its education and culture in its own native language. In our republic, for example, the bulk of Kazakh children study in the national schools in their own language. At the same time there is a well-known and natural urge on the part of all Soviet peoples to learn the Russian language and to master the achievement of the advanced Russian culture. The language of the great Russian people as the most powerful means of uniting the peoples of our country and of acquiring the higher flights of contemporary knowledge, technology and culture enjoys an enormous respect, and, among the Kazakh people especially, Russian has become their second mother tongue. Consequently, the Kazakhs willingly allow the teaching of the Russian language to their children. At the present time about a quarter of Kazakh children study in schools where instruction is carried on in the Russian language. Incidentally, there is no known case of compulsion." In a recent law passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic on the strengthening of the connection between the schools and life and on the further development of the system of popular education in the Kazakh SSR it was stated that "the learning of the Russian language in the schools with Kazakh or another language as the language of instruction, and similarly the the learning of the Kazakh language in schools with Russian or another language as the language of instruction, is carried out according to the wishes of parents and teachers."

There are people, the article continues, who declare themselves against the knowledge of the Russian language and of Russian culture, and who insist that the children of Kazakhs ought to be able to study only in Kazakh. "Such a view is nothing more nor less than bourgeois nationalism, and it must be firmly opposed."

Marxism-Leninism does not deny the existence of national differences and these must be constantly taken into account. They have very deep roots in the past as, for instance, in Kazakh culture. This does not mean, however, that these cultures should never change or that they are divided from each other "as it were by a Great Wall of China." The common characteristics of all cultures are particularly evident in conditions of a socialist society. "Here, two processes are constantly at work in the spiritual life of the peoples: the flourishing of national cultures and their gradual merging. These two processes are inseparably connected with each other." "Thus, national character, or the psychological make-up of a nation,

harmoniously combines in itself two factors: the factor which distinguishes peoples and their cultures, and the factor which brings them together and unites them."

After quoting Lenin's statement about socialism aiming at the abolition of national divisions and at the drawing together and eventual merging of nations, the article explains that although the process of merging is a long one, particularly in respect of the creation of a single world language, "the drawing together of nations and their cultures...is an actual fact. It cannot be separated from the future, however distant, prospect of the merging of nations." Nor can it be speeded up or slowed down by administrative methods, although "individual comrades" are trying to do this in respect of the Kazakh language. In its written form Kazakh was only in an embryo form before the Revolution, it was therefore a legitimate and progressive process for it to be enriched with technical, political and artistic terms from Russian and other languages. Nevertheless, an attack was recently made in the newspaper LENINSHIL ZHAS on "the pollution of the language with foreign words." There is a mistaken notion that new words for new things can be provided from Kazakh sources, however unintelligible such words may be, on the grounds that they are "a poor thing but our own." For example, as the Kazakhs had no shows of any kind, there was no word for 'spectator' in their language. Although the Russian word zritel' is freely used by the great majority of people, a fruitless attempt was made to introduce the totally unintelligible word korermen. These opponents of new words taken from their "brothers' languages" quote Belinskiy to support their theory. But Belinskiy although he criticized the use of foreign words in Russian admitted that the most expressive words were the best, whether Russian or foreign. "These wonderful words of the great Russian democrat provide a final answer to those ill-starred intellectuals who want to delay artificially the ineluctable process of the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of the national cultures and languages of the Soviet peoples."

The same tendency is observable among youthful creators of art and literature -- a tendency to portray our contemporaries in a purely ethnographic way. The fact is that some representatives of the creative intelligentsia do not properly understand the nature of the national role, identifying it with the forms of their national way of life and of the old pre-revolutionary way of life into the bargain. Anxious to impart a national colour to their productions they have to show their heroes -- kolkhozniks, workers and even young people -- in national robes and head-dresses, in old-fashioned long dresses and bodices. Indispensable accessories of their productions are the yurt and meat dishes à la Kazakh eaten with the fingers while sitting on the ground. A recent exhibition of pictures

consisted largely of outmoded views of this and that being done in summer pastures. These bore no relation to the busy life on the new lands today and represented the shepherd merely "as the guardian of what remains from the former patriarchal and feudal society." "Thus our art which is called upon to propagate everything new and progressive which is being created in life and society sometimes gives publicity to an epoch long since past. This has a completely negative influence on the education of our young people."

Some people press for the mass manufacture of national dress. This too is simply part of a senseless and unwanted adherence to the traditions and customs of the past and can do nothing but harm to the communist education of the workers. At one time there was a similar movement in Russia, but now no-one dreams of returning to the costumes of Pushkin's time or even of the beginning of the twentieth century.

The large quantity of literature written about traditions and survivals suffers in the opinion of the writer from three defects:

- (a) No distinction is made between good and bad traditions and they are accordingly limped all together.
- (b) National traditions are thought by many to be immutable, whereas when the use of the best traditions is advocated, their further development in accordance with the new conditions of life should be borne in mind.
- (c) Some Party members consider only old traditions as popular ones and only talk and write about them. But there are some splendid traditions of the Soviet period such as the self-effacing work of constructing communism, collectivism in its highest form, Soviet patriotism, the indestructible friendship and brotherly co-operation of the Soviet peoples, etc.

There is no people in the family of socialist nations which would not value this sacred friendship, now stronger than ever. "But this not only does not remove but greatly strengthens the need to fight against the survivals of nationalism. Unless this is done they may become a serious hindrance to the "international" education of the workers and particularly of young people. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the campaign against nationalistic prejudices requires great skill and wisdom. On no account should the national feelings of Soviet peoples be irritated, much less insulted.

"The fight against local nationalism, and the education of all the formerly oppressed nations in a spirit of mutual brotherhood and friendship, in a spirit of unbounded love and gratitude to the great Russian people constitute the primary duty first and foremost of the communists of these nations; while Russian communists see it as their duty to give the maximum attention to opposing manifestations of great-power chauvinism. In this lies the essence of Lenin's presentation of the problem of the struggle against nationalistic survivals."

"NATIONALISM" IN THE SOVIET MUSLIM REPUBLICS

Central Asian Review
Vol. VII, No. 4, 1959

During the first eight months of 1959 there have been disturbances within the Party organizations of four republics -- Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaydzhan and Tadzhikistan. In all these republics except Tadzhikistan the disturbances were accompanied by the removal of the First Secretary of the Central Committee and sometimes of other personnel also. In all cases, with the mysterious exception of Uzbekistan, the reasons for these changes were given fairly fully. "Nationalist tendencies" were always mentioned, although they seem to have been more important in some republics than in others. The following is a collection of all passages relating to "nationalism" which appeared in this connection in the press of the four republics. Note should also be taken of the proceedings of the "Joint Scientific Session Dedicated to the Importance of the Incorporation of Central Asia into Russia" (see CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol. VII, Nos. 2, pp. 157-9, and 3, pp. 271-3) and of the following articles: "The Bourgeois Nationalist Baymirza Hayit Cannot Hide the Truth" by A. Il'yasov and K. Novoselov in KOMMUNIST TURKMENISTANA, 1959, No. 5, pp. 52-60; and "Truth is Stronger than Lies" by N. Sagindykov and A. Shmanov in PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, 1959, No. 6, pp. 72-77.

Turkmenistan

First Secretary S. Babayev and Second Secretary N. Durdyeva removed.
TI. 16.12.58

Speech of First Secretary D. D. Karayev at XVth Congress of the Turkmen Communist Party.

"On the contrary they (Babayev and Durdyeva) flouted the bolshevist principle of the selection of cadres, cultivated a faulty method, alien to our Party, of promoting cadres. Babayev and Durdyeva placed their own venal aims first and for this very reason selected people not according to their political, practical qualities but according to criteria of local origin (zemlyachestvo), personal devotion and servility."
TI. 20. 1.59

Speech of D. D. Karayev at XXIst Congress of CPSU.

"Former secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan Babayev and Durdyeva flagrantly ignored the Leninist norms of Party life and the principles of Party guidance. They ignored the bolshevist principle of selection and promotion of cadres, distorted the sacred principle of internationalism in our Party, treated the cadres of other nationalities with scorn..."
TI. 5.2.59

Unsigned article "The Leninist Norms of Party Life must be strictly observed":

"The Party has always fought firmly against both great-power chauvinism and local nationalism in whatever forms they showed themselves. Unfortunately one can still meet people infected with (nositeli) certain nationalist prejudices, one can still find examples of nationalist narrowness and rigidity. Nationalist survivals can sometimes be observed in economic and ideological fields, in the matter of the selection of cadres..."

"However, former secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan Babayev and Durdyeva interpreted these important decisions of the Party and Government incorrectly. There appeared in their work a tendency to set off the cadres of the basic nationality (i.e. Turkmen.--Ed.) against those of other nationalities. They ignored the bolshevist principle of the selection and promotion of cadres, distorted the sacred principle of internationalism (internatsionalizm) in our Party and treated the cadres of other nationalities with scorn..."

KOM. TURK., 1959, No. 2

Unsigned article "The Most Important Tasks of Ideological Work":

"The decisions of the XXist Congress of the CPSU on problems of ideological work emphasized the importance of an international (internatsional'nyy) education, of the reinforcement of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR. In our country the social and economic basis for national hostility or discrimination is lacking. We have not, however, finally liquidated nationalist survivals. They appear in attempts to avoid strengthening connections with other economic regions, in local patriotism and in an incorrect attitude towards the interests of the State as a whole.

"In its execution of Lenin's national policy the Communist Party secured a broadening of the rights of Union republics and of local Party and Soviet organs. Some executives have incorrectly understood these measures, have attempted to set off the cadres of the basic nationality against workers of other nationalities. Former secretaries of the Central Committee of the Turkmen Communist Party Babayev and Durdyeva were guilty of this. They tried to implant scorn towards the other peoples of the USSR, adopted an indifferent attitude towards using the advanced experience of fraternal republics, slowed down exchange of cultural values." KOM. TURK., 1959, No. 4

Uzbekistan

First Secretary Kamalov removed.

No reason or account of the proceedings were given. First Secretary Sh. R. Rashidov's speech (PV. 28.3.59) mentions that there had been serious shortcomings and mistakes in the fields of economics, culture and Party organization, and goes on to emphasize the duty of creative workers to "wage an implacable war against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, occurrences of nationalist rigidity, local patriotism and other survivals". PV. 28.3.59

Tadzhikistan

No administrative changes.

Speech of First Secretary Ul'dzhabayev to VIth Plenum of the Tadzhik Communist Party.

"Some representatives of our intelligentsia are too willing, for any reason or for no reason at all, to emphasize that we Tadzhiks are an ancient people and have an ancient culture. Why these reminders now, one wonders? Yes, it is a fact that we are an ancient nation and have an ancient culture. But on the eve of the October Revolution our people, as is well known, were on the point of drying out, in fact the Tadzhik nation as such did not exist.

"Whoever does not understand this (the fact that the Tadzhik nation owes all it has to its 'elder brother the great Russian people'.--Ed.) whoever tries to set the cadres of the local nationality against those of other nationalities, has no place in our Party, no place in our ranks."

KT. 17/7/59

Azerbaijan

First Secretary I. D. Mustafayev removed.

"As is well known the XXIst Congress of the CPSU emphasized that in all ideological work the most important place must go to problems of educating the workers in the spirit of industry, of fulfilment of our social duty, in the spirit of the friendship of peoples and of socialist internationalism. However, as the participants of the Plenum noted in their speeches, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan responded unsatisfactorily to this demand. Recently attention had slackened towards problems of the international education of the workers."

BR. 11.7.59

ANTI-ISLAMIC PROPAGANDA IN KAZAKHSTAN

SINCE 1953

The Middle East Journal
Summer 1959
by Chantal Quelquejay

It is true, as some Western observers believe and others fear, that the friendship shown toward the Arab countries and toward the Muslim peoples as a whole by the Soviet Government since 1954-55 implies a recognition of the "progressive" character of Islam or the possibility of a genuine alliance between communism and Islam? Does it represent a real shift in Soviet Islamic policy or is it simply a tactical move?

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to examine the policy of the Soviet authorities with regard to their own Muslims, numbering around thirty million and inhabiting Central Asia, the northern and eastern Caucasus and the Middle Volga region.

This policy is perfectly straightforward; neither the Government's official friendship toward the Arab countries nor its sympathy with the liberation movement of the Muslim peoples has led to the slightest modification in its basic hostility for all religion.

Let us take, for example, the case of the Kazakhs, a Turkish and Muslim people numbering 3,099,000 in 1939. They inhabit the largest Muslim federal republic which has undergone, in recent years, a significant influx of Russian and Ukrainian settlers. If one considers the number of anti-religious publications which have appeared in Kazakhstan since the death of Stalin, one is forced to conclude that anti-Muslim propaganda has not ceased to exist.

Between March 1, 1953 and July 1, 1957 the following publications appeared:

26 anti-religious publications -- 311,100 copies
24 of which were printed in Kazakh -- 304,100 copies
1 in Russian -- 3,000 copies
1 in Chechen -- 4,000 copies

The Kazakh population numbers at present around 3,300,000 people. It may be said, therefore, that in the last five years one anti-religious publication has been put out for every ten people or, discounting the old illiterates and small children, for each family.

1953

Kazakh Language

Gurev, A. Ghylym men din alemnin kurylysy turaly. ("Science and religion on the subject of the cosmic structure"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- Kazakh society for the diffusion of political and scientific knowledge -- 36 p., 20,000 copies (trans. from the Russian).

Il'niskiy, N. P. Adam sanasyndaghy din galdyptaryn zhoju turaly. ("The struggle against religious survivals in the people's conscience"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- Kazakh society for the diffusion of political and scientific knowledge -- 40 p., 15,000 copies -- Conference minutes (trans. from Russian by S. Akhmetov).

Kagarov, V. M. Michurindik biologija zhane onyn din qaldyktaryn szojudaghy roli. ("Mishurinian biology and its role in triumph over religious survivals"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- Kazakh society for the diffusion of political and scientific knowledge -- 40 p., 20,000 copies -- Conference minutes (trans. from Russian by B. Mazitov).

Kakimzhanov, A. Islam dininin reaktstajalyq mani turaly. ("The reactionary nature of Islam"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- 60 p., 20,000 copies.

Pavelkin P. Dini sogyrseimder zhane onyn zyjany. ("Religious superstitions and their danger"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- Kazakh society for the diffusion of political and scientific knowledge -- 172 p., 20,000 copies. Collection of articles compiled by Zh. Kulerov (trans. from Russian by M. Ishmuhametov).

Prokof'ev, V. I. Moral' zhane din. ("Morals and religion"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- 40 p., 15,000 copies (trans. from Russian by R. Syzdykov).

Sokolov, V. G. Dini adet-ghuryptar nem nejramdardyn shyghuy zhene olardyn reaktstajashyl mani. ("The origin and reactionary nature of religious rites and ceremonies"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat (trans. from Russian by Kh. Kutkhozin).

1954

Kazakh Language

Vatan-Ogly, Panislamizm ham panturkizm anglo-amerika imperializmnyn kuralidur. ("Panislamism and punturkism - Instruments of Anglo-American imperialism"). Alma-Ata, edited by the Jangi hayat Journal -- 59 p., 2,100 copies.

Kagarov, V. M. Michurindik biologija zhane dinshir dik qaldyktardy zhojudaghy onyn roli. ("The role of the Mishurinian biology in the triumph over religious survivals"). Alma-Ata, Ministry of Culture Kazakh SSR -- 36 p., 3,000 copies (trans. from Russian by A. Dzhokebaev) modified second edition of a pamphlet published in 1953).

Lupalo, I. G. Ghylym dinge qarshy. ("Science versus religion"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- Kazakh society for the diffusion of political and scientific knowledge (trans. From Russian by. T. Balagaev).

Shennovich, D. E. Markisizm-Leninizm din turaly zhane ony zhenudin zholdary degen tagyryrqa laktorga metodikalyqkenes. ("Methodological advice to lecturers on the subject of Marxism-Leninism on religion and means of triumphing over religion"). Alma-Ata, Ministry of Culture Kazakh SSR -- 30 p., 3,000 copies (trans. from Russian).

Prokof'ev, V. I. Orystyn uly ghalymdary dini zhoqqa senushilikterhen kureste. ("Great Russian scholars in the first against religious prejudices"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- Kazakh society for the diffusion of political and scientific knowledge -- 80 p., 20,000 copies (trans. from Russian by. B. Shorabaev and A. Azhiev).

Satpaev T., President of the Academy of Sciences Kazakh SSR. Ghylym men din zherdin zharatyluy turaly. ("The origin of the world according to science and religion"). Alma-Ata, Ministry of Culture Kazakh SSR -- 22 p., 3,000 copies (trans. from Russian by Aytbaev).

Emme, A.M. Ghylym men din zher ustande tirshiliktin pajda bolwy turaly. ("The origin of life on earth according to science and religion"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- 123 p., 20,000 copies (trans. from Russian under the direction of D. Kudabaev).

1955

a) Kazakh Language

Lenin, V. I. Din turaly. ("About the Religion"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- Kazakh affiliation of the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute -- 84 p., 20,000 copies (collection of articles translated from Russian).

Bisenov, Kh. Islam dininin shyghuy zhene onyn tapytq mani. ("The origin and nature of class in Islam"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- Kazakh society for the diffusion of political and scientific knowledge -- 32 p., 10,000 copies (Conference minutes).

Prokof'ev, V. Din ghylym men progrestin zhany. ("Religion -- enemy of science and progress"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- 72 p., 10,000 copies (trans. from Russian by T. Mukarov).

Skvortsov-Stepanov, I.I. Din turaly ojlar. ("Thoughts on religion"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- 40 p., 10,000 copies (trans. from Russian by Shalabaev).

b) Russian Language

Kozlova, K. I. Nauka o stroenii vselennoj v bor'be protiv religionznykh predassudkov. ("Cosmology in the struggle against religious prejudices"). Alma-Ata, Ministry of Culture Kazakh SSR -- 40 p., 3,000 copies.

1956

a) Kazakh Language

Baskin, M/ P. Materializm shane din. ("Materialism and religion"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- 144 p., 10,000 copies (trans. From Russian by S. Orzanov).

Boguslavski', V.M. Bilim zhane kudajgha senu. ("Knowledge and belief in God"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- 64 p., 10,000 copies (trans. from Russian by Z. Oryspaev).

Medvedev, N.V. Ghylym men din psikhialyq kublystar zhajunda. ("Psychic phenomena according to science and religion"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- 84 p., 10,000 copies (trans. from Russian by K. Salabaev).

b) Chechen Language

Koloniskiy, P.F. What is religion? (Exact title unknown). Alma-Ata, Znamya Truda -- 44 p., 4,000 copies).

1957 and 1958

Information on anti-religious publications appearing in 1957 and 1958 is still incomplete. We know of three works published in Kazakh in 1957 and one which appeared in the beginning of 1958.

a) 1957

Marx-Engels, Din turaly. ("Religion"). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- Kazakh affiliation of the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute -- 316 p., 15,000 copies (trans. from the Russian).

Sydykov, Z. Ghylym men din zherdin zharatyluy turaly. ("The origin of the world according to science and religion") and a third pamphlet by Musabaeva whose title seems to be "the importance of Pavlov's doctrine in the struggle against idealism and religion" -- written and published in Kazakh, Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- Kazakh society for the diffusion of political and scientific knowledge -- 44 p., 10,000 copies.

b) 1958

Gurev, G.A. A pamphlet, whose title is: "Scientific previsions and religious prejudices," (trans. from the Russian). Alma-Ata, Kazgosizdat -- 88 p., 8,000 copies.

* * * * *

The following assumptions are based on an analysis of these works:

1) Anti-religious efforts are directed primarily at the Kazakh community of Kazakhstan. The total population of Kazakhstan numbered 8,488,000 inhabitants¹ April 1, 1956, of which only a minority was Kazakh, the majority being Russians and Ukrainians. The last Soviet census of 1939 registered a total of 3,099,000 Kazakhs in the Union, around 2,500,000 of whom inhabit Kazakhstan and the remainder Uzbekistan, Kirghizia and the RSFSR. At present Kazakhs hardly represent more than 40% of the total population of their republic.

One must therefore assume:

- that the authorities consider Orthodox Christianity less of a danger to the regime than Islam;
- that the Russian and Ukrainian population has become less attached to its religion than the Kazakhs are to Islam.

Observations made by foreign visitors to Kazakhstan in the summer of 1958 prove that this last is not the case. In Alma-Ata there are two churches and close to one thousand persons attend the Sunday service; the city has only one mosque and scarcely two hundred and fifty persons and no young people attend the prayer on Friday.

Among the different national minorities which inhabit Kazakhstan (Dungans, Uyghurs, etc.) only the Chechens (Caucasians deported to Kazakhstan in 1944 and rehabilitated in 1957) have access to an anti-religious publication in their own language. The tenacity with which these mountain people cling to Islam explains the importance attached to anti-religious propaganda directed at their community.

2) Kazakh authors play a minimal role in the anti-religious propaganda effort. Only five of the twenty-seven aforementioned publications are original pieces writtin in Kazakh by indigenous authors (KEKIMZHANOV, VATAN-OGLY, BISENOV, SYDYKOV and MUSABAEVA). The other twenty-two are translations from the Russian. Could this be, as is often implied in the Alma-Ata press, because of the fundamental aversion with which indigenous intellectuals view attacks on the Muslim religion?

3) The subjects of these anti-religious publications reflect the new so-called "scientific" method, set forth by Stalin's successors, of fighting religious prejudices.

1. Narodnoe Khozjajstvo SSSR -- Moscow, 1957, pp. 24-29.

The publications are grouped as follows:

Fifteen -- (two of which appeared in 1953, five in 1954, two in 1955, three in 1956, two in 1957, one in 1958) deal with the irreconcilable opposition of science and religion;

Five -- (four of which appeared in 1953, one in 1954) condemn traditional customs and superstitions; reveal the injurious nature of religious rites; compare "reactionary" religious ethics to the "constructive" ethics of communism;

Three -- (one of which appeared in 1953, one in 1954, one in 1955) directly attack Islam;

Four -- (two of which appeared in 1955, one in 1956, one in 1957) are general works or translations of Marxist-Leninist classics (Lenin, Marx).

Direct attacks against Islam and religious beliefs, which gave rise to four publications in 1953, and one in 1954, ceased to appear after 1955; at that time in Kazakhstan, as in all the Soviet republics, new editions and translations of Marx's and Lenin's writings were undertaken which are, if anything, more violent and incisive than the writings of present-day anti-religious propaganda specialists.

4) Of all the Muslim peoples of Central Asia the Kazakhs have been the least "worked over" by anti-religious propaganda efforts.²

We lack sufficient data in order to establish any comparisons for the period between 1 January 1953 and 1 July 1957 but certain comparisons can be drawn for the period 1 January 1955 to 1 August 1957.

During these two and one half years, forty-nine anti-religious tracts were published in Central Asia as a whole and 670,000 copies in local languages (not including works in Russian or other languages were distributed as follows:

Uzbek SSR	22 works	479,000 copies
Karakalpak SSR	2 works	5,000 copies
Kazakhstan SSR	8 works	78,000 copies
Tadzhikistan SSR	7 works	38,000 copies
Kirghiz SSR	6 works	38,000 copies
Turkmen SSR	4 works	31,000 copies

It is interesting to note that less anti-religious publications were distributed among the Kazakhs on a population basis than among the other central Asian Muslims.

Peoples	Number of inhabitants according to 1939 census	Number of copies of anti-religious tracts	Number of inhabitants per copy of anti-religious tracts
Uzbeks	4,844,021	479,000	10.1%
Kirghiz	844,306	39,000	22.6%
Turkmens	811,769	31,000	26.1%
Tadzhiks	1,228,964	38,000	32.3%
Karakalpaks	182,559	5,000	36.5%
Kazakhs	3,099,000	78,000	49.2%

2. The Kazakhs, like all the old nomadic peoples of Central Asia, were Islamized in a superficial manner at a relatively recent date and have therefore never been fervent followers of Islam. Their clergy has always been small (except in the southern regions of the republic inhabited by Uzbeks); Muslim religious rites are scarcely observed, if at all; in short, common law ('adat) has always prevailed over Muslim law (shari'a).

5) After the death of Stalin in March 1953 until the middle of 1957, anti-religious propaganda efforts were relaxed in Kazakhstan as well as in the other Muslim republics of the USSR.

In 1956 and in the beginning of 1957, not one anti-religious article was printed in the Alma-Ata daily press or in any Kazakh magazine. The implication was that either Soviet policy toward Islam had changed or that twenty-five years of anti-religious efforts had accomplished their purpose. As one Pakistani described the situation on returning from a trip to Central Asia in 1952: "In Kazakhstan Islam is not dead but it is on its last legs...." ³

During the first three months of 1957, the Soviet authorities appear to have reversed their decision and realized the danger of weakening their campaign against Islam. This danger does not proceed so much from a resurgence of religious practices, of which there is no indication, as from the reappearance of "bourgeois nationalist manifestations" as it is described in the Alma-Ata press, which were favored by the unquestionable ideological relaxation which followed Stalin's death. In the Muslim republics these nationalist manifestations are closely bound to the "reformist" velleities which are constantly forcing their way into the Communist Party and which take the most diversified forms: idealization of the feudal past, wish to keep the native language free of Russian influence, exaggerated importance accorded to pre-revolutionary national literature, etc....

Resumption of the Anti-Religious Campaign Summer 1957

The new anti-Muslim campaign which began in June 1957 was preceded in March of that year by a series of doctrinaire articles, which appeared in a number of important Alma-Ata magazines and clearly pointed the direction the Party line was to take.

In the second issue of Trudy Sektora Filosofii y Prava of the Academy of Sciences Kazakh SSR (Alma-Ata, March 1957, pp. 54-67) appears an article by A. Iskakov entitled "Chokan Valikhanov 4 o reakcionnoj roli Islama" which presents Valikhanov as a progressive democrat, declared enemy of Kazakh feudality, strong supporter of his people's collaboration with the "great Russian people" and militant atheist, irreconcilably opposed to "Islamic obscurantism."

Inspired by the writings of Valikhanov, Iskakov describes Islam as a "conservative, reactionary, anti-scientific and anti-Russian" religion: "Its moral code condemns its followers to fatalism" (p. 59) and "prevents them from participating in the development of their country." (p. 60)

"Islam is a religion foreign to Central Asia, which was forcibly imposed on this area by the Arab invaders who destroyed a flourishing national civilization." (pp. 60-61) In the thirteenth century it was disseminated by the Tatar clergy and in the nineteenth century by the Tsarist administration who "used it to stultify and oppress the Kazakh masses." (pp. 64-65) "This foreign religion has proven more harmful than the ancient shamanism of the Kazakhs." (p. 66) "It has annihilated their culture and curbed the development of their language and literature." (p. 61)

3. Riaz Ali Shah -- "A doctor looks at the Soviet Union" -- Dawn (Karachi) 3 August 1952.

4. Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov (1835-1865) -- ethnographer and orientalist -- great grandson of Khan Ablay -- one of the first authors in the Kazakh language.

"Islam is a religion of hate founded on the Holy War dogma which impedes the establishment of harmonious relations between the Russian and Kazakh peoples." (p. 62)

Finally, "Islam is a class religion used by the propertied classes to oppress the working masses." (p. 63)

In this article, Iskakov appears to be pursuing the specific aim of providing new arguments to be used by the specialists on atheism.

During the same period, two important studies appeared in Vol. I (4) ⁵ of the News, (a series on history, economy, philosophy and law) published by the Academy of Sciences:

The first study is written by D. Kshibekov, ⁶ candidate in philosophical sciences at the Philosophy and Law Department of the Academy of Sciences Kazakh SSR; it is: "O preodolenii perezhitkov Islama." (pp. 108-115)

The second study is written by N. D. Dzhandil'din, secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party: "K voprosu o kriticheskom ispolzovanii kul'turnovo nasledija proshlovo." (pp. 3-36)

Kshibekov insists that "the struggle against Muslim religious prejudices" is one of the most important lessons in the education of a communist. He reiterates Iskakov's arguments:

"Islam is a foreign religion imposed on the Kazakhs at a relatively recent date (XVIII-XIX centuries)."

"Islam, like all religions, is a doctrine incompatible to science."

"Islam is a 'class' doctrine which defends the propertied classes, encourages social oppression and lowers the woman to a condition of slavery."

Finally, "Islam is a fanatic and intolerant religion which hinders a rapprochement between peoples."

Kshibekov cites numerous examples to prove the strength of religious feelings not only in the masses but also among the intellectuals; he calls attention to the vitality of the Muslim clergy which "is no longer, as in 1917, a sclerotic, traditionalist and bureaucratic cast."

"The servants of the Muslim cult are now endeavoring to adapt their religion and religious rites to the new living conditions and the higher cultural level of the Soviet man...." (p. 114)

He appeals to the intellectuals and above all the writers to resume the anti-religious struggle on a scientific basis by exposing the "idealistic" and "absurd" nature of Islam: "The continued existence of Islam is injurious because

5. Qazaq SSR Ghylym Akademijasynyn Habarlary -- Izvertiya Akademii Nauk Kazakhskaya SSR -- Alma-Ata, March 1957.

6. Kshibekov's article was analyzed by H. Carrere d'encausse in his article entitled "Awakening of Islam in the Soviet Union? Kazakhstan," which appeared in L'Afrique et l'Asie, second quarter of 1958, pp. 35-47.

it obscures the conscience and impedes the development of communism."

Kshibekov emphasizes the difference between the policy of the Soviet government as regards religion and that of the Communist Party. The former is liberal and tolerant and acknowledges "the right of each citizen to follow the religion of his choice," while the latter which "educates the Soviet people in the spirit of scientific materialism cannot consider religion a private affair. It cannot and should not remain indifferent. It must combat religion." (p. 113)

Dzhandil'din calls attention to the bourgeois-nationalist deviations which are coming to light among the Kazakh youth and intellectuals, perhaps as a result of events in Hungary. The bourgeois-nationalist problem is indirectly tied up with Islam. According to Dzhandil'din, the principal manifestations of nationalism at present are evidenced in the desire to protect the Kazakh language from Russification and the wish to safeguard the national culture which is unquestionably heavily influenced by Islam.

Finally, an article by S. Beisembaev, the director of the Science and Culture Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, entitled "Deino vospitatel'nara rabota sredi studencheskoi molodezhi" appeared in the magazine Kommunist Kazakhstana (No. 3, March, 1957, pp. 22-28 -- Alma-Ata) which calls for "an energetic fight against the artifices of bourgeois ideology to expose provocations and destroy 'amoral' attitudes." (In Soviet terminology this last term applies generally to such traditional customs as polygamy and marriage of minor girls.)

Administrative measures were to follow the appearance of these three articles.

On June 6, 1957, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan met in plenary session and adopted a resolution on "measures to be taken with a view to improving the working organization and policy of the Communist Party in the Kazakh republic." This resolution was published in the June 7, 1957 issue of Kazakhstanskaya Pravda. It represents a violent attack against bourgeois nationalist tendencies and religious manifestations reminiscent of the Stalinist era.

....Atheistic propaganda is unsatisfactory The Society for the diffusion of scientific and political knowledge (which leads the anti-religious fight) and the party organizations have relaxed their educative operations, committed serious errors and politically misinterpreted several questions relating to the cultural development of Kazakhstan The publication of works on anti-religious subjects is inadequate....

The Central Committee appeals for greater vigilance of all the party organizations in the struggle against religious manifestations.

One month later on July 20, a second resolution was adopted on the "discriminating utilization of the cultural heritage of the Kazakh people." This resolution was published in Kazakhstanskaya Pravda on July 21, 1957. It condemns Kazakh intellectuals for "indiscriminately exalting pre-revolutionary art and poets, independent of their ideological and political tendencies; for failing to make a distinction between progressive and reactionary elements and forgetting Lenin's thesis according to which only democratic and socialist elements may be borrowed from the past and only on condition that these elements serve as a counter-balance to the culture and to bourgeois nationalism."

These two resolutions set off a seige of ideological re-adjustment directed both at cultural nationalism and at the Muslim religion.

In July Kommunist Kazakhstan (No. 7, 1957, pp. 15-22) published another article by Dzhandil'din entitled "O nekotorykh voprosakh razvitiya natsional'noy kul'tury" in which he reiterates with even greater intensity the accusations launched in March against Kazakh "deviationist" intellectuals.

....There are among us individuals who are disseminating provocative rumors which malign the Communist Party and its national policy It is true that these monsters are rare; unfortunately their mischievous ideas are shared by a section of our intelligentsia....

Dzhandil'din attributed the existence of nationalist tendencies among Kazakh intellectuals to the "penetration of bourgeois reactionary ideology into our country" and to "ignorance of Marxism-Leninism." He demonstrates that Kazakh opposition to the Party line is concentrated around two problems: preservation of the national language and safeguarding the cultural patrimony. In concluding he advocates the necessity of resuming the fight against "all those who are hostile to progress and friendship between peoples in the name of cultural or religious traditions." Dzhandil'din points out that the struggle against nationalism and the struggle against Islam become confused:

Not all the champions of feudal customs and defenders of survivals of the past have disappeared.⁷ They justify their attitude by their defence of national traditions. We must learn to distinguish between authentic national traditions and malicious survivals of out-dated cultures and primitive customs of certain decomposed elements.

In September an important article by Kh. Bisenov entitled "Reaktsionnaya Sushchnost' religii" was published in Kommunist Kazakhstan (No. 9, 1957, pp. 37-43). This article is a summary in Russian of a pamphlet published in Kazakh in 1955: "Islam dininin shyghuy zhane onyn tapyq mani." Bisenov points out the origin of all religions, their anti-scientific nature and their utilization by the imperialists. He mentions in particular two religions prevalent in Kazakhstan: the Protestant sects (Adventists, Baptists and Jehovah Witnesses) to which the new immigrants belong and Islam which exists "in a survival form" among a section of Kazakhs and the Uyghurs. He does not even refer to Orthodox Christians.

According to Bisenov, Islam is manifested in traditional customs: polygamy, marriage of minor girls, observance of religious holidays and the Ramadhan fast, pilgrimages to local holy places:

'Anti-religious propaganda is inadequate, bureaucratic and badly organized....' It makes no allowances for the 'new attitude of the clergy' which has adapted itself to new Soviet conditions. 'The fight against Islam must continue with renewed vigor because the English and American imperialists are using the Muslim groups to combat the national liberation movement of the Asian peoples.'

The campaign against religious survivals has not remained purely verbal. Words have been carried into actions in the application of new methods.

7. In soviet terminology, the expression "feudal customs" applies to the traditional attitude toward the women: polygamy, the veil, confinement of married women. The expression "survivals of the past" applies more particularly to observance of religious rites.

Novikov, in an article in Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 30 July 1957, gives the city of Taldy-Kurgan, the main center of the oblast of the same name, as an example: "The gorkom (City Communist Party Committee) recently began to occupy itself with anti-religious propaganda."

The propaganda is now made by conferences directed by the Propaganda-Agitation Section of the gorkom on the following subjects: "Marxism-Leninism and religion;" "the origin of religions holidays;" "The contradiction of medicine and religion." These conferences are conducted in business enterprises and factories and the names of the speakers are all Russian.

To reach the non-workers, anti-religious discussions are held on the radio, at motion picture showings and in the public parks.

"Collective or individual" discussions with "believers" are encouraged to supplement the conferences (this proposal was specifically mentioned in the gorkom resolution). These discussions are to be held at Agitpunkt, recreation activities and at public anti-religious evenings which are organized by the Party or the society for the diffusion of political and scientific knowledge.

Here is an example of one such evening: The following subjects were discussed before an audience of 400 persons: What is the origin of belief in God? What is the origin of life on earth? Is there life beyond the grave?

Following the discussion an anti-religious film was shown and the meeting ended with entertainment.

Finally, to stimulate Party vigilance, political education groups have been set up within all the basic Communist Party organizations. These groups meet once or twice a month to discuss various political and cultural problems. Anti-religious propaganda plays an important role in these discussions. The group within the basic organization of the Agricultural Bank, for example, studied "the attitude of the Communist Party toward religion."

"With the Orthodox and Muslim clergy and that of the sects intensifying their action," Novikov considers this program inadequate. He proposes that anti-religious propaganda be extended to the educational institutions which have virtually "abandoned the struggle against religious feelings among the pupils and their parents."

Certain education workers falsely believe that there is no longer any need to uphold atheism among the students." Novikov considers this attitude dangerous "in view of the fact that the churches and mosques are not only frequently by old people but also by students."

In September, Kazakhstanskaya Pravda (20/9/57) announced that classes in atheism had been introduced into the newly created Faculties of History, Philosophy and Economy at the Alma-Ata University of Marxism-Leninism. In November, the Communist Party held a republic-wide seminary in Alma-Ata for propaganda and conference workers specialized in anti-religious action. Three hundred persons attended these sessions at which the following problems were discussed:

"Dialectic-materialism--philosophic basis of militant atheism"; "Atheistic education of the youth in the school and in the family"; "Methods for individual work with believers"; "Medicine versus religious superstitions and sorcery"; "Scientific importance of soviet sputniks in discrediting religion." (Kazakhstanskaya Pravda 23/11/57)

With the resumption of the fight against religious survivals, the Party strengthened its guard against "nationalist" tendencies:

At a meeting of the "artistic and literary workers" active in the city and oblast of Alma-Ata, Dzhandil'din lectured on ideological work and violently attacked the Kazakh literary magazine Qazaq Adbiatiy, the organ of the Union of Soviet Kazakh Writers, and Sovietskiy Kazakstan for having published "ideologically dangerous" articles. (Kazakhstanskaya Pravda 8 October 1957)

On December 26, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan proclaimed in its resolution the necessity for combatting revisionism and other manifestations of bourgeois nationalism. (Kazakhstanskaya Pravda 27 December 1957)

This two-pronged campaign continued into 1958. An article by D. Kshibekov, "O feodal'no baiskikh perezhitkakh i ikh preodolenii" (the title is in Russian but the text is in Kazakh), appeared at the beginning of 1958 in the publication of the Republican Academy of Sciences. This article made quite a disturbance and received much publicity.

Another important article appeared on 4 January 1958 in the magazine Sovietskiy Kazakstan (No. 12, December 1957). This article was written by N. Dzhandil'din, secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party. In it he attacks "revisionist and nationalist bourgeois" tendencies which he has perceived in various Kazakh literary revues, notably in Qazaq Adbiatiy, which endeavors to defend the purity of the Kazakh language against Russification, and in Adabijat Zhane Iskustvo, which idealizes "reactionary" early nineteenth century poets.

The Alma-Ata press also continues to publish anti-religious articles:

In Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 23 January 1958, appears an article by V. Shtein entitled "Chemy nauchil aluchai v Sary-Sagane" and in the April 6 edition of the same newspaper appears an article by M. Burabaev and G. Valikhanov entitled "Reshitel'no borot'sja s feodal'no baiskimi perezhitkamai."

Notably absent in the Kazakh periodical press are attacks against the Orthodox Religion, in spite of the fact that there are now as many Russians in Kazakhstan as there are Kazakhs and they are, at least in appearances, more attached to their religion than the Kazakhs are to Islam. In fact, during the whole of 1957, Kazakhstanskaya Pravda published only four articles against the Christian sects, of which three were directed at the Jehovah Witnesses -- a sect which is particularly prevalent in Moldavia and was brought to Kazakhstan by Moldavian immigrants (the 1 September, 21 November and 8 December issues) and the fourth at the Baptists 3 April 1957 edition).

What does the new anti-Islamic campaign in Kazakhstan mean? It is a known fact that Islam has always been superficially accepted in this area. In the nineteenth century, the Kazakh intellectual elite, while not openly anti-Muslim, was unenthusiastic and indifferent to Islam. The Kazakh intellectuals, Chokan Valikhanov, Ibrai Altynsarin, Abai Kunanbaev and the ideologists of Alash Orda were modernists, generally hostile to conservative traditionalism. On the eve of the Revolution, the Kazakh nomadic masses were still closer to the ancient shamanism than they were to Islam.

The anti-religious struggle which began in 1923 did not, therefore, meet with a resistance anywhere near as strong as it did, for example, in the main centers of Uzbekistan. It must certainly have been much easier to separate the Kazakhs from a religion to which they had not yet been converted as late as the eighteenth century, and even the nineteenth, than it was the Uzbeks or the Tadzhiks who were Islam-ized in the height of the Middle Ages.

Moreover, the Kazakh culture, unlike that of the Uzbeks or the Tadzhiks, owes little to Islam. Arab and Persian influences have always been weak, both in the linguistic and in the literary vein.

The Kazakh national and cultural tradition, perceptible in the national epics (Koblandy-Batyr, Alpamys....) and in the works of the Pleiade of nineteenth century writers, stems from the traditions of the Mongol Empire and the memory of the nomadic tribes.

How then can this insistence on fighting a religion, which no longer appears to present any kind of a serious obstacle to the edification of socialism, be explained? Could it be, as often occurs in the Soviet Union, a "diversionist campaign" against Islam in order to achieve indirectly Kazakh nationalism?