



**Directorate of
Intelligence**

~~Secret~~



25X1

Soviet Influence on Afghan Education



25X1

A Research Paper

~~Secret~~

*NESA 86-10020
April 1986*

Copy **363**

Page Denied



**Directorate of
Intelligence**

Secret

25X1

Soviet Influence on Afghan Education

25X1

A Research Paper

This paper was prepared by the
Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Analysis. It
was coordinated with the Directorate of
Operations.

25X1

25X1

Comments and queries are welcome and may be
directed to the Chief, South Asia Division, NESA,

25X1
25X1

Secret

*NESA 86-10020
April 1986*

Secret

25X1

**Soviet Influence
on Afghan Education**

25X1

Summary

*Information available
as of 2 January 1986
was used in this report.*

Soviet education programs in Afghanistan are designed to refashion Afghan society along Communist lines and eliminate the influence of Islamic tradition. Moscow is attempting in the short term to increase support for an unpopular regime and ideology. In the longer term it is seeking to create a cadre of pro-Soviet Afghans capable of assuming middle- and upper-level government posts. We believe that, because of cultural factors and poor security, the prospects that the Soviets will achieve these goals are slim.

25X1

Communist doctrine permeates Afghan education. Soviet officials in the Afghan Ministry of Education remodeled the Afghan education system along Soviet lines in 1978 and continue to direct it. Ideological indoctrination also occurs in the military, KHAD (the Afghan intelligence organization), the ruling People's Democratic (Communist) Party, and government ministries.

25X1

Fighting between the resistance and progovernment forces limits regime education programs to a few urban centers and a small number of rural Afghans. Even in areas controlled by the regime, the majority of Afghans are reluctant to participate:

- Most Afghans see little need for nonreligious education; more than 90 percent are illiterate. The Afghans' distrust of programs of the Communist regime is even greater than their distrust of previous governments' programs.
- Afghans fear that resistance forces will direct reprisals against regime schools, themselves, or their families.

25X1

Moscow has sent more than 10,000 Afghans to the USSR and Eastern Europe for educational and training programs. These programs have developed the Afghans' expertise and Russian-language capabilities, but heavy doses of political training, poor treatment from Soviet instructors and the local population, and the Afghan regime's inability to give graduates suitable positions when they return alienate some students. The recent focus on Afghan youths of elementary school age, who are more vulnerable to indoctrination—especially when separated from their parents and traditions during years of training in the USSR—may have some success in developing regime supporters.

25X1

Secret



25X1

The Soviets are probably achieving some success in meeting their short-term goal of establishing a limited educational infrastructure in Afghanistan. The ultimate objective of using an education system on the Soviet model to shape Afghan society along Communist lines has little chance of success, in our opinion. Kabul's inability to control much of Afghanistan outside the capital and traditional Afghan distrust of education will indefinitely frustrate the regime's educational and other social programs.



25X1

Secret

Secret

25X1

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Summary	iii
Communist Basis of Afghan Education	1
Changes in the Formal Education System	1
Curriculums	1
Textbooks and Materials	2
Faculty and Staff	3
New Education Programs	5
Educational Programs Outside the School System	6
Military	6
KHAD	6
The National Fatherland Front	6
The Literacy Program	7
Afghan Students in the USSR	7
Outlook and Implications	9
Appendix	
Afghanistan's Education System Before and After the Revolution	11

Secret
[Redacted]

25X1

Soviet Influence on Afghan Education [Redacted]

25X1

The Soviet Union has been actively trying to control the education of Afghans, either directly or through the regime and party programs, since the Communists took power in April 1978. During its first month in office, the Communist regime changed school curricu- lums—adding material translated from Soviet texts and some written by Soviet experts, replacing high school principals with members of the People’s Demo- cratic (Communist) Party, and creating a new second- ary school in Kabul with Russian as the language of instruction. The Afghan education system remains under strong Soviet influence. [Redacted]

Kabul’s lack of control in much of the country limits the impact of the Communist education system. The regime consistently exercises power in less than one- third of the country, and fewer than 100 government- controlled schools operate in a handful of cities and villages, [Redacted]

We estimate that less than 10 percent of the children of primary and secondary school age attend classes. Most Afghans traditionally have not sent their chil- dren to any school, and even fewer now enroll them in regime-sponsored classes. Students in regime schools tend to be children of party members, government officials, or military personnel:

- Most Afghans are farmers or herdsmen who see little need for education. Less than 10 percent of all Afghans are literate, [Redacted]
- Afghans have traditionally distrusted government schools and distrust the current regime’s programs even more than those of previous governments.
- Most Afghans fear reprisals from resistance ele- ments if they enroll their children in government schools or cooperate in regime programs.
- Many parents disdain the Communist ideology that has replaced Islamic studies. [Redacted]

Communist Basis of Afghan Education

The regime’s goal is that Communist ideology and principles should permeate Afghan education. The US Embassy in Kabul noted in 1984 a law on middle schools declaring that “inculcating a revolutionary spirit in the youth, strengthening their devotion to the principles of the party, and preparing them to defend the achievements of the April Revolution” were pri- mary goals of the school system. [Redacted]

25X1

Kabul seeks to emphasize Communism at all levels of education. A Western journalist reports that in 1984 the study of Communism was compulsory in all schools in Kabul. A source of the US Embassy in Kabul reported that study of Communism is initiated in the second grade. Political ideology classes that stress Communism range from three to six hours per week, and students at all levels are required to pass them to graduate. [Redacted]

25X1

25X1
25X1

Changes in the Formal Education System

Curriculums

The Soviets have revamped the Afghan education system by imposing curriculums almost identical to those used in the Soviet Union. Afghan officials, with the aid of Soviet advisers in the Ministry of Educa- tion, have developed 10 curriculums aimed at imple- menting a unified teaching program and upgrading the level of political consciousness of the students and teachers, [Redacted]

25X1
25X1

25X1

Since 1978 new courses that strongly resemble or duplicate those in Soviet schools have been installed in Afghan elementary, middle, and high schools. In 1980

25X1

Secret

Soviet Education Strategy

We find that, to implement their goals in Afghanistan, the Soviets have adopted a strategy that stresses the importance of using local languages, blocking development of Afghan nationalism, and undercutting the traditionally strong role of Islam. [redacted]

The regime has severely curtailed—and in many schools stopped offering—classes in foreign languages other than Russian. [redacted]

25X1
25X1
25X1
25X1

Local Languages Versus Afghan Nationalism

The Soviets, as they did in Muslim areas of the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s, are encouraging the use of local languages in education programs. The Soviets, in our view, expect that emphasizing ethnic identity through language will preserve the splits in Afghan society, setting back the development of Afghan nationalism that might ultimately challenge Soviet hegemony in the country. Local languages—including Uzbek, Turkmen, and Baluch—are languages of instruction from the first grade. They were not taught before the Communist takeover. Students learn one of two main languages—Dari is favored over Pashtu—later on. [redacted]

Minimizing Islam

The Soviets and the Afghan regime have also attempted to reduce the traditionally strong role of Islam in the schools. The regime has closed many schools operated by mullahs and reduced the number of hours of Islamic instruction in the secular schools. A paper presented at a pedagogical conference in Kabul in 1983 argued that social science teachers in Afghanistan must deemphasize Islam and direct the youth to the study of Communism. [redacted]

25X1

Russian language training takes place at all levels of education. A US Embassy source in Kabul reported in 1982 that Russian language training starts in the first grade in some experimental schools. [redacted]

Soviet political training has replaced religious instruction in the secondary schools, according to a source of the US Embassy in Kabul. Instruction in Islamic theology, once taught four times a week at the Kabul Military High School, is limited to one hour per week and does not include study of the Koran. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

[redacted] all Russian-language teachers are Soviets and that each student receives one hour of Russian instruction per day. [redacted]

[redacted] although religion is taught in some of the lower grades, Communist-trained officials are the instructors. [redacted]

25X1
25X1
25X1
25X1
25X1

the regime shortened the existing 12-year school system to parallel the 10-year system then used in the USSR. In 1984 the US Embassy in Kabul reported that an Afghan Ministry of Education document prescribed that students from the seventh grade to graduation were to study such subjects as "Socialism, The Dream of the World's Working Class," "The Struggle of the Two World Systems (Communism and Capitalism)," and "The Three Principal Forces of the Revolution." [redacted]

dialectical materialism, the history of revolutionary movements, "scientific" sociology, and Russian language. The regime added mandatory military courses for university students in 1982, [redacted] including 11 hours of classroom instruction in military topics each week. [redacted]

25X1
25X1
25X1

Textbooks and Materials

Textbooks have been substantially revised to include pro-Soviet and pro-Communist themes. [redacted] in 1979 Soviet

25X1
25X1
25X1

Soviet and regime officials also have revised the curriculums of Kabul University. By 1980 required courses for university students included historical and

Secret

Secret

advisers began to distribute teaching materials translated directly from Soviet texts, replacing West German materials. [redacted]

Soviet scholars have reinterpreted and rewritten Afghan history to bring it into line with Communist theory and have used these efforts to produce new Afghan textbooks. [redacted]

Soviet scholars drafted a new history of Afghanistan and translated it into several Afghan languages. The book stresses that Afghanistan's history is dominated by the struggle of the working classes against imperialism and that the country's independence is owed largely to the "fraternal assistance" of the Soviet Union. [redacted]

In the Kabul Military High School, [redacted] lessons for the world history and history of Afghanistan courses were prepared by Soviet advisers in the school's political department. The texts stress Afghanistan's cultural and historical ties to Soviet Central Asia. Little mention is made of the country's traditional links to Iran, the Indian subcontinent, or the Middle East. [redacted]

The USSR publishes numerous textbooks and other materials used in the Afghan educational system. Many originate in the Soviet Muslim areas adjoining Afghanistan. Publishers in Tashkent, capital of the Uzbek SSR, for example, prepare materials in Uzbek and other languages, and the Tajik SSR sends books to the Kabul medical faculty. [redacted]

Afghan bookstores, which supply textbooks to schools and other organizations, also feature other books published in the USSR, according to the US Embassy in Kabul. Emphasis appears to be placed on children's stories, with colorful books such as "Tales About Lenin" in great supply. Embassy officials noted they had yet to find any children's books—other than textbooks—that had not come from Moscow. [redacted]

The Soviets and Afghan party members monitor libraries and cultural centers to ensure that only pro-Soviet material is available, according to US Embassy sources. [redacted]

[redacted] in 1983 Soviet and Afghan officials conducted

frequent searches of schools, libraries, dormitories, and private homes for materials espousing views contrary to Communism and destroyed all they found. These efforts have little effect on most Afghans. US Embassy officials report that during their visit to Kabul's main library in 1985 only employees were present. [redacted]

Faculty and Staff

After the Communist takeover in April 1978, a large number of Soviet advisers took posts in the Afghan Ministry of Education and, following the Soviet invasion in 1979, were assigned to the Ministry's Curriculum and Textbook Department, according to Afghan press accounts. Soviet personnel currently in the Afghan Ministry of Education approve all important policies and help design and implement new curriculums. [redacted]

We believe several hundred Soviet teachers, instructors, and advisers play key roles in Afghan education. [redacted]

[redacted] Soviets teach most of the Russian-language courses and head political and social education departments in secondary schools. Soviet advisers are particularly pervasive in higher education, especially at Kabul University. By 1985 the regime had closed the US-built School of Engineering. Since 1981 the regime has permitted engineering students to enroll only at Kabul Polytechnical Institute, built and supplied by the Soviets. In 1980 the Soviets established the State Institute of Medicine in Kabul. The Institute works closely with the Tajik State Medical Institute in the USSR, which provides lecturers, textbooks, materials, and refresher and postgraduate training. [redacted]

[redacted] Soviets and

regime supporters have replaced up to 80 percent of the university faculty members who were teaching in 1979. Many of the former teachers have emigrated; others have been jailed, executed, or demoted. A US Embassy source reported in the early 1980s that Soviets were assigned as deans to all faculties and that there was a Soviet rector of Kabul University, in

25X1

25X1
25X1
25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1
25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1
25X1

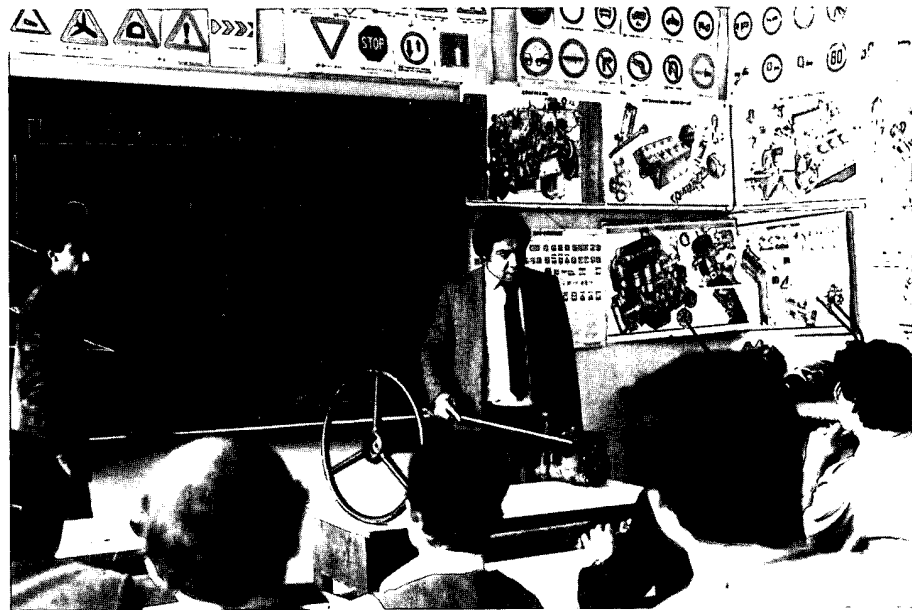
25X1

25X1
25X1

Secret

Secret

The Polytechnical Institute in Kabul, built with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union, is a major educational institution for training engineers in Afghanistan.



TASS ©

25X1

addition to the Afghans already occupying those posts. A US Embassy source in Kabul reported in 1983 that 30 Soviet advisers worked at the medical school. By 1983 four Cubans were added to the Spanish department, and five advisers from East Germany were assigned to the university, according to another Embassy source.

Afghan professors at Kabul University are controlled by the ruling party. a joint committee of students and faculty that initially made decisions about teacher promotions, scholarships, seminar topics, and research programs at the university was gradually reduced to two or three party members. Feuding between members of the Parcham and Khalq factions of the party produces tension and occasional fisticuffs among faculty and students.

Soviets also teach and advise at technical and professional schools. An Afghan-Soviet agreement, signed in mid-1985, specified that the USSR will send more than 90 experts to Afghanistan to organize training at 10 technical colleges to be built in the next five years.

To ensure that Afghans entering teaching careers are regime supporters, the regime has instituted ideological training programs and often sends trainees to places like Tashkent, according to the US Embassy and Afghan press accounts. In 1981 the regime established a teacher training institute in the Ministry of Education to replace Western teachers with Soviets and to better implement the new Soviet-inspired education program. Afghan teachers are also required to attend special political seminars. The regime presses teachers to join the party and participate in other social organizations affiliated with the party and the regime.

Soviets advisers and professors dominate Afghan education conferences. Of 66 papers presented at a conference of the State Institute of Medicine held in Kabul in 1985, for example, 48 had one or more Soviet authors, according to documents obtained by the US Embassy in Kabul. Five of 10 editors of the collection of conference papers were Soviets. All of the students presenting papers at a 1982 conference had both a Soviet and an Afghan faculty adviser—the Soviet adviser always had the higher rank.

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

Secret

Nonregime Training of Afghans

A few insurgent groups have established schools, mostly for religious training, in the areas they control in the countryside. Most Afghans distrust nonreligious education, viewing it as corrupting to the young and contrary to local tradition:

- The Jamiat-i-Islami operates about 20 schools in Balkh Province that teach reading and religion and indoctrinate children in antiregime and pro-Jamiat propaganda.
- Herat Province insurgent councils, under the leadership of Jamiat commander Ismail Khan, run schools in their areas.

[Redacted]

Ittihad Islami, the resistance coalition formed among the major insurgent groups in Peshawar in 1985, is attempting to counter Soviet inroads in Afghan education. [Redacted]

[Redacted] it operates the Afghan Education Committee, whose mission is to provide schools, teachers, and textbooks for rural areas in Afghanistan. Because of insufficient funds and the lack of qualified teachers, only about 20 percent of requests for new elementary schools could be filled by late summer 1985.

[Redacted]

The educational programs for Afghan refugees in Pakistan also suffer from serious deficiencies, attributable to Afghan attitudes and Pakistani neglect,

[Redacted] Nevertheless, an apparatus exists for development of a satisfactory education system. There are 251 primary schools and 12 secondary schools in the camps and two schools in Peshawar for females. All refugee camps offer schools for the first through the sixth grades. A few non-Afghan organizations—including the UN High Commission for Refugees, the Interaid Committee (a Pakistani Christian organization), and the International Rescue Committee (private, US backed)—also have set up a small number of schools. Instruction in all these schools is controlled by the main Afghan resistance parties in Peshawar. Few Afghan youths attend Pakistani schools. [Redacted]

25X1

The schools propagate the religious views of the resistance groups that control them. The teachers, who are poorly trained, emphasize Islamic theology. There is no unified curriculum and little or no administrative control. [Redacted]

25X1
25X1

Pakistani officials, [Redacted] have done little to encourage improvements in education for the refugees. Afghans who attend Pakistani schools are subject to a quota, must pay tuition, and must be able to speak Urdu or English. Pakistan has been reluctant to allow Afghans to attend Pakistani universities. [Redacted]

25X1
25X1
25X1

25X1

25X1

New Education Programs

The regime has initiated new education programs in day-care centers, nurseries, and kindergartens, most of them built in Kabul since the Communist takeover, according to journalistic accounts. Many are associated with work places, such as the Kabul Bus Institute, where in 1984 the regime established a nursery for children below 3 years of age and a kindergarten for those 3 to 6. [Redacted]

Low enrollment has reduced the impact of the regime's education and indoctrination program. In Kabul,

probably the most secure city, we estimate that fewer than 25 percent of eligible first graders are enrolled. The thousands of rural Afghans who have migrated to Kabul traditionally do not send their children to school. Some parents who view education favorably are reluctant to enroll children because they fear insurgent reprisals; others resent the regime's indoctrination efforts. [Redacted]

25X1
25X1

The Afghan Government is attempting to increase elementary school enrollment. The regime has ordered the Central Statistical Administration to keep

Secret

accurate birth records and age data to identify those children who should be in school, according to press reporting. [redacted]

Educational Programs Outside the School System

Outside the formal education system, the Soviets attempt to indoctrinate Afghans through training of military and KHAD (the Afghan intelligence organization) personnel, adults in literacy programs, and a wide spectrum of party-led activities, including military training for government officials. Despite strong and persistent regime pressure, not many Afghans participate in these programs, and even fewer accept the Communist ideology, in our view. [redacted]

Military

The regime views political indoctrination as an important part of military training. A Department of Political Affairs has been established in the Ministry of National Defense. A political officer attached to units down to company level conducts political training. [redacted] many troops are illiterate and do not understand or are not interested in political education, but every soldier must attend at least four hours of political indoctrination each week—more time than is spent in combat training. [redacted]

[redacted] political ideology courses account for six hours of the military school week, while only five hours are used for classroom military instruction. [redacted]

Soviet instructors are present at all levels of Afghan military education. [redacted]

[redacted] four Soviet brigadier generals were sent to advise and assist their Afghan counterparts at that school. [redacted]

[redacted] faculty members at the Kabul Military High School, whose graduates form the core of Afghan military officers, were required to attend weekly classes given by Soviet political officers. [redacted]

KHAD

Ideological training is especially important for members of KHAD. [redacted]

[redacted] all classes in KHAD training programs

held in the USSR emphasized Communism, and a student could not pass courses without the "proper" political attitude. [redacted] KGB officials do the recruiting, looking first for individuals who are sympathetic to Soviet goals. Approximately 3,600 KHAD personnel attended three- to six-month courses in Tashkent in 1983, [redacted]

The National Fatherland Front

The National Fatherland Front, a regime-sponsored umbrella organization, promotes party goals and Communist themes in its educational programs. The Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan, the Democratic Women's Organization of Afghanistan, trade unions, and associations for writers, artists, and other groups are part of the Front. The Soviets view these organizations of urban activists as important recruiting and training grounds for future party leaders. [redacted]

President Babrak Karmal has called on the Front to provide classes and materials to enhance the political and ideological training of teachers and students, and to carry out activities among the party committees and social organizations in the schools, according to press accounts. The youth organization, patterned after the Soviet Komsomol, carries out an aggressive program, seeking recruits for the Afghan Pioneer program—created in 1980 for children 10 to 15 years old and patterned after its Soviet counterpart. The women's organization operates almost exclusively in Kabul and has had little success in breaking down traditional and religious barriers to a larger social and educational role for women. [redacted]

Front programs aimed at bringing youth into Communist organizations have not succeeded, in our view. [redacted]

[redacted] in late 1984 the regime mounted a campaign in Afghan high schools to increase membership in the youth organization, threatening students who did not join with expulsion, jail, or conscription. The effort backfired because of strong resistance by parents and students.

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

Secret



This class is being taught by a member of the Democratic Youth Organization, a member organization of the regime-sponsored National Fatherland Front. The Front provides political and ideological training for women, youths, and professionals.

Shortly thereafter, Babrak Karmal appeared on Afghan television, blamed a misguided party official for the error, and permitted children who had been expelled or jailed to return to school.

The Literacy Program

A much touted six-year nationwide literacy campaign is being used to promote political indoctrination. course content is almost wholly political. One brochure used in a literacy class, published in Moscow, shows the teacher writing the first word of the lesson—Lenin. Regime claims of more than 1 million participants in the campaign probably are exaggerated.

Afghan Students in the USSR

In our judgment, the extensive Soviet programs to train and indoctrinate Afghans in the USSR have produced limited results and have sometimes proved

counterproductive. we estimate that annually some 10,000 Afghans, including about 2,000 military personnel, attend Soviet institutions for training and education. The Soviets also emphasize political training courses for party members, middle-level regime officials, teachers, administrators, and foreign trade officials.

In 1984 the Kabul press reported that Afghans were attending 66 educational institutions in 24 locations in the USSR. the majority of facilities are in Tashkent, Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev.

The Soviets and the Afghan regime have recently emphasized sending 7- to 9-year-old Afghans for a decade of instruction in the USSR.

during the last four months of 1984, more than 700 youths departed Kabul for Tashkent, and another 300 left for the USSR in August 1985. Most of these students are children of party members or come from regime-controlled orphanages.

Approximately two-thirds of those who left in late 1984 were from Kabul and Nangarhar Provinces. The regime, probably realizing the need for greater influence in the rural areas, approved a plan in early 1985 to send to the USSR some 600 youths from Afghan tribes near the Pakistani border and Shia minority groups in central Afghanistan,

Most Afghans seek higher and technical education in the USSR to escape military service, attend higher quality programs than those available in Afghanistan, particularly in medical and technical fields, and enjoy a higher standard of living,

A smaller number go because they are party members and expect better jobs and salaries when they return. The regime has more than enough applicants for the approximately 3,000 scholarships available each year for study in the USSR. The number of scholarships has risen dramatically since 1979,

Afghans complain that

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

Secret

Afghan children at Kabul Airport before their departure for the Soviet Union. [redacted]



TASS ©

25X1

only students well connected to the regime elite are getting the eagerly sought scholarships to Eastern Europe. These countries probably grant several hundred such scholarships each year. [redacted]

Afghan students returning from the USSR are placed throughout the bureaucracy. According to the Soviet press, the Afghan Irrigation Minister stated in late 1985 that 90 percent of his ministry's personnel had been trained in the USSR. Afghan military officers who receive technical training in the USSR are reported to be more qualified than their counterparts who have not. [redacted]

Training in the USSR does not guarantee ideological commitment. [redacted]

[redacted] Afghans trained in the USSR maintain the same political views that they had beforehand. [redacted]

[redacted] in 1983 a group of 70 Afghan military students returning from the USSR had had a fight with their Soviet instructors. The Afghans criticized Soviet treatment of them and ridiculed the constant emphasis on "Leninism" throughout their training. [redacted]

Many Afghans resent their hostile treatment by the Soviets when they studied in the USSR. [redacted]

[redacted] cases of physical attacks on Afghan students, refusal of services, and condemnation by instructors, presumably a reaction to increasing Soviet casualties in Afghanistan. [redacted]

[redacted] as of mid-1985 Afghan students were required to live in separate dormitories and attend separate classes, and were not permitted to leave their compounds except in organized group excursions. The US Embassy in Kabul indicates that most Afghans, like most Third World students trained in the USSR, are antagonized by strong Soviet prejudices against non-Europeans. [redacted]

Many returnees from the USSR choose to work in nongovernment fields unrelated to their Soviet training. A US Embassy officer in Kabul in summer 1984 reported meeting three young men who had studied in the Soviet Union—two sold Japanese stereos, and the third was unemployed. One asked the Embassy officer how to obtain a visa to the United States. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

Secret

Secret

Afghan Students in the USSR ^a

	Postsecondary and Technical	Military
1972	750	200
1978	700	NA
1979	4,000	NA
1980	4,850	800
1981	6,225	400
1982	7,535	150
1983	8,800	650
1984	8,300	2,000

^a The figure for postsecondary and technical students is an estimate of full-time students in the USSR at the end of each year. [redacted]

[redacted] The figure for military students is reported departures for training in the USSR.

[redacted]

the Afghan Government. We believe the Soviet experience in Central Asia, Eastern Europe, and Mongolia gives the current leaders reason to hope that in the long term they can attract and train a core of opportunists and ideologues willing to do their bidding. [redacted]

25X1

As long as security is poor in many parts of the country, Afghans will be reluctant to participate in regime education activities. The programs will continue to focus on the cities and areas under regime control, but we expect the regime to increase its efforts to entice and bribe the tribes and local groups in rural areas to participate. In our view, any gains in rural areas will be temporary. Traditional Afghan values—including the predominance of local and tribal concerns, distrust of any central government, the Islamic faith, and deep-seated anti-Communist resentment—all undercut Soviet and regime goals.

25X1

25X1

25X1

Outlook and Implications

25X1

In our view, it will take many years for the Soviets to produce a significant change in Afghan attitudes through education and indoctrination. First, to rebuild and control the schools, the Soviets and the regime would have to establish control over more of the countryside and fully secure the major cities. Second, most Afghans have little interest in formal education, regard the Kabul regime as a puppet of foreign invaders, and distrust nonreligious education. Finally, many, if not most, Afghans who are being educated in the USSR will probably reject Soviet values either because of bad personal experiences at the hands of Soviet citizens or simply because Soviet values conflict with Afghan traditions. [redacted]

25X1

The Soviets almost certainly realize they are making little progress toward their goal of building an ideologically motivated and effective cadre. We do not believe, however, that this will deter their efforts to indoctrinate Afghans through education programs, either directly or through the regime and party apparatus. In our view, they expect significant results from their efforts only after the generation that they are now training enters the middle and upper levels of

Secret

Secret

Appendix

Afghanistan's Education System Before and After the Revolution

Afghanistan's education system has always been dismal by Western standards. [redacted] the system met the needs of only a fraction of the people before the Communist takeover in 1978. Despite two decades of government expressions of concern over illiteracy, less than 20 percent of Afghan youth had access to schools under pre-Communist governments. Of those enrolled, more than 80 percent attended substandard primary schools, which lacked adequately trained teachers and such basic materials as pencils and paper, [redacted]. Much of Afghanistan's population lived—and lives—in rural areas that have been only marginally associated with the government in Kabul. The relatively few village schools were operated by local mullahs who did little more than teach young boys recitations from the Koran and other religious lessons. Girls received almost no instruction. Secondary school enrollment accounted for barely 4 percent of the total enrollment. Of those fortunate enough to graduate, few could gain admission to a university. [redacted]

Afghanistan nevertheless had been improving its schools during the 1960s and 1970s. [redacted] the number of elementary and secondary schools doubled in the 10 years before the April 1978 revolution, reaching a total of 2,700. The government was implementing a new curriculum developed with the help of Columbia University. [redacted]

Since the Soviet invasion, we believe the school system has ceased functioning everywhere but in a few major cities. [redacted] the regime operated only 28 secondary and 50 primary schools in 1985. Kabul University—the only major university in the country—saw enrollment drop from 14,000 in 1978 to 6,000 in 1983, [redacted]

Most students are women, though the number of women enrolled probably is less than in 1978 because fewer schools exist and enrollments have dropped sharply. Most eligible men have fled the country, joined the resistance, or been conscripted. [redacted]

The regime recently began to grant high school diplomas to males only after the graduates completed two years of service in the Afghan armed forces, effectively limiting entrance to the universities. [redacted] the few remaining males attending the universities are members of KHAD or have connections with the party elite. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

Secret

Secret

Secret