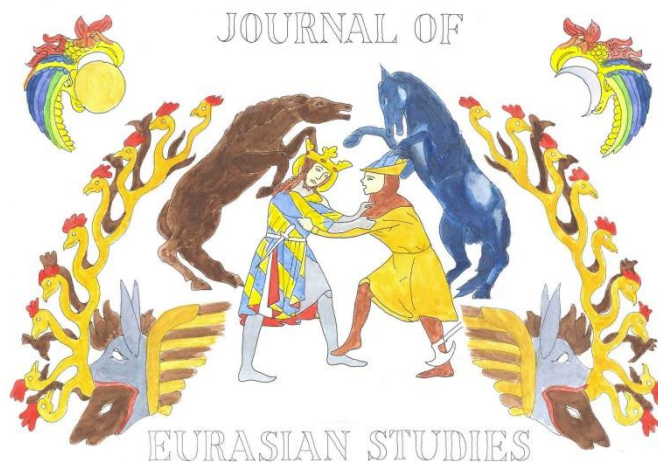


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2. The author(s) must elaborate the theme of the article logically,
3. References must be uniform and clear (the author(s) should follow consistently a particular pattern, like Chicago style, or Harvard style),
4. Author(s) must take all care to develop their ideas on their own; there should be no cases of plagiarism,
5. Wikipedia is not a scientifically authoritative source; referencing it must be avoided, unless Wikipedia or its usage/influence is the topic of the paper,
6. The article can be written in any language. In case it is written in a language other than English, an English summary of at least A4 length is required,
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DEAR READER,

THE RIGHT TIME

*To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven:
A time to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up that
which is planted;
A time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build up;*
Ecclesiastes 3:1-3

The 20th century was a rather tumultuous period; Zbigniew Brzezinski called it “*the century of megadeath*” in his seminal work ‘*Out of Control*’, when the politics of organized insanity took over, focusing on demagoguery in order to control the politically awakened masses. It produced two great political myths, namely the Leninist variant of Marxism and Nazism. Both aimed at the total control of society, including the human spirit.

Thanks to the nature of the human spirit, which is per definition free, against the background of organized insanity and destruction, countless intellectual and cultural jewels were created. The Hungarian-Transylvanian philosopher *György Bartók de Málnás* belonged to that select group of people, who were following their own course, their own destiny and were not deterred by the siren calls of the day. Bartók was a pure philosopher, university professor, publisher of a philosophical journal, who never yielded an inch to gain cheap popularity. As a university professor during the 1930s and 1940s he looked down at the Nazi movements, which gained popularity in that period. And after the end of World War II, when the occupying Soviet troops installed a communist system in Eastern and Central Europe, including Hungary, he endured with stoic calm his purge from the Hungarian academic life, including his exclusion from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

His oeuvre, however, though officially purged by Communist zealots, survived in the hearts and minds of his students, who saved many copies of his work. And after the fall of Communism, thanks to the Internet, it is widely available, as the Mikes International Foundation released most of it in digital form. And recently we have released one of his core works in English, too. The real time for György Bartók de Málnás has finally come. His work is here now to serve us in a period when it is *time to build up*.

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, March 31, 2013

HISTORY

ОЖЕРЕДОВ, Юрий Иванович

Наскальная сцена хуннской охоты в западной Монголии

В 2008 г. в сомоне Эрдэнэ-Бурэн Ховдского аймака российско-монгольская археологическая экспедиция Томского и Ховдского университетов проводила обследование долины реки Хонго и примыкающей к ней с севера межгорной долины (урочище) Хагийн-Хойт-Худо, переходящей к северу в урочище Шара-Хурганы (рис. 1). На данной территории выявлен целый ряд археологических памятников, среди которых значительное место занимают объекты наскального искусства. Большинство из них науке не были известны. Например, довольно крупная писаница Хоёр-Ундур. В то же время широко известная своими бронированными всадниками писаница на горе Хар-Хад, изучались с целью выяснения современного ее состояния.

Выяснилось, что на последней располагается не менее 14 плоскостей с хорошо различимыми изображениями. В ходе осмотра центральной и наиболее презентуемой в науке центральной или «лицевой» плоскости, было внесено уточнение в количество бронированных всадников, известных из литературы (Новгородова, Горелик. 1980: 102). Установлено, что на самом деле всадников на этой плоскости не пять, а четыре. По соседству были зафиксированы и другие сцены. Среди последних выделяется граффити с катафрактарием и пешим лучником (Ожередов, Мунхбаяр, Ожередова. 2009а, 2009б, 2011; Ожередов, Ожередова. 2010).

Любопытно, что аналогии данному всаднику обнаруживаются среди граффити с городища Манхай и наскальных памятников Манхай I и Манхай II в долине прибайкальской реки Куды. На одной из манхайских плит изображен бронированный всадник (Николаев, Мельникова. 2008. Табл 16-1) живо напоминающий хархадского. Имеются изображения сходные с хархадским не только по технике нанесения, но по изобразительному стилю и по форме отдельных элементов в иконографии коней и наездников, их посадке, воинском снаряжении и вооружении. В частности, дублируется своеобразная графика изображения конечностей коней, которая верхнюю их часть передает контурной линией, создающей объемное восприятие, а нижнюю – сплошной жирной чертой (Там же. Табл. 9, 12, 13, 18, 22 -1, 26-1, 31-1 и др.). На одной из плоскостей писаницы Манхай II процарапан всадник, облаченный в броню аналогичную хархадской, на которой повторяется форма плюмажа на шлеме и другие детали (Там же 16-1, 18, 22, 26), а в руки другого вложено древковое оружие с широким однолезвийным наконечником (пальма?) идентичным монгольскому образцу (Там же. Табл.13- 2,31-1),

Рисунки на плитах из Манхайского городища датируются началом – серединой I тыс. (Хороших. 1963:249), обозначая тем самым хронологические рамки сближения монгольского и прибайкальского памятников. А на основании иконографического сходства появляется основание считать их произведениями единого художественного комплекса, характеризующегося своеобразным изобразительным стилем.

На основании отмеченных параллелей предполагается вывод о том, что гравированные рисунки появились раньше знаменитых всадников нанесенных выбивкой.

Писаница Хошэмбэл II (Рис. 2). В ходе картографического изучения и натурного обследования подножия горы Хогийн-Хуш (h 2145.0 м), выяснилось, что последняя состоит из целой связки гор обладающих собственными наименованиями. На космическом снимке гора выглядит как ветка хвойной породы с ответвлениями («лапками»). Один из выступов на западном ее участке именуется гора Хошэмбэл, где изучены одноименные наскальные памятники Хошэмбэл I и II. Третья писаница устроена к северо-западу от первых двух, на небольшом отдельно стоящем утесе у западного подножия Хогийн-Хуш и к юго-западу от высохшего озера Салхитын-Хаг. Данная локализация позволила лишь условно включить этот памятник в группу одноименных, под названием Хошэмбэл III.

Каждая из писаниц несет сотни изображений и десятки сцен, ранее неизвестных науке. Начало введения их в научный оборот в России и в Монголии нами положено публикацией сцены с фантастическим хищником обнаруженной на Хошэмбэл II (Ожередов. 2009; Ожередов, Мунхбаяр, Ожередова. 2010). Однако перечень самобытных ярких сцен на этом далеко не исчерпывается и требует дальнейшей работы по изучению и публикации. Среди наиболее привлекательных сюжетов на памятнике Хошэмбэл II следует отметить сцену облавной конной охоты. Данное наскальное полотно привлекло внимание особой стилистикой и сюжетным наполнением, позволяющими дополнить новыми штрихами историческую картину региона в начале новой эры..

Особенностью названной писаницы является структурная сегментированность. Рисунки располагаются не только на скальном массиве «материковой» горы, но и на цепочке из девяти небольших смежных гор (хребет), цепью выстроившихся сверху вниз в долине, врезавшейся в тело горы Хогийн-Хуш. Все изображения нанесены на плоскости, обращенные в южные сектора сторон света, преимущественно с южным или юго-западным и, много реже, с восточным вектором ориентации.

Плоскость, на которой размещается публикуемая композиция, находится на юго-восточном фасае (N 48° 25' 27,2"; E 91° 06' 55,7"; h 1829 м) «материковой» (коренной) горы (рис. 1). Выглаженная ветрами поверхность скалы покрыта мощным черно-бурым, а местами синеватым загаром с глянцевым блеском. Современные насечки и царапины показывают, что изначальный цвет породы имеет светло-серый тон. По загару в технике сплошной и контурной мелкой точечной выбивки нанесены рисунки, многие из которых предварительно прорисованы тонкими линиями гравировки.

Изображения выделяются на фоне темного загара густым грязно-желтым цветом разной насыщенности, свидетельствующей о одновременности нанесения рисунков. В тоже время не критическая разница в тоне загара позволяет предполагать не слишком большой хронологический разрыв между изображениями разных периодов.

Доминирующая часть рисунков выполнена сплошной выбивкой, контурная техника использовалась много реже. Глубина выбивки во всех случаях не превышает 2 мм, но рисунки раннего комплекса имеют более глубокое погружение в камень. С точки зрения стилистической

характеристики все изображения объединяются в рамках профильных. В дополнение к этому следует заметить, что животные, в том числе кони под наездниками, показаны только с двумя конечностями – по одной спереди и сзади.

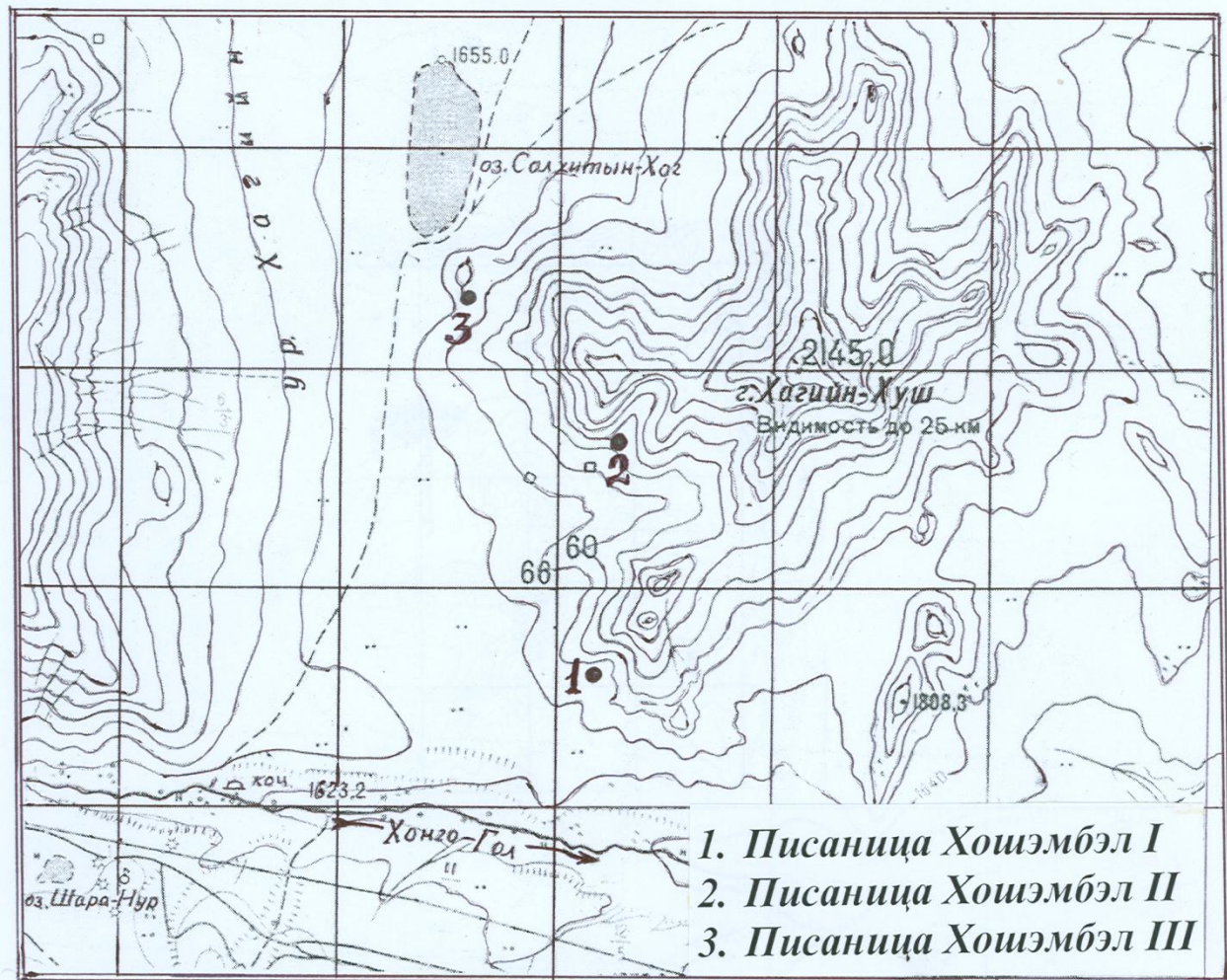


Рис. 1.

Сцена охоты занимает в верхней правой части вертикальной плоскости мощного скального выступа участок с параметрами 70-80x100-110 см (рис. 2). Всего в ней задействовано порядка 30 четко различимых персонажей – девять всадников (рис. 3-11), пеший лучник (рис. 12) и представители местной фауны – хищники и травоядные (рис. 13-14). Композиция имеет плотный центр, где присутствуют все антропоморфные герои и их жертвы. По периметру сцены, слева и ниже изображено не менее восьми копытных животных, не охваченных загоном из охотников. В нижней зоне имеются рисунки в технике граффито и явно не связанные с сюжетом охоты. Часть периферийных фигур относится к более раннему времени и по предварительным данным, на плите соседствуют рисунки эпохи ранних кочевников и начала средневековья.

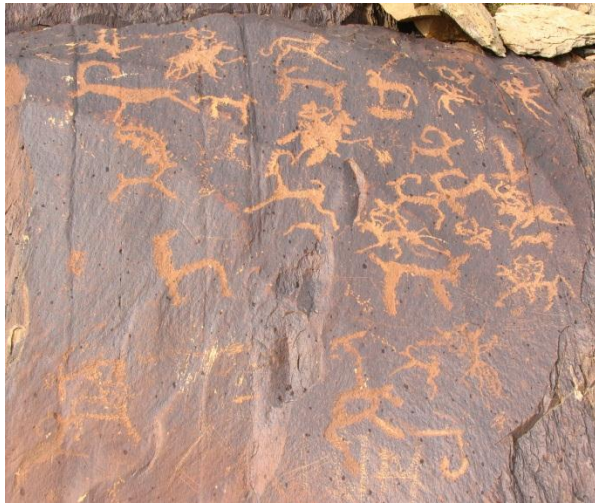


Рис. 2.



Рис. 3.



Рис. 4.



Рис. 5.



Рис. 6.



Рис. 7.



Рис. 8.

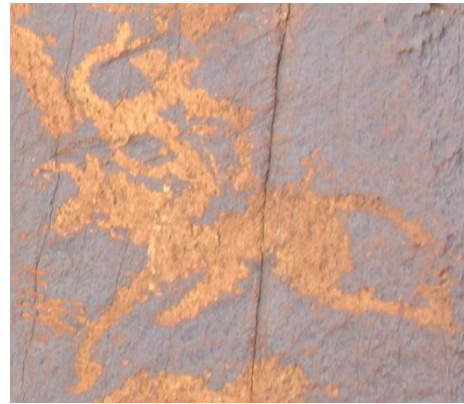


Рис. 9.



Рис. 10.



Рис. 11.



Рис. 12.



Рис. 13.



Рис. 14.

Размеры отдельных персонажей на рассматриваемой части плиты варьируются по длине в пределах 8-14 см, а по высоте – 6-14,5 см. Наиболее высокая фигура – олень с лировидными рогами, наиболее крупная по длине – горный козел с вытянутым «веретеновидным» туловищем (рис. 13), относящиеся к первому периоду формирования писаницы, соотносимому с периодом поздней бронзы. Помимо названных в ранний комплекс входят изображения благородных оленей с ветвистыми рогами и горных козлов раннескифского (аржанского) типа. Однако, численно лидируют в сцене фигурки животных исполненные в схематичной линейной форме и, которые, судя по нацеленности всадников, стали предметом охоты.

Хищники представлены тремя собаками, две из которых выполнены сплошной выбивкой и одна контурной. На принадлежность к канисовым указывают конфигурации и пропорции фигур, а также длинные хвосты, опущенные вниз (у двух изогнуты). Возможно, это домашние собаки, участвующие в охоте.

Наиболее интересными персонами наскального произведения являются два типа охотников – один пеший и девять конных. Первый располагается в центре загона в виде маленькой (5x5 см) ростовой фигурки человека обращенного влево с растянутым луком в руках. Его роль в развернувшейся сцене, вероятно, второстепенная, на что косвенно указывают пеший строй и относительно малый размер. Возможно это один из загонщиков и стрелков.

Всадники движутся двумя группами навстречу друг другу¹. Слева к центру композиции устремились пятеро, а справа четверо участников охоты. Каждый охотник преследует персональную цель, располагающуюся непосредственно перед ним. Наездники первой группы рассыпались цепью, где двое из нее (№№ 3,4) в погоне за горными козлами сильно вырвались вперед по левому флангу. Трое других скачут уступом вправо (№№ 1,2,5).

Крайний правофланговый (№ 5) являлся, видимо, главной персоной данной сцены. Он располагается в центре композиции и на него акцентировано внимание зрителя. Вместе с тем, габариты центрального персонажа не только не превосходят, но даже уступают некоторым другим всадникам. Однако его значимость подчеркивается много более тщательной выделкой. Пристальное внимание художника к данной персоне обусловило появление у него набора специфических деталей важных при решении вопросов хронологии и этнокультурной принадлежности всей сцены. В той или иной мере эти детали присущи всем героям, что объединяет их в рамки единого культурного комплекса.

Не заостряя внимание на деталях, которые более подробно будут рассмотрены ниже, очертим лишь основные черты, присущие главному персонажу настоящей сцены. Конный лучник в стремительном галопе настигает горного козла и растянув лук готовится выстрелить в свою жертву. На всаднике головной убор типа башлыка, короткополая одежда, широкие шаровары, мягкая обувь. В руках наездника лук скифского типа в варианте, распространенном в сасанидском Иране. За спиной всадника видны контуры верхней части горита, прикрепленного к поясу. Конь украшен стриженной гривой с декоративными пучками длинных волос и подшейной подвеской. Хвост распушен, тогда как у других он как бы надломлен в результате специальной формы подвязки (сплетения). Под брюхом коня «парит» крупная «подвеска» вытянутой подтреугольной формы.

Основная часть охотников изображена в момент стремительной скачки и стрельбы сходу. При этом кони, у большинства из них, буквально распластаны в прыжке, в так называемом «летащем галопе». Как показывают источники, данная манера изображения бегущих коней свойственна определенному времени, в рамках которого она бытует на огромной территории Евразии: танский Китай на востоке (Окладников. 1959. Рис. 70-3), прибайкальские памятники – городище Манхай, писаницы Манхай II и Байтог-Зурмани хани-зурак первой половины I тыс. н.э. (Николаев, Мельникова. 2008. Табл.13, 19, 32, 42), Шишкинская писаница на севере (Окладников. 1959. Рис. 47, 98, 99), «бактрийские шкатулки» из Тахт-и-Сангина. датированные III в. (Литвинский. 2001. Табл. 12,13; 2004, Рис.3,4) и орлатская поясная пластина в Средней Азии (Яценко. 2006. Рис.151; Brosseder. Fig. 46-35), сасанидские блюда (Восточное серебро...Рис. 58-61; Тревер, Луконин.1987. Рис. 23, 25, 35), и граффити из Дура-Европас в Иране (Хазанов.2008. Рис. 17.-3, 20-3). Похожие «летающие» всадники известны из Косики, где они соотносятся с поздне-сарматским временем (Яценко. 2006. Рис.88-4). В хронологическом и этнокультурном отношении не менее интересен конный лучник хунну, украшающий один из китайских рельефов (Хазанов.2008. Рис. 17.-3, 20-3). В территориально близком окружении «летающий галоп» отражен на западно-монгольском

¹ Для упрощения описания и дальнейшего использования в тексте всадники пронумерованы по порядку расположения на скале слева направо от № 1 до № 9.

на скальном памятнике Цагаан-Салаа, датированном в пределах IV-VI вв н.э. (Кубарев.2005:151. Рис. 1-3).

Многочисленные повторения «летающих» всадников указанного типа на широком пространстве и в весьма ограниченном хронологическом диапазоне указывают на присутствие оригинального художественного стиля, сформировавшегося и развившегося в порубежные века новой эры.

Несмотря на композиционное сходство хошэмбэлские всадники имеют и различия. Три фигуры выбиваются из основной группы. Один из них замер в позе резкой остановки (№ 8), два других отличаются формой и кони их бегут, но не «летят» в галопе (№ 3,4). Остановка первого всадника определенно не случайность, а иконографическая установка в рамках указанного периода. Именно так изображен конь на конгуресской фреске IV в. (Зыков, Федорова. 2001. Рис. 26-7). Еще две фигуры демонстрируют несколько иную изобразительную манеру, отличающуюся массивностью форм. Кроме того, находясь в предполагаемых границах сцены, они резко выбиваются по вектору погони: охотники движутся не к центру загона как остальные, а направляются в противоположную сторону.

Причина появления разно-стильных рисунков в одной композиции не очень ясна. Возможное объяснение такому расхождению состоит в том, что сцена набивалась не одновременно и разными людьми.

В контексте осмысления публикуемой сцены привлекает внимание посадка и одежда наездников на синхронных изображениях, известных из литературы. По многим параметрам они весьма близки хошэмбэлским, на основании чего и привлекаются в качестве аналогов. Например, всадники сидят в позах свойственных положению при езде без стремян: полусогнутые в коленях ноги плотно прижаты к коню, но при этом не имеют жесткой опоры и свободно свисают ниже конского брюха. Стремена, очевидно, появляются позже. Например, иранская торевтика показывает их только на сасанидском блюде VIII в. (Тревер, Луконин. 1987:112.Рис.35) как элемент тюркского влияния.

На головах охотников различимы два типа скифского башлыка с развивающимся сзади наматыльником. Первый демонстрирует известный персонаж на сосуде из Куль-Оба (Хазанов. 2008. Рис. 18). Это классический образец, который на всадниках № 2,4,5,8 прорисован настолько отчетливо, что не дает других вариантов интерпретации. У двух других рисунков не столь явен, но вполне понятен по аналогии с первыми (№ 1,3,7). Еще два всадника выполнены много хуже, что лишает возможности провести реконструкцию их одежды (№ 6,9).

Башлыки сходного покроя бытовали у целого ряда народов Евразии: от седины I тыс.до.н.э. до первых веков новой эры у персов, на протяжении всей истории у скифов, в III в.до н.э.- сер. III н.э. у сарматов, в начале I - середине III вв.н.э. у аланов, во II-III вв. у юэчжэй-кушан и хорезмийцев, в I-III вв. н.э. у индо-скифов и согдийцев (Яценко. 2006: Рис.3-3, 27-4, 33, 62-1-3, 84-41, 86-3, 4121-21, 135-1,2,137-6, 152-1). В одном случае (№ 8) конус башлыка завершается крючкovidным выступом вперед, что также находит аналогии у скифских башлыков (Яценко. 2006: Рис.86-3,87-2, 157). К востоку от мест проживания перечисленных народов похожие головные уборы носили всадники изображенные на Шишкинских писаницах (Окладников. 1959. Рис. 82, 83).

Второй тип башлыка помимо назатыльника имеет длинный «хвост» (№ 2,4). Не исключено, что это ленты, подвязанные к головному убору. Похожий элемент отмечен у одного из всадников монгольского памятника Цагаан Салаа (Кубарев. 2005. Рис. 1-3), предположительно, синхронного хошэмбэлскому.

В Западной Монголии носителями «скифских» башлыков в порубежье новой эры являлись хунну, оставившие многочисленные погребальные и изобразительные памятники. А бытование в их среде головных уборов типа скифского башлыка подтверждают изображения «летающего» всадника на китайском рельефе и две фигурки конных лучников хунну, найденные на монгольской территории (Хазанов. 2008. Рис. 80).

Наплечный костюм на хошэмбэлских всадниках практически не идентифицируется. Но по общим очертаниям фигур № 4 и 5 можно догадываться, что охотники одеты в короткополую одежду типа кафтана. Косвенным подтверждением тому являются открытые ноги наездников. При посадке на коня в длиннополой одежде она неизбежно перекрывала бы часть штанины, что в данном случае не наблюдается.

Штаны на всадниках определенно распадаются на два типа. Одни из них облегающего покроя (№ 3,4), другие широкие, подвязанные снизу (№ 1,2,5-9).. По выводам С.А.Яценко различия в покрое обязаны не только функциональным или этническим причинам. Широкие штаны входили в парадное облачение иранской знати, отмечая, тем самым, ее особый статус (Яценко. 2006:328).. Именно в таком виде шаханшахи и принцы участвуют в торжественных церемониях на рельефах и в сакральной царской охоте на сасанидской торевтике

Шесть из хошэмбэлских всадников обуты в мягкую обувь, получившую в графике своеобразную «переломленную» форму стопы (№ 1,2,5,6,8,9). Задняя ее часть от пятки до середины показана горизонтально, а передняя – от середины до носка отогнута почти вертикально вниз. Нога в обуви такого типа широко представлена в охотничьих сценах на сасанидской посуде. При этом все персоны этой группы одеты в широкие шаровары.

Убедительным свидетельством охоты всадников на дичь стали растянутые луки героев. Сложная конфигурация круто выгнутых кибитей, недвусмысленно указывает на то, что охотники оснащены сложносоставными «скифскими» луками, известными в Евразии от эпохи бронзы до средневековья. В итоге длительной эволюции появился целый ряд образцов, наибольшую известность среди которых в определенный период приобрел «хуннский» лук, в свою очередь менявшийся в пределах времени своего бытования (Хазанов. 2008.:76-78, 84 Рис.20). В связи с такой динамикой иногда его именуют «хунно-парфянский лук».

В рамках широкой градации луков «скифских» типов заметно выделяется своей формой «сасанидский» его вариант, отличающийся от других наличием длинных концевых накладок, сохраняющих форму даже при полном натяжении тетивы. В этот момент конструкция приобретала контур с резко выпирающими вперед дугообразными плечами, длинными прямыми или слегка изогнутыми окончаниями кибити и характерным «перегибом» в месте перехода плеча в концевую накладку. Изображения луков данного типа обширно представлены в охотничьих сценах на торевтике сасанидского Ирана (Тревер, Луконин. 1987: 54, 55, 57, 60 и др.).

Интерес к данной модели в нашем случае оправдан формой луков у хошэмбэлских персонажей № 5,7. В обоих случаях у нижнего плеча отмечен выше упомянутый «перегиб» характеризующий сасанидский лук.

Луки других хошэмбэлских всадников по внешнему виду заметно отличаются в сторону «хуннского» типа. Их характеризует более плавный изгиб плеч, обусловленный более короткими концевыми накладками. Использование сасанидского и хуннского лука в одной охоте, было возможным, вероятно, только в период, рамки которого ограничены концом I тыс. до н.э. – началом I тыс. н.э., то есть времени, когда контакты кочевого мира и Ирана, на протяжении нескольких столетий поддерживались посредством державы хунну и зависимых от них племен. Фактором для сужения этой довольно широкой даты, возможно, явились события начала I тыс. н.э. инициированные соперничеством Сасанидов и державы Кушан на западе и империи хунну с Китаем на востоке. В результате Иран еще более приблизился к Халха-Монголии, куда, в свою очередь, откатились от Великой стены Китая орды «непримиримых», обеспечивших временный подъем хунну на севере.

Географическое сближение, длившееся несколько веков, безусловно, способствовало синтезу многих разнородных черт в соседствующих культурах. Особенно быстрые и многообразные заимствования происходили в военном деле и в вооружении, что многократно отразилось в произведениях древнего и средневекового искусства.

Для решения вопросов хронологии и этнокультурной принадлежности публикуемого памятника много дает внешний вид и экипировка хошэмбэлских коней. Например, немаловажно то, что в нескольких случаях конские гривы подстрижены в определенном стиле. А.П.Окладников в свое время указал, что фигурная зубчатая стрижка гривы берет начало в скифское время и бытует от Китая до Персии вплоть до средневековья (Окладников. 1959: 122-127). В сасанидском Иране и танском Китае одновременно с острозубой бытовала форма стрижки из чередующихся прямоугольных выступов (Marschak.1986: 123-125, 127; Тревер, Луконин.1987. Рис.14,15; Окладников:1959. Рис. 70-4,6). В нашем случае определит конкретный тип стрижки не удастся и остается лишь констатировать факт наличия таковой у нескольких коней (№№ 6-8)..

Иконография иранских и китайских памятников передает образы царей и знати, поэтому ассоциативно кони со стриженными гривами соотносятся именно с этой группой населения. Помимо регулярно повторяющихся зубцов у большинства коней на головах показаны роговидные выступы вперед. Данная деталь обычно трактуется как волосяной султан. Это могли быть сохраненные длинные волосы гривы, собранные в пучок и перевязанные шнуром или пучок волос, продетый в трубку-футляр. Наряду с естественными волосяными в названный период известны султаны из перьев (Кубарев. 2005: 149. Рис.1-1,2,4-7). Установить в этом вопросе фактическую составляющую наших рисунков по выбивкам на камне не удастся.

Примечательной деталью явилось два вида оформления хвостов. В одном случае это длинный пушистый хвост (№ 5). В пяти других (№1, 6-9) они выглядят длинными узкими лентами, «надломленными», чаще всего, по окончанию первой трети длины. При этом имеются варианты: угол «перелома» превышает 90°, угол менее прямого угла или он только обозначен угловатым изгибом. Повторяемость этого излома, подчеркивает его намеренный характер и дает повод

думать о том, что такая форма нормирована каким-то ритуальными или церемониальными соображениями. Для создания такой формы в реальной обстановке хвосты необходимо было перевязывать особым способом или перехватывать изогнутой полый обоймой. Два сходных варианта оформления конских хвостов запечатлены на орлатских пластинах. На левой изображены два коня с пушистыми хвостами и один с неясным контуром, а на правой – три коня с «надломленными» хвостами и один иной формы (Brosseder. 2011. Fig. 35,36). Точно также два варианта хвостов демонстрируют гравировки на «бактрийских шкатулках» из храма Окса. На фото отчетливо видно даже как они заплетались (Литвинский.2001, Рис.12,13; 2004. Рис.3).

Перечисленные сходства создают ощущение сближения бактрийского и монгольского вариантов изображений коней в единую изобразительную традицию, основанную на реальных формах бытовавших в сасанидской и хуннской воинской практике.

Не менее важный элемент конского убранства – крупная подвеска на шее коня центрального персонажа (№ 5). При ее детальном изучении становится понятно, что это не подвеска типа «подшейная кисть» (Кубарев. 2005:150). Если конкретнее, то это овал, с вписанным снизу удлиненным треугольником, плоское основание которого выступает в виде «подставки». К сожалению, аналоги таких подвесок мне не известны.

Наибольшее число вопросов вызывает другой элемент в конском убранстве хошэмбэлских охотников. У четырех всадников под брюхом лошади отчетливо видны предметы формой напоминающие крупный овальный (вытянутый, каплевидный) или подтреугольный предмет, принявший при стремительном движении лошади положение «полета».

В разных случаях эти предметы слегка отличаются друг от друга формами и изобразительной техникой. Образцы № 2,6,8,9 нанесены контурной линией, а № 5 – сплошной выбивкой. Один из контурных образцов (№9) разделен долевой и несколькими поперечными линиями на ряд вытянутых секций. Здесь мы имеем либо декоративную отделку материала, послужившего для изготовления, либо структуру данного предмета (сетка ?).

Для трактовки названных «подвесок» следует начать с версии уже существующей в литературе. Объяснение базируется на аналогии с известными конскими подвесками, многократно повторяющимися на изображениях иранских шаханшахов и принцев, запечатленных в парадных инвестиурных и триумфальных сюжетах и сценах охоты (Луконин. 1961. ТаблV-IX; Луконин1969. Рис. 7, 8,9, 10, 15; Marschak 1986:Abb.9,10, 190; Яценко. 2008. Рис. 160, 161; Мухарева. 2009. Рис.1-6,8,9). Обычно на обеих сторонах под брюхом или выше крупы (иногда вровень) коня, изображены подвески, закрепленные на шнурах (ремнях) или на цепях. Конкретное их месторасположение зависит от того, стоит конь или движется. При скачке они взлетали выше конского крупы, доказывая, тем самым, свою легкость.

Изображение царствующих персон и их близкого окружения передавались очень реалистично, что, очевидно, касается и масштаба. Поэтому при сравнении габаритов вполне понятны размеры таких подвесок, они всегда невелики и не превышают пределы допустимые для беспрепятственного движения коней.

На основании того, что подвески чаще всего изображались на конях царствующих персон и престолонаследников, в научной литературе они осмысливаются в качестве знаков высокого социального или царского достоинства их носителей, легитимности царской власти или царского фарна. Подчеркивается, что появление их приходится на правление Арташира I (224-241 гг.), а исчезновение на правление Хосрова II (591-628 гг.) (Мухарева. 2009. С. 37, 38). В последующее время они исчезают с торовитки, что подтверждает сцена на блюде с царской охотой, датированном VIII в. (Тревер, Луконин. 1987. Рис.35). В поздних сасанидских охотничьих сюжетах на смену прежним приходят подвески, размещавшиеся непосредственно на сбруе вдоль туловища коня. Их как минимум две категории. Первую представляют подвески в виде пышных кистей, вторую – в виде фаларов с монголоидными личинами (Лукони.1977:170). Последние, вероятно, символизировали отрубленные головы врагов и внедрение новых, возможно, тюркских воинских ритуалов в иранскую изобразительную традицию.

Как считал Б.А. Литвинский, конские подвески раннего сасанидского типа не прижились в Иране, но получили признание за его пределами, особенно на востоке (по: Мухарева. 2009. С. 38). Неким подтверждением данной мысли выступают рисунки на орлатских пластинах и «бактрийских шкатулках», где изображены отнюдь не царствующие иранские персоны. Убедительным аргументом в данном контексте является литая ажурная бляха (16x8,5 см), датированная III в. до н.э – I в. н. э... Находка выполнена в типично хуннском художественном стиле и происходит из Хэнтэйского аймака Монголии (Тэнгэрийн идд...2011..С.393, рис.382, 382 а, 382 б).. Бляха передает сюжет с двумя всадниками, стоящими друг против друга. У обоих коней под брюхом изображено по одной крупной подвеске листовидной формы, которые находят принципиальное сходство с образцами изделий сасанидского круга (рис. 15-16).

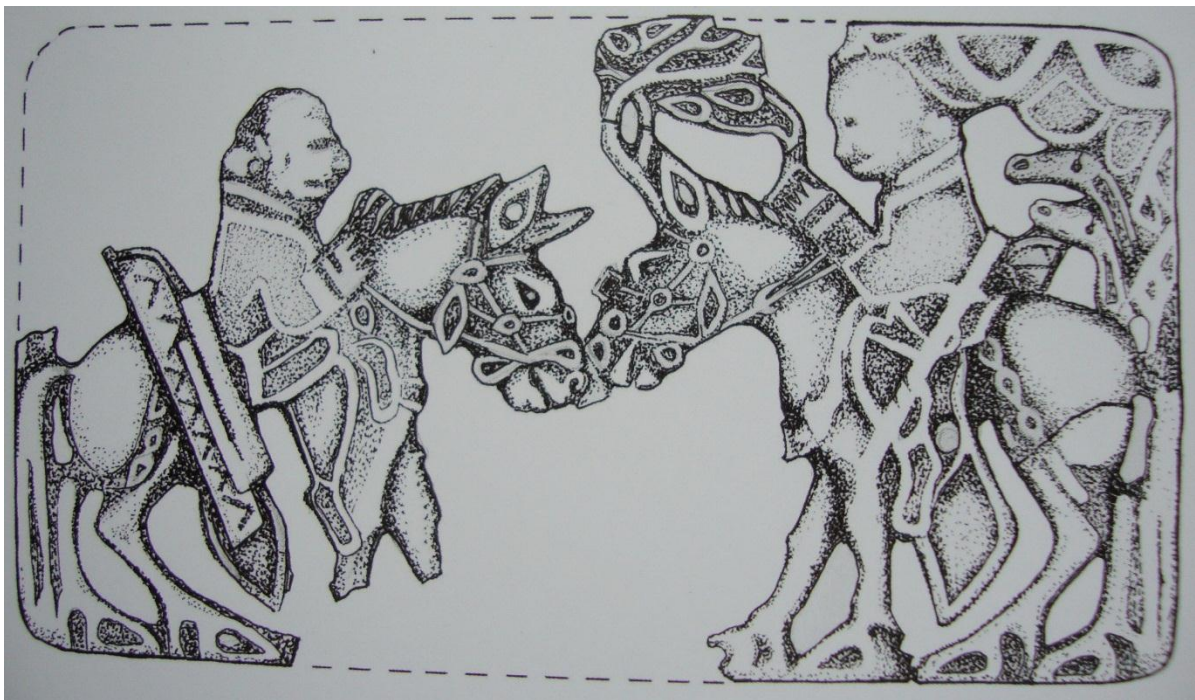


Рис. 15.



Рис. 16а.



Рис. 16б.

Если принять данный вывод за рабочую версию, то вероятными восприимчивыми данной традиции среди кочевого населения, в одну из первых очередей, следует признать население хунно-сарматского круга, обитавшее в этот период именно к востоку от Ирана на территории Центральной, Средней и частично Северной Азии. С данным населением связывается целая группа изобразительных памятников. Наиболее северный вариант, например, орлатская пластина, по некоторым оценкам принадлежала кангюйскому воину. Широкая датировка орлатских блях определена в пределах I в. до н.э.–IV в. н. э. Более узкая и наиболее признанная дата ограничивается I–II н.э. (Яценко. 2006:197). В связи с данной версией следует заметить, что связь Кангюя с хунну достаточно хорошо документирована. Во II в. северные хунну оправились от китайского разгрома и расширили свои пределы до «Западного моря», до Каспия или Арала (Гумилев. 2004:235), вплотную придвинувшись к кангюйской границе. А хуннские орды, откочевавшие в Европу и вовсе не могли на своем пути миновать Кангюй.

В подтверждение хуннской версии следует учесть выводы У. Бросседер, которая рассматривает орлатские бляхи в контексте культуры хунну (Brosseder. 2011:395). Гравировки «бактрийских шкатулок» также, видимо, близки к означенному культурному кругу с чуть более поздней датой (III в. по: Литвинский. 2004:29). Незначительные расхождения в датировке этих памятников, тем не менее, оставляют их в рамках единого стиля, и достаточно узкого периода бытования.

На основании собранных сведений представляется возможным предполагать, что орлатские бляхи, бактрийские шкатулки и стилистически близкие им изобразительные памятники Халха-Монголии ранне-сасанидского, кушанского или хунно-сарматского времени могут объединяться в

единый корпус изделий связанных с хунну. Изобразительные памятники хунну на халха-монгольской территории далеко не новость, подтверждением чему являются, например, наскальные сцены в ущелье Яманы-ус.

Возвращаясь к вопросу подвесок на конях хошэмбэлских всадников, следует обратить внимание не только на сходство с сасанидскими экземплярами, но и на явные между ними расхождения. Прежде всего, на хошеэмболских изображениях всегда по одной подвеске, которые заведомо более крупные и, видимо, более тяжелые. Даже при стремительной скачке они не «взлетают» как иранские, а лишь слегка приподнимаются и «парят» под наклоном к «земле». Кроме того, форма монгольских подвесок совершенно не похожа на сасанидские образцы (за исключением образцов с хэнтейской бляхи). Если последние выглядят как крупные кисти или предметы с компактными симметричными контурами, то хошэмбэлские отличаются более вытянутыми пропорциями и преимущественно бессистемными очертаниями близкими к подтреугольной, каплевидной или овальной форме. В сравнительном отношении более близкой к сасанидским экземплярам выглядит хошэмбэлская подшейная подвеска, нежели те, о которых идет речь.

Рассматривая вариант аналогии с иранскими подвесками неизбежен вывод об их принадлежности к разряду символических элитных украшений. Но не исключается и другая модель, где эти предметы могут рассматриваться в качестве единицы утилитарного снаряжения скотовода и охотника. Прежде всего, как арканы и ловчие сети. Примеры тому имеются в сценах на Шишкинской писанице. На этот счет А.П. Окладников, отметил, что в охотничьем арсенале сасанидских охотников имелись арканы, а у гуннов еще и сеть «для того, чтобы опутывать ею врага» (Окладников. 1959:117. Рис. 64,82, 83.; Тревер, Луконин.1987. Рис 23). Действительно, на Шишкинской писанице некоторые из всадников держат в руках арканы, а у одного из них, помимо этого, под брюхом коня видна контурная петлевидная «подвеска» (Окладников. 1959. Рис.64). Последняя явно не аркан под номером 2, но и версия о ловчей (боевой ?) сети также не бесспорна, хотя и не беспочвенна. Например, на одной хошэмбэлской подвеске обозначена сетчатая структура, но, в тоже время, на сасанидских и бактрийских образцах известен сетчатый узор.

В контексте «инаковой» трактовки перспективным представляется изучение фото «бактрийских шкатулок» (Литвинский. 2001. Табл. 13; 2004. Рис.4). На них хорошо заметно, что имеющиеся там конские подвески разительно отличаются от образцов с сасанидской торевтики и хэнтийской бляхи. Прежде всего, они не парные и изображены только с обратной от зрителя стороны коня, вне зависимости от направления его движения. Кроме того, они имеют удлиненную форму с несимметричным завершением (каплевидную). И что важно, они заметно крупнее и, возможно, тяжелее, нежели стандартные сасанидские подвески. При этом верхняя их зона заштрихована в сетку, а нижняя в полоску. Если данную штриховку следует воспринимать в качестве декора, то, как уже выше упомянуто, обнаруживается некоторое сходство с сасанидскими подвесками и, в какой-то мере, с монгольскими. В целом же форма и габариты бактрийских подвесок ближе к публикуемым хошэмбэлским экземплярам, а оформление поверхности к сасанидским образцам.

Возвращаясь к возможной трактовке монгольских и других подобных подвесок из восточных регионов, следует рассмотреть их в контексте местонахождения на конях. Судя по имеющимся

изображениям, бактрийские и монгольские экземпляры выглядят как мешки (бурдюки?) притороченные под седло. А учитывая крупные размеры, форму и положения на галопирующих конях, можно предположить, что они не декоративны, а функциональны. Весьма вероятно, что это емкости для хранения и перевозки каких-то грузов. Возможно, для трофеев охоты. Этим, например, можно объяснять тот факт, что у одних охотников такие емкости имеются, у других их нет. Точнее они не наполнены добычей, а поэтому и не изображены столь явно как наполненные. В некоторых случаях они пусты наполовину.

Возможно, таким способом на наскальном полотне отмечен образ успешного добычливого охотника, в образе которого коннотируется правитель или вождь. В таком случае, сасанидский символ власти, величия и достоинства, на местной почве обретает более приземленные черты.

Чисто декоративный символизм развитого сасанидского общества в среде кочевников приобретает иное качество, согласно которому лидерство базируется на личных качествах. На способности человека быть первым среди соплеменников, в том числе, на охоте, осмысливаемой в форме символической войны, в которой охотник противостоит животным. В таком случае центральная фигура хошэмбэлской сцены рисует идеальный образ лидера (вождя или правителя) востребованный общественным сознанием. С одной стороны он (они) «равный среди равных». С другой стороны – он лучший. В этом смысле от других его отличает форма лука (сасанидский тип), детали одежды (шаровары), декор коня (шейная подвеска, убор конского хвоста), туго набитый добычей мешок для трофеев. Наличие отдельных деталей высокого достоинства у других всадников, может свидетельствовать об их принадлежности к знати, к близкому окружению предводителя.

При таком осмыслении публикуемой сцены, она вполне сопоставима с царскими каменными барельефами Ирана. Она точно также направлена на возвеличивание предводителя и его близкого окружения, утверждение легитимности власти. Идеологическая составляющая в этот период хуннской истории, вероятно, была крайне важна для напоминания народу хунну его славной истории, основанной на силе, воле и божественной предопределенности предводителей.

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OZHEREDOV, Yuri Ivanovich: Hunnic Hunting Scenes on Petroglyphs in Western Mongolia

Present paper interpretes the horse hunting scene of nine riders wearing composed Scythian bows chasing a group of wild ungulates. The scene is to be found on the right side in a valley of the Hoshembel Rocky Mountains, which is situated in Hongo, Erdene Buren County, Hovd Province, Western Mongolia. The petroglyph monument Hoshembel II was discovered in 2008 by an international expedition, made up of researchers from the Tomsk and Hovd public universities. The work is continuing in order to gather further ancient monuments in the Hoshembel Rocky Mountains.

The monument was created in the first half of the first millennium B.C. and is related to the Hunnic pictorial tradition. Among important features observed are the obvious insignia of power; the Hunnic leaders depicted in the pictures of the Hoshembel Rocky Mountains remind us of the Sasanian shakhinshakh portrays. On this basis, the obvious conclusion may be that the nobles of the nomads used elements of the same state symbols as the Sassanids; it means a similar transmission of power demonstrated on petroglyphs. These parallels suggest familiarity of the Hunnic nobility with symbols of the great-power neighbor and their similar pursuit on their own plantations in the nomadic state. Transfer of state traditions of Iran on its own soil obviously contributed to an augmented authority of the government in the eyes of its subjects; an important goal after Hunnic chain of defeats suffered from China.

List of photographs:

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- ✚ Рис. 2. Hoshembel II. General view of the plane with the petroglyphs.
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LINGUISTICS

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Функционирование смычных согласных в языке

Введение

Каждый человеческий язык имеет свое материальное воплощение в виде звуков речи. В процессе речевой коммуникации эти звуки образуют цепочки. Таким образом, способ существования любого языка человека — это звуки, которые производятся речевым аппаратом человека. Древнегреческий философ Демокрит утверждал, что в мире ни одна вещь не происходит беспричинно, т.е. все имеет свою закономерность (Асмус, 1965 : 98). Из этого следует, что звуки речи употребляются в потоке речи на каких-то языках с какой-то своей закономерностью. Эти закономерности в языках мира необходимо изучать, чтобы выявлять как общие, так и индивидуальные тенденции. Эти тенденции зависят от артикуляционной базы языка. В каждом этносе артикуляционные базы могут быть различны. На различие артикуляционных баз могут указывать особенности некоторых антропологических характеристик (Тамбовцев, 2011).

Звуки речи конечны в своем наборе, т.е. номенклатуре. Как же тогда при их помощи передаются бесконечные потоки информации? Дело в том, что они имеют способность повторяться в соответствии с системой правил каждого языка. Эта система правил индивидуальна для каждого языка, хотя в родственных языках номенклатуры звуков речи похожи. Именно частота повторения этих фонетических элементов выстраивают определенную фонетическую картину определенного языка. Эти повторяющиеся фонетические элементы могут классифицироваться по их артикуляторным характеристикам, таким образом создавая те или иные группы. Мозаика этих групп может быть совершенно отличать один язык от другого, но может быть и в какой-то степени похожа (Гамкрелидзе, 1986).

Целью нашего исследования является нахождение устойчивых отношений сходства между звуковыми цепочками языка на основе выделенных нами признаков, имеющих определенную частоту встречаемости. Мы анализируем каждый язык как материальный объект, который имеет набор определенных признаков, имеющих количественные характеристики. Сопоставление языков по их количественным значениям повышает степень точности и объективности классификации языков по различным языковым таксонам (Brainerd, 1974: 248; Wray et. all., 1998: 255 - 264).

Нельзя не отметить, что речевой аппарат человека у разных народов мира с анатомической точки зрения одинаков. Это прослеживается на многих антропологических характеристиках (Тамбовцев, 2012). В то же время результаты работы артикуляторных органов различны. Мы изучаем разброс этих результатов по разным языкам, объединенным в различные подгруппы, группы, семьи и другие таксоны. Анализируются интервалы, в пределах которых могут

распределяться как отдельные признаки (смычность, фрикативность, губность, гортанность и т.д.), так и их совокупности, например, эфония, т.е. благозвучие. Под эфонией языка мы понимаем сумму сонорных согласных и гласных в звуковой цепочке.

Некоторые языки звучат благозвучно, т.е. мелодично, вследствие большой концентрации сонорных согласных, а другие — прерывисто, как следствие большого количества смычных согласных в их звуковой картине. Мы уже проанализировали языки мира с точки зрения величины их эфонии, т.е. благозвучия. Под этим признаком мы понимали совокупность частоты встречаемости гласных и сонорных согласных в звуковой цепочке языка [Тамбовцев, 2009].

В данной работе нашей задачей является анализ степени смычности, т.е. прерывистости, в звуковой цепочке языков мира. Смычные согласные являются хорошей маркирующей характеристикой звуковой цепочки потому, что они хорошо слышны в потоке речи. Фактически они прерывают звуковой поток речи (Halle at al., 1957). В нашей интерпретации, смычными согласными будут быть как губные (типа [p, b], переднеязычные типа [t, d,], так и велярные и гуттуральные согласные типа [k, g и гортанный смык]. Эти типы согласных объединены в одну группу потому, что не во всех языках представлены все указанные типы. В одном языке есть смычные заднеязычные, увулярные и ларингальные, - в другом смычные заднеязычные и фарингальные, а в третьем — только смычные заднеязычные. Таким образом, эти языки невозможно сравнивать потому, что они несоизмеримы. Необходимость соблюдения принципа соизмеримости заставляет нас объединить смычные заднеязычные, увулярные, фарингальные и ларингальные согласные в одну группу — группу смычных гуттуральных.

Фактически смычные гуттуральные согласные взяты во всей своей совокупности как одна группа с тем, чтобы противопоставить им каждую другую группу: группу фонем, например, частоту встречаемости губных, переднеязычных и гуттуральных согласных, которые артикулируются в передней и задней областях ротовой полости близ твёрдых пассивных органов зубов и нёба. Губные согласные производятся при помощи губ, а переднеязычные — кончика и передней части языка. Гуттуральные смычные согласные образуются в задней части речевого аппарата человека. Мы не анализируем смычные среднеязычные согласные типа [j]. Они обычно являются щелевыми (fricative), но никак не смычными (Широков 1985: 45).

Довольно интересны взгляды известного фонетиста О. С. Широкова на некоторые дополнительные противопоставления фонематических групп в звуковой цепочке некоторых стилей языка. Так, кроме указанных выше фонемных групп, он предлагает создать новые фонемные группы, куда бы вошли такие согласные, которые артикулируются в маргинальных (т.е. крайних, пограничных) областях. Так можно выделить крайние передние, то есть те согласные, которые артикулируются в передней маргинальной позиции. Этими согласными являются губные. Они противопоставляются крайним задним, то есть тем, которые артикулируются в районе мягкого нёба и далее. При артикуляции заднеязычных (велярных) выгибается задняя часть спинки языка, приближаясь к твёрдому нёбу. Впереди фокуса оказывается большое резонирующее пространство ротовой полости, которое и придаёт заднеязычным низко тональную окраску (Широков 1985: 45). Обсуждая более детально производство смычных заднеязычных согласных как таковых (то есть в классическом их понимании без увулярных, фарингальных и ларингальных), Л.Р. Зиндер различает два их вида: а) одни образуются самой задней частью языка,

касающейся мягкого нёба (и которые, следовательно, трудно отграничить от фарингальных, увулярных и ларингальных); другие задней частью языка, но в которых присутствует смычка. Реже смычка наблюдается тех смычных, которые граничат со средней частью языка и соответственно касаются более передней части нёба (Зиндер, 1979: 162). Заметим, что этот вид заднеязычных согласных намного реже встречается в языках мира. В то же время, следует заметить, что их трудно отграничить от среднеязычных согласных. Это, например, в тюркских, финно-угорских и тунгусо-маньчжурских языках часто приводит к путанице, так как в одном языке один и тот же согласный считается среднеязычным, а в другом он же считается заднеязычным, продвинутым вперёд. Заднеязычные, продвинутые вперёд, характеризуются более высоким тембром, который на слух воспринимается как некоторая "мягкость", что особенно характерно для тюркских, славянских, и уральских языков, где они обычно идут перед гласными переднего ряда. В тюркских языках они называются гласными "мягкого ряда". Тем не менее, эти согласные, на наш взгляд, все равно остаются заднеязычными смычными. Это же характерно и для некоторых славянских языков. Так, например, в русском языке такие смычные гуттуральные как [g, k] перед гласными переднего ряда сильно продвигаются вперед. Тем не менее, на наш взгляд, они не переходят в группу среднеязычных согласных, поэтому при подсчетах их нужно учитывать в группе смычных гуттуральных согласных.

Заметим, что наличие смычки хорошо показывает палатография, но она проводилась только по небольшому количеству языков мира (Зиндер 1979: 163). К сожалению, следует заметить, что фонетическая классификация большинства языков сделана на слух, т.е. без привлечения палатографии.

Обсуждая некоторую специфическую акустическую окраску некоторых гуттуральных смычных согласных, можно отметить, что она воспринимается как "гортанный смык". Л.Р. Зиндер отмечает, что гортанное произношение часто наблюдаются в кавказских, палеоазиатских и арабских языках (Зиндер, 1979: 164). Это подтверждается нашими конкретными цифровыми данными (Тамбовцев, 2008; 1985) некоторых других наших работах дифференциация языков по степени маргинальности, нёбности, губности, переднеязычности, сонорности, эвфонии и т.д. рассмотрены подробнее (Тамбовцев, 1983; 1985; 2008).

По мнению многих фонетистов, артикуляция глоточных (фарингальных) и ларингальных смычных принадлежит к числу наиболее неясных, хотя они имеют довольно широкое распространение, особенно в восточных языках.

В отношении смычного гортанного существует ещё больше разногласий, вплоть до того, куда его относить, к оттенкам гласных или к согласным. Во многих языках до сих пор не установлено, является ли этот звук фонемой (например, в кетском, чукотском, языках американских индейцев и т.д.) или же он фонематически связан с гласными как их особый колорит. Хорошо известно явление "кнак-ляут" в немецком языке, где этот звук всегда чётко относят к артикуляции гласных. Это так называемый "сильный приступ" гласного, который фактически является гортанным смыком. Он всегда находится в начале немецкого слова, которое начинается с гласного. Имея все характеристики согласного, кнак-ляут, тем не менее, не считается согласным. Примерно такое же фонетическое явление можно найти и в датском языке. Там тоже гортанный смык фонематически не отделим от гласного. Считается, что в состав гласного входит гортанная смычка в удэгейском,

корякском, кавказских и языках американских индейцев. Может быть поэтому, Л.В. Щерба в своей таблице рядом со значком гортанного смыка поместил значок, который обозначает голос как таковой, а не тип согласного. Л.Р. Зиндер ставит под сомнение уместность такого знака в таблице типов гласных. Мы думаем, что подобного рода значок может обозначать какой-то тип согласного и его нужно помещать в таблицу согласных, но не в таблицу гласных. Такой разницей говорит о неразработанности данной проблемы.

Таблица Л.В. Щербы показывает, что теоретически возможных заднеязычных, увулярных, фарингальных и гортанных может быть 45. Однако, фактически чаще всего встречаются заднеязычные шумные смычные чистые типа [k, g]; Увулярные согласные в различных взятых нами языках представлены чистыми шумными смычными типа [q]. Гортанные смычные согласные представлены только чистыми шумными типа [ʁ]. Часто в орфографии гортанный смык обозначается знаком апострофа [']. Таким образом, во взятых нами языках употребляются далеко не все из теоретически возможных смычных гуттуральных согласных описанных в таблице Л.В. Щербы (Тамбовцев, 2001-а; 2001-б; 2001-в).

Интересно отметить, что в языках мира смычные согласные функционируют в определенном интервале частоты встречаемости, не выходя за эти пределы. В данной работе мы анализируем эти пределы (Таб. 1 - 27).

Материалом работы послужили тексты в фонематической транскрипции. Более детальное описание материала даны в наших монографиях (Тамбовцев 1994-а; Тамбовцев 1994-б; Тамбовцев 2001-а; Тамбовцев 2001-б; Тамбовцев, 2001-в).

Применяемые методы статистических расчетов

В данной работе применяется несколько методов статистических расчетов, которые основаны на некоторых критериях математической статистики. Некоторые из этих методов мы несколько модифицировали для того, чтобы сделать более понятными процедуры расчета для получения лингвистически значимого результата. Другие критерии математической статистики были взяты в классическом виде. Но и в том, и в другом случае мы старались описать их настолько просто, насколько это было возможно без потери правильности и точности.

Среднее квадратическое отклонение

Язык подвержен изменениям во всех его проявлениях, т.е. языку свойственна вариативность. Велика степень вариативности и на фонетическом уровне. В лингвистических работах значение средних употребляется довольно часто, но не отмечается, как эти средние варьируют. Это, на наш взгляд, является значительным упущением. Между тем без учета степени варьирования встречаемости отдельных фонем или групп фонем нельзя составить полную картину функционирования этих лингвистических единиц в звуковой цепочке на каком-либо языке. Отсюда следует, что наряду с использованием средних величин нужны еще и показатели их изменчивости, т.е. степень их вариативности. Иногда степень изменчивости называют не степенью вариативности, а степенью вариабельности или вариации. Необходимо применить метод,

который бы учитывал равномерность употребления какой-либо фонемы (или группы фонем) в тексте, что является крайне важным в лингвистических исследованиях. Одним из самых удобных методов определения рассеяния (разброса) является расчет среднего квадратического отклонения (СКО), величина которого обычно обозначается латинской буквой *S*. Вычисление среднего квадратического отклонения (СКО) важно еще и потому, что он является базой для расчета многих критериев математической статистики, которые используются в математической лингвистике, например, коэффициента вариации (*V*), доверительного интервала (*CI*), критерия Фишера (*F*) и критерия Стьюдента (*t*), о чем подробнее сказано в нашей монографии. В то же время, в этой работе мы достаточно подробно рассмотрим коэффициент вариации далее. Обычно его обозначают символом "*V*" В то же время заметим, что СКО (*S*) и коэффициент вариации (*V*) являются самыми простыми показателями меры разброса значений вокруг их среднего.

Перед расчетом среднего квадратического отклонения (*S*), необходимо решить проблему разбиения фонологической цепочки на порции (выборки). В принципе текст можно разбить на порции любой величины. Важно, чтобы объемы этих порций были равны во всех языках. В фонологических исследованиях часто величина одной порции равна 1000 фонем. Мы тоже придерживались этой величины. В принципе, можно брать порции большего или меньшего размера. В то же время, нельзя не учитывать, что, если размеры порции очень маленькие, то значения частоты встречаемости будут слишком сильно колебаться. Это может искусственно завязать степень вариативности. Слишком большие порции могут быть неподходящи потому, что их будет слишком мало, если текст короткий, а длинного текста в распоряжении исследователя часто просто нет. В математической статистике количество порций часто подчеркивают, что количество порций не должно быть слишком маленьким. Решив проблему величины объема порции, необходимо определить, сколько таких порций необходимо и достаточно для исследования. В принципе, чем больше количество порций, тем более надежные результаты должны получиться. При этом, объем каждой порции должен быть достаточно большим. Это приведет к тому, что объем общей выборки тоже будет достаточно большим. Минимальное число таких порций не должно быть меньше 30, как рекомендует математическая статистика (Вентцель, 1964: 319; Тамбовцев, 2003). В наших исследованиях мы часто брали число выборок $30+1$, т.е. 31 тысячу. Во многих наших выборках объем был больше этого, т.е. величины выборок были (где это было возможно) по 31 000 и более фонем.

Весь имеющийся материал по какому-либо языку будет считаться генеральной совокупностью звуковых последовательностей (цепочек). Эту генеральную совокупность нужно разбить на выборки по 1000 фонем, при этом количество этих выборок, по возможности, не должно быть меньше 31 тысячи. Нами взята уточненная формула расчета СКО (*S*), в которой от общей суммы выборок отнимается единица ($n - 1$), т.е. $31 - 1 = 30$. Как мы помним, 30 порций - это минимальный объем выборки, который обеспечивает необходимую достаточную статистическую надежность. Выборки менее 30 порций считаются малыми выборками, со всеми вытекающими отсюда последствиями. Довольно часто, статистические критерии на малых выборках показывают иные результаты, чем на выборках большого и среднего объема. Лингвисту не нужно вдаваться в математические подробности, почему это именно так. Чтобы избавиться от проблем особых приемов обработки малых выборок, проще брать выборки более 30 порций.

Следует помнить, что иногда среднее квадратическое отклонение называют стандартным отклонением или просто стандартом. Подробный расчет СКО (S) рассмотрен нами ранее (Тамбовцев, 1994-а; 1994-б: 36 - 37), поэтому здесь рассмотрим его кратко. В большинстве работ по математической лингвистике рекомендуется следующая формула:

$$S = \sqrt{\sum (X_i - X)^2 / n - 1}$$

где X_i - частота встречаемости фонемы (или группы фонем) в каждой порции;

X - средняя частота встречаемости фонемы во всей сумме порций;

n - количество порций в выборке из генеральной совокупности.

Обратим еще раз внимание на знаменатель в данной формуле, где стоит число ($n - 1$). Это несколько повышает точность вычислений, особенно при небольшом количестве порций и в связи с этим рекомендуется к применению в математической лингвистике и фоностатистике (Головин, 1971: 25; Носенко, 1981: 40; Пиотровский и др., 1977: 245, 272; Тамбовцев, 1994-б: 36). В принципе, на малых выборках можно применять только ($n - 1$). В то же время, на выборках большого объема можно применять упрощенную формулу, где в знаменателе используется просто число выборок (n). Величина среднего квадратического отклонения (S) может служить в качестве показателя степени вариации частоты встречаемости фонем (или фонемных) групп в каких-либо двух текстах, только при условии, если их объемы одинаковы. В противном случае для измерения изменчивости этих текстов нужно применять другие методы. Такими методами могут быть, например, коэффициент вариации, доверительный интервал, и модифицированный критерий "хи-квадрат" в виде коэффициента T. Они позволяют сравнивать вариативность текстов разного объема. Мы рекомендуем брать тексты по возможности одинакового объема, так как вычисления при этом значительно упрощаются, а вероятность ошибки понижается. При этом нельзя забывать, что количество этих порций должно быть достаточно велико при применении любых статистических методов, если мы хотим получить статистически устойчивые результаты. Таким образом, нужно по возможности стремиться к тому, чтобы при применении статистических критериев выборки были примерно одного объема.

На наш взгляд, необходимо привести пример расчета величины среднего квадратического отклонения (СКО). В качестве примера могут послужить тексты на древнеанглийском языке ("Beowulf, Onthere's and Wulfstan's Story; The Description of Britain; Julius Caesar, etc.). В этих текстах случайным образом выбирались фонемные цепочки по 500 фонем. Далее случайным образом они складывались в порцию по 1 000 фонем, затем случайным образом отбиралась каждая тысяча древнеанглийских фонем. Следовательно, это был уже не связный текст, а квази-текст. Может быть, именно поэтому, как мы увидим далее, у нас получились довольно большие значения СКО. Приведем значения частоты встречаемости губных согласных в выборке объемом 31 000 фонем, по мере того, как они встречались :

124, 111, 103, 96, 100, 93, 112, 96, 106, 78, 117, 122, 125, 94, 111, 96,

140, 95, 100, 123, 110, 116, 106, 92, 119, 120, 101, 135, 103, 123, 128.

Прежде всего, требуется вычислить среднее, для чего нужно сумму данного ряда разделить на количество его членов, т.е. 31. Здесь среднее (M) равно 109,52. Далее от каждого значения нужно отнять это среднее, возвести в квадрат и сложить: например, $(124 - 109,52)^2 + (111 - 109,52)^2 + (103 - 109,52)^2 + \dots$ и т.д. Полученную сумму нужно разделить на 30, так как в знаменателе стоит число на единицу меньше всего объёма выборки. В результате имеем квадрат СКО, который здесь равен 204,46. Далее из этого числа нужно извлечь квадратный корень. Получаем 14,30. Много это или мало познается в сравнении с другими порциями древнеанглийского текста. Так СКО второй порции равно 37,06; третьей - 14,16; четвертой - 15,42.

Попробуем сравнить данные по сплошному тексту. В качестве примера возьмем текст библии английского короля Джеймса. Интересно, что на разных частях этой библии получены разные величины СКО. Третья книга Старого Завета "Левит" дает значение СКО частоты встречаемости губных согласных равное 11,92. Книга "Нового Завета" от Матфея дает СКО по губным равное 8,57; от Марка - 8,59; от Луки - 10,09; от Иоана - 12,30. Как мы видим, на материале книг Ветхого и Нового Завета колебания значений СКО значительно меньше, чем на материале древнеанглийских текстов. Вероятно, так происходит потому, что в последнем случае целостность текста (т.е. связность) не нарушена. Мы видим, что СКО реагирует на то, является ли текст семантически целостным, или же разорванным на кусочки. На таком же объёме драмы Б. Шоу СКО= 9,99. В прозе Дж. Г. Байрона СКО= 10,42. В поэзии Байрона она ещё выше (14,57). Величина СКО на материале газеты повышается ещё больше (14,79). Ещё выше она в диалогах на бытовые темы (15,93).

Причины повышения или понижения значения СКО будут обсуждаться отдельно. В данном случае нам было важно понять, реагирует ли СКО на изменение стиля и в какой степени. Приведённые выше примеры значений СКО в разных стилях говорит о том, что СКО реагирует на изменение стиля, т.е. структуру материала исследования.

Следовательно, СКО является достаточно тонким инструментом для исследования звуковой цепочки. Из этого можно сделать общий вывод, что все критерии, базирующиеся на СКО, должны реагировать на изменение стиля. Это могут быть, прежде всего, коэффициент вариации (V) и критерий Стьюдента (t). Как мы увидим далее, наши результаты подтвердят наше предположение.

Коэффициент вариации

В лингвистических исследованиях, также как и в других гуманитарных и точных науках, часто случается так, что исследователю необходимо сравнивать между собой параметры разных величин. Нужно соблюдать принцип соизмеримости. В качестве отвлеченной меры изменчивости в этом случае рекомендуется применять коэффициент вариации, который другими словами можно назвать коэффициентом изменчивости (Зайцев, 1990, 37 - 39; Носенко, 1981: 49; Пиотровский и др., 1977: 180; Сиськов, 1975: 32; Хьетсо и др., 1989: 116; и др.).

Как обсуждалось выше, среднее квадратическое отклонение характеризует степень отклонения частоты встречаемости фонемных групп от среднего арифметического значения в абсолютных числах. При этом, СКО не учитывает, что, например, в группу губных согласных входит больше фонем, чем в группу среднеязычных, поэтому величина среднего по губным намного больше в абсолютных единицах, чем величина среднего по среднеязычным. В то же время частота встречаемости переднеязычных согласных, в свою очередь, намного выше, частоты встречаемости губных и т.д. Строго говоря, чтобы сравнивать их между собою, необходимо их каким-то образом привести в соизмеримый вид, так как статистически сравнивать можно только соизмеримые величины. В своих работах мы придерживались этого правила о сопоставимости величин (Тамбовцев, 1992: 27 - 43; 1993-а: 344; 1993-б: 348; Тамбовцев и др., 1980: 323 - 324). Против прямого сравнения изменчивости, т.е. вариаций, которые распределены по-разному и принадлежат разным лингвистическим признакам, предостерегают опытные специалисты в области математической лингвистики (Пиотровский и др., 1977: 242 - 243). На наш взгляд, лингвисту не всегда обязательно проверять форму распределения признака, если величина выборки больше 30, так как по закону больших чисел распределение должно стремиться к нормальному. Наше исследование подтвердило предположение о том, что частоты фонем и фонемных групп распределены по нормальному закону, если выборка достаточно велика. Более подробные результаты изложены в следующей главе данной работы.

В отличие от среднего квадратического отклонения, коэффициент вариации (КВ) позволяет сравнивать варьирование частоты встречаемости фонем и групп фонем, имеющих разное значение средних. Обычно его обозначают латинским символом V. Коэффициент вариации (V) используют в качестве меры вариации (показателя устойчивости) лингвистических элементов в выборке или генеральной совокупности. При этом желательно, чтобы сравнивались величины коэффициента вариации, полученные на выборках одного объема, величина которого не меньше 30.

Коэффициент вариации приводит вариации к общему знаменателю и фактически представляет собою средний процент рассеяния случайной величины по отношению к средней арифметической (Пиотровский и др., 1977: 243). Коэффициент вариации равен:

$V = S/M \times 100\%$ где V - коэффициент вариации;

S - среднее квадратическое отклонение;

M - среднее арифметическое.

Обычно в любом вариационном ряду (или как мы говорили ранее "распределении") существует некоторая изменчивость (неоднородность) или вариация, которая может проявляться сильнее или слабее через количественную изменчивость. Обычно неоднородность проявляется через чрезмерную вариацию признака (Сиськов, 1975: 32). В то же время считается, что большая и однородная выборка характеризуется малой дисперсией, что приводит к небольшим величинам коэффициента вариации (Тамбовцев, 2003). Некоторые лингвисты считают, что традиционный коэффициент вариации лучше использовать в виде его модификации, называемой коэффициентом стабильности Жийяна, который "работает" более эффективно (Тамбовцев, 2003: 13 - 18). В известной работе по определению авторства "Тихого Дона" Г. Хьетсо применяет

коэффициент вариации, называя его "коэффициент варьирования" (Тамбовцев, 2003: 19). Лингвистическую устойчивость генеральной совокупности можно понимать как устойчивость в кибернетическом смысле, т.е. когда устойчивость - это способность системы стремиться из различных начальных состояний к некоторому равновесному (стационарному) состоянию. Состоянию покоя системы соответствует точка равновесия (ЭК, 1975: 468). На наш взгляд, коэффициент вариации позволяет несколько лучше измерять устойчивость, чем СКО. Так происходит потому, что в нём задействовано не только отклонение от среднего, но и само среднее, через которое и проявляется устойчивость. Известно, что устойчивость - это свойство, состоящее в том, что отклонение её реальных выходных сигналов от идеальных не превышает допустимо малые величины, если сигналы возмущающих воздействий находятся в заданных пределах (ЭК, 1975:478). Следовательно, закономерно возникает вопрос о допустимых пределах коэффициента вариации. В лингвистике, так же как и в других науках, связанных с человеком и его деятельностью, такие допустимые пределы выведены эмпирически, хотя разные исследователи считают приемлемым колебания до 50% (Мартыненко, 1988: 62). На наш взгляд, наиболее убедительные доводы приводит В.Н. Сиськов, который считает, что однородность группы, через которую и проявляется устойчивость, не может давать величину коэффициента вариации более 33% (Сиськов, 1971: 10). Так, Г.Я. Мартыненко считает совокупность текстов писателей конца 19 века - начала 20 века устойчивым и целостным образованием по некоторым синтаксическим признакам потому, что их коэффициент вариации намного меньше 33% (Мартыненко, 1988: 150 - 154). Р. Г. Пиотровский приводит пример устойчивости употребления английского определённого артикля и немецкого слова "мощь" в текстах ФРГ и ГДР, измеренной с помощью коэффициента вариации, который равен соответственно: 7,12% - 90,00% - 160,00%. Р. Г. Пиотровский отмечает, что "коэффициент вариации английского определённого артикля заметно меньше, чем коэффициент вариации у немецкого существительного. Это неудивительно: служебные формы обычно имеют во всех языках менее рассеянное употребление, чем знаменательные слова" (Пиотровский и др., 1977: 243). Следовательно, с точки зрения принятого нами порога величины коэффициента вариации английский определённый артикль распределяется устойчиво (ср. 7,12% и 33%), в то время как распределение немецкого существительного "мощь" как в текстах ФРГ, так и ГДР явно неоднородно. Как верно указывает Г.Я. Мартыненко, чем больше коэффициент вариации, тем больше шансов на то, что совокупность неоднородна. Он называет его критерием колеблемости (Мартыненко, 1988: 62). Такого же мнения придерживается В. И. Сиськов, который считает, что высокая величина коэффициента вариации может указывать на два распределения с резко отличными математическими ожиданиями (Сиськов, 1975: 101). Он считает также, что в таких случаях следует проверять части этого распределения с помощью критерия Фишера. Мы полностью согласны с этим, поэтому проверим некоторые наши распределения (или части распределений) по критерию Фишера ниже. Неоднородность распределения также проявляется в величине асимметрии (косости) и эксцесса (крутости), о чём более подробно также пойдёт речь ниже. Здесь же укажем, что коэффициент вариации чутко реагирует на асимметрию, эксцесс и многовершинность распределений. В частности, на наш взгляд, причиной большой величины коэффициента вариации у немецкого существительного "мощь", скорее всего, могла быть многовершинность распределения. Это могло быть то, что в математической статистике называют трансгрессией. Многовершинность распределений часто связывается с явлением трансгрессии,

закрывающейся в том, что при слиянии двух совокупностей максимум распределений значений признака одной из них заходит за минимум другой. Нужно избегать таких ситуаций и работать с одновершинными распределениями. Многовершинность распределения легко увидеть, если построить график распределения. Многовершинность распределения можно также увидеть по большому значению коэффициента вариации. Если между средними арифметическими рядов различия статистически достоверны, то такие ряды однозначно показывают различия между звуковыми картинами языков (Тамбовцев, 1982). Для того, чтобы избежать объединения в одну совокупность двух разнородных частей, необходимо количественному анализу предпосылать качественный анализ. Таким образом, чтобы ответить на вопрос о пороге коэффициента вариации в наших исследованиях нужно принять во внимание величины порогов, полученные другими авторами. Перейдём к анализу коэффициента вариации, полученного на двух разновидностях совокупности. В первом случае - это величины коэффициента вариации, полученные на таких совокупностях как подгруппы, группы, языковые семьи и общности, а во втором - это какой-либо язык.

Прежде, чем анализировать величину коэффициента вариации, полученную на материале фонемных групп, ещё раз обратим внимание на его величину в других исследованиях. Так, например, обсуждая коэффициент вариации веса и жирности коров с одной стороны, и жирности их молока, с другой стороны, Романовский вычисляет соответственно 12,0% и 5,0%, что хорошо вписывается в критический порог Сиськова, т.е. 33% (Тамбовцев, 2003). Флуктуации частоты пульса (13,30%), потоотделения (11,0%) и кровяного давления (5,0%) тоже не выходят за эти пределы (Венчиков и др., 1974:20), при этом Венчиков полагает, что можно сравнивать изменчивости только тех процессов, коэффициент вариации которых не выходит за пределы 50% (Венчиков и др., 1974: 21). Интересно заметить, что измерение коэффициента вариации веса зерна главного колоса (30,6%), веса зерна всего растения (38,2%), количества колосков в главном колосе (11,1%) и количества семян в главном колосе (19,0%) также не выходят за пределы устойчивости по Сиськову. Довольно интересно анализирует порог коэффициента вариации Г. Н. Зайцев. Несмотря на то, что Г. Н. Зайцев признаёт критическими величины коэффициента вариации более 100%, его данные по продолжительности вегетационного периода у ячменя по сортам (8,1%), по высоте растений сои (18,6%) и роста листа жимолости (19%) не превышает критических 33%.

Изучив 165 различных признаков растений, Зайцев предлагает шкалу в процентах (%) следующего типа:

- 1.небольшое варьирование - от 0 до 4;
- 2.нормальное варьирование - от 5 до 44;
- 3.значительное - от 45 до 64;
- 4.большое - от 65 до 84;
- 5.очень большое - от 85 до 104;
- 6.аномальное - от 105 и более.

В пределах нормы Зайцев выделяет, так называемую, нижнюю норму от 5 до 24 (Зайцев, 1990: 39). Таким образом, нормальное варьирование по Зайцеву поднимается почти до 50%, что для других исследователей является запредельным вариантом. Следовательно, взгляды на предельный порог коэффициента вариации у разных ученых различны. Они, по-видимому, зависят от материала исследования. Нашей задачей будет установить критический порог коэффициента вариации для функционирования фонемных групп. Прежде всего, проанализируем, как в общем и целом ведёт себя коэффициент вариации в сфере, связанной с порождением звука речи. Нельзя утверждать, что частота употребления звука речи и его порождение в речевом тракте не связаны. Начнём наш небольшой обзор с колебаний коэффициента вариации при измерении длительности звуков. Нирей и Хоган вычисляли флуктуацию длительности звонкости в английских согласных. Они представляют среднюю и её дисперсию, из которых легко получить значение коэффициента вариации. Он колеблется в пределах 26,56% - 27,49%. Коэффициент вариации характеристики темпа речи остаётся в пределах 7,69 % - 16,04%. Орфофоническую вариативность современной произносительной нормы показывает, что величина коэффициента вариации изменяется в интервале 14,97% - 27,83% при измерении долготы русских гласных в ударном и безударном положениях. Значение первой форманты (5,81 - 12,11%) и второй форманты (3,79 - 9,92%) при этом изменялось ещё меньше. Несколько большую величину имеет коэффициент вариации при измерении долготы фраз и строк в поэзии (23,50 - 46,25%) и прозе (24,62 - 38,23%), при этом поэзия намного более вариабельна, чем проза. В работе Нирей и Дервин приводятся данные по ошибкам восприятия смычных согласных, при этом коэффициент вариации изменяется в пределах 16,57 - 25,21%. Коэффициент вариации ошибки при реакции на фонему "к" составил 13,16%, а на аффрикаты - 47,83%. Как мы видим, коэффициент вариации колеблется вокруг 33% и довольно часто не выходит за пределы 50%, что как указывалось выше, очень важно. Эти значения коэффициента вариации указывают на нормальное распределение измеряемых величин, что позволяет нам без опаски применять методы математической лингвистики к распределению фонем в потоке речи. Здесь же отметим мнение Е. Н. Львовского, который считает, что при коэффициенте более 33% есть большая вероятность, что распределение не подчиняется нормальному закону (Львовский, 1982: 38; Тамбовцев, 2003).

Перейдём к собственно анализу частоты встречаемости фонемных групп в языке. В частности, прежде, чем рассматривать встречаемость смычных согласных, начнём с самой крупной группы: согласные и гласные, каждая из которых в свою очередь разбивается на более мелкие подгруппы. Функционирование частоты встречаемости группы согласных и группы гласных проанализируем в виде величин консонантного коэффициента, то есть соотношения согласных и гласных в потоке речи. С точки зрения коэффициента вариации консонантный коэффициент ещё не анализировался, хотя по другим параметрам (например, величине доверительного интервала, СКО и др.) детальный анализ его распределений был сделан в нашей работе ранее (Тамбовцев, 1986). Ниже приведём таблицу, в которой распределим языки по их генетическим семьям, в которых они будут упорядочены по величине коэффициента вариации (Таб. 27). Обзор данной таблицы показывает, что внутри финно-угорской языковой семьи величина коэффициента вариации (КВ) изменяется в интервале 2,96 - 5,15%, в тюркских языках (2,94 - 5,24%) колебания этого коэффициента немного больше, в тунгусо-маньчжурских языках, где он колеблется больше, чем в финно-угорских (ср. 2,82 - 5,18), а в индо-европейских языках меньше, чем в финно-угорских

языках (ср.3,48 - 5,81). В то же время словари показывают большую величину KB (6,36 - 9,32%). Таким образом, величина KB при измерении соотношения согласных и гласных в потоке речи колеблется в довольно узких пределах: 2,82% - 5,81%. Немного больше она на материале словарей, но ей далеко до 50% или даже 33%, которые считаются критическими точками для коэффициента вариации. Как было видно выше, характеристики звуков речи при речепроизводстве также находятся в пределах критических точек. Несколько иную картину мы наблюдаем при измерении частотности фонемных групп согласных, которую рассмотрим несколько подробнее. Мы приводим величину коэффициента вариации смычных в различных языках мира (Таб.27). По величине коэффициента вариации распределения групп согласных в различных языках, можно сделать вывод о том, что у губных этот коэффициент обычно не превышает 11 -18%. В персидском языке этот процент значительно выше, но это, вероятно, потому, что персидский материал состоит из смеси текста и словаря (42%). Величина этого коэффициента у переднеязычных согласных не выходит за пределы 4-12%, но опять у персидского языка он больше - 16,70%. По величине коэффициента вариации среднеязычные согласные распределены в интервале 15,91 - 69,39%, хотя в персидском языке эта величина неожиданно меньше - 8,85%. Границы коэффициента вариации у заднеязычных согласных составляют 11 - 22%, в то же время опять выпадает из этого ряда персидский с его 46,51%.

Интервал распределения у сонорных - 4.13%, - а у персидских сонорных - 19,79%. Интервал колебания смычных согласных также невелик (4-15%), не учитывая персидские смычные - 28,76%. Разрыв флукутации щелевых согласных ещё меньше: 10 - 16%, при этом даже персидские щелевые сохраняют норму - 33,99%. Из таблицы также ясно, что в узких пределах изменяется коэффициент вариации у звонких согласных (11 - 22%), у мягких согласных (18-21%), у твёрдых согласных (2,95 - 5,54%) и у всех согласных (2 -7%), при этом даже персидские согласные сохраняют эту норму (ср. 4,03%).

Интересно сопоставить некоторые данные по функционированию групп фонем в маргинальных (начало и конец) позициях слова с аналогичными данными во всех позициях слова. Так, например, глухие согласные в японском языке в начале слова имеют разные коэффициент вариации (ср.11,35%) по сравнению с общей фонемной цепочкой (7,01%). В то же время в цыганском языке эти коэффициенты в этих двух позициях различаются довольно незначительно (ср.10,89% и 14,19%), но резко в финальной позиции (39,99%). Также резко различаются коэффициенты вариации глухих согласных.

Мы и ранее применяли величину коэффициента вариации (V) для измерения схожести языков в каких-либо языковых таксонах (Тамбовцев, 1990; 1992).

Рекомендация измерять величину коэффициента вариации важна для лингвистических исследований. На наш взгляд, если эта величина больше 33%, то распределение смычных одномодальное. Если эта величина больше 33%, то распределение может быть двумодальное. Наши исследования показали, что все таксоны имеют величину коэффициента меньше 33%, что показано в Таб. 27.

Обсуждение результатов исследования.

Палео-азиатские языки имеют значительную смычную гортанную окраску в своей звуковой цепочке. Минимум степени гортанной смычности мы находим в чукотском языке (21.21%), а максимум — в има克林ском диалекте эскимосского языка (26.8.21%) при средней частоте встречаемости 24.03% в звуковой цепочке палеоазиатских языков. Мы можем отметить, что чукотский употребляет меньше смычных, чем ему следует, а има克林ский диалект эскимосского — больше. Сравнивая палео-азиатские языки с другими языками, например, с тюркскими, мы видим, что они имеют большую степень смычности. В тюркских языках (таб.2) в среднем употребляется 23.38% смычных. При этом, некоторые языки, например, саларский употребляют значительно меньше смычных, чем в среднем по тюркским языкам, а другие, например, кумандинский - значительно больше смычных, чем в среднем. Это превышает степень смычности у других языковых таксонов, например, у монгольских (Таб.3) или тунгусо-маньчжурских языков (Таб. 4). В тоже время, следует обратить внимание, насколько схожи по параметру смычности языки внутри групп, т.е. таксонов. Схожесть или несхожесть языков проявляется через величину коэффициента вариации. Чем больше величина коэффициента вариации, тем более непохожи друг на друга языки. Наоборот, чем меньше величина данного коэффициента, тем более похожи языки (Тамбовцев, 2010). Мы можем говорить о компактности какого-либо таксона по данному параметру. В частности, величина компактности измерена у 17 таксонов языков мира (Таб 27). Было выявлено, что наиболее схожи — это балтийские языки, которые имеют наименьший разброс $V=4/83\%$. Наибольший коэффициент вариации показали аустронезийские языки — 26.07%. Процедура вычисления коэффициента вариации более детально показана в нашей монографии (Тамбовцев, 2003).

Прежде чем перейти к анализу функционирования смычных согласных в потоке речи, проанализируем функционирование в звуковой цепочке распределение каких-то других групп фонем, например, гуттуральных согласных.

В финно-угорских языках частота гуттуральных согласных равна в среднем 9,09 при коэффициенте вариации $V = 19,59$. Значительная величина коэффициента вариации (V) вызвана значительной разницей в степени гортанности в финно-угорских языках. Так, в своем минимальном значении гортанность обнаруживается у коми-зырянского языка (5,94%), а в максимальном у восточного диалекта хантыйского языка (13,53%). В самодийских языках в среднем гуттуральные встречаются больше — 14,09%, их разброс тоже больше — $V=21,15$. В тюркских языках употребление гуттуральных более равномерное, на что указывает более низкий показатель коэффициента вариации, хотя в среднем в звуковой цепочке больше гуттуральных 11,39 при $V = 15,54$. О месте финно-угорских языков (9.09) среди других языков мира можно судить по упорядоченному ряду употребления гуттуральных в среднем.

Величина смычности в различных языковых таксонах

Для того, чтобы понять место палео-азиатских языков по типологии распределения гуттуральных согласных, необходимо построить упорядоченные ряды по величине минимальной, максимальной и средней гуттуральности во всех изученных нами таксонах языков мира. Отметим, что степень гуттуральности рассчитывается в процентах по отношению ко всем элементам звуковой цепочки языка.

Упорядоченный ряд средней величины смычности по языковым таксонам представлен в Таб.26. Эта таблица показывает, что в среднем смычные согласные в языках мира распределяются в пределах от 19.49% в языках австралийских аборигенов до 22.67% в самодийских языках.

Можно рассчитать среднюю теоретическую величину встречаемости какого-либо фонологического признака в звуковой цепочке языка (Тамбовцев 2009). Для такого расчета требуется несколько вероятностных предположений. Звуковая цепочка языка состоит из согласных и гласных. Допустим, что они употребляются с одинаковой вероятностью в 50%. Далее нужно учесть, что по работе активного органа речеобразования все согласные делятся на 4 группы: 1) губные; 2) переднеязычные; 3) среднеязычные (палатальные) и 4) гуттуральные (Тамбовцев 2008). Допустим, что все эти группы употребляются равновероятно. Следовательно, вероятность появления гуттуральных согласных в звуковой цепочке языка равна $50\% : 4 = 12,50\%$. Таким образом, теоретическая величина среднего значения для гуттуральных согласных для любого языка мира составит 12,50%. Если исходить из теории экономии усилий, то в любом языке частота встречаемости гуттуральных должна быть значительно ниже. Так должно происходить потому, что артикулировать звуки с помощью кончика языка намного легче, чем с помощью задней части или корня языка.

Однако, теоретическая величина для точных исследований не подходит потому, что мы сделали «грубые» вероятностные допуски. На самом деле, нужно вычислять эмпирическую среднюю величину, которая зависит от конкретной величины встречаемости гуттуральных в звуковой цепочке различных языков мира. В нашем исследовании задействовано более 200 естественных и 1 искусственный язык (эсперанто). За исключением эсперанто, средняя величина гуттуральных по 200 языкам составила 12,21%. Интересно отметить, что эта величина близка к средней теоретической (ср. 12,21% и 12,50%). Если это не простое совпадение, то здесь проявилась какая-то универсальная закономерность речеобразования.

Все языки, которые имеют в своей звуковой цепочке концентрацию гуттуральных меньше 12,21% не могут считаться гортанными. Из двадцати финно-угорских языков только один язык — язык восточных хантов в какой-то мере может считаться гортанным, т.к. его значение 13,53%. В то же время, все палеоазиатские языки превышают 12,21%. В этом отношении палео-азиатские языки похожи на многие языки американских индейцев, которые тоже имеют большую частоту встречаемости гуттуральных в своей звуковой цепочке.

Такой же алгоритм расчетов можно применить и к смычным согласным; 50% гласных и 50% согласных, но здесь уже согласные имеют три группы (сонорные, смычные и щелевые). Из этого следует, что вероятность употребления смычной согласной в звуковой цепочке составляет 16.67%. Известный американский математик Д. Пойа провел этим методом статистический анализ 10

европейских языков по частоте встречаемости отдельных звуков и обнаружил, что венгерский язык непохож на них на фонетическом уровне (Polya, 1954). Из этого следует, в нашем случае, что те языки, которые имеют концентрацию смычных больше теоретического числа, употребляют слишком много смычных в своей звуковой цепочке, и наоборот. Таб. 1 – 24 показывают, что языков, у которых идет превышение частоты встречаемости смычных, достаточно много.

Известный английский математик Хердан предлагает использование метода «хи-квадрат», чтобы проанализировать те случаи, когда в каком-нибудь языке употребляется слишком много или слишком мало лингвистических единиц (Herdan, 1966). В частности, мы можем точно указать на те языки, которые в своей звуковой цепочке употребляют слишком много или слишком мало каких-либо выделенных нами групп фонем, например, губных, гуттуральных, сонорных и других (Тамбовцев, 2010; Tambovtsev, 2010). На основе частоты встречаемости групп согласных в звуковой цепочке языка можно построить модель, которая покажет типологические расстояния между языками (Tambovtsev, 2009).

В качестве вывода по употреблению смычных согласных в звуковых цепочках различных языков мира можно отметить что:

1. Наименьшее значение употребления смычных согласных (9.27%) наблюдается в самоанском языке (аустронезийский таксон), а наибольшее (33.30%) - в языке американских индейцев тотонак. (Таб.24 и Таб.25).

2. Упорядоченный ряд средней величины смычности по языковым таксонам представлен в Таб.26. Эта таблица показывает, что в среднем смычные согласные в языках мира распределяются в пределах от 19.49% в языках австралийских аборигенов до 22.67% в самодийских языках.

3. Распределение смычных согласных по всем взятым языкам (Таб. 1 – 26) менее 33%, что однозначно говорит об одномодальности. Это показывает то, что величину средних по смычным во всех взятых языках можно сравнивать без опаски.

Таблица 1.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке палео-азиатских языков, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Чукотский	21.21	4.	Ительменский	24.27
2.	Корякский	23.14	5.	Эскимосский (имаклинский)	28.21
3.	Эскимосский (науканский)	23.33			
	статистика:				
	среднее	24.03		S ²	6.69
	S	2.59		V%	10.76

Таблица 2.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке тюркских языков, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Саларский	16.58	14.	Уйгурский	23.17
2.	Чувашский	18.30	15.	Татарский (казанский)	23.17
3.	Башкирский	18.75	16.	Турецкий	23.22
4.	Азербайджанский	18.94	17.	Татарский (Барабинский)	23.54
5.	Туркменский	20.12	18.	Тофаларский	23.87
6.	Хакасский	20.42	19.	Шорский	24.69
7.	Каракалпакский	20.97	20.	Тувинский	24.79
8.	Татарский (Крымский)	21.55	21.	Татарский (Чулымский)	25.35
9.	Карачаево-Балкарский	21.98	22.	Киргизский	25.76
10.	Сары-уйгурский	22.08	23.	Алтайский (Чалканский)	27.63
11.	Якутский	22.14	24.	Долганский	28.48
12.	Узбекский	22.16	25.	Алтайский (Кизи)	29.12
13.	Казахский	23.12	26.	Кумандинский	29.67
	статистика:				
	среднее	23.38		S ²	10.05
	S	3.17		V%	13.54

Таблица 3.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке монгольских языков, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Калмыцкий	21.25	3.	Бурятский	25.33
2.	Монгольский (Халха)	22.66			
	статистика:				
	среднее	23.08		S ²	4.29
	S	2.07		V%	8.97

Таблица 4.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке тунгусо-маньчжурских языков, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Маньчжурский	18.71	6.	Нанайский	23.58
2.	Удэгейский	19.98	7.	Эвенский (ламутский)	24.14

3.	Негидальский	21.72	8.	Эвенкийский (тунгусский)	25.08
4.	Ульчский	23.71	9.	Орочский	25.46
5.	Орокский	23.10			
	статистика:				
	среднее	22.81		S ²	5.38
	S	2.32		V%	10.17

Таблица 5.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков афразийской семьи, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Иврит	15.13	5.	Сомалийский	20.56
2.	Хауса	19.89	6.	Нео-Арамейский	21.73
3.	Арабский	20.34	7.	Сокотрийский	22.95
4.	Ассирийский	20.53			
	статистика:				
	среднее	20.16		S ²	6.00
	S	2.45		V%	12.15

Таблица 6.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке сино-тибетских языков, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Бирманский	16.10	4.	Тайский	25.51
2.	Дунганский	19.97	5.	Тибетский	31.74
3.	Китайский	21.51			
	статистика:				
	среднее	22.97		S ²	35.40
	S	5.95		V%	25.90

Таблица 7.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке самодийских языков, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Ненец (тундр.)	22.67	4.	Нганасанский	26.44
2.	Энецкий (Бай)	23.14	5.	Камасинский	27.28
3.	Энецк. (Маду)	23.95	6.	Сельк. (ср.обск)	30.83

			7.	Сельк. (обской)	32.89
	статистика:				
	среднее	26.74		S ²	15.37
	S	3.92		V%	14.66

Таблица 8.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке финно-угорских языков, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Марийский (Горный)	16.35	11.	Коми-зырянский	20.65
2.	Мансийский (Кондинский)	16.56	12.	Мокша-мордовский	20.86
3.	Мансийский (Северный)	17.00	13.	Эрзя-мордовский	21.36
4.	Хантыйский (северный)	17.19	14.	Карел(людик)	21.67
5.	Финский	18.00	15.	Водский	21.93
6.	Мари-луговой	18.22	16.	Удмуртский	21.98
7.	Карел(ливви)	20.22	17.	Венгерский	22.62
8.	Коми-пермяцкий	20.33	18.	Саамский	23.55
9.	Карел(тихвинский)	20.36	19.	Ханты (восточный)	24.20
10.	Эстонский	20.45	20.	Вепсский	24.71
	статистика:				
	среднее	20.41		S ²	6.27
	S	2.50		V%	12.27

Таблица 9. Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков аустронезийской семьи, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Самоанский	9.27	11.	Кебуано	20.39
2.	Гавайский	11.70	12.	Капампанган	21.24
3.	Малагаши	12.55	13.	Тонган (Малай)	22.37
4.	Фиджи	15.53	14.	Чаморро	22.51
5.	Рукаи (Тайван.)	16.43	15.	Льокано	24.68
6.	Таити	16.76	16.	Ума (Сулавеси)	25.20
7.	Тагалог (Фили.)	19.00	17.	Даякский	25.78
8.	Маори	19.10	18.	Индонезийский	26.78
9.	Тсоу	19.29	19.	Маркизский	27.35

10.	Хилигайнон	21.04			
	статистика:				
	среднее:	19.84		S ²	26.76
	S	5.17		V%	26.07

Таблица 10.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков Африки (банту, малави, нигер-конго, нило-сахарские) в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи.

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Суахили	16.44	8.	Цевана	21.13
2.	Ханга	17.89	9.	Муре	22.13
3.	Бемба	18.56	10.	Тонга	22.14
4.	Х'оса	18.69	11.	Луганда	22.76
5.	Зарма	19.66	12.	Фульфульде	23.38
6.	Киньярванда	19.85	13.	Волоф	23.65
7.	Чичева	20.90	14.	Луо	23.72

Таблица 11. Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков австралийских аборигенов, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Нунгубуйу	14.86	4.	Ньянгумада	19.20
2.	Мангарайи	18.07	5.	Нгааньатджара	22.90
3.	Дьингили	18.73	6.	Нганди	23.16
	статистика:				
	среднее	19.49		S ²	9.83
	S	3.13		V%	16.09

Таблица 12.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков кавказской семьи, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Кабардинский	16.52	4.	Грузинский	23.00
2.	Адыгейский	19.13	5.	Абхазский	24.46
3.	Чеченский	21.00	6.	Аварский	24.76
	статистика:				
	среднее	21.48		S ²	10.37
	S	3.22		V%	14.99

Таблица 13.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков индо-арийской группы индо-европейской семьи, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; $V\%$ - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Гуджарати	20.88	4.	Хинди	26.04
2.	Цыганский	21.62	5.	Бенгальский	26.28
3.	Маратхи	24.13			
	статистика:				
	среднее	23.79		S^2	6.14
	S	2.48		$V\%$	10.41

Таблица 14.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков иранской группы индо-европейской семьи, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; $V\%$ - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Пашто	19.90	5.	Осетинский	22.09
2.	Иранский	20.61	6.	Дари (Афганистана)	22.67
3.	Талышский	20.68	7.	Курдский	23.86
4.	Гилянский	21.29	8.	Таджикский	24.28
	статистика:				
	среднее	21.92		S^2	2.52
	S	1.59		$V\%$	7.24

Таблица 15.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков славянской группы индо-европейской семьи, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; $V\%$ - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Болгарский	14.96	7.	Словацкий	20.82
2.	Сербо-лужицкий	18.79	8.	Словенский	21.08
3.	Русский	20.14	9.	Польский	21.16
4.	Древнерусский	20.17	10.	Украинский	21.18
5.	Сербско-хорватский	20.37	11.	Белорусский	21.91
6.	Чешский	20.47	12.	Македонский	24.12
	статистика:				
	среднее	20.43		S^2	4.58
	S	2.14		$V\%$	10.47

Таблица 16.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков балтийской группы индо-европейской семьи, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Латышский	20.78	2.	Литовский	22.25
	статистика:				
	среднее	21.52		S ²	1.08
	S	1.04		V%	4.83

Таблица 17.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков романской группы индо-европейской семьи, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Португальский	17.99	4.	Итальянский	20.60
2.	Французский	19.14	5.	Молдавский	21.21
3.	Испанский	19.44	6.	Румынский	21.54
	статистика:				
	среднее	19.99		S ²	1.85
	S	1.36		V%	6.80

Таблица 18.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков германской группы индо-европейской семьи, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Датский	17.61	4.	Английский	20.33
2.	Норвежский	18.80	5.	Нидерландский	21.24
3.	Немецкий	19.44	6.	Шведский	21.90
	статистика:				
	среднее	19.89		S ²	2.53
	S	1.59		V%	8.00

Таблица 19. Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков италийской группы индо-европейской семьи, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи.

№	Язык	%			
1.	Латинский	22.92			

Таблица 20. Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков американских индейцев, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи. Взяты различные таксоны, т.е. группы и семьи.

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Гуарани	14.59	19.	Покомчи	25.52
2.	Икито	17.13	20.	Апинайэ	25.70
3.	Капанауа	19.49	21.	Каваскар	25.72
4.	Сириано	19.60	22.	Навахо	26.60
5.	Кечуа	20.81	23.	Сайула популука	27.34
6.	Суит грасс кри	21.25	24.	Вичита	27.45
7.	Джакалтек	21.73	25.	Онеида	27.98
8.	Науатль (Ацтекский)	22.19	26.	Тонкава	27.98
9.	Секойа	22.41	27.	Оджибве	28.39
10.	Арикара	22.57	28.	Кадивеу	28.80
11.	Гуамбиано	23.26	29.	Кокопа	28.97
12.	Инга	23.29	30.	Овекено	28.98
13.	Кекчи	23.39	31.	Мам	29.56
14.	Тзутуджил	23.68	32.	Пиратапуйо	29.85
15.	Кофан	24.02	33.	Хайда	29.88
16.	Кайва	24.64	34.	Хуастек	30.56
17.	Акатеко	25.19	35.	Тотонак	33.30
18.	Киче	25.24			

Таблица 21.

Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке языков балканского языкового союза, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи (S – среднее квадратическое отклонение; V% - коэффициент вариации).

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Болгарский	14.96	4.	Румынский	21.17
2.	Греческий	17.09	5.	Албанский	28.61
3.	Сербско-хорватский	20.37			
	статистика:				
	среднее	20.44		S ²	27.14
	S	5.21		V%	25.48

Таблица 22. Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке изолированных языков, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Греческий	17.09	6.	Корейский	23.88
2.	Айнский	19.11	7.	Армянский	24.66
3.	Нивхский	21.24	8.	Японский	24.73
4.	Баскский	21.92	9.	Кетский (Югский)	26.94
5.	Юкагирский	22.31	10.	Албанский	28.61

Таблица 23. Частота встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке искусственного языка эсперанто, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи.

№	Язык	%	№	Язык	%
1.	Эсперанто	18.28			

Таб. 24

Минимальные значения частоты встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковых цепочках языков мира, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи.

№	Язык	%
1.	Самоанский. Аустронезийский таксон.	9.27
2.	Гуарани. Языки американских индейцев.	14.59
3.	Нунгубуйу. Языки австралийских абориг.	14.86
4.	Болгарский. Славянский таксон.	14.96
5.	Иврит. Афразийский таксон.	15.13
6.	Бирманский. Сино-тибетский таксон.	16.10
7.	Горно-марийский. Финно-угорский такс.	16.35
8.	Суахили. Языки Африки.	16.44
9.	Кабардинский. Кавказский таксон.	16.52
10.	Саларский. Тюркский таксон.	16.58
11.	Греческий. Изолированные языки.	17.09
12.	Датский. Германский таксон.	17.61
13.	Португальский. Романский таксон.	17.99
14.	Маньчжурский. Тунгусо-маньчжурский	18.71
15.	Пашто. Иранский таксон.	19.90
16.	Латышский. Балтийский таксон.	20.78
17.	Гуджарати. Индо-арийский таксон.	20.88
18.	Чукотский. Палеоазиатский таксон.	21.21

19.	Калмыцкий. Монгольский таксон.	21.25
20.	Ненецкий (Тундровый). Самодийский.	22.67

Таб. 25.

Максимальные значения частоты встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковых цепочках языков мира, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи.

№	Язык	%
1.	Румынский. Романский таксон.	21.54
2.	Шведский. Германский таксон.	21.90
3.	Литовский. Балтийский таксон.	22.25
4.	Сокотрийский. Афразийские.	22.95
5.	Нганди. Таксон языков австрал. абориген.	23.16
6.	Луо. Языки Африки.	23.72
7.	Македонский. Славянский таксон.	24.12
8.	Таджикский. Иранский таксон.	24.28
9.	Вепский. Финно-угорский таксон.	24.71
10.	Аварский. Кавказский таксон.	24.76
11.	Бурятский. Монгольский таксон.	25.33
12.	Орочский. Тунгусо-маньчжурский таксон.	25.46
13.	Бенгальский. Индо-арийский таксон.	26.28
14.	Маркизский. Аустронезийский таксон.	27.35
15.	Эскимосский (Имаклинский). Палеоазиат.	28.21
16.	Албанский. Изолированный.	28.61
17.	Кумандинский. Тюркский таксон.	29.67
18.	Тибетский. Сино-тибетский таксон.	31.74
19.	Селькупский (обской). Самодийский такс.	32.89
20.	Тотонак. Языки американских индейцев.	33.30

Таб. 26.

Средние значения частоты встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковых цепочках языков мира, в % ко всем фонемам в потоке речи. Различные языковые таксоны (т.е. подгруппы, группы, семьи).

№	Языковой таксон. Среднее значение частоты встречаемости по всем языкам	%
1.	Таксон языков австралийских аборигенов.	19.49
2.	Аустронезийский таксон.	19.84
3.	Германский таксон.	19.89

4.	Романский таксон.	19.99
5.	Афразийский таксон.	20.16
6.	Финно-угорский таксон.	20.41
7.	Славянский таксон.	20.43
8.	Кавказский таксон.	21.48
9.	Балтийский таксон.	21.52
10.	Иранский таксон.	21.92
11.	Сино-тибетский таксон.	22.97
12.	Монгольский таксон.	23.08
13.	Индо-арийский таксон.	23.79
14.	Тюркский таксон.	23.38
15.	Палеоазиатский таксон.	24.03
16.	Самодийский таксон.	26.74

Таб. 27.

Значения коэффициента вариации как показатель схожести языков в языковом таксоне. Это проявляется в плотности (т.е. компактности) языкового таксона, %.

№	Плотность (компактность) языков. таксона	%
1.	Балтийский таксон.	4.83
2.	Романский таксон.	6.80
3.	Иранский таксон.	7.24
4.	Германский таксон.	8.00
5.	Монгольский таксон.	8.97
6.	Тунгусо-маньчжурский таксон.	10.17
7.	Индо-арийский таксон.	10.41
8.	Славянский таксон.	10.47
9.	Палеоазиатский таксон.	10.76
10.	Афразийский таксон.	12.15
11.	Финно-угорский таксон.	12.27
12.	Тюркский таксон.	13.54
13.	Самодийский таксон.	14.66
14.	Кавказский таксон.	14.99

15.	Таксон австралийских аборигенов.	16.09
16.	Сино-тибетский таксон.	25.90
17.	Аустронезийский таксон.	26.07

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TAMBOVTSEV, Yuri & TAMBOVTSEVA, Juliana & TAMBOVTSEVA, Ludmila: Functioning of the Occlusive Consonants in the Language

It is still an enigma why some languages produce many occlusive consonants in their speech sound chains while others do not. Thus, some world languages may have many occlusive consonants in their sound speech chains, e.g. Nenets of the Samoyedic taxon – 22.67%. By occlusive consonants we mean the speech sounds which are produced by some sort of constriction in the human sound tract. The complete closure produces stop consonants. The occurrence of occlusive consonants were considered in different language subgroups, groups and families, that is language taxa. The taxon of the Samodian (Samoyedic) languages has a very high degree of the occurrence of stop consonants among the world languages under our study. The mean of occlusive consonants in Samoedic taxon is 26.74% while in the taxon of the Australian aboriginals the mean is only 19.49%. The least concentration is in the sound chain of the Samoan languages of the Austranesian language taxon. It is nearly twice less than the mean of occlusives in the other world languages. The occlusive data in every language taxon are compared to the other language taxa (groups and families) by the mean values.



POLITICS

BHAT, Tarooq Ahmad & LONE, Sheeraz Ahmad**Soviet Healthcare System in Kazakhstan**

Health is the general condition of a person in all aspects. It is a level of functional and/or metabolic efficiency of an organism, implicitly humans which is achieved through a combination of physical, mental, and social well-being. It is maintained and improved not only through the advancement and application of health science, but also through social and economic environment, the physical environment and the person's individual characteristics and behaviours. The World Health Organization (WHO), in April 7, 1948, defined 'health' as "a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. So generally, the context in which an individual lives is of great importance on his/her life quality and health status. The social and economic environments are key factors such as clean water and air, safe houses, communities, roads, education etc. that all contribute to good health status of an individual. It is what Soviets tried their best to determine in their health planning in the Soviet Union through sheer determination, explicit execution and dedication of the field staff by making available the prevention, treatment, and management of illness and the preservation of mental and physical well-being through the services offered by the health workers. This maintenance was approached through an indelible component of human social structures. The societal institution of healthcare was the necessary phenomenon of Soviet civilization whereby an individual continually sought to improve, mend, and alter the overall nature and quality of his or her life.

To achieve such assets Soviets also believed that religions, in whatever form were present in the region, have created rituals, dogmas, taboos, etc. that hardly allowed any forward movement for material gains and therefore attacked all religions to be practiced in real letter and spirit. To change the mental horizons of traditional societies was not easy, it was rather a difficult one and creation of medical facilities for introduction of a health care system was launched in big way. This was not only to make people healthy but also to create hygienic way of life where after traditionalism was pushed away to live happily and also to give shape to the capacities and talent in human nature for the enrichment and progress of society.

By all these ways the lifespan of an individual in Kazakhstan increased from mere 32 to 68 years and crude mortality rate decreased just up to 6 per thousand infants. The purpose of this work is to unveil those efforts of the Soviet health care which brought the Kazakh nomads a healthy and well-balanced light of modern health care facilities.

Keywords:

Health; Hospital; Doctor; Life span; Mortality; Ayurveda; Shamana

Before the advent of Socialization, Central Asia including Kazakhstan had traditional health system like *ayurveda*, *unani* and *sidha*.¹ Besides these, many other primitive methods of doctoring were common in the region that was used for curing disease.² Three types of traditional healers served the medical needs of the Kazakh population; ‘Mullahs used prayer, chants, and “holy” water, among other approaches, to treat the ill. Shamans, whose incantations often contained both pre-Islamic and Islamic elements, relied on a variety of practices, including exorcisms and herbal remedies. Folk doctors depended primarily on medicines derived from plant and animal products; for example, fermented mare’s milk was widely used to treat illnesses, including tuberculosis.’³ During the late 19th century the colonial administration created a modern public health system mainly for the use of their military and administrative personnel. Towards the beginning of the 20th century they also organized health care for Russian settlers in west Kazakhstan. For this purpose hospitals and medical posts were set up where feldshers (medically trained staff in the health posts) and midwives were pressed in service to cater the needs of the Russian immigrant settlers.⁴ On the other hand the Kazakhs used the services of traditional healers. After the emergence of the Soviet Union, not only in Kazakhstan, but everywhere in the USSR programmes were launched to promote modernization. The Communist government considered the Central Asian region one of the most backwards in the Soviet Union and therefore made sustained effort to alter both its economy and its cultural practices.⁵

The Soviet Union, soon after the Revolution, took some major steps to solve the problems of the people and so of the state.⁶ Lenin thus embarked on such programmes that would uplift the conditions of the people, remove poverty and disease, and provide education, make the state to organize the economic sector for the sustenance of the country. Accordingly he issued many decrees that were to address the problems and solve them. One such was regarding the health policy. In June 1918 the People’s Commissariat of Health was established and for the first time in the history of medicine a central body was directing the entire health work of a nation under the supervision of Dr. Samashko.⁷ It

¹ A. K. Patnaik, “Education the Press & Public health”, Eds. Madhavan K. Palat & Anara Tabyshalieva, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. VI, UNESCO, 2005, pp. 577-578.

² Kazakhs had developed a rich traditional culture, including folk medicine, which was practiced by Shamans and mullahs; Paula A. Michaels, “Curative Powers: Medicine and Empire in Stalin’s Central Asia”, *Journal of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 59, Oxford, 2004, p. 318.

³ Paula A. Michaels, “Medical Propaganda and Cultural Revolution in Soviet Kazakhstan, 1928–41”, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, Moscow, 2000, p. 160.

⁴ WHO, *Health care in transition: Kazakhstan*, London, 1999, p. 9.

⁵ The Soviet Government from the very beginning made it a fundamental purpose of its policy not merely to benefit the people whom it served but actually to transform them. Lenin and his colleagues thought that the principle object and duty of a government is to change drastically the human nature with which it dealt; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*, London, 1947, pp. 675-78.

⁶ The transformation of Central Asian society was accelerated by waves of immigrants from the Slav republics. Some Slavs (mostly Russians) had already settled in the region in the pre-Revolutionary period, but many more came during the years of Soviet rule. The first and largest period of immigration was 1926–39 when, along with Party officials and bureaucrats, there came doctors, teachers, engineers and other professionals, who contributed to the development of Central Asia. Many skilled workers also arrived to work in the newly established industries; Shirin Akiner, “History and Politics in Central Asia: Change and Continuity”, Eds. Martin McKee, Judith Healy & Jane Falkingham, *Health Care in Central Asia*, Buckingham, 2002, p.16.

⁷ *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*, p. 655.

was to bring a change in the set-up and make health sector modern to combat diseases. On the other hand public health was of strategic importance for winning the population to the Soviet cause.

Health Policy and Soviet Efforts

Health status indices were not in great shape at the time the Soviets took control of Kazakhstan. Soon after the Revolution Russia was plunged into civil war, large scale epidemics and pandemics including typhus were spreading and the death rate was very high. The condition was so difficult that Lenin recognized the gravity of the situation in his address at the 7th Congress of Soviets, held in December 1919, where he said 'Typhus among a population [already] weakened by hunger without bread, soap, fuel, may become such a scourge as not to give us an opportunity to undertake Socialist construction. This [must] be our first step in our struggle for culture and for (our) existence'.⁸ The first task was to tackle the epidemics which were rapidly spreading across the country and which were gravely affecting the troops fighting for the young socialist state.

Beginning with the early 1920's the Kazakh Ministry of Public Health conducted a large scale medical propaganda campaign, radio programmes, posters, films, lectures, and staged public spectacles on health and hygiene,⁹ that reached the most remote parts of the country.¹⁰ It was on account of the policy made in Moscow administered through a centrally organized hierarchical structure, i.e. the republic level to the oblast or city administrations, then to the subordinate rayon level. Since the policy adopted, involved feldsher (paramedic) stations at the village level, district (rayon) and regional (oblast) levels, topped by an assortment of advanced institutions at the national level, where services were in principle, accessible and mostly free to everyone.¹¹ To offer efficient medical help, they also introduced biomedicine a step towards modernization and accordingly opposed ethno-medicine. Soviet medical administrators strongly opposed the traditional practices; fearing both the spread of disease and the traditional healers influence at the local level.¹²

The Soviets were fortunate to succeed rather quickly as in the late 19th century, large number of Russians and Ukrainians had settled in northern Kazakhstan, where they established large farms. Though Kazakhs and Europeans lived in separate settlements, they did not exist in total isolation from

⁸ Mark G. Field, "The Soviet legacy: the Past as prologue", Eds. Martin McKee, Judith Healy & Jane Falkingham, *Health Care in Central Asia*, Buckingham, 2002, pp. 68-69.

⁹ When in 1928 a Russian doctor entered a remote village in southern Kazakhstan to improve the Kazakhs' health and well-being he found a world very different from his own. The Turkic-speaking nomads neither physically nor culturally reminded him of the Russian villagers. The doctor summoned the villagers to hear a series of lectures on topics ranging from syphilis to prenatal care to sanitation, the physician noted the filth and squalor in which his would-be patients lived, their resistance to the notions he brought with him, and the distrust that forged a gulf between him and those he served; M. A. Bykov, *Sanitarnogigienicheskie ocherki i zdravookhranenie v raionakh Syr-Dar'inskogo okruga*, Chimkent, 1931; c.f. Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p. 167.

¹⁰ Paula A. Michaels, *Journal of the History of Medicine*, Vol.59, p.318.

¹¹ Mark G. Field, *Health Care in Central Asia*, pp. 68-70.

¹² Donald A. Bar & Mark G. Field, "The Current State of Health Care in the Former Soviet Union: Implications for Health Care Policy and Reform", *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol.86, No.3, 1996, pp. 307-308.

one another and accordingly whatever the Czars had established, in respect of health care system for the European settlers had become known to them.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s Soviet efforts were made to reshape Kazakhs on their own image, they were rather systematic to spread the facilities far and wide.¹³ In this atmosphere Soviet medical activists brought European biomedical practices to all levels to spread a system that was in essence free for all the nationals of the republic. Added to it the Soviet propaganda denounced traditional healers, and praised the Socialist system with its miracles of modern medicine accessible to the population.

The construction of Kazakh life as bright, clean and healthy was entrusted to medical cadres. Government and party officials believed that if medical workers succeeded in imparting this view to the Kazakhs, they would open the door to modernization and Europeanization of the region. It was because Central Asia including Kazakhstan was 'plagued with malaria, leprosy, polio, diphtheria, and tuberculosis before the Soviets took charge. The general mortality rate was 30.2 per 1000 inhabitants; infant mortality rate 272.0 per 1000 births. In 1913, average life expectancy was under 32.0 years, and 0.4 doctors were available per 10,000 inhabitants in Kazakhstan.'¹⁴



Picture 1. A Kazakh Shaman

Since the Soviets believed that religious practices, poverty, and illiteracy played as great a role as microbes in illness¹⁵ the State charged medical professionals with fighting disease not only through the application of scientific knowledge about microbes and vectors but also through a struggle against the social conditions viewed as fundamental to creating an environment in which diseases thrived. Although Soviet officials knew that germs caused diseases, they also stressed that environmental factors, such as nutrition and sanitation, played an equally important role in a disease's course and spread. Soviet medical theorists saw these environmental forces as products of the economic structure. Soviet medical etiology placed as much importance on the economic substructure as on microbial causes. While

¹³ Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p. 160.

¹⁴ A. K. Patnaik, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, p. 580; Howard M. Lecher, *Health Care Policy in Four Nations, USA*, 1978, p. 203.

¹⁵ The Marxist framework that formed the policies of Soviet political and medical authorities fit well with notions that linked disease to economic conditions. An economic substructure served as the foundation for the social, political, and cultural superstructures that sprang from it, fundamentally changed everyday life; *Soviet Communism: a New Civilization*, pp. 653-655.

it is scientifically valid to assert that environmental factors play a role in disease, the strong emphasis on environmental causes was a unique characteristic of Soviet medicine.¹⁶

Beginning in 1928, the Soviets intended to facilitate the transformation of the cultural superstructure at a time when industrialization and collectivization provided for fundamental changes in the economic substructure.¹⁷ There was no place in this new order for vestiges of a superstitious, irrational and unscientific past. Traditional healers, who included Shamans (Picture 1), mullahs, and folk doctors, found themselves the targets of a vigorous propaganda campaign meant to drive the indigenous population into the hands of the newly trained biomedical doctors, nurses, and midwives. For the most part, the effort was to persuade the population to distrust traditional healers, even though occasionally the state resorted to coercive methods, such as arrest and imprisonment.¹⁸ Accordingly at local level official's exerted pressure to people as they knew the role played by Shamans, mullahs, and folk doctors was exclusive among the natives who thus had tied a tight knot on them.¹⁹ The development of biomedical institutions in Kazakhstan, even if it was a clear expression of power and control, was but meant for the health and well-being of potential contributors to the Socialist economy.

Even if many things that the Soviets introduced under the health programmes were new yet there were certain areas like sanitation, basic health and hygiene education that had their origin in the pre-Revolutionary Russia, when doctors employed by 'zemstvos'²⁰ attempted to persuade Russian peasants to abandon their folk medical practices and to embrace biomedicine.²¹ At the time of the October Revolution, the 'zemstvos' work was still unfinished, much of rural Russia remained wedded to old practices and superstitions, and thereafter it was left to the Bolsheviks to finish this campaign while they pursued similar policies in the non-Russian territories of the Soviet Union including Kazakhstan.²²

After the formation of Soviet Union, to bring biomedicine to Kazakhstan in the interethnic context, this modernization project became linked to the state's political and economic exploitation of the region.²³ Therefore the Central government poured considerable resources into the development of biomedical cadres to meet the population's needs. Special attention was paid to the so-called backward regions, such as Central Asia including Kazakhstan which was particularly in acute need of medical

¹⁶ Leonard J. Bruce-Chawtt, *Malaria Research and Eradication in the USSR*, WHO, 1959, pp. 739-740.

¹⁷ Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p. 163.

¹⁸ Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p. 160.

¹⁹ Traditional healers served as cornerstones of Kazakh culture. Undermining these healers was essential to both the expansion of biomedicine and the securing of the state's exclusive authority at the local level; Paula A. Michaels, *Journal of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 59, p.70.

²⁰ 'Zemstvos' were the establishments of rural district councils who emerged during Tsar Period; *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*, pp. 653-654.

²¹ Biomedical workers fought to rid the Russian peasantry from superstitious beliefs that they thought kept Russia poor and backward. These medical workers had a modest impact on the health of Russian peasants through the dissemination of information about sanitation, personal hygiene, and neonatal care. This propaganda attempted to coax peasants into abandoning their customs by teaching them to view their way of life as dirty and a relic of the pre-modern past; *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*, p. 650.

²² *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*, pp. 653-654.

²³ Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p. 163.

facilities. In Kazakhstan, for example, the number of doctors grew from 452 in 1927 to 1,571 in 1937.²⁴ Until the founding in 1931 of the V. M. Molotov Kazakh Medical Institute (KazMI), all Kazakh doctors received training outside the republic. Even after the institute was opened, the majority of doctors continued to come from outside the republic, transferred there by the USSR Commissariat for Public Health. One of KazMI's primary missions was the creation of a cadre of indigenous medical workers. As of 1931, only 30 to 35% Kazakh physicians served the indigenous population.²⁵ Even after KazMI began graduating students in 1935, the number of Kazakh graduates remained quite small in the pre-war years. Kazakhs were more numerous at lower levels of the medical profession, working as nurses, midwives, and physician's assistants; still they could not serve the population wholly. In 1935 there were 14,604 health workers in Kazakhstan, but among them just 2015 were Kazakhs that is 13.8 % of the total number of health workers.²⁶

In 1928 the Kazakh Regional Committee of the Communist Party, was charged with developing 'massive agitation and propaganda and generally strengthening the struggle against the influence of mullahs, tabibs, and Shamans using the existing system of clinics and (Defense of Motherhood and Infancy) institutions.' Through special 'women's evenings' lectures women were made aware that old customs carried negative health consequences.²⁷ Gynecological problems that sprang up were attributed to child marriage. Accordingly child marriages were discouraged as the law fixed marriageable age for women at 18 years.²⁸ The Soviet officials and Communist Party members also worked against the *Kalyan*²⁹ which they regarded as bride price, prompting fathers to 'sell' their daughters into marriage at a very young age.

Besides the propaganda the State focused health and hygiene efforts on Kazakh women, in particular during the weeks between International Women's day (8 March) and ban on bride price and polygamy day (22 March). The regime focused concern for the health of women, particularly of pregnant ones and worked hard for their liberation from traditional medical practices. Both medical administrators and antireligious propagandists bemoaned the detrimental effects of lay midwives on the health and well-

²⁴ Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p.165.

²⁵ "Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Respubliki Kazakhstana", Ed. Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo v Kazakhstane; c.f. Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p.165.

²⁶ David Lane, *Ethnic and Class Stratification in Soviet Kazakhstan (1917-1949)*, Cambridge, 1975, p. 181.

²⁷ In 1938, Kazakh Commissar for Public Health I. Karakulov stated that the "total absence of medical help facilitates the development of all types of sorcery by Shamans, illiterate, ignorant witch doctors cling to Islamic law and Islam, perpetuating savage customs—spitting in [their patients'] mouths, beating the severely ill with the goal of "expelling" the illness from the person, etc. With the help of these witch doctors the population has been infected with all sorts of social illnesses." few months later, Deputy Commissar for Public Health I. Tazhiev in December 1938 reiterated these sentiments and stressed the negative effect of mullahs and Shamans on health conditions in Kazakhstan. "Spitting in mouths" he refers to occasions when the Shaman first chews a medication or some component of the healing ceremony, and then passes it to the patient's mouth. *Kazakhstan Press*, August 3rd and December 25th, 1938.; c.f. Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, pp. 171-173.

²⁸ Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p.170.

²⁹ Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p. 169.

being of newborns, while trumpeting the state's strides in expanding (Defense of Motherhood and Infancy) facilities ³⁰ (Picture 2).



Picture 2. Group of nurses working with children to stimulate their development

In a 1928 memo to the Kazakh Council of People's Commissars regarding the opening of midwifery schools in Semipalatinsk and Kzyl Orda, the Kazakh Commissar for Public Health asserted that from the moment of birth, Kazakh infants were in jeopardy at the hands of Shamans and lay midwives who did more harm than good, because of the danger they posed during childbirth by failing to provide a clean environment as above 272/1000 infant deaths occurred before the Soviet rule in Kazakhstan.³¹ Hygiene propaganda and antireligious³² leaflets published at the Center echoed these accusations against lay midwives, emphasizing the danger to both mother and child of infection contracted in an unsanitary home environment.

Medicalization of childbirth had the potential to lower the risks associated with childbirth, even though birthing facilities in rural Kazakhstan, even during the 1930s, offered less sanitary environment. However, the state launched an effort to use medical discourse not only to undermine the influence of local lay midwives but also draw Kazakh women's bodies into the hands of state-authorized biomedical workers.³³ In urban areas, "Houses of Health Education" advanced the cause of hygiene propaganda through exhibits, lectures, and outreach programmes to local schools and factories ³⁴ (Picture 3).

³⁰ According to Lopatina, a Russian, female writer who fought the influence of traditional healers in the countryside, lay midwives also jeopardized the lives of women experiencing difficult labour because they lacked formal biomedical training. The failure of lay midwives to call for a biomedical physician in a timely manner led to patient's illness, infertility, and even death; *Nuzhno Borot'sia*, Lopatina, pp. 17, 18, 27; C.f. Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p. 170.

³¹ Midwives came under severe attack as the cause of high infant mortality rates and the state encouraged women to abandon home birthing in favour of maternity wards; Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*, London, 1950, pp. 254-68.

³² Soviets paid particular attention to spreading antireligious biomedical propaganda among Muslim women, whom they believed to be disaffected with their position in Central Asian society and receptive to the state's message.; Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, p.70.

³³ Soviet Communism: A New Civilization, pp. 653-657.

³⁴ The awareness programmes were on physiology, infectious diseases, or social diseases, including alcoholism, prostitution, syphilis, and TB; Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p.176.

As the ranks of medical cadres gradually grew, efforts were made to disseminate health and hygiene propaganda to the whole spectrum of population.³⁵ Sanitation education found expression in written, visual, and oral media. Activists appear to have relied most heavily on written means to convey their



Picture 3. Babies in Children Hospital in Astana, Kazakhstan

vision of cleanliness and culture in the late 1920s and early 1930s, when cadres and resources were particularly scarce, and newspapers and pamphlets provided an inexpensive way to reach the broadest audience. By the mid-1930s, when more medical workers were available to conduct lectures,³⁶ discussions, and one-on-one agitation, oral propaganda methods and posters³⁷ were also employed to a greater extent.³⁸ Week-long public health drives in schools and workplaces, where teachers and health care workers were carried rallied to raise public consciousness about health questions.

By engaging the vast spectrum of people in medical activities, the Soviets started to succeed in gaining some control of the medical problems in Kazakhstan during the pre- World War II years. The medical education that was available in the republic or elsewhere in the Union was widely attracting Kazakhs. The result was that towards the beginning of the 1940s women came to predominate among

³⁵ In Central Asia, where the cultural gap between mostly European medical workers and Kazakh patients was wide, such propaganda efforts may have played a particularly important role in eroding local reluctance to accept biomedical approaches; Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p.173.

³⁶ Among the semi nomadic population of Southern Kazakhstan, the doctors implored the nomads “not to listen to your Kazakh healers who fail to heal the sick with their medicines; for all illnesses always go to the doctor, and there you will receive free, effective medicine.” Alonzo S. Yerby, *Medical Care in the Soviet Union*, Lippincott Williams press, 1968, p. 284.

³⁷ One health education poster from 1930 contrasts the unscientific methods of traditional healers with the accurate, enlightened methods of diagnosis used by biomedical workers. It depicts a Russian man shining a flashlight down on a crowd of Central Asians in traditional dress. On his desk sits a microscope, laboratory instruments, and test tubes, markers of scientific authority. He lights their path toward a hospital and the banner across the top reads “Religious leaders, healers, (tabibs), and mullahs destroy the health of workers. Don’t fall for their tricks! Get treatment at Soviet hospitals!”; *Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia Biblioteka*, 1935, p 4; c.f. Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p.169.

³⁸ As radios became more widely available in the 1930s, even the most distant corners of Kazakhstan were within earshot of sanitation education lectures and in the largely illiterate society of the Kazakh nomads and seminomads, posters, slides, and educational films may have been especially effective. “Kratkii ocherk”, p.28; c.f. Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, pp. 173-176.

practicing physicians,³⁹ while males retained most administrative positions in clinical facilities and medical educational institutions⁴⁰ (Picture 4).



Picture 4. Local pediatric clinic, Almaty, Kazakhstan

Needless to say, activists in the Kazakh Commissariat for Public Health incorporated all health education methods in their work throughout 1928–41, usually in conjunction with one another. On the one hand the medical propaganda offered an opportunity to convince Kazakhs of the dangers of their traditional healers, while the regional and republic-level newspapers described Shamans, mullahs, and other folk healers as greedy charlatans who willfully deceived the ignorant masses.⁴¹ Lectures, posters, and pamphlets all encouraged Kazakhs to become dependent on medical practitioners which for some meant that by inference it was to depend on the Soviet State. Along with cultural and religious factors, Soviet authorities stressed the link between economics and health. Writing in a 1927 manual for Central Asia's hygiene propagandists, I.I. Akodus stated that "the fundamental principle that lies at the base of Soviet medicine is that illness is not only biological, i.e., dependent upon the forces of nature, but is subject to social influence, i.e., dependent on the conditions of labour and everyday life in a particular society, economic conditions, the distribution of poverty and wealth, etc."⁴² He underscored that while exposure to the tuberculosis virus caused TB; infection occurs more frequently and has a greater impact among the poor, "who live in crowded conditions, eat poorly, work a lot and rest little - this is the social essence of the disease." Writing in an official Kaznarkomzdrav organ, a public health official named N. N. Matveev attributed the spread of infectious diseases among the Kazakhs to impoverishment and to "capitalism, which penetrated all aspects of the nomads' patriarchal life."⁴³

³⁹ Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, pp. 173-176.

⁴⁰ Faye Abdellah, *Nursing and Health Care in the USSR, USA, 1973*, p. 2097.

⁴¹ *Kazakhstanskaia pravda*, 1938, p. 3; c.f. Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p.176.

⁴² Akodus, "Kratkii ocherk", 1927, p.5; c.f. Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, pp. 169-70.

⁴³ N. N. Matveev, "Ocherednye zadachi na fronte zdravookhraneniia po KazASSR"; c.f. Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p.171.

There is a certain amount of medical truth to above mentioned assertions, but the emphasis on the overriding significance of economic conditions reflects a peculiarity of Soviet medicine that served the political purpose of buttressing the regime's economic agenda in Kazakhstan and across the USSR, and of asserting the superiority of Socialism over Capitalism.⁴⁴

The Soviet government stood as the saviour of the non-Russian peoples from Czarist capitalist exploitation. Both at the center and in the periphery, numerous authors blamed the Czarist system and wealthy native clan leaders for carrying out a policy of neglect designed to keep the Kazakhs and other minorities ignorant, uncultured, and physically weak for the sake of colonial domination.⁴⁵ Because of these limitations, Kazakhs were "ignorant of doctors prior to the Revolution", while the nomadic encampments and villages on the eve of World War II, had developed an enormous network of public health institutions.⁴⁶ Not only the facilities were created in a big way but the medical care that was available after the Revolution was free."⁴⁷

Probably more so than health propaganda, positive experiences with biomedicine played an important role in cultivating reliance on Soviet medical workers. When officials opened a clinic or hospital, the local population did not immediately flock to medical professionals for assistance. Rather, medical workers had to build trust gradually within the community by demonstrating the effectiveness of biomedicine and of their own skills. A 1936 newspaper article states that a hospital maternity ward in Aktyubinsk helped only six Kazakh women deliver their babies in 1933, while most Kazakhs 'ran to Shamans for help.' Within two years hospital workers had eroded much of the community's distrust and assisted two hundred women per annum.⁴⁸ Even though the number of hospital beds expanded from 3,767 in 1928 to 16,290 in 1941 yet most were concentrated in Slavic urban and industrial areas, and thus were beyond the reach of the region's indigenous population, which was often served by itinerant medical teams that passed through nomadic and semi-nomadic encampments for a few days or weeks at a time. Nevertheless in agricultural areas, the state established temporary clinical facilities to serve collective farmers during harvesting and sowing seasons. Among other duties, these young, temporary medical cadres bore responsibility for transmitting health awareness to Kazakhstan's villages.⁴⁹

The effective biomedical work and propaganda won the support of the Kazakhs for growing familiarity of biomedical practices to take advantage of clinical facilities. Periodic visits from medical personnel traveling through rural Kazakh areas had awakened the local population's interest in scientific medicine, which won the faith of this population for the doctor (Picture 5). Furthermore the dramatic economic and socio-political changes, right from the First Five-Year Plan in 1928 to the Union's entry into World War II in 1941, forged a 'New Soviet Man', through interventionist cultural policies,

⁴⁴ Soviet Communism: A new Civilization, pp. 696-697.

⁴⁵ Paula A. Michaels, *Journal of the History of Medicine*, p. 318.

⁴⁶ Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p. 171.

⁴⁷ Centrally published pamphlets aimed at the general public emphasized how many hospital beds, doctors, hospitals, and midwives served Kazakhstan, testifying the party's devotion to ordinary, working class men and women; Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p.175.

⁴⁸ Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p. 175.

⁴⁹ Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, pp. 318-322.

collectivization campaign, industrial and educational developments and the States efforts⁵⁰ to undermine traditional healers and supplant them with biomedical workers was that allowed Kazakhs to take increasing advantage of clinical facilities where in sanitation education work also played an important role in this shift.



Picture 5. Local pediatric clinic, Almaty, Kazakhstan

Improvements in Health

After the Revolution, and until World War II, health and hygiene conditions of Kazakh people indicate that the State had accomplished its objective of lowering rates of infectious diseases. On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the October Revolution in 1942, numerous public health officials asserted that the Revolution had washed away all the evils of the Tsarist past.⁵¹ In subsequent decades, dramatic improvements in the field of health were undoubted. By 1960-61, there were 1620 general hospitals in Kazakhstan with 77,000 hospital beds, 560 polyclinics, 704 health posts, 34 medical and

⁵⁰ After 1930, the Soviet government began forcing the nomadic Kazakhs to settle on collective and state farms, and the Soviets encouraged large numbers of Russians and other Slavs to settle in the region. During this period Kazakhstan endured repeated famines. At least 1.5 million Kazakhs and 80 percent of the republic's livestock died. Thousands more Kazakhs tried to escape to China, Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey; however, most of them starved in the attempt; Toregelyd Sharmanov, "History of Kazakhstan"; c.f. *Kazakhstan Demographic and Health Survey 1999*, Kazakhstan, 2000, p.2.

⁵¹ S. A. Chesnokov, Kazakh Commissar for Public Health claimed that the "The Great October Socialist Revolution transformed the face of old Russia. Colonial exploitation of Kazakhstan, with its darkness, ignorance, and cultural backwardness has disappeared forever." His deputy, Tleugabylov, enthused that, "casting off the chains of their damnable past, a friendly family of Kazakhs including many others marched hand in hand with the great Russian people along a vast, bright path [to the future]." c.f. Paula A. Michaels, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 59, p.173.

sanitation units, and 3940 feldsher-midwife posts.⁵² With the great emphasis on preventive medicine some common diseases like malaria, leprosy, polio, tuberculosis and diphtheria including cholera, plague, smallpox, typhus, relapsing fever etc. were brought under certain degree of control by the 1960s through widespread preventive measures like mass vaccination and immunization⁵³ as the incidence of typhoid was reduced by 80%, diphtheria by 75% and scarlet fever by 55%.⁵⁴

One of the dreaded diseases of Kazakhstan has remained, over the years, TB for the scarcity of safe drinking water and climatic environment has allowed it to sustain among the natives. Nevertheless, the state made efforts, between 1940 and 1960, to an extent that the number of people dying annually from tuberculosis fell by 75%.⁵⁵ From 1950-1965 the TB sick-rate was reduced threefold while bone and joint tuberculosis was reduced fourfold. It was achieved because the majority of the newborn babies were

vaccinated since 1934, and from 1948 onwards anti-tuberculosis vaccination was made compulsory for all children, (Picture 6) and from 1961, all employees of medical establishments and some other professions up to the age of 30 were also vaccinated against TB.⁵⁶



Picture 6. Kazakh/Russian medicos in TB testing laboratories in Kazakhstan

Such concentrated and die-hard efforts were taken in many other cases soon after the state was able to convince the people of their efforts. Many of the medical gains were achieved in the post-war years not only because of the cooperation of the natives but also because of the availability of the wide variety of

⁵² Medical Services in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, 1963, p.109.

⁵³ A. K. Patnaik, History of Civilizations of Central Asia, p. 580.

⁵⁴ "The Russian Health care System: Sick in so many ways", 2007, www.La Russophobe.com

⁵⁵ "Medical Services in Central Asia and Kazakhstan"; c.f. A. K. Patnaik, History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Vol. VI, p.580.

⁵⁶ Agranovsky & Antonov, *USSR: Questions and Answers, 1917-1967*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 327-328.

medical facilities. Leprosy completely vanished out of Kazakhstan by the 1960s, and not a single child of leper parents had caught the disease in the years from 1955-1961.⁵⁷ There was also an organized assault on cancer, comparable to the drives taken against common diseases. Hospital beds reserved for cancer cases were doubled, enabling almost every sufferer to be hospitalized. In general the incidence of specific diseases showed a dramatic decline between 1913 and the 1970.⁵⁸

The measures that were taken not only in other Central Asian republics but also in Kazakhstan too were so concrete that the health status of the people showed a lot of improvements. Mortality rates, both infant and general dropped sharply, the expectation of life correspondingly rose and the general health of the population improved largely. All the Central Asian republics succeeded in reducing the rate of infant mortality, by opening new children's hospitals and clinics and by increasing the number of pediatrician's. Women and infant mortality rate declined substantially. For example, between 1940 and 1960, there was a fivefold drop in infant deaths in Kazakhstan. The general life expectancy reached 43 years in 1942, and nearly 70 years at the dissolution of Soviet Union as compared to 32 in 1913.⁵⁹ The



birth rate was comparably high, 36/1000 population, in 1960, 40% above the all Union average. It was the aim of authorities that all confinements should take place in hospital conditions and new maternity homes were constantly being opened to make this possible. There were 11,000 maternity beds and 410 kolkhoz maternity homes, more than 500 women's and children's clinics including 196 in rural areas and 11,500 beds in children's hospitals and more than 1,700 children's doctors in Kazakhstan in 1961. In addition all the kolkhozes were being encouraged to build their own maternity homes⁶⁰ (Picture 7).

Picture 7. Physician checks the overall health development of children in a hospital in Almaty

⁵⁷ Medical Services in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, p.115.

⁵⁸ Comparative Approach to Policy Analysis: Health Care Policy in Four Nations, pp. 226-227.

⁵⁹ Medical Services in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, p.123; A. K. Patnaik, History of Civilizations of Central Asia, p. 580; WHO, Regional Office for Europe, 2007, www.who.com.

⁶⁰ Medical Services in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, p. 124.

The result was that the infant mortality dropped almost five times in the years between 1940 and 1960 even though the death rate of new-born babies, particularly premature ones, was still high.⁶¹ General mortality declined by 71% and infant mortality by 90% at the close of 1960s⁶² (Picture 8).



Picture 8. Child care facilities in Kazakh hospitals

While all these figures and facts reveal a changed scenario in the mental setup of the natives, progressing beyond doubt to a level that was giving shape to a new society entirely believing in biomedicine. For example the infant mortality was one of the concerns of the state and accordingly family planning issue was taken up in such a manner that looked different from many other countries. The state allowed women opportunities to have more children in an effort to have more human resource for varied activities of the state; and accordingly discouraged birth control methods intermittently

⁶¹ Examining the reason for this the Health Minister of Kazakhstan remarked in 1961 that a survey was done in 1960 only 78.6 percent of new-born babies had been visited by doctors in the first three days after discharge from the maternity home; *Medical Services in Central Asia and Kazakhstan*, p. 124.

⁶² The consultation centres looked after children in the area up to age of three. They regularly examined the both healthy and sick children in specialized departments and at home and taught mothers how to protect their children's health, vaccinate children against smallpox, tuberculosis, diphtheria, polio, etc. and supervised the work of the infant-feeding centers where mothers received supplementary food for their babies. Children after reached the age of three were constantly looked after by the district clinic up to the age of 14, or until they finished school. Due to these efforts, with the passage of time Soviet children became stronger, taller, and healthier; *USSR: Questions and Answers, 1917-1967*, p. 323.

through the Soviet years. The fertility rate in Kazakhstan reached its peak about 3.1 births per woman, towards the collapse of Soviet Union.⁶³

Like in other parts of the Soviet Union induced abortion was introduced as one of the primary methods of birth control in the republic. After its initial legalization in 1920, abortion was banned in 1936 as part of a pro-natalist policy emphasizing population growth. Since this attempt to increase population growth proved unsuccessful and even harmful because of maternal deaths caused by illegal abortions, the Soviet government again legalized induced abortion for nonmedical reasons in 1955. But it was prescribed that abortions should be discouraged. Any abortion performed outside a medical establishment was regarded as illegal. Except the expectant mother, all persons performing such abortions were punished by law. The average Soviet woman had thus six abortions during her



reproductive span, which was the only method of birth control throughout the Soviet era. Since Soviets for many years promoted policies to encourage women to have more children therefore those who had seven or more children were traditionally glorified and recognized as “mother-heroes” and were provided with a number of benefits⁶⁴ (Picture 9).

Picture 9. Visiting a family planning physician

⁶³ Lincoln C. Chen, Jon E. Rohde & Richard Jolly, “Health Crisis in Central Asian Republics”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.27, No.23, (Jun. 6, 1992), p. 1198.

⁶⁴ Akkumis Salkhanova & Holly Seyhan, “Induced Abortion”; *Kazakhstan Health and Demographic Survey*, Kazakhstan, 1999, p. 79; Fannina Hale, *Women in Soviet Russia*, Moscow, 1933 p. 144; Bashir Ahmad, “Reproductive Behavior in Central Asia”, *Central Asia: Introspection*, Eds. M. A. Kaw & A. A. Bandey, University of Kashmir, 2006, p. 348; Victor Agadjanian, *Ethnocultural Identity and Induced Abortion in Kazakhstan*, Arizona University, 1997, p.317.

While in 1937 the death rate in the USSR in general was 40% below the death rate in Russia in 1913 and was constantly being reduced implying a much higher life expectancy, on the other hand the birth rate increased constantly.⁶⁵ Even just from 1936 to 1937 the birth rate increased by 18%. In spite of the growth in population the authorities and health Ministries of the republics in the Union took measures to provide substantial infrastructural facilities to measure the health standards of the people. It was therefore mandatory for the entire adult population, to undergo a compulsory medical check-up once every two years. As an example example; 104.4 million people were examined by the doctors throughout the Soviet Union only in 1965.

To create high health standards Kazakhstan had more than 13,000 doctors and 53,000 feldshers, midwives and nurses by the year 1961.⁶⁶ That means there was one doctor for every 859 inhabitants. There were 23.8 physicians per 10,000 inhabitants in 1970 and 38.3 in 1981 in the Soviet Union as compared to 1.5 physicians per 10,000 inhabitants in 1913 in Russia.⁶⁷ The ratio of doctors in Kazakhstan was not the least as there were 21.8 in 1971 and it rose to 38.7 in 1988 doctors for 10,000 inhabitants.⁶⁸ It was a huge accomplishment as compared to 0.4 doctors per 10,000 populations in pre-Revolutionary days. Since by then education standards had also risen and medical education was well received by the Kazakh population more so by females therefore by the 1970s about three fourths of the total number of doctors in Kazakhstan was female.⁶⁹ By organizing the health system in such a way, the entire population was involved directly, and hence felt very strongly about improving the health of the nation.⁷⁰ Accordingly habits and attitudes of the people changed dramatically from the pre-Revolutionary days not only in Kazakhstan but throughout the Union.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Women's consultation centers, maternity homes, health stations at factories and offices, midwife and gynecological institutes and so on were mainly for expectant mothers, and were able to handle all the births in the country; *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*, pp. 670-674; *USSR: Questions and Answers, 1917-1967*, p. 322; *Rising Infant Mortality in the U.S.S.R. in the 1970s*, Washington, 1980; *Ethnocultural Identity and Induced Abortion in Kazakhstan*, p.319.

⁶⁶ Between 1926 and 1959 there was an 8.5 times increase in the number of medical personnel for the USSR as a whole, but as for the Central Asia and Kazakhstan is concerned the increase was 21 times; "Chislennost, Sostav i Razmeshcheniye SSSR", Moscow, 1961; "Kazakhstan Press (KP)", 19.05.1961; c.f. *Medical Services in Central Asia and Kazakhstan*, p.37; A K. Patnaik, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, p. 580; *Health Care Policy in Four Nations*, p. 203.

⁶⁷ Sankar Basu, *Culture and Civilization of the USSR*, New Delhi, 1985, p. 120.

⁶⁸ A K. Patnaik, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, p. 58

⁶⁹ Bejoy Kumar Sinha, *The New Man in Soviet Union*, New Delhi, 1971, p.185.

⁷⁰ It was pointed out that in 1956, 1.3 percent of the entire population of the Soviet Union including Kazakhstan worked in one way or another in the field of public health; Elizabeth Brainerd, "Reassessing the Standard of Living in the Soviet Union: An Analysis Using Archival and Anthropometric Data", *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 70, No. 1, 2010, pp. 83-99.

⁷¹ Sigerist (a prominent scholar of the time) describes some of his experiences in 1936: "The habits of the, Soviet people have changed radically in a very short time. The cities are spotlessly clean, and the foreigner soon learns that cigarette butts are not supposed to be thrown on the street but into special cans placed at every corner. I remember a long railroad ride from Moscow to Kazan during which the conductor came to clean my compartment every two hours, which was more often than I liked. When I asked her to let me sleep in peace, she said 'Well, citizen, I have to clean the compartment because the inspector may come in at any station, and the car must be kept as clean as it was when we left Moscow – but I will do it without disturbing you.' No visitor is allowed to go into food factories, medical institutions, or nurseries without sterilized gown and cap. Such regulations may sometimes seem exaggerated, but they are part of great educational programmes and far-reaching results cannot be expected unless there are strict rules which must be followed literally"; "The Russian Healthcare System: Sick in so many ways", *www.LaRussofobe.com*

Not only the human resource potential was becoming gradually high but other infrastructural facilities were also growing. Take for example the year 1913, there were 1.3 hospital beds per 1000 population throughout Russia, while as in the Soviet Union there were 11.1 beds for the same number of population in 1942.

All the facilities and human resource was of course because of the ever-increasing spending on health. By 1965 hospitals, hygiene institutes and health centres were to be found all over Kazakhstan as was the case in other parts of the Union. All types of hospitals, treatments, physiotherapy, radiotherapy, sanatorium cures, dental treatment, and maternity services and so on – were available to people free of charge. The public health budget of the USSR in 1937 was approximately 75 times that of Russia in 1913 and in 1965, 6.6% of the total budget was spent on health of the Soviet people.⁷² The lavish spending on health sector was made partly possible because of the social insurance system whereby all workers and peasants contributed a certain percentage of their earnings to the social insurance fund thereby contributing towards the overall well-being of people to make all aspects of health care free.

In USSR including Central Asia, unemployment, destitution and poverty have been permanently done away with on the basis of the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. In a remarkably short period of time the Socialist state succeeded in raising the material and cultural level of the entire population enormously, thereby laying a firm foundation for successful work in the field of public health. The Soviet Union wiped out slums and provided both town and country with water mains, sewer systems and electricity. In addition to this, the quality and quantity of the foods available were increased beyond all recognition. Nutritious food was made available to the entire population and its production and consumption increased constantly. The USSR by allowing the necessities of life to be supplied plentifully, and by providing decent leisure facilities, was able to improve peoples' psychological as well as material conditions, and hence allowed further improvement in health sector of the Union as well as that of people living there who got the facilities at various levels from that of the birth until their death⁷³ (Picture 10).



Picture 10. Health care facilities through ambulatory/flying hospitals

⁷² Murray Feshbach, *Health in the USSR: Organization, Trends, And Ethics*, USA, 2002, pp. 119-120.

⁷³ The Russian Health care System: Sick in so many ways, *www.LaRussophobe.com*

The health care system, therefore, ran parallel to material conditions as well as depended on improvements in the environment and the general standard of living. Socialized medicine did receive a great deal of the credit for such improvements. Wide health coverage, along with improved sanitation, clean water supply and reasonably good nutrition meant that the USSR was able to achieve high rates of immunization and deliver key interventions to improve infant and child mortality and reduce rates of communicable diseases. For example, following the introduction of universal childhood immunization in the late 1950s, diphtheria was well controlled for more than two decades with incidence levels in the USSR in the mid 1970s similar to those of the USA at 0.08 per 100,000.⁷⁴

Analysis

The health system functioned with excellent results. The life expectancy in Kazakhstan reached in the 1970s the levels close to those observed in Eastern Europe and European Russia as the average age of a Kazakh increased from mere 32 years in 1917 to 68.81 years (63.90 for men and 73.40 for women).⁷⁵ It was primarily because a wide range of preventive medicine including massive programmes of vaccination was carried out throughout the Union and accordingly by the year 1964, mortality and life expectancy indicators improved throughout the USSR.⁷⁶ The general population of all republics including Kazakhstan grew simultaneously from 232.2 million to 271.2 million between the years from 1965 to 1982, an increase of 17%.⁷⁷ These were no mean achievements, given that the Soviet Union was far more backward as compared to most of Europe at the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917.⁷⁸ The Soviet Union was industrially and technologically underdeveloped, by Western standards. Kazakhstan's socio-economic conditions were even worse than those of Russia at the time of Revolution. Disease and unsanitary living conditions were accepted as a normal part of life by the majority of the Kazakh population, before the Revolution. Moreover, during World War II the Soviet Union faced devastation and loss of lives (particularly both in Russia and Kazakhstan) that was greater than the rest of Europe put together.⁷⁹ The Soviet medical system helped carry the population through severe hardships and raised the life expectancy and living conditions to 20th century Western standards, as compared with countries with similar per capita income levels.⁸⁰ These gains were important to help the country to recover.

⁷⁴ Michael Borowitz & Rifat Atun, "The Unfinished Journey from Samashko to Bismarck: Health reform in Central Asia from 1991 to 2006", *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 25, No.4, 2006, p. 421.

⁷⁵ WHO, regional office for Europe, 1994; Michael Borowitz & Rifat Atun, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 25, No.4, p. 421.

⁷⁶ Soviet life expectancy for women was 74 years and for men 66, while as in 1913 it was just under 32 years; *USSR: Questions and Answers, 1917-1967*, p. 316; *The New Man In Soviet Union*, p. 184.

⁷⁷ Health in the USSR: Organization, Trends, And Ethics, pp. 119-120.

⁷⁸ Mark. G. Field, *Health Care in Central Asia*, pp. 67-68.

⁷⁹ The difficult decade of the 1930s was followed by World War II devastations, massive losses of population were estimated at 26 to 27 million or 13.5% of the pre-war population; the population that survived endured horrific conditions including disease, severe rationing and malnourishment, and dislocation; Elizabeth Brainerd, *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 70, pp. 95-99; Amit Sen. Gupta, *The Soviet Health System*, Weekly Organ of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), Nov.18, 2007.

⁸⁰ Elizabeth Brainerd, *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 70, pp. 83.

However, since the late 1970s, something seems to have gone awry in the health status of the Soviet people in general and Central Asian republics including Kazakhstan in particular. There was a striking reversal of mortality trends (particularly increase in infant and child mortality and decrease in adult male life expectancy) due to the combination of rising illness and ineffectual medical care. The main reason for it was limited and shrinking budgetary allocations (below 4% of the total budget in the 1980s as compared to 6.6 in 1964) together with smoking and wide spread drinking of alcohol, especially by men, accidents, poor sanitation, inadequate nutrition as well as hospitals and clinics were poorly equipped and maintained. Besides this most physicians were poorly trained to counter the new types of diseases that emerged by then as there were not sufficient funds to bring in new technology and take up researches in these fields. Added to it the medicos were inadequately paid. And finally extensive environmental pollution was the major cause of illness and premature mortality in the Soviet Central Asia and other parts of the USSR.⁸¹ It was in spite of the fact that the birth rate in Kazakhstan fell steadily since the end of the 1980s while as “crude” mortality rate of 6.9 deaths per 1000 reached its lowest level in 1990. The trends in mortality and hence also in average life expectancy showed a characteristic pattern as there was an improvement in the period 1985–1986 as a result of President Gorbachev’s anti-alcohol campaign, but it was followed by a sharp deterioration in 1992–1995, owing partly to a return to former patterns of alcohol consumption and partly to the difficult socio-economic conditions during the transitional period.⁸² Even though at the end of the Soviet rule life expectancy of men in Kazakhstan was over 63 years and that of women was over 73 years, yet the 10 years gap between men and women was one of the largest gaps in the world followed by Russia.⁸³ This male mortality crisis began in the 1970s and continues even today.⁸⁴ Partly due to increased death rates from cardio-vascular diseases, cancers, car accidents, homicides and alcohol abuse showing that such causes of death have not been addressed well by the health ministry during the Soviet era. While the post 1970 Soviet Union has been found to have lacked the infrastructural growth at the rate comparable with that of Stalin era and as well the lack of funding for technological growth and research facilities to meet the growing requirement of the times.

Added to it, Kazakhstan like some other Asian republics faced chronic problems of clean drinking water and sanitation, compounded by the unmasking of long-standing man-made environmental health catastrophes. Clean drinking water remained a problem as reflected by the relatively high level of water-borne diseases (diarrhea, hepatitis, typhoid) from the late 1980s.⁸⁵ Although the majority of urban populations enjoyed piped water, less than half of the rural populations had access to safe piped water supplies⁸⁶ (Picture 11). What was making hazardous was that drinking water came from open sources,

⁸¹ Soviet Union: Declining Health Care in the 1970s and 1980s, www.who.com; The State of Soviet Medicine, HP.TIME.COM, 1970; Donald A. Barr & Mark G. Field, “The Current State of Health Care in the Former Soviet Union”, *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 86, No.3, 1996, p. 307.

⁸² Highlights on Health in Kazakhstan, WHO, 1999, p.5.

⁸³ Highlights on Health in Kazakhstan, WHO, 1999, p.5.

⁸⁴ Donald A. Barr & Mark G. Field, *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 86, No.3, p. 307.

⁸⁵ Jennifer Franz & Felix Fitzroy, “Child mortality In Central Asia: social policy, agriculture and the environment”, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 25, No.4, December 2006, pp. 481-485.

⁸⁶ Jennifer Franz & Felix Fitzroy, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 481-485.

frequently contaminated by fecal organisms and chemical pollutants as in rural areas, sanitary facilities were often characterized by open latrines and untreated sewerage discharge into waterways.⁸⁷



Picture 11. A Kazakh takes water from well

To add to it the consequences of Soviet agricultural and industrial policies were disastrous for environmental health as the excessive use of fertilizers, cotton cultivation and chemical waste from industries leaked into these waterways. Women and men including children worked in cotton fields and thus get directly exposed to chemical hazards from pesticides. Industrial pollutants such as PCB-compounds and heavy metals, and also the use of large quantities of pesticides to control parasites and weeds accumulated not only in water, but also in soil and therefore deposited over large areas by atmospheric transport to enter the food chain of humans.⁸⁸ There were reports of high incidence of respiratory ailments, especially bronchial asthma, neurological and congenital disorders, and allergic reaction due to these chemical pollutants.⁸⁹ Mothers in certain regions in Kazakhstan (and Uzbekistan) were advised against nursing their babies because of toxins in breast milk.⁹⁰

For decades, anemia has been considered one of Kazakhstan's leading public health problems. In 1995, anemia levels among women and children were determined in conjunction with the 1995 KDHS. 49% of women and 69% of children under the age of three in Kazakhstan suffered from some degree of anemia. A study revealed that the highest rates of anemia are in areas close to the Aral Sea.⁹¹ These areas

⁸⁷ Jennifer Franz & Felix Fitzroy, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 481-485.

⁸⁸ Shirin Akiner, *Central Asian Voices*, 1990, London, pp.1-2.

⁸⁹ *Central Asian Voices*, p.2.

⁹⁰ *Central Asian Voices*, p.2.

⁹¹ Almaz T. Sharman & Bedel T. Sarbayev, "Anemia", *Kazakhstan Demographic and Health Survey*, p.151.

are characterized by severe agrochemical pollution and other environmental and socio-economic problems.⁹²

The ecological problems represent the cumulative result of decades of policies adopted for the development of agriculture and industries. The expansion of cotton cultivation has pushed out the cultivation of fruits and vegetables and has shrunk the pasture land for livestock. On the other hand, indiscriminate and excessive use of pesticides, fertilizer, and defoliant has severely disturbed the ecology. Compared with 3 kg of fertilizer used per hectare in other parts of the former Soviet Union, 20-25 kg of chemicals were used in Central Asia⁹³ to enhance the yield of cotton. What it resulted was that not only the ecological balance was disturbed but overall health hazards started to emerge. In addition the inefficient irrigation has led to water waste, water-logging, salinity, and contamination of underground sources. Illustrative of this environmental catastrophe is the 'slow death' of the Aral Sea, once the world's fourth largest inland water body. Fed by the Syr Darya (through Kazakhstan) and Amu Darya (through Uzbekistan), the Aral Sea Basin has been severely disturbed by water logging and salinity from over-use of irrigation water, chemical pollution, discharge of untreated sewage, and soil erosion. The health and livelihoods of three million people immediately surrounding the sea have thus got threatened. Other examples are air, industrial, and nuclear pollution. The production of air pollutants in Chimkent, Kazakhstan was in the order of 375 kg per capita per year in comparison to 20 kg in the rest of the former Soviet Union or 100 in New York City. In the Ust-Kamenogorsk region, pollution of air, water, and the physical environment has been caused by heavy mining and smelting industries.⁹⁴

Diseases widely linked to the external environment continue to dominate the causes of child mortality in Kazakhstan,⁹⁵ like anemia, tuberculosis, kidney and liver diseases, respiratory infections and specific types of cancer-rates within the Aral Sea basin, deaths from digestive and respiratory diseases linked to environmental contamination account for a dominant share of adult and child mortality. In the Aral Sea basin 40 million of the approximately 55 million inhabitants of Central Asia are surrounded by one of the worst environmental disasters from the late 20th century – an ongoing disaster that had wreaked social, economic as well as ecological havoc.⁹⁶

Another catastrophe for the Kazakh people came in the form of Cold War, erupted on 29 August 1949, when the Soviet Union conducted its first nuclear test at the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Test Site in north-eastern Kazakhstan.⁹⁷ Altogether 2400 nuclear tests had been conducted worldwide between 1949 and 1989, the Soviet military conducted 456 tests at the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Test Site; compared to other nuclear test sites, the Kazakhstan Site ranks second in terms of explosive yield (after the Marshall

⁹² Almaz T. Sharman & Bedel T. Sarbayev, *Kazakhstan Demographic and Health Survey*, p.151.

⁹³ Lincoln C. Chen, Jon E. Rohde & Richard Jolly, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.27, No.23, pp. 1199-1200.

⁹⁴ Lincoln C. Chen, Jon E. Rohde & Richard Jolly, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.27, No.23, pp. 1200-1201.

⁹⁵ Children are adversely affected by unsafe and unhealthy environmental conditions, including air pollution, water, sanitation and chemical contamination; thus cause of child mortality and morbidity has attracted significant interest in recent decades in Kazakhstan and many other Asian republics; Jennifer Franz & Felix Fitzroy, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 25, No. 4, p.481.

⁹⁶ Central Asian Voices, pp. 2-9.

⁹⁷ C. Land & S. Bauer, *Fallout from nuclear tests: health effects in Kazakhstan*, online, 2002, pp. 75-78.

Islands) and second in terms of the total number of tests (after the Nevada Test Site). Studies were published during the glasnosty period which showed that people living near the Test Site have experienced higher rates of cancers (including leukemia), benign thyroid abnormalities, psychological problems and birth abnormalities⁹⁸ (Picture 12).



Picture 12. Abnormal child is bathed by his mother in Semey, Kazakhstan

Radiation-induced cancers were also commonly reported. Cancer incidence in the region reportedly was 150-200 per 1,00,000; and birth anomalies 1.5 per 1,000 births in 1991⁹⁹ (Picture 13).

⁹⁸ Murat Telekom, "Fallout exposure and health condition of the population in the semipalatinsk region of Kazakhstan", International Congress Series, Vol. 1258, 2006, p. 466.

⁹⁹ Fallout from nuclear tests: health effects in Kazakhstan, pp. 75-78.



Picture 13. Nurse holds a two year old baby in a hospital in Semey, Kazakhstan

The Soviet government and its people were justifiably proud of post-war health records characterized by improvement in infant mortality, life expectancy, and overall mortality rates. The rapid development since the early 1930s of a system that provided universal access to primary health care services in local, cities and specialty services in regional centers was surely responsible in part for those achievements. Since the early 1970s, however, the state of the nation's health and, the quality of its health care system declined. In a country as developed and industrialized as the Soviet Union of the 1970s, these declining health indicators probably reflect a deterioration of general economic conditions. Health care, agriculture, and in fact all sectors of the economy suffered during the 1970s, a period of sluggish economic growth and deepening bureaucratization. Partly because of general declining standards, the early promises of the health care system were not sustained.



KHAYDAROV, M. Mirazim

The Prospects of Intensification of the Turkic World Integration

Abstract: Turkic peoples from ancient times played a key role in Central Eurasia. Their highly developed martial qualities let them conquer vast territories and create many empires in Central Eurasia. Nevertheless, Turkic peoples have never acted on the world arena as a single whole. During the 19th and 20th centuries Turkic nations became colonies or semi-colonies of the great powers. Parallel with the dissemination of the ethnic principle of self-identification, the idea of the Turkic world integration was spreading in the Turkic world. Ideas of ethnic integration are constructive under the condition of overcoming chauvinistic and extremist trends. One can see that by examples of Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism that were in fact realized in the middle of the 20th century. At present there are several premises for the dissemination of the idea of intensification of the Turkic world integration. Relative equality of the integrating parties is one the integration terms. Civilization proximity of nations is the fundament of integration. It indicates necessity of increasing peoples' psychological and communicative proximity. In this connection and because of the existing political situation, it is expedient to concentrate the efforts on humanitarian integration of the Turkic world, rather than the political. Several priority measures of intensification of the Turkic world integration are recommended.

Key words: Central Eurasia, the Turkic world, ideas of ethnic integration, Turkism, humanitarian integration.

Formation of the Modern Turkic World

The modern Turkic world has been forming for centuries and the layout of the Turkic peoples settlement has formed under the influence of migration processes of the Turkic peoples, which had the nature of expansion before the 16th century; since then the area of the Turkic peoples settlement or supremacy has significantly shrunk.

The following regions can be symbolically separated on the Eurasian continent according to cultural-climatic attributes:

- 1) Europe – densely populated by predominantly Christian peoples, damp western side of Eurasia;
- 2) Asia – densely populated by predominantly Buddhist and Hindu peoples, monsoon damp eastern, south-eastern and southern sides of Eurasia;
- 3) Middle East – rarely populated by predominantly Muslim peoples, arid south-western side of Eurasia with the Mediterranean precipitation regime;

4) Central Eurasia – the region located between Europe and Asia and embracing both part of Europe and part of Asia, but differing from Europe and Asia with its vast surfaces, inland location, severe climate, and with low population density.

It should be noted that this division is to a large extent relative, and certain areas according to various attributes can be referred to different regions.

Central Eurasia for millennia has been the main region of the Turkic peoples' settlement. Inner Asia, i.e. the region embracing Southern Siberia and Central Asia is considered to be the historical motherland of the Turkic peoples, from where they moved mainly in western and south-western direction¹.

The moral values of Turkic peoples had formed particularly under the influence of conditions and living styles of an average Turk; they became the basis for the high martial qualities of the Turkic peoples. Turkic societies virtually corresponded to mobile and disciplined armies. Thanks to this, Turkic peoples over a period of millennia founded empires, particularly embracing adjacent regions (Europe, Asia and Middle East). This circumstance let the Turkic peoples expand their area of living or become ruling class on the territories from the Pacific Ocean and Bengal Bay to Central Europe and Maghreb.

Migration of the Turkic peoples to the West i.e. to Eastern and Central Europe proceeded in several waves and was extensive by amount and time. Suffice it to mention that the first known waves of Turkic expansion to Europe took place in the period of Roman Empire. The best known groups of Turkic peoples that consecutively founded their empires in Central and Eastern Europe were the Huns, the Avars, the Bulgars, and the Hazars.

However, the greatest influence on the formation of the modern East European Turkic peoples was exerted by the successors of the above mentioned groups – the Pechenegs and the Kypchaks, especially the latter. Migration of the Kypchaks to Eastern Europe and supplanting by them the Pechenegs took place mostly in the 11th century. It is this time which can be considered as the beginning of the Kypchak period in Eastern Europe, which is lasting till present.

Later on, after the accession of the fragments of the Golden Horde to the Moscow state, Kypchak peoples could retain only sedentary Muslim areas in Middle Volga-Ural, Crimea, and the part of Northern Caucasus. Nomadic Kypchaks, who had mostly accepted Orthodoxy, partly joined in the Moscow aristocracy; the most part of them formed the initial backbone of the military estate of the Russian Empire – the Cossacks, which afterwards (as per increase of the Slavic element) became the component of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples. It should be noted that the Cossacks had played exceptional role in annexation by Russia of the territories of the Great Steppe and Siberia; the Cossacks played a very important role in the subsequent history of Russia particularly in the wars with European powers.

Part of the nomadic Kypchaks practicing Islam who had taken the name of Nogays was consecutively supplanted from Volga, South Ukrainian and North Caucasian steppes mostly to the Ottoman Empire and Central Asia.

¹ The Internal Classification & Migrations of Turkic Languages, 2010.

turkic-languages.scienceontheweb.net/migration_and_classification_of_turkic_languages.html

Though migration of Turkic tribes to the South-East – to Anatolia, Iran, Azerbaijan, and Iraq also proceeded in several waves, expansion of the Seljukids in the 11th century was determinant in the settling of the Turkic peoples in this region. Afterwards, through Anatolia, the Turkic ethnic groups moved to the Balkans. Turkic population settled on the Balkans was also supplanted during the wars of Christian Empires with the Ottoman Empire as a result of withdrawal of the latter.

In the 14th-15th centuries migration of Yakuts from South Siberia to the Lena Basin took place. Afterwards Yakuts widely spread along the Lena River tributaries across a vast territory.

Thereby the general layout of the modern settlement of Turkic peoples has formed. The general area of Turkic peoples settlement passes from the Lena Basin through southern Siberia, Central Asia, Central Volga and Ural, Caucasus and Crimea to Zagros, Anatolia and the Balkans. Thus the Turkic peoples occupy vast territory within the Eurasian continent, which does not have access to oceans only having access to some inner continental seas. This circumstance predetermined the historical prevalence of land interrelations and integrations among the Eurasian nations, played a considerable part in the Turkic peoples' life.

Availability of close interconnection and recurrent integration of the parts of the Turkic world in the past is proven by the level of proximity of languages and cultures of the Turkic peoples.

Ideas of Ethnical Integration in the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century

During the greater part of the medieval period Central Eurasia had been virtually divided between Turkic and Turkic-Mongol empires. For instance, to the end of medieval period, in the 16th century, practically all of Islamic Eurasia, as well as India, North Africa and South-East Europe were divided between the Ottoman, Safavid, Baburid empires, as well as the Sheibanid and other Turkic states. However, the Turkic world has never acted on the world arena as a single whole; the great empires created by the Turkic peoples wasted much of their energy to struggle with each other.

By the 19th and 20th centuries the situation had drastically changed and the Turkic peoples transformed from military and ruling caste of Eurasia to the group of nations who had become colonies and semi-colonies of the great powers.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, under the influence of European nations, the ethnic principle of self-identification disseminated throughout the Turkic world. As the dissemination of this principle and the knowledge about the Turkic populated area, cultural proximity, geographical and historical community of the Turkic peoples continued, ideas of Turkism as a movement for the freedom of the Turkic peoples and for creation of their own center of power occurred and developed in the 20th century². Thus the idea of consolidation of the Turkic peoples based on ethnical principles rather than on dynastic, geographic and religious principles occurred for the first time in history. The objective necessity of this idea was manifested by the fact that the public figures of the various Turkic peoples, viewing Turkism as

² Gilyazov I. *Turkism: formation and development (characteristic of the main stages)*. Kazan State University, Kazan, 2002. (in Russian). www.ksu.ru/f11/bin_files/gilazov_tyurkizm!8.pdf

a part of the course for national revival, liberty, and cultural development of the Turkic peoples, became the followers of the idea independently from each other.

As a result of rigorous repressions pursued by totalitarian regimes in the beginning and the middle of the 20th century, Turkism collapsed as an idea. The greatest damage to Turkism was inflicted by Stalinism, by which particularly the majority of conspicuous Turkism followers had been repressed. It consisted in discrediting the idea of integration of the Turkic peoples itself and in the total informational silence regarding the historical and integration potential of Turkic peoples. The absence of awareness among the Turkic world's populace about the Turkic world as a community with a vast potential, plus the negative image of Turkism as a certain destructive movement propagated by Stalinism is a proof of the state of affairs mentioned briefly earlier.

Ideas played probably a greater role in the history of humanity than material values from the point of view of amount of wars and conflicts, forced or voluntary expenses of societies. One cannot characterize ideas by extreme categories, like searching only positive or only negative features. The level of constructivism or disruptiveness of ideas depends on which character the ideas predominantly acquire, and accordingly in which forms the ideas are implemented. The idea of integrating ethnically close groups is constructive from the point of view of consolidating peoples, conflict resolution between them, merger of regions etc. Though, isolationistic trends initially exist in such ideas, and these trends can prevail in case of excessive accentuation on ethnicity. And if the interests of an ethnic group are considered much of much higher value than the interests of other groups, the idea would take an undisguised aggressive character.

Thus in the 1930s and 1940s the idea of German nationalism containing pragmatic aspiration for review of the discriminatory Versailles system and for uniting the European Germans in a sole state, as per the victories of Germany, attained more and more the features of the idea of superiority of Germans and legitimacy of sacrificing the interests of other groups for the interests of Germans; hence the idea doomed the German nation to defeat.

The events of World War II are often viewed as a struggle between nations who belonged to capitalistic, national-socialistic and Bolshevik systems. But it is worth to remember that in the course of these events two ideas of ethnical integration – Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism – were implemented.

Unification of German-speaking countries of Europe into a sole state was carried out over a period of centuries, a national aspiration of European Germans. By reason of location of German territories in the midst of the great powers of Europe, and the antagonism between Prussia and Austria regarding the hegemony of Germany, Prussia under the rule of Bismarck had to levy three wars and administer a complicated diplomatic game until achieving the unification of Germany. In 1871 Bismarck managed to unite German states into a German empire except Austria, Luxemburg and Switzerland. After 1871, annexation of Austria into the Reich turned to be the main goal of Pan-Germanists.

The collapse of Germany in World War I not only led to detachment of several German-populated regions from Germany and Austria, but also put Germany into the state of limited sovereignty under the conditions of the Versailles system. Unification of Germany and Austria was deliberately inhibited.

Recovery of Germany's positions began with the coming to power of national-socialists in 1933. During the following years the limitations of the Versailles system against Germany were abrogated, and Austria, the Sudet-region and Klaipeda were reunified with Germany. Though these achievements of Germany were feasible by means of belligerent blackmail, in this stage the policy of national-socialists was focused on restitution of Germany's sovereignty and annexation of German-populated areas striving to unite with Germany.

Further expansion of the Reich acquired features of aggressive wars against other countries in the course of which the Reich annexed North-Western Poland, populated not only by Germans but predominantly by Poles, Alsace and Lorraine and Luxemburg, German-speaking population which had ambiguous attitude to unification with the Reich. Germany managed to unite a significant part of Europe under its authority but several European countries turned to a disparaged status; especially this was applicable for Poland and Czechia which were became directly occupied territories. It was clear that the further policy of the Nazi government was guided not by the interests of German people and the necessity to defend Europe, as they declared, but mainly by the purpose to oppress and plunder European nations. The policy of national-socialists pursued in the occupied territories of USSR was the peak of their aggression and chauvinism.

The defeat of Germany was the result of overwhelming dominance of resources mobilized against Germany in comparison with resources mobilized for Germany's benefit. Germany could have overcome this dominance if it involved the forces who viewed Germany as their ally in their own struggle for interests. For instance, France could have turned to be a valid ally since the public mood was clearly anti-British after the operations of the Royal Navy against the French navy in 1941. Following the intrusion of the German army into the USSR, Germans could have found allies in that segment of the soviet population who viewed Germans as possible ally in their struggle against the Bolshevik regime. However, the policy of the national-socialist regime was of oppressive nature and therefore of limited capability to mobilize allies in Europe; and in the USSR this policy resulted in a general resistance against the German army, not only from the Bolshevik regime but also from most parts of the USSR population.

The Nazi policy of plundering other nations was to a large extent driven by the problem of exigent lack of resources for their military campaigns. It was a constant problem that they faced from the very first years of the war and which had to be solved immediately and by any means. However, this policy was -to a large extent- justified and became possible because of the official legitimization and national-socialistic propaganda on the German superiority. Thus, the national-socialistic ideology doomed Germany to confront with other nations whose unified forces were disproportionate with Germany's resources. Nevertheless, even if the resources of the allied forces and that of Germany were comparable, the national-socialistic ideology was doomed to be defeated in the long-term due to its fundamental amorality.

The national-socialists' policy also discredited all achievements obtained during their reign. As a result, by the end of the war, all German-speaking regions annexed to the Third Reich, including Austria, were detached from Germany, and Germany lost about 13%³ of its pre-war territory. The

³ About 25% (editor's note)

German diasporas that traditionally had big influence in East Europe were deported from several East European countries. The plan of an even greater disintegration of Germany was not realized though Germany was separated into Western and Eastern parts because of disagreement between the Western Allies and the USSR. The German people suffered a massive psychic trauma and total humiliation; Germany henceforth was deprived of the chance to become a military-political center in the nearest future.

The German catastrophe provided opportunity for the realization of another idea of ethnic integration – Pan-Slavism. The unification of Slavic countries of Eastern, Central and South-Eastern Europe under Russian authority had been the purpose of the Russian Pan-Slavists during the 19th and early 20th centuries. This purpose was actually achieved in 1945 when the USSR took its control over the East European countries, including all Slavic countries.

Contrary to the Nazi ideology, ethnicity was not a key factor in the Bolshevik ideology. The main purpose of the USSR was to spread the communist regime and its own supremacy all over Europe, and the Slavic factor played a role in this expansion. For instance, in order to legitimize the territorial expansion in Eastern Europe, pro-Slavic and anti-German rhetoric was used to a certain extent in the political propaganda of the USSR.

The re-division of Europe at the end of the war also showed pro-Slavic traits. About one hundred thousand square kilometers of Germany's pre-war territory populated mainly by Germans was handed over to Poland (most probably as a compensation for Western Ukraine and West Belarus which before the war had belonged to Poland and were annexed by USSR). The German city Königsberg with the contiguous territory was handed over to Russia. About fifteen million Germans were deported from several regions of Eastern Europe, first of all from former German provinces: Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia⁴. Several Adriatic regions belonging to Italia were transferred to Yugoslavia, however, the transfer of South Dobruja from Romania to Bulgaria, which took place under the patronage of Nazi Germany, remained unchanged.

As a result of the above-mentioned boundary revisions, the Slavic countries also attained or expanded their strategic access to the sea. Thus, Poland acquired not only about one hundred thousand square kilometers of German territory but also some 500 kilometers of Baltic seashore, whereas before the war it had practically no access to the sea except for a narrow coastal zone that had separated Germany from East Prussia and became one of the formal reasons of the German-Polish war in 1939. Russia gained the Königsberg/Kaliningrad port at the Baltic Sea. Yugoslavia significantly increased its access to the Adriatic Sea at the expense of Italian territories and acquired the coastal territories that had for a long time been under Italian governance or had considerable Italian influence. Bulgaria increased its Black sea shore with the coastal zone of Southern Dobruja.

However, the Warsaw pact only existed for about 45 years. As a result of the collapse of socialism, the five⁵ Slavic countries united in the Warsaw pact separated into 13 Slavic countries of different political

⁴ The Expulsion of the "German" Communities from Eastern Europe at the end of the Second World War. Edited by Steffen Prauser and Afron Rees. European University Institute, Florence, 2004.

cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/2599/HEC04-01.pdf;jsessionid=0B71E78D95F71D41F4E3F0FA709109B4?sequence=1

⁵ four (editor's note)

orientation. The breakup of Yugoslavia was accompanied by an inter-Slavic war. Some of the Slavic countries joined NATO, which was considered to be Russia's contestant.

The main reasons behind the collapse of the Slavic union within the Warsaw system were as follows: the unification processes happened to be realized under a regime which had certain achievements in industrial development, science and education, but discredited itself by aggressive and amoral policy; the unification had not been realized on equal rights, but on the basis of the country's military and political dominance; and that disintegrative elements were also incorporated.

The Warsaw pact had no sufficient foundation to cement the integration of the Slavic countries unified within the system. In this union the USSR -being more backward in social-economic aspect- tried to dominate above more progressed East European nations. Catholic Slavic nations, oriented mostly to Europe did not have popular intention to integrate with orthodox Slavic nations, and their forced unification did not last for long.

In contrast to Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism integration within the European Union became an example of successful integration for all integration initiatives of the world. The European Union has the following features distinguishing it from the cases of Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism:

- 1) Integration within the European Union has been realized voluntarily, step-by-step, and based on relatively equal rights.
- 2) Integration within the European Union is not oriented against anybody, and is based primarily on economic and cultural relations.
- 3) The basis of integration is the cultural homology of the European nations.
- 4) The world-wide trend for regionalization and the emergence of new economic and political centers in America and East Asia promoted the establishment of the European Union.
- 5) The well-established democratic values and civil society helped overcoming the political barriers in Europe.

Development of Turkism ideas in the present

By the end of the 20th century, with the growth of ethnic self-consciousness of the Turkic peoples and with the emergence of independent Turkic states, the idea of convergence and cooperation between Turkic peoples gained a new impulse, though according to the above-mentioned reasons it did not become popular. However, based on the following premises, an intensification of the integrative endeavours is indispensable and therefore, a wider spread of the idea amongst the Turkic public is expected:

- 1) Requirement of joint activity on the conservation and development of the cultural and spiritual potential of the Turkic world.
- 2) Demand in consolidation of the Turkic region's potentials in terms of world-wide regionalization.

3) Requirement for centralized vindication of interests of the Turkic world subjects as a consequence of their geopolitical situation; in the center of Eurasia in the intersection of interests of the most powerful global actors.

4) Community of geo-economic interests which particularly proceed from: 1. Most Turkic countries are located inside the continent, therefore have no direct access to the sea; furthermore, they are closed up on each other which results in the necessity to cooperate in order to access the sea or other transport routes 2. Most Turkic countries are located at the centers of existing and potential transport routes of commodities and energy resources. Decreasing the barriers commonly on these routes would encourage the use of trans-Eurasian itineraries for the transport of commodities and energy resources.

So far as the ideas of ethnic integration proceed from national-patriotic sentiments, in which national goals occupy central position, they primordially contain a tendency to grow into chauvinism and extremism. This is comparable with the tendency of an individual to develop egocentrism. That's why level of constructiveness of such ideas directly depends on their ability to overcome the egocentric tendencies and their ability to harmonize the interests of the different groups. Thus, the ethnical integration endeavours should incorporate the ethics of respectful attitude towards the interests of other groups and be issued on grounds of moral priority; e.g. the unity of mankind is prior to ethnic interests.

The impossibility of integrating peoples by chauvinistic and compelling ways is proven throughout history. The "high energy" of a nation that enabled the creation of high culture and civilization in an unobtrusive manner, making it attractive for other nations, has always been the basis of founding an empire. And though the majority of empires in the past have been founded by military means, the "high energy" of an empire, which ensured the moral-psychological cementation of the union through attractiveness, has been the determinant factor for an empires' longevity. However, as cultural degradation occurs, the attractiveness of a union decreases. In parallel, the center applies measures in order to keep the people within the empire. This further reduces the attractiveness of the union and strengthens the centrifugal forces.

The viability of the Turkic empires relied upon a combination of high martial qualities and the general principle of tolerance. Lack of tolerance was a clear sign of decline, which can be observed on the examples of Baburid's Empire and the Ottoman Empire at their late existence.

As a consequence of the widespread settling of the ancient Turkic ethnic groups and the ethnic mixing, we can observe a very varied population in the modern-day Turkic speaking states.

One can often meet extremist opinions with regard to the origins of Turkic peoples; according to one of them, Turkic people originate exclusively from ancient Turkic tribes; the other such belief is that Turkic people descended exclusively from an aboriginal population that changed its language to one of the Turkic dialects. Naturally, the truth is in the middle, and there is genetic evidence that Turkic peoples are the descendants of both ancient Turkic tribes and the aboriginal population of the territories conquered by Turkic tribes.

The consequences of the above situation are twofold. Firstly, we accredit the Turkic people with the cultural heritage that has been created by Turkic people and the pre-Turkic heritage that had formed at

present-day Turkic territory. For instance, Turkish people can consider their own heritage both the Orkhon-Yenisei inscriptions and the antique monuments in Anatolia.

Secondly, it motivates integration endeavours, not on a racial-genetic foundation but grounds of self-consciousness, being itself a test for the ability to overcome racist and isolationistic tendencies. Progressive empires and religions have always been those who allowed anyone to become their member provided they served the common purpose.

Thus, the development of a common Turkic self-consciousness, i.e. the attractiveness of reckoning oneself within the Turkic community, rather than as member of a particular race, is the main factor of strengthening the Turkic world unity.

The formation of a common Turkic self-consciousness directly depends on the popularization of the common Turkic historical heritage.

In contrast, underestimation of the Turkic peoples' potential through historical misinterpretation has a potentially disjunctive effect.

For instance, when talking about the Crimean Tatars, some date the beginnings of Turkic inhabitations in Crimea at the 13th century intrusion of "Tatars" ("Mongol Tatars"), meanwhile it is clear that Turkic ethnic groups had inhabited the area long before the "Tatar" intrusion. Secondly, Crimean Tatar people have absorbed not only Turkic but also non-Turkic elements, inhabiting Crimea in the pre-Turkic as well as the Turkic period. It is obvious that binding the Crimean Tatars with the XIIIth century "Tatars" aim at representing Crimean Tatars as one of the episodic people that inhabited Crimea, and inherently try to diminish the negative perception of the Crimean Tatars' deportation.

Based on certain Turkic names these peoples were given long after their formation as ethnic groups, some Soviet sources attempted to lessen the importance of their culture, for instance by diminishing the period of literacy amongst them. The presentation of the history of certain Turkic peoples separately from the history of all ancient Turks understates significantly the historical potential of the Turkic peoples.

Such restricted vision to historical heritage occurs also by Turkic people's representatives, too. For instance, there are debates amongst Idel Tatar intellectuals regarding whose descendants the Idel Tatars are: do they come from Bulgars or from the Golden Horde Kypchaks. Such questions abridges considerably the historical heritage of Idel Tatars, whereas it is known that Idel Bulgaria had been a state founded by the ancestors of the modern Idel Tatars, which during the period of the Golden Horde transformed into one of the most culturally and economically advanced regions of the empire, along with Khorezm and Crimea, and played a great role in the political life of the empire; i.e. Idel Tatars are the descendants of Bulgars who substantially mixed with the Kypchak during the Golden Horde period, in other words, the Idel Tatars are the descendants of both Bulgars and Kypchaks.

However, glorification of the historical heritage of the Turkic peoples is not sufficient. Many great ancient civilizations later succumbed to mediocrity. We can therefore conclude that even though the historical heritage is an important factor for the people's self-consciousness, it is less important than the people's achievements at the present.

Various theories circulate at present questioning the indigeneity of Turkic peoples at certain territories. Such claims seem superfluous since there are many populations worldwide which inhabit a territory beyond their historical origin, and it has no influence on the legitimacy of their inhabitancy.

During the Cold War the dominance of the United States and the USSR was ensured not only by their military and technological potential but also by propagating their value systems in the world, which - together with the paragon of their achievements- was able to allure masses in various countries and to mobilize allies. The Turkic world has set a goal: if not to form a unique system of values then at least to form and expand a common Turkic spiritual platform from the national potentials. Such spiritual platform can be formed e.g. from singers who sing in several Turkic languages and are popular in several Turkic countries. Other possible examples include the popularization of famous writers such as Chingiz Aytmatov as a common Turkic author; or popularization of persons related to several Turkic people like Maqsud Shayhzoda and Alihantura Saguni; promotion of projects like Turkovision and Turkic award in cinema; promotion of Turkic championships in various sports, promotion of Turkic wrestling worldwide, etc.

The ways of practical realization of Turkism ideas

The level of attractiveness of Turkism directly depends on the practical application of the equality principle; i.e. the principle of inadmissibility of hegemony within the Turkic region, despite natural differences in the influencing capabilities.

Among the Turkic countries Turkey is the most potent and it is simultaneously a country with vast geopolitical significance and well-developed imperial self-consciousness. Turkey has a traditional influence in the Balkans, the Middle East, and the Caucasus region, and considers these regions as priority directions of its foreign policy. Certain view the development of Turkism ideas as a means to strengthen Turkey's position within the Turkic world, a way to extend the territory of influence and thereby develop hegemony in the whole of Eurasia. However, we should admit that Turkism is generally considered as the consolidation of Turkic countries around Turkey.

Representing the idea of Turkism as an instrument for broadening Turkey's influence in Eurasia is extensively used by opponent parties and it discredits Turkism amongst the very Turkic public.

Turkey, thanks to its potentials, undoubtedly will play a key role in the Turkic world. Turkey has always searched for conservation and strengthening within the Turkic world, and therefore Turkey deserves the gratitude of the whole Turkic world. Next to it, Turkism is most beneficial when it helps the opening of Turkic world subjects towards each other. This tendency is beginning to dominate in accordance with the reinforcement on world arena of the positions of the Turkic states that gained independence in 1991, as well as other Turkic regions. There is clearly an intensification in the integration initiatives of Turkic countries other than Turkey, which is especially noticeable in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. It can be further promoted by propagating and financially supporting projects with common Turkic significance.

The cultural proximity of the integrating countries is the foundation which ensures the facility of the integration and its durability. Despite this cultural proximity, in the course of the last two centuries Turkic peoples were incorporated into different empires often hostile to each other and/or isolated from each other, which consequently led to disjunctive processes and a civilization split between the Turkic peoples.

It is to be noted that after the crash of the colonial system, new alignments between the former colonies and the mother countries emerged; such as the British Commonwealth of Nations, Commonwealth of Independent States, etc.; based on the relationships, common language and common standards that had been formed during the colonial period. For instance, the term "near abroad" is widely used in CIS countries and applied to regions some of which lies thousands kilometres away.

People, who grow up in the same cultural environment, often share common values which we can name psychological "points of contact". For instance, the classic soviet movies are such kind of "points of contact" for millions of people whose youth and childhood coincided with the soviet period. The World War II subject is an integrating factor for people in Russia and in some CIS countries and that's why this subject is actively supported by the Russian government.

The above-mentioned arguments support the primary importance of using psychological and communicative means in the formation of "the near abroad" within the Turkic world.

In this context the main objective of Turkism at present is to create a single cultural and informational space embracing the whole Turkic world, i.e. to extend the civilization community of the Turkic peoples.

It is expedient to concentrate our efforts on the humanitarian integration of the Turkic peoples, rather than on political integration, for the following reasons:

1) The example of parallel ideas makes it evident that politicization of an idea has the potential to strengthen radical tendencies, whereas humanitarian cooperation develops individual contacts and strengthens mutual understanding among people.

2) Since the Turkic population of Eurasia is partly located in countries where Turkic people are in ethnic minority and partly in countries with different political orientations, focusing on the political integration of the whole of the Turkic world would have a destabilizing effect.

3) Meanwhile political integration is usually limited due to tactical considerations of the governments, civilizational integration is unlimited and has a long-term effect. It can be proved on the examples of several political integrations that are declarative and formal whereas we find communities living in solid internal union despite formal disconnectedness.

4) A governmental implementation of the integration process entails contention for dominance and other negative phenomena.

In theory, the regional, economic and political integration of the Turkic peoples can be of either ethnical or non-ethnical character, because Turkic regions are economically and politically related to non-Turkic regions. In this context an isolationistic approach would result in great losses for all interconnected regions.

The civilization-based integration process emphasizes the Turkic community instead of the individual Turkic states and has a positive effect of promoting civil initiatives within the integration process; i.e. increases the role of non-governmental organizations.

As a priority measure in the intensification of the integration process it is recommended that both governmental and non-governmental bodies focus on the following activities:

1) Establishment of cultural-educational satellite TV channels (taking into consideration large-scale broadcasting and accessibility of television) which embrace the whole Turkic world.

Organization of such television channels seems to be the most urgent topic of integrating the Turkic world because the main problem that requires primary solution is a vacuum of information in the Turkic world itself as well as beyond the Turkic world.

As long as organization of such television is a matter of time and efforts, coordinated broadcasting of TV channels in the Turkic states and regions via single satellite at adjacent frequencies can be a preliminary solution to the problem, as well as organization of broadcasting of TV channels of one Turkic state at the territory of another.

Next to it, it is required to promote programs on state TV channels on the Turkic world which is presently inadequately represented.

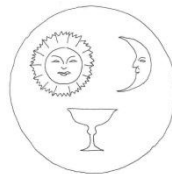
2) Coordinated and concerted development of the Turkic languages with the aim of their mutual approximation.

The languages of the various Turkic peoples are mutually intelligible which is a specific advantage and also the main foundation of the Turkic peoples' unity. In this regard it is necessary to pursue a concerted policy of coordination of the Turkic language development, in order to vector their development in approximating directions.

3) Joint educational and scientific programs, based on translations of the cultural heritage of one Turkic people to the other Turkic peoples' language, including its popularization and joint cultural activities.

4) Consultations on the unification of norms and standards, on simplification of trade, investment and visa procedures, encouragement of business relations and tourist flows between the different Turkic regions.

5) Moral support of inter-Turkic marriages and media coverage of their most striking examples.



ХАЙДАРОВ, Миразим

Перспективы углубления интеграция тюркского мира

Аннотация: Тюркские народы издревле играли ключевые роли в Центральной Евразии. Высокие военные качества тюрков позволили им завоевать огромные пространства и создать множество империй в Евразии. Тем не менее, тюркские народы не выступали на мировой арене как единое целое. К XIX и XX векам тюркские страны превратились в колонии и полуколонии ведущих держав. С распространением этнического принципа самоидентификации в тюркском мире получила распространение идея интеграции тюркского мира. Идеи этнической интеграции являются конструктивными, при условии преодоления в них шовинистических и экстремистских проявлений. Это видно на примере пангерманизма и панславизма, которые были фактически реализованы в середине XX века. В настоящее время существует ряд предпосылок для распространения идеи углубления интеграции тюркского мира. Одним из условий интеграции является относительное равноправие интегрирующихся сторон. Фундаментом интеграции является цивилизационная близость стран. Это показывает необходимость увеличения степени психологической и коммуникативной близости людей. В этой связи, а также в связи с существующей политической конъюнктурой необходима концентрация усилий на гуманитарной, а не политической интеграции тюркского мира. В статье предлагается ряд первоочередных мер по углублению интеграции тюркского мира.

Ключевые слова: Центральная Евразия, тюркский мир, идеи этнической интеграции, тюркизм, гуманитарная интеграция.

Формирование современного тюркского мира

Современный тюркский мир складывался веками и на картину расселения тюркских народов большое влияние оказали миграционные процессы тюркских народов, которые до 16-века в основном носили характер экспансии; после 16-века ареал расселения или господства тюркских народов значительно сократился.

Если разделить евразийский континент по культурно-климатическим признакам, то можно условно выделить следующие области:

- 1) Европа – плотно заселенная преимущественно христианскими народами влажная западная окраина Евразии;
- 2) Азия – плотно заселенные преимущественно буддистскими и индуистскими народами муссонные влажные восточная, юго-восточная и южная окраины Евразии;

3) Ближний Восток – редко заселенная преимущественно мусульманскими народами аридная юго-западная окраина Евразии со средиземноморским режимом осадков;

4) Центральная Евразия – область, лежащая между Европой и Азией и охватывающая, как часть Европы, так и часть Азии, но отличающаяся от них огромными пространствами, внутриконтинентальным расположением, суровым климатом и, в целом, низкой плотностью населения.

При этом данное деление является во многом условным, и отдельные регионы по разным признакам могут относиться к той или иной области.

Центральная Евразия на протяжении тысячелетий являлась основной областью расселения тюркских народов. Прародиной тюркских народов считается внутренняя Азия, т.е. регион, охватывающий Южную Сибирь и Центральную Азию, откуда они продвигались в основном на западном и юго-западном направлении¹.

Моральные ценности тюркских народов, выработанные, в том числе, под влиянием условий и образа жизни среднего тюрка, явились основой их высоких воинских качеств. Тюркские общества, по сути, представляли собой мобильные и дисциплинированные армии. Благодаря этому, тюрки на протяжении тысячелетий создавали империи, в том числе, охватывающие соседние регионы (Европу, Азию и Ближний Восток). Это позволило тюркам расширить ареал распространения, либо стать правящей верхушкой на территориях от Тихого океана и Бенгальского залива до Центральной Европы и Магриба.

Продвижение тюрков на запад – в Восточную и Центральную Европу осуществлялось волнами, и было масштабным и растянутым по времени. Достаточно сказать, что первые известные волны тюркской экспансии пришлись на период Римской империи. Наиболее известные группы тюрков, последовательно основавших свои империи в Центральной и Восточной Европе – это гунны, авары, болгары, хазары.

Однако наибольшее влияние на формирование современных восточноевропейских тюрков оказали преемники вышеперечисленных народов – печенеги и кыпчаки, особенно последние. Продвижение кыпчаков в Восточную Европу и вытеснение ими печенегов на Балканы пришлось в основном на 11-век. Именно этот период можно считать началом кыпчакского периода в Восточной Европе, который длится до настоящего времени.

В дальнейшем, после присоединения осколков Золотой Орды к Московскому государству, кыпчакские народы в Восточной Европе смогли сохранить лишь оседлые мусульманские ареалы своего обитания в Среднем Поволжье, Крыму и части Северного Кавказа. Кочевые кыпчаки, в значительной части принявшие православие, частью влились в состав московской аристократии; основная же их часть образовала первоначальный костяк военного сословия русского государства – казаков, которые впоследствии (по мере увеличения славянского элемента) стали составной частью русского и украинского народов. Следует отметить исключительную роль казаков в

¹ The Internal Classification & Migrations of Turkic Languages, 2010.

turkic-languages.scienceontheweb.net/migration_and_classification_of_turkic_languages.html

присоединении к России территорий Великой Степи и Сибири; казаки сыграли значительную роль в дальнейшей истории России, включая войны с европейскими державами.

Часть кочевых кыпчаков, исповедовавших ислам, получившая название ногайцев была последовательно вытеснена с поволжских, южноукраинских и северокавказских степей, главным образом в Османскую империю и Центральную Азию.

Хотя продвижение тюрков на юго-запад – Турцию, Иран, Азербайджан и Ирак также происходило волнами, решающим этапом заселения тюрками этого региона стала экспансия Сельджукидов во 2-половине 11-века. Впоследствии через Анатолию тюрки продвинулись и на Балканы.

Тюрки, расселенные на Балканах, также были вытеснены в ходе войн христианских держав с Османской империей и отступления последней.

В XIV-XV веках произошло продвижение якутов с Южной Сибири в бассейн реки Лены и их постепенное расселение вдоль притоков Лены на огромной территории.

Таким образом, сложилась основная картина современного расселения тюркских народов. Основная зона расселения тюрков проходит от бассейна Лены через Южную Сибирь, Центральную Азию, Среднее Поволжье и Урал, Кавказ и Крым до Загроса, Малой Азии и Балкан. Таким образом, тюрки занимают громадную территорию внутри Евразийского континента, которая практически не выходит к океанам, лишь местами имея выход к внутриконтинентальным морям. Это обстоятельство предопределило историческое преобладание сухопутных взаимосвязей и интегрированности евроазиатских народов, значительную часть которых всегда составляли тюркские народы. Свидетельством этому служат многочисленные империи континентального характера, созданные и распавшиеся (и вновь воссозданные) на территории Евразии.

О наличии тесных взаимосвязей и периодического объединения частей тюркского мира в прошлом говорит и степень близости языка и культуры тюркских народов.

Идеи этнической интеграции XIX- и начала XX-веков

В течение большей части средневекового периода Центральная Евразия была фактически разделена между тюркскими и тюрко-монгольскими империями. Например, к концу средневекового периода, в XVI-веке, практически вся мусульманская Евразия, а также Индия, Северная Африка и Юго-Восточная Европа были разделены между державами Османов, Сафавидов, Бабуридов, а также Шейбанидов, и другими тюркскими государствами. При этом тюркский мир никогда не выступал на мировой арене как единое целое, напротив великие империи, созданные тюркскими народами, сжигали значительную часть своей энергии на борьбу друг с другом.

К XIX- и XX-векам ситуация коренным образом изменилась, и тюркские народы из военной и правящей касты в Евразии превратились в группу народов, ставших колониями и полуколониями великих держав.

На рубеже XIX- и XX-веков под влиянием европейских народов в тюркском мире получает распространение этнический принцип самоопределения. По мере его распространения, а также распространения знаний о тюркской ойкумене, о культурной близости и географической и исторической общности тюркских народов, в XX-веке возникают и развиваются идеи тюркизма, как движения за свободу тюркских народов и за создание собственного центра силы². Таким образом, впервые возникла идея консолидации тюркских народов на основе этнических корней, а не династических, географических и религиозных принципов. Объективная необходимость такой идеи проявилась в том, что ее последователями становились общественные деятели самых различных тюркских народов, независимо друг от друга, считавших тюркизм частью курса на национальное возрождение, свободу, культурное развитие того или иного тюркского народа.

В результате жестоких репрессий со стороны тоталитарных систем в начале и середине XX-века тюркизм терпит полный крах как идея, достойная на существование. Больше всего урона тюркизму было нанесено сталинским режимом, со стороны которого, в том числе, было репрессировано большинство видных пантюркистов.

Наибольший урон, нанесенный тюркизму, заключался в дискредитировании самой идеи сближения тюркских народов и полном информационным табу касательно исторического и интеграционного потенциала тюркских народов.

Свидетельством тяжести нанесенного тюркизму урона является продолжающееся и после краха СССР отсутствие в общественных массах тюркских народов информированности о тюркском мире, как некоем сообществе с огромным потенциалом, а также распространение представления о тюркизме, как некоем деструктивном течении, изобретенном «врагами» или чем-то утопическом, отвлекающем от осуществления реалистических планов.

В истории человечества идеи играли не меньшую, а возможно и большую роль, чем материальные ценности, с точки зрения количества войн и конфликтов, принудительных или добровольных экономических издержек и т.д. При этом идеи невозможно характеризовать черно-белыми категориями, ища только положительные или только отрицательные черты. Степень созидательности либо деструктивности идей находится в зависимости от того, какие черты преимущественно приобретает та или иная идея и, соответственно, в каких формах эта идея реализуется.

Идеи сближения этнически родственных народов являются конструктивными в плане консолидации народов, разрешения между ними конфликтов, укрупнения регионов и т.д. Тем не менее, в таких идеях заложены и изоляционистские тенденции, которые возобладают в случае чрезмерной акцентуации на этничности в ущерб общечеловеческому единству. Если же интересы данной этнической группы будут приниматься намного выше интересов других групп, идея принимает откровенно агрессивный характер.

Так, в 30-е и 40-е годы XX-века, идея немецкого национализма, имея в себе прагматичное устремление к пересмотру дискриминационной для Германии Версальской системы и

² Гилязов И. *Тюркизм: становление и развитие (характеристика основных этапов)*. Казанский Государственный Университет, Казань, 2002. www.ksu.ru/f11/bin_files/gilazov_tyurkizm!8.pdf

объединению немцев Европы в едином государстве, по мере побед Германии все более приобретала черты идеи превосходства немцев и легитимности жертвования интересов других народов в пользу интересов немцев, тем самым эта идея обрекла немецкий народ на поражение.

События Второй мировой войны чаще представляются как противостояние между странами, относящимся к капиталистической, национал-социалистической и большевистской группировкам. Однако следует вспомнить, что в ходе этих событий были фактически реализованы две идеи этнической интеграции: пангерманизм и панславизм.

Объединение немецкоязычных стран Европы в единое государство на протяжении столетий являлось национальным чаянием немцев Европы. По причине нахождения германских территорий между великими державами Европы и наличия противоречий между Пруссией и Австрией по вопросу гегемонии в Германии, Пруссии Бисмарку пришлось вести три войны и сложную дипломатическую игру для объединения Германии. В 1871г. Бисмарку удалось объединить в Германской империи немецкоязычные государства, за исключением Австрии, Люксембурга и Швейцарии. После 1871г. основной целью пангерманистов стало присоединение к рейху Австрии.

Крах Германии в Первой мировой войне не только привел к отпаду от Германии и Австрии ряда немецкоязычных областей, но и поставил Германию в положение ограниченного суверенитета в рамках Версальской системы. Воссоединение Австрии и Германии было сознательно поставлено под запрет.

Восстановление позиций Германии началось с приходом к власти национал-социалистов в 1933г. В течение последующих лет были отменены ограничения Версальской системы в отношении Германии; Австрия, судетская область и Клайпеда были воссоединены с Германией. Хотя эти достижения Германии удавались ей путем шантажа войной, на данном этапе политика национал-социалистов была сфокусирована на восстановлении политического суверенитета Германии и присоединении немецких областей, стремящихся к присоединению к Германии.

Дальнейшая экспансия рейха приобрела характер агрессивной войны против других стран, в ходе которой к рейху были присоединены Северо-Западная Польша, населенная не только немцами, но преимущественно поляками, Эльзас и Лотарингия и Люксембург, немецкоязычное население которых неоднозначно оценивало свое присоединение к рейху. Германии удалось объединить под своей властью Европу, однако страны Европы попали в приниженное положение, особенно это касалось Польши и Чехии, превращенных в генерал-губернаторства. Ясно, что при дальнейшей политике нацистские правители руководствовались не столько интересами германского народа и необходимостью защиты Европы, как они декларировали, сколько желанием поработить и ограбить соседние народы.

Пиком агрессивности и шовинизма национал-социалистов стала их политика на оккупированной территории СССР.

Поражение Германии стало следствием подавляющего превосходства мобилизованных против нее ресурсов по сравнению с ресурсами, мобилизованными в ее пользу. Германия могла бы преломить это превосходство в свою пользу, используя она возможность вовлечения сил,

видящих в Германии своего партнера в борьбе за интересы. Например, Франция могла быть превращена в полноценного союзника после роста там антибританских настроений вследствие операций, предпринятых британцами против французского флота в 1940г. При вторжении в СССР германская армия обрела союзников из части населения СССР, видящих в Германии союзника в борьбе с большевистским режимом. Однако проводимая нацистами политика фактического подавления соседних народов, привела к ограниченной возможности мобилизации союзников в европейских странах; в СССР она привела к противостоянию германской армии не только большевистского аппарата, но и большей части населения СССР.

Политика нацистов была во многом продиктована требующей незамедлительного решения проблемой острой нехватки ресурсов для ведения войны, с которой Германия столкнулась с самых первых лет войны. Однако во многом эта политика была обоснована и стала возможной по причине официальной легитимизации и пропаганды превосходства немцев национал-социалистической идеологией. Таким образом, нацистская идеология обрекала Германию на противостояние с другими народами и консолидации многих стран против Германии, несоизмерное ресурсам Германии. Даже в случае достаточности ресурсов Германии, в долгосрочной перспективе нацистская идеология, по причине своей аморальности, была обречена на проигрыш.

Политика национал-социалистов также дискредитировала все достижения Германии в период правления национал-социалистов. По результатам окончания войны, от Германии были аннексированы все присоединенные к третьему рейху немецкоязычные области, включая Австрию, отторгнута четверть довоенной территории собственно Германии, из стран Восточной Европы депортированы немецкие диаспоры, традиционно имевшие большое влияние в этих странах. Не получили воплощения проекты еще большего дробления Германии; из-за противостояния Запада и СССР Германия была только разделена на Западную и Восточную. Германский народ перенес полную морально-психологическую катастрофу и унижение, Германия была лишена возможности стать военно-политическим центром впредь в ближайшем будущем.

Катастрофа Германии открыла путь для реализации в Европе другой идеи этнической интеграции – панславизма. Объединение славянских стран Восточной, Центральной и Юго-Восточной Европы под главенством России являлось целью российских панславистов на протяжении XIX- и начала XX-веков. Эту цель фактически удалось осуществить в 1945г., когда СССР установил контроль над странами Восточной Европы, в том числе, над всеми славянскими странами.

В отличие от Германии, этнический фактор не являлся ключевым в большевистской идеологии, и главной целью СССР было установление коммунистических режимов (и своего господства) на территории Европы, однако славянский фактор также играл роль при экспансии СССР в Европу. К примеру, в целях легитимизации переноса военных действий в пределы Восточной Европы в глазах собственной армии и оккупированных Германией восточноевропейских народов в военно-политической пропаганде СССР в определенной степени использовалась и прославянская риторика.

Передел Европы в результате окончания войны также имел прославянские тенденции. В пользу Польши было отторгнуто около ста тысяч километров довоенной территории Германии, основным населением которой были этнические немцы (скорее всего в качестве компенсации за отторгнутые в пользу СССР Западную Украину и Западную Белоруссию, до войны принадлежавших Польше). В пользу СССР отторгнут германский город Кёнигсберг с прилегающей областью. Из ряда регионов Восточной Европы, в первую очередь из бывших областей Германии, из Чехословакии, Польши и Югославии, было депортировано около 15 миллионов немцев³. В пользу Югославии было передано несколько областей Италии на Адриатике, при этом передача Южной Добруджи от Румынии к Болгарии, осуществленная под покровительством нацистской Германии, осталась без изменения.

В результате вышеизложенных изменений границ удалось также обеспечить и увеличить стратегический доступ к морю славянских стран. Так, Польша не только получила около 100 тыс. кв. км германской территории, но и балтийское побережье протяженностью около 500 км, тогда как до войны практически не имела выхода к Балтийскому морю, помимо узкой прибрежной полосы, отрезавшей Германию от Восточной Пруссии, ставшей одной из причин германо-польской войны в 1939г. Россия получила в Балтийском море незамерзающий порт Кёнигсберг/Калининград. Югославия значительно расширила свой выход к Адриатике за счет итальянских владений, а также окончательной привязки к Югославии прибрежных территорий, исторически находившейся под итальянским управлением или значительным влиянием итальянцев. Болгария расширила свое черноморское побережье за счет прибрежной зоны Южной Добруджи.

Однако Варшавский пакт просуществовал всего около 45 лет. В результате краха социалистической системы, 5 славянских государств объединенных в едином Варшавском пакте, разделились на 13 славянских государств различной политической ориентации. При этом раздел Югославии сопровождался войной между славянскими народами. Часть славянских государств вошла в состав НАТО, считающегося конкурентом России.

Основными причинами краха объединения славянских стран в рамках Варшавской системы стало то, что объединительные процессы произошли при режиме, имевшем достижения в сфере индустриального развития, науки и образования, но при этом дискредитировавшем себя агрессивной и аморальной политикой, не на равноправных условиях, а на основе военно-политического доминирования одной страны, при этом объединены и элементы, не имеющие интеграционную ориентированность.

Варшавская система не имела достаточного фундамента для цементирования интеграционного объединения славянских стран, входящих в его состав. В данном объединении более отсталый в социально-экономическом аспекте СССР пытался доминировать над более развитыми восточноевропейскими странами. Католические славянские народы, ориентированные на

³ The Expulsion of the "German" Communities from Eastern Europe at the end of the Second World War. Edited by Steffen Prauser and Afron Rees. European University Institute, Florence, 2004.

cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/2599/HEC04-01.pdf;jsessionid=0B71E78D95F71D41F4E3F0FA709109B4?sequence=1

Западную Европу, не имели исторического устремления к объединению с православными славянскими народами, и их силовое объединение продлилось недолго.

В отличие от панславизма и пангерманизма объединение в Европейском Союзе стало образцом успешной интеграции для всех интеграционных объединений мира. Отличительными чертами интеграции в Европейском Союзе стали следующие:

- 1) объединение в Европейском Союзе протекало добровольно, поэтапно, и на более или менее равноправной основе.
- 2) объединение в ЕС не было направленным против кого-либо и основывалось, прежде всего, на экономическом и культурном сближении.
- 3) основой ЕС стало цивилизационное единство европейских народов.
- 4) основой интеграции в ЕС послужила ее необходимость в условиях регионализации всего мира и появления экономических и политических центров в Америке и Восточной Азии.
- 5) преодолению политических барьеров интеграции в Евросоюзе послужили развитые демократические ценности и развитое гражданское общество.

Развитие идей тюркизма в современный период

В конце XX-века, с возрастанием национального самосознания тюркских народов и образованием независимых тюркских государств, идея необходимости сближения и развития сотрудничества между тюркскими народами получила новый импульс, хотя по вышеизложенным причинам и не стала массовой. Тем не менее, следующие предпосылки интеграции тюркских народов делают очевидной ее необходимость и вероятным более широкое распространение этой идеи в среде тюркских народов:

- 1) необходимость совместных усилий по сохранению и развитию культурного и духовного потенциала тюркского мира
- 2) необходимость консолидации потенциалов тюркских регионов в условиях регионализации всего мира
- 3) необходимость централизованного отстаивания интересов субъектов тюркского мира, находящегося в центре Евразии на пересечении интересов наиболее мощных глобальных игроков
- 4) общность геоэкономических интересов, которые исходят, в том числе, и из: 1. внутриконтинентального расположения большинства тюркских стран и сопряженной с этим оторванности от моря и замкнутости друг на друге и необходимости совместного выхода к морю и к дополнительным транспортным маршрутам; 2. расположенности в центрах существующих и потенциальных маршрутов движения товаров и энергоресурсов и необходимости снижения барьеров на пути движения товаров, в целях стимулирования их потоков на трансевроазиатских маршрутах.

Поскольку идеи этнической интеграции проистекают из национал-патриотических сантиментов, для которых центральное место занимает достижение национальных целей, в них изначально присутствует тенденция перерастания в шовинизм и экстремизм. Это сравнимо с тем, как здоровое стремление защитить свои интересы у индивидуума способно перерасти в эгоцентризм. Поэтому степень конструктивности таких идей, находится в прямой зависимости от того, насколько они способны преодолевать эти проявления, гармонизируя свои интересы с интересами других групп и другими реалиями. Таким образом, перед этническими идеями стоит задача строгого соблюдения этики, связанной с уважительным отношением к интересам других групп и исходящей из изначального приоритета общечеловеческого единства над этническим.

Невозможность интегрирования народов шовинистическим и силовым путем доказана на примере создания империй и объединений прошлого. Основой создания империй являлась «высокая энергия» того или иного народа, позволяющая создать высокую культуру и цивилизацию, являющейся не навязчивой, а привлекательной для остальных народов. И, хотя большая часть империй прошлого создавалась военным путем, определяющим фактором их существования являлась именно «высокая энергия», которая, своей притягательностью, цементировала это объединение в морально-психологическом плане. Впоследствии, в результате деградации культуры, для народов, образующих империю, снижалась привлекательность объединения, что толкало центр на меры принудительного удержания в составе империи. Это, в свою очередь, еще более снижая притягательность объединения, еще более стимулировала центробежные тенденции.

Жизнеспособность тюркских империй определялась именно сочетанием военных качеств тюркских армий с принципом веротерпимости. Признаком упадка тюркских империй была именно утрата толерантности, это наблюдается на примере позднего периода существования империи Бабуридов, Османской империи и др.

Вследствие широкого расселения древних тюрков, современные тюркские народы сформировались путем слияния с нетюркскими этническими группами, свидетельством чему являются расовые различия между тюркскими народами.

Зачастую можно встретить взгляды, отражающие крайние точки зрения о происхождении тюркских народов: либо, что тот или иной тюркский народ является потомком только древнетюркских племен, либо только древних насельников данной территории, лишь сменивших свои языки на тюркские. Естественно, истина лежит посередине, и генетически тюркские народы являются потомками, как древних тюрков, так и местных народов, живших на территориях, куда проникли тюрки.

Данное обстоятельство, во-первых, является основанием того, что к наследию тюркских народов, проживающих на определенной территории, можно относить как тюркское наследие, сформированное за пределами данной территории, так и наследие дотюркского наследия данной территории. Например, турецкий народ может с полным основанием считать своим наследием, как Орхоно-енисейские рунические письмена, так и памятники античности в Анатолии.

Во-вторых, оно побуждает основывать интеграцию тюркских народов не на расово-генетическом фундаменте, а на факторе самосознания, при этом становясь экзаменом на

преодоление расистских и изоляционистских тенденций. Прогрессивными империями и религиями были те, которые позволяли любому войти в их иерархию и становиться полноправным членом, при условии службы общему делу.

Таким образом, основным фактором укрепления единства тюркского мира является развитие общетюркского самосознания, то есть привлекательность причисления себя к тюркскому сообществу, а не расово-генетические установки.

Формирование общетюркского самосознания напрямую зависит от популяризации общетюркского исторического наследия, тем более что большая часть исторического наследия, включая, культурное наследие, империи, исторические личности отдельных тюркских народов, так или иначе, причастна к нескольким тюркским народам или ко всему тюркскому миру.

Разделительный подход к истории тюркского мира, искаженное оперирование зачастую условными названиями тюркских народов, часто используется для занижения исторического потенциала тюркских народов.

Например, оперируя названием крымских татар, пытаются привязать начало пребывания крымских татар в Крыму с периода вторжения «татар» («монголо-татар») в Крым в XIII-веке. Между тем, ясно, что, во-первых, тюркские этносы проживали на территории Крыма задолго до периода проникновения на Крым «татар» XIII-века, во-вторых, крымскотатарский народ вобрал в себя не только тюркские, но и иные элементы, как жившие до тюрков, так и жившие в одно время с тюрками на территории Крыма. Очевидно, что, привязывание крымских татар к «татарам» XIII-века имеет целью представить крымскотатарский народ лишь как один из эпизодических народов живших в Крыму, и в основе этой цели лежит стремление создать более терпимое отношение к факту депортации крымских татар.

Опираясь на названия ряда тюркских народов, закрепившихся за ними много позднее их формирования, в некоторых советских источниках имелась тенденция сокращать период существования у этих народов отдельных элементов культуры, например, письменности. Вкупе с представлением истории конкретных тюркских народов отдельно от истории древних тюрков, все это значительно обедняет исторический потенциал тюркских народов.

Узкий подход к восприятию исторического наследия того или иного тюркского народа имеет место быть примененным и самими представителями тюркских народов. Например, среди некоторых татарских интеллектуалов распространены споры о том, чьими наследниками являются поволжские татары – болгар или золотоордынских кыпчаков. Данная постановка вопроса значительно сужает историческое наследие поволжских татар, по той причине, что Волжская Болгария была государством, созданным предками современных поволжских татар, которая в эпоху Золотой Орды всего лишь трансформировалась в одну из наиболее культурных областей империи наряду с Хорезмом и Крымом, игравшей важную роль в политической жизни империи, то есть поволжские татары являются потомками болгар, активно смешавшихся с кыпчаками в эпоху Золотой Орды, другими словами потомками как болгар, так и кыпчаков.

С другой стороны возвеличивание исторического потенциала тюркских народов как самоцель, приводит к появлению различных теорий касательно принадлежности каких-либо древних

народов к тюркам или иных достижений. На примере некоторых древних цивилизаций, которые в настоящее время являются не самыми развитыми странами мира, можно утверждать, что хоть исторический потенциал является важным звеном самосознания народа, гораздо важнее его состояние и достижения в настоящем.

Также неактуальными кажутся различные создаваемые в настоящее время теории об исконном проживании тюрков на тех или иных территориях (как реакция на притязания соседних народов), ввиду того, что за пределами территории исторического происхождения проживает значительная часть народов мира, что никоим образом не влияет на легитимность их проживания на новых территориях.

В эпоху холодной войны могущество США и СССР определялось не только их военно-технологическим потенциалом, но и тем, что у каждой из этих держав имелась своя система ценностей, предлагаемая миру, которая наряду с образцом достижений этих держав была способна увлечь за собой народные массы в различных странах и мобилизовать союзников. Перед тюркским миром стоит задача если не создать уникальную систему ценностей, то хотя бы формировать и расширять общетюркскую духовную платформу, складывающуюся из национальных потенциалов. Такой духовной платформой могут быть певцы, поющие на нескольких тюркских языках и популярные в ряде тюркских регионов, популяризация личностей одного из тюркских народов в качестве общетюркских, например Чингиза Айтматова, личностей, причастных к нескольким тюркским народам, таких как Максуд Шайхзода, Алихантура Сагуни и др., продвижение проектов вроде тюрковедения, тюркской премии в кино, тюркских чемпионатов по видам спорта и т.д., продвижение в мире тюркской борьбы и т.п.

Пути практической реализации идей тюркизма

Степень привлекательности тюркизма напрямую зависит от практического применения принципа равноправия, т.е. недопустимости гегемонии какой-либо страны, несмотря на естественную разницу во влиянии на этот процесс различных потенциалов отдельных тюркских народов и стран.

Тюркская страна с наибольшим потенциалом – Турция, одновременно является страной с большой геополитической значимостью и развитым имперским сознанием. Турция имеет традиционное влияние на Балканах, Ближнем Востоке и Кавказе и рассматривает эти регионы в качестве приоритетных направлений внешнеполитической активности. С развитием идей тюркизма в отдельных кругах Турции имеет место рассматривать тюркский мир как потенциальную сферу влияния Турции, наряду с вышеизложенными регионами, т.е. тюркизм для этих кругов является лишь средством укрепления позиций Турции в тюркском мире или, другими словами, в Евразии за счет тюркского мира. С другой стороны и за пределами Турции имеется представление о тюркизме как о группировании тюркских стран вокруг Турции.

Представление о тюркизме, как орудии распространения Турцией своего влияния в Евразии, было широко использовано в период гонений на тюркизм, и продолжает использоваться в этих

целях, поскольку оно максимально дискредитирует тюркизм, и главное – в среде самих тюркских народов.

Турция, благодаря своему потенциалу, вне всяких сомнений будет играть ключевую роль в тюркском мире. Потенциал Турции всегда объективно работал на сохранение и укрепление остальной части тюркского мира, в связи с чем, Турция заслуживает благодарность всего тюркского мира. При этом целесообразно формирование тюркизма не как укрепление влияния субъекта Турции на объект тюркский мир, а как движение субъектов тюркского мира навстречу друг другу. Данная тенденция начинает возобладать с укреплением на мировой арене позиций тюркских стран, приобретших независимость в 1991г. и других тюркских регионов, а также интенсификацией их роли в тюркской интеграции, что особенно заметно на примере Азербайджана и Казахстана. В целях поддержки данной тенденции необходима политика географического и финансового рассредоточения по всему тюркскому миру проектов, имеющих общетюркское значение.

Фундаментом, обеспечивающим возможность интегрирования стран и устойчивость данного объединения, является цивилизационная близость интегрирующихся стран. Несмотря на историческую культурную близость тюркских народов, в течение последних двух столетий они входили в состав различных, часто враждебных или изолированных друг от друга империй, внутри которых также проводилась политика разобщения тюркских народов, что явилось причиной цивилизационного раскола между тюркскими народами.

Уместно вспомнить, что после развала мировой колониальной системы сложились новые группировки стран бывших колоний связанных с метрополией, таких как Британское Содружество, Содружество Независимых Государств, что во многом определялось сложившейся в колониальный период системой взаимосвязей, общеупотребительным языком, стандартами. В настоящее время в СНГ, например, широко употребляется понятие «ближнее зарубежье» в которое включаются регионы, отстоящие на тысячи километров, и не включаются соседние страны и регионы.

Люди, выросшие в единой культурной среде имеют определенные общие ценности, своего рода психологические «точки соприкосновения». Например, для миллионов людей, выросших в советский период, такими «точками соприкосновения» до сих пор являются фильмы из разряда советской классики. В России и частично в странах СНГ фактором объединения людей является тема Второй мировой войны, в связи с чем, эта тема активно поддерживается правительством России.

Это доказывает первостепенную важность именно фактора психологической и коммуникативной близости и необходимости работы по формированию «ближнего зарубежья» в тюркском мире.

В этой связи, основная цель тюркизма в настоящее время заключается в создании единого культурного и информационного пространства, охватывающего весь тюркский мир, т.е. углублении цивилизационной общности тюркских народов.

Целесообразна концентрация усилий именно на гуманитарной, а не политической интеграции тюркских народов, что обусловлено следующими обстоятельствами:

1) На примере других идей видно, что политизация идеи является фактором развития в ней радикальных тенденций, в то время как гуманитарное сотрудничество, развивая человеческие контакты, укрепляет взаимопонимание между народами.

2) Учитывая специфику тюркского мира, которая состоит в том, что тюркское население Евразии проживает как в странах, где оно составляет этническое меньшинство, так и в странах, имеющих различную политическую ориентацию, смещение акцента на политическую интеграцию всего тюркского мира станет фактором дестабилизации в международной политике.

3) Политическая интеграция в любом случае ограничена определенными тактическими интересами правительств, в то время как цивилизационное единство имеет долгосрочный и фундаментальный характер. Свидетельством этому служат многочисленные интеграционные объединения, имеющие декларативный и формальный характер, и наоборот общности, имеющие прочное внутреннее единство, несмотря на формальную разобщенность.

4) Осуществление интеграции правительственными структурами сопряжено с конкуренцией за доминирование и другими противоречиями, которые в условиях неразвитости гражданского общества в тюркском мире, могут принять характер непреодолимых.

Региональная экономико-политическая интеграция тюркских народов может иметь как этнический, так и не принципиально этнический характер, поскольку тюркские регионы связаны экономическими и политическими узами с нетюркскими регионами, в связи с чем, изоляционистский подход привел бы к потерям для всех взаимосвязанных регионов. При этом, условием региональной интеграции является стремление к интегрированию всех тюркских народов в едином пространстве, а главное – обеспечение достойного представления интересов тюркских народов в данном объединении, в том числе и путем консолидированного отстаивания интересов тюркских народов.

Цивилизационный характер интеграции является основанием выбора в качестве объекта интегрирования тюркского сообщества, а не тюркских государств и интенсификации в процессе интеграции гражданской инициативы, т.е. возрастающей роли общественных организаций.

В качестве первоочередных мер по углублению интеграции тюркского мира рекомендуется сосредоточить усилия общественных и правительственных структур на следующих направлениях деятельности:

1) Создание культурно-просветительских спутниковых телевизионных каналов (учитывая массовость и максимальную доступность телевидения), охватывающих весь тюркский мир и по географии вещания и по информационной составляющей.

Организация такого телевидения видится наиболее актуальной в настоящее время задачей по интегрированию тюркского мира, поскольку проблемой, требующей первоочередного решения, является информационный вакуум о тюркском мире в самом тюркском мире, а также за его пределами.

Поскольку организация подобного телевидения является делом, требующим значительного времени и усилий, в качестве предварительного решения проблемы может служить согласованное вещание телеканалов тюркских государств и автономий через единый согласованный спутник на смежных частотах, а также организация вещания телеканалов одних тюркских государств на территории других.

В рамках данного курса необходимо стимулирование на телевизионных каналах тюркских государств в настоящее время очень незначительно представленной тематики тюркского мира.

2) Координация развития тюркских языков и политика по их сближению.

Взаимопонимаемость языков тюркских народов является их отличительной чертой и преимуществом по сравнению с языками других групп родственных народов, и одним из фундаментов единства тюркского мира. В этой связи необходима целенаправленная согласованная политика по координации развития тюркских языков, в целях придания направления их развития не по разноориентированным, а по сближающимся векторам.

3) Совместные образовательные и научные программы, перевод достояния одного тюркского народа на другие тюркские языки и их популяризация, совместные культурные проекты.

4) Консультации по унификации норм и стандартов, по упрощению торговых, инвестиционных и визовых процедур, стимулирование деловых связей и туристических потоков между тюркскими регионами.

5) Моральная поддержка межтюркских браков в виде номинального материального поощрения лиц, вступающих в такие браки и освещения наиболее ярких их примеров.



MISHRA, Manoj Kumar

**The Soviet Interests and Role in Afghanistan
— Intervention and Withdrawal —**

The paper examines the role and interest of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. In order to understand the Soviet role after its intervention in Afghanistan, an attempt has been made to explain whether its role was driven by ideology or geopolitics and secondly, to analyse whether the Soviet role was defensive, primarily motivated as a reaction to the US and Pakistan's role in strengthening insurgency against the communist government in Afghanistan or it was offensive in nature. The paper also deals with the Soviet diplomacy to strengthen its role in Afghanistan and its failure to turn Afghanistan into its satellite and finally finds that though the Soviet Union entered into the stage of negotiation from a position of weakness, it did not want to leave Afghanistan without its interests being safeguarded.

Key words: Intervention, Geopolitics, Ideology, Development, Balance of Power, Asymmetric Warfare

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Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan — 1979

Afghanistan was considered geopolitically important by the Czarist Russia and later the former Soviet Union because historically it was considered the soft underbelly of the country. The British Empire and later the United States too got involved in Afghanistan for the same reason and manipulated Afghan politics to limit Soviet penetration further south. The US allowed the Soviet Union to play a more dominant role in the socio-economic development of Afghanistan without compromising its sovereignty. Failure of Hilmand project — the major American development project in Afghanistan, American rejection of the Afghan request for military aid and American preference to Pakistan over Afghanistan in its regional security alliance structure moved Afghanistan closer to the Soviet Union. Simultaneously, Daoud's espousal of Pashtunistan issue and the Soviet Union's support for it, Pakistan's trade blockade as a response to it and the Soviet Union's help in this regard further tightened the relationship between the two countries. During Daoud's premiership in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union penetrated into the Afghan society with its bureaucrats and advisors. When Zahir Shah came to power, the US tried to maintain the balance of power in Afghanistan by influencing him to bring liberal reforms. The US also increased its aid and had CIA agents working for it in Afghanistan. However, Daoud came to power in Afghanistan for the second time with Soviet help and courted the Soviets for economic and military aid. During this time the Soviets had effective presence in Afghanistan through their bureaucrats and

advisors. The balance of power in Afghanistan moved decisively in the Soviet Union's favour. Internationally, the attack on the American Embassy in Pakistan, fall of the Shah of Iran, loss of American will after the Vietnam War, and increased Soviet military capabilities in the 1970s moved the balance of power in the Soviet Union's favour. This in turn created favourable conditions for its southward march which influenced Soviet foreign policy and its decision to militarily intervene in Afghanistan. (For details on balance of power politics and ideology of development in Afghanistan see Lawrence Ziring, 1982, David Gibbs, 1987, Hafizullah Emadi, 1991, William H. Overholt, 1980, Maya Chadda, 1981.)

Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was more of a military move than a decision to save the socialist revolution in a neighbouring third world country. According to Lawrence Ziring, the decision to militarily intervene in Afghanistan was a difficult one for the Politburo, and that it was only under pressure from the Army's high command that the order to advance across the Oxus was finally given (Lawrence Ziring, 1982: 137). The Soviet leadership did not consider Afghanistan to be a Socialist state, nor had Afghanistan truly undergone a Marxist revolution. In fact, the Soviet leadership perceived more threat from the Afghan leadership and their socialist policies than from the resistance groups. A Soviet official said "If there is one country in the developing world where we would like not to try scientific socialism at this point of time, it is Afghanistan" (David Gibbs, 1987: 373). A Soviet diplomat opined that, under PDPA, "The newspapers are terrible, and the cultural life is barren". A US Embassy report noted that "there are indications that the Soviets regret their close association with the Taraki regime" (Gibbs, 1987: 373). The Soviet Union developed strong dislike for Amin who promoted purges and radical policies. In a July 1979 speech, Amin stated publicly that the regime would not share power with classes that had been overthrown during the Saur Revolution. This speech was believed to be an affront towards the Soviets.

According to Fred Halliday, the comparison of Afghan intervention with those in Hungary or Czechoslovakia is quite inapposite. In the latter interventions there was no substantial counter-revolution sustained from abroad, and the sustained regimes, headed by Imre Nagy and Alexander Dubček respectively, were, on the available evidence, rather popular ones. In Afghanistan, by contrast, it was precisely the scale of this counter-revolution which had brought matters to a head, and Amin was an extremely unpopular President whose very position relied on day-to-day Russian support (Fred Halliday, 1980: 41). Halliday argues that intervention to be morally defensible has to satisfy two criteria: 1. that such interventions either commands a genuine basis of popular support in the country concerned or have a reasonable chance of subsequently winning that support; and 2. that the international consequences, in terms of provoking imperialist retaliation, are not such as to outweigh the probable advantages (Halliday, 1980: 41).

After the intervention, the Soviet Union justified its act with reference to the 1978 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and declared that the Soviet troops had been invited in to defend the revolution. This was a highly contentious reading of events. Although Taraki, as leader, had requested military aid at various times since 1978, the fact that Amin, the internationally recognised leader of Afghanistan and the only person with the constitutional right to ask for military assistance, had been killed by the invading Soviet troops, undermined Moscow's case.

External interference in a country which was committed to a policy of Neutrality and Mutual Non-aggression with the Soviet Union signed on June 24, 1931 extended in December 1955 and pursued a policy of Non-Alignment proved the fact that it was not merely the ideology that governed the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was unlike that of Czechoslovakia and Hungary who were part of the Soviet Socialist system. Although the friendship treaty of 1978 between the USSR and Afghanistan provided the possibility of armed resistance, such intervention was to be voluntary not obligatory. Afghanistan was neither a member of Warsaw Pact nor of Comecon, though enjoyed observer status with the latter group. Thus, there was no governmental obligation for the USSR to protect communist government in Afghanistan.

Moscow's military intervention in Afghanistan cannot be explained solely or even primarily as a defensive reaction to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism either. The assumption is based on a facile comparison with the Khomeini revolution in Iran, but there are important differences between the two cases. It was relatively easy for Khomeini to blend nationalist and religious symbolism in Iran, where followers of the Shia branch of Islam are concentrated and Shi'ite religious identity has become fused historically with Iranian national identity. This fusion of nationalism and religion was complicated in Afghanistan by the fact that most of the Peshawar-based resistance groups espouse the militant, fundamentalist variety of pan-Islamism identified with the Muslim brotherhood. (Selig S. Harrison, 1980-81: 178). Operating throughout the Islamic world, the brotherhood denies the importance of separate Afghan nationalism. Just after the Soviet intervention, Afghan fundamentalist leaders were isolated from the mainstream of Afghan political life.

The Soviet Union also maintained that its action in Afghanistan was in line with Article 51 of the UN Charter, which provides for the states' inherent right to collective or individual self-defence for repelling aggression and restoring peace. A leading Soviet commentator asserted that the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan was only "a reply action" to the thrust into Afghanistan undertaken by the US with the help of China and Pakistan's authorities. According to Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Soviet invasion was largely provoked by the covert support that the US had begun providing to anti-government groups in Afghanistan months prior to the Soviet invasion. This assistance was provided despite the calculation that it would induce a Soviet military response. The US hoped to embroil the Soviet Union in a bloody conflict comparable to the American experience in Vietnam. This would slowly bleed the Soviet Union and prevent it from politically or militarily penetrating further south towards the Middle East. They wanted to use this space to build up a deterrent military capability in the Persian Gulf (Shibil Siddiqe, 2008: 22).

However, the Soviet Union's action in Afghanistan cannot be defined solely in defensive terms considering the growing nexus between Pakistan, China and the US in mounting insurgency against the Afghan government before the Soviet invasion. The American attention in 1979 was on the internal problems that Pakistan was facing rather than launching offensive actions against the Afghan government. The flow of refugees from Afghanistan to Pakistan gained considerable momentum by the end of 1978. In early 1979, there was a possibility of a 'Bangladesh-type operation' being seriously considered in the corridors of power in Islamabad. Around this time the ruling military junta was also getting ready to hang Bhutto and the Carter administration was tightening the screws on the junta on the twin issues of human rights and the nuclear programme. The US policy around that time was clearly

aimed at disciplining Pakistan rather than encouraging it to launch an adventure in Afghanistan. Pakistan's announcement for purchasing a reprocessing plant from France in 1976 also soured its relationship with the US (Zalmay Khalizad, 1979-80: 13). Furthermore, until the tragic assassination of Ambassador Donald Dubs on February 14, 1979, the US was quite content to carry on business with the new government in Afghanistan. There was a regular exchange of contacts between the Afghan foreign office and the American diplomats, both in Kabul and elsewhere.

However, in contrast to the contention of some of the pro-American scholars that the US policy towards Afghanistan had consistently been one of neglect, the US had been constantly active in Afghanistan throughout the Cold War days (Khalizad, 1979-80: 11). In fact, during PDPA's regime in Afghanistan, the Department of State instructed its embassy in Kabul that "the DRA has not asked us to pack our bags and leave but on the contrary has accepted the policy of maintaining our interest and presence. Closing out our efforts in Afghanistan would likely to be seen as an abdication of responsibility and would accomplish for the Soviets one of their objectives, namely to reduce further the US and Western influence in Afghanistan and the region" (Hafizullah Emadi, 1991:181). The US began supporting and recognising Islamic fundamentalists who were in exile in Pakistan and providing them with financial and military assistance to fight the "democratic" regime in Kabul. The Pakistan based Islamic parties, however, carried out a repressive policy against nationalist, revolutionary, and patriotic individuals throughout the country under the pretext of fighting communism, which in turn isolated them from the people. Washington believed that the policies of the Pakistan-based Islamic parties do not serve the interests of the US in the region. It diversified its support to veteran bureaucrats, King Zahir, former premier Mohammad Yusuf along with feudal landowners and top businessmen and other pro-Western technocrats in the hope that these forces would be able to provide a leadership to the uprising in Afghanistan. (Harrison, 1980-81:177-178)

Therefore, it can be argued that neither the role of the US nor that of the Islamic forces posed an imminent threat to the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the US was trying to invigorate its role in Afghanistan but due to Pakistan's internal problems and oppressive measures adopted by the Pakistan based Islamic parties it could not strengthen the insurgency against the ruling leftist party. Moreover, the Islamic fundamentalists failed to reconcile themselves with the Afghan national identity. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, flouted ideological and moral principles to give effect to its geopolitical interests in Southwest Asia. The Soviet Union tried to take advantage of the power vacuum in the region after the Shah was removed in Iran in an Islamic revolution and during this time Pakistan was undergoing internal problems and the US Embassy was attacked. Indira Gandhi's rising to power in India also came as an opportunity for the USSR to strengthen its role in the region.

Soviet Diplomacy after the Intervention in Afghanistan

The intervention in Afghanistan isolated the Soviet Union internationally. The purpose of fundamentalist groups and that of the supporters of the Afghan national identity got fused temporarily to get rid of a foreign power. The Third World retreated from what had become an increasingly anti-American position, and the Muslim world found that once again it had to confront two superpowers rather than concentrating its attentions on one. While Saudi Arabia, Egypt and other Islamic nations

suspected that the Carter administration would give Israel permanent jurisdiction over the Muslim holy places and deprive Palestinians of a future homeland, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan spelt more danger for these nations. Egypt offered military bases and entered into joint military exercises with the US. Saudi Arabia denounced the invasion and became the first nation to commit itself to a boycott of the Moscow Olympics. Iraq, which was considered a Soviet ally prior to the intervention condemned the Soviet act and linked it with Soviet activities in other regions, such as its incursion into North Yemen. A Conference of Islamic nations convened in Rawalpindi in January 1980, issued a joint denunciation of the Soviet invasion. Ironically, the same conference issued a milder denunciation of US support for Israel which happened for the first time. The invasion also led to the institutionalisation of Sino-American military cooperation. In the US, the priorities of the domestic political debate were shifted away from economic problems towards foreign security issues. The focus of the defence budget debate was altered in favour of conventional armaments and logistical programmes at the cost of strategic nuclear weapons (William H. Overholt, 1980:205-217). An American nation deeply divided since Vietnam and Watergate responded with remarkable unity to what was seen as a major foreign policy challenge. In Iran, the Islamic revolutionaries maintained distance from the US and the Soviet Union. Just after Soviet intervention, Iran provided assistance to various Shiite groups in Afghanistan to thwart the possibility of a pro-Soviet regime there.

To tide over the emerging situations in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union adopted a three pronged strategy. Militarily, the USSR followed the policy of defeating the important Mujahideen units, protecting Soviet lines of supply, particularly the Panjsher Valley and acquiring full control over the cities and lines of communication. Politically, it tried to install a suitable candidate at the helm of affairs and broaden the base of PDPA so that it could become more popular. In fact, the Soviet Union instituted Barbrak Karmal, its preferred man, as the head of the Afghan government and instructed him to broaden his base. Diplomatically, the Soviet Union worked for the recognition of the Karmal regime, and at the same time, held out the prospect of negotiated settlement of the Afghan issue. It encouraged the UN to continue talks towards a settlement of the Afghan crisis until 1984.

As part of its diplomacy, the Soviet Union tried to woo Iran and Pakistan so as they would not take a hardline anti-Soviet stance against its intervention in Afghanistan. After the Islamic Revolution, Iran anticipated UN sanctions against it on the issue of hostage crisis and blockade of all of Iran's ports in the Persian Gulf. However, the erstwhile Soviet ambassador assured that Iran could use the Soviet Union as a transit route to Europe. Later, while the Soviet forces occupied most of the important regions in Afghanistan, it did not dominate the Hazarjat region in central Afghanistan, the stronghold of the Shia community (Mohsen Milani, 2006: 238). The Soviet Union did not want to antagonise Iran which had already turned anti-American.

Towards Pakistan, the Soviet Union adopted a carrot and stick policy. Sometimes it offered economic and technical assistance and other times threatened its independence. Gromyko, the then Foreign Minister of the USSR, had warned Pakistan that "it will lose its independence if it continues its present policy of supporting Afghan Mujahiddin in Afghanistan" (Zahid Ali Khan and Shabir Ahmad, 2010).

The Soviet Union to win away non-aligned India to its side raised the spectre of Chinese and US aggression in the region. The Pravda argued that India's fears of US and Chinese attempts to "encircle India" were justified. After the intervention, Moscow immediately sent its Foreign Minister Andrei

Gromyko to New Delhi to underline the significance of continued close relations between India and the Soviet Union. Gromyko tried to justify the Soviet act in Afghanistan as a defensive action to preempt interference and aggressive designs of the US, Pakistan and China. India's External Affairs Ministry's spokesman, J. N Dixit, though avoided anti-American language, said "many things are happening in the world which impinge on the situation in Afghanistan" (Robert C. Horn, 1983:248). India's friendly ties with the Soviet Union and conflicting relationship with China and Pakistan deterred India from taking an anti-Soviet stance while world opinion was slowly getting united in terms of denouncing the Soviet role in Afghanistan.

Domestically, the Soviet Union was engaged in false propaganda. A new security service known as Kedmat-e-Elela'at-e-Dawlati (KHAD) was formed in January 1980 to handle rebels. It was organised and trained by the Soviet intelligence agency KGB. While interrogating, KHAD tortured men, women and even children under the direction and presence of Soviet advisers. However, KHAD was immensely successful in gathering intelligence and in contributing to consolidation of power by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union tried to make Afghanistan look like itself in terms of institutions and ideology. The constitution and organisation of PDPA began to look like those of CPSU. The political terminologies used were Soviet terms. Russian was taught in schools. Textbooks printed in the USSR were brought to Afghanistan and distributed in schools. The Afghan history was rewritten. A former student from Ghazni said "we used to have books dealing with Islam and its philosophy. Now they have changed all these books about Lenin and Marxist thought...religious science has been repressed" (Edward Girardet, 1985:145).

When all these measures seemed to fail to consolidate the role of PDPA and the Soviet Union, Babrak Karmal was asked to broaden popular support to his regime by forming the National Fatherland Front (NFF), which included religious, tribal, ethnic and political leaders. The NFF came into existence on 15 June 1981. More than 900 representatives from different classes and sections participated in the founding Congress of the NFF. As per the Constitution, the purpose of the NFF was to attract vast masses of people to participate actively and consciously in constructing a democratic and progressive Afghanistan and in observing respect for the sacred religion of Islam. However, KHAD, a security and intelligence agency was allowed to play a significant role in the functioning of NFF. It followed a divide and rule policy to deal with different groups through the departments of the Ministry of Nationalities and Tribal Affairs resulting in the loss of people's trust in NFF.

Soviet Failure to Turn Afghanistan into a Soviet Satellite

All the measures that the Soviet Union adopted in Afghanistan failed because of multiple reasons.

First, Afghanistan had historically prioritised nationalism above any other ideology. It was the Afghan nationalism that protected Afghanistan from the incursions of British and Russian Empire. The control and influence of PDPA was limited to Kabul while people in the rest of Afghanistan remained with their tribal and local identities. But such local identities usually got transformed into national identity at the time of threat to the country. According to Robert M. Cassidy, the Soviet invasion fused Islamic ideology with the cause of national liberation. After the invasion, thousands of officers and soldiers of the Afghan Army defected to the Mujahideen, and the insurgents seized hundreds of

government outposts, most of which had been abdicated by defecting soldiers. For example, Massoud gained control of the entire Panjshir Valley during the spring of 1980, whereas before the invasion his forces had been confined to a much smaller part of the upper valley (Robert M. Cassidy, 2003: 27).

Secondly, balance of power was always maintained in Afghanistan by the great powers either directly or through their proxies. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan disturbed such balance of power and therefore met with quick reprisal. Though international conditions prior to the invasion changed the balance in the Soviet Union's favour, the US quickly responded to the situation by increasing arms and aid to its allies. Moscow might have thought that Washington's half-hearted response to the Russian role in Hungary and Chechoslovakia might be repeated in the case of Afghanistan. Minton F. Goldman argues that the Soviet Union felt free to invade Afghanistan in December 1979 because it expected no serious resistance-beyond words and symbols of disapproval from the United States or any other concerned nation. (Milton. F Goldman, 1984:384-403). The fact that was overlooked was that Afghanistan was geopolitically more important for the US in terms of its containment strategy.

Thirdly, intervention in a neutral and non-aligned Third World Muslim country led to international opprobrium against the Soviet role. Despite Soviet propaganda, something close to a universal consensus quickly developed on the injustice of the Soviet Union. Even the leaders sympathetic to the Soviet Union such as Indira Gandhi of India, Assad of Syria, Gaddafi of Libya called upon the Soviets to withdraw their forces. The Muslim states of the Middle East were angered as the invasion increased the region's fragility and disunity. (Maya Chadda, 1981: 514). The world public opinion largely turned against the Soviet Union in the case of Afghanistan unlike on the issues of Soviet role in Chechoslovakia and Hungary.

Fourthly, the USSR became a victim to the asymmetric warfare that the hills and difficult terrains of Afghanistan facilitated. While for the Soviet Union the Afghan War was a limited war, for the resistance forces it was a total war. For the latter it was a war for the survival and the future of the country. The Afghan guerrillas proved Kissinger's maxim- "the guerrilla wins if does not lose; the conventional army loses if it does not win" (Cassidy, 2003: 15). The Afghani resistance forces effectively countered the Soviet strategy of annihilation by conducting a protracted war of attrition. The Afghan guerrillas did not require much time and creativity to anticipate the predictable offensives from the Soviet forces. They would simply leave the area under aerial and artillery bombardment and come back after the Soviet forces had returned to their bases. On the other hand, before and after each one of these offensives, the Afghan fighters knew the avenues of approach and return, and were able to ambush the weary Soviet columns.

Fifthly, using force indiscriminately without having a proper counterinsurgency campaign undermined the Soviet efforts in Afghanistan by alienating the population. The indiscriminate form of rural counter-offensive and the mass repression in the towns were not only morally reprehensible, but they also seemed to have fuelled the flames of counter-revolution and enabled the opponents of the PDPA to mobilise wider support. The Soviet policy of destroying agriculture and depopulating the countryside further alienated the rural masses. However, technologically, use of helicopters by the Soviet forces helped them cover vast areas and tackle the decentralised nature of operations in Afghanistan. It was after Gorbachev's assumption of power in March 1985 that the Soviet forces in Afghanistan better employed their technological advantage to improve their performance. They made particularly effective

use of the MI-24 and MI-25 Hind helicopters and of the insertion of Special Forces units behind enemy lines (Cassidy, 2003: 20-21). While on the one hand the process of negotiation was going on among the major powers involved in the Afghan war particularly after Gorbachev assumed power in the USSR, the volume and dangerousness of the war increased at the same time on the other hand. To turn the tide of the war militarily, Gorbachev named General Mikhail Zaitsev, one of the most illustrious generals, to oversee the Soviet war efforts (Rafael Reuveny, Aseem Prakash, 1999:697). In April 1986 the Americans decided to provide the Mujahideen with Stinger shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles and this marked a turning point in the war. The Afghan fighters were then able to undermine a key Soviet technological advantage — the mobility and firepower of helicopters.

Sixthly, one of the mistakes that the Soviet Union committed in the conduct the Afghan War was to employ the ethnic forces of same origin from the Central Asian states as that of the Afghan guerrillas. As a result, they started helping the guerrilla forces when they realised that the only people they were fighting in Afghanistan were Afghans. The Afghan war accentuated ethnic unrest within the Soviet army and went a long way in discrediting it. Even in the early 1980s, the reliability of Central Asian soldiers was questioned and they were often removed from active combat duties in Afghanistan. When they served combat duties, the generals perceived them as being soft on Afghan civilians. For example, on September 12, 1985, following the execution of an Afghan civilian, there was an ethnic mutiny in the Dast-I Abdan base near the city of Kunduz in the northern part of Afghanistan. The Central Asian troops fired at the Russians and 'some 450 people from both sides...and 500 military vehicles were entirely destroyed' (Rafael, Aseem, 1999:697).

These are some of the very important reasons behind the weakness of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan which led subsequently to Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Ideology, culture (including ethnicity and religion) and technology played a very important role in determining success in the Afghan war. The first two are important in recruiting material support and legitimacy. However, the primary motive behind the major powers' role in Afghanistan is geopolitical. While the Soviet Union's decision to intervene in Afghanistan was moved by its geopolitical interest to take advantage of the power vacuum in the Southwest Asian region, ideological discrepancy with the PDPA, lack of true communist revolution in Afghanistan, neutral and non-aligned character of Afghanistan, intervention in an Islamic country in a region where Islamism was gaining strength after the Iranian Revolution and the Soviet decision to recruit the people of the same origin from Central Asian republics to fight Afghan guerrillas were some of the factors weakening Soviet hold in Afghanistan.

Negotiations for Settlement of the Afghan Problem

The UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim appointed Perez De Cuellar as his personal representative to Afghanistan in 1981 to study the complexities of the situation there and discuss with the parties concerned about a negotiated settlement of the problem. During Brezhnev's presidency Moscow took an unambiguous stance on the conditionalities of negotiation. Brezhnev told that before the Soviet Union withdraws "the infiltration of the counter-revolutionary gangs into Afghanistan must be completely stopped. This must be secured in accord between Afghanistan and its neighbours. Dependable

guarantees required that there will be no new intervention. Such is the fundamental position of the Soviet Union, and we adhere to it firmly" (K.B Usha, 2004: 179). The first proximity talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan began in June 1982 in Geneva but without any result. During the second round of talks which began in April 1983 Yuri Andropov was the Soviet head of the state. Unlike Brezhnev, he took a conciliatory approach towards the Afghan problem but during this time neither the US nor Pakistan was interested in a compromise solution. The last months of Andropov and the period of Chernenko's leadership (February 1984 to March 1985) saw no political and diplomatic movement on Afghanistan, but rather an intensification of military activities in the country. After Gorbachev assumed power, he underlined the importance of negotiations and talked about Soviet withdrawal. However, on the other hand he tried to turn the tide of the Afghan War in favour of the Soviet Union through technological superiority. During his regime helicopters were massively used to conduct the war. According to Fred Halliday, while at a meeting of the Politburo on 17 November 1985 Gorbachev said that he had told Karmal on the previous day that Soviet forces would be out 'by summer of 1986'; it took, however, more than two and a half years from that meeting for the Soviet withdrawal to begin (Fred Halliday, 1999:683).

The Soviet Union did not want to leave Afghanistan without its interests being safeguarded. It installed Najibullah in power after Babrak Karmal failed to broaden his base. The Soviet Union facilitated a new 'National Reconciliation Policy' to negotiate with declared enemies. However, after a brief period of success, the policy failed as both the government and Mujahideen received enormous funds from outside and the military-political situation remained deadlocked. The Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan as part of a negotiated international peace process but at the same time it left enough military force to defend its interest in Afghanistan. According to Tim Bird and Alex Marshall, "despite post-war claims that they had been humiliatingly defeated, Soviet forces in reality withdrew in good order, and left in place a regime in Kabul with (in principle) more than sufficient military force to defend itself" (Tim Bird, Alfred Marshall, 2011: 25). According to GPD, Gorbachev assured everyone that "national reconciliation and the establishment of a coalition government" in Afghanistan "is purely an internal Afghan issue" and warned presumably the Americans and Pakistanis by saying it was neither "our business nor yours for that matter" to interfere in the reconciliation process (GPD, 1988:398-399). The Soviet Union knew that Najibullah's men were the biggest and most united force in Afghanistan. The Soviets had offered to withdraw probably because they were aware of the strategic importance of this group in an Afghanistan of warring tribes. Moscow thought that Najibullah and the ruling party in Kabul could not be thrown out as traitors nor were the Mujahidden going to inherit Kabul from them. To see an anti-American government in Kabul, Gorbachev courted Iran and said "it should not stand aside from a political settlement" (GPD, 1988:398-399).

The Soviet Union's support in terms of armaments went a long way in strengthening the Afghan regular army. It is argued that the collapse of the Soviet-backed government in Afghanistan was not a consequence of Mujahideen military victory. It was the ongoing process of disintegration of the Soviet Union that led its foreign minister to pledge to cut off all military and economic aid to Najibullah by January 1992. However, despite all Soviet attempts to safeguard its interests in Afghanistan, the withdrawal of the Soviet Army and disintegration of the Soviet Union were related to the protracted Afghan War.

Conclusion

The Soviet Union militarily moved into Afghanistan taking advantage of the power vacuum. Though it tried to justify its act in terms of ideological necessity to save the revolution in Afghanistan, in actuality there was no such revolution as the authority and activities of PDPA were confined to Kabul. Moreover, the decision to intervene in Afghanistan was taken by the military. The interests underlying the Soviet role in Afghanistan were to lay down a land route to the Indian Ocean, to ensure overland communication routes to the Indian subcontinent by putting pressure on Pakistan and more importantly, to enhance its power through putting pressure on the West and the Gulf countries by situating itself near the Persian Gulf and straits of Hormuz. The Soviet Union, lacking a foothold in the Gulf region, had thought its presence in Afghanistan would place it nearest the important sea routes for oil supplies to the West.

To realise its geopolitical interests, the Soviet Union tried to eliminate insurgency against the PDPA, wiped out leaders assumed to be threats to its interests and advised pro-Soviet leaders to broaden their base. It also tried to influence the culture and history of Afghanistan. Internationally, it tried to diplomatically cultivate India, Iran and Pakistan so that none of the states took a hardline anti-Soviet stance. The long-term interest of the Soviet Union was in installing a pro-Soviet regime in Afghanistan without any substantial threat. The Soviet Union failed to turn Afghanistan into its satellite because of a number of factors. Historically Afghanistan prioritized nationalism over socialism or for that matter any other ideology. Furthermore, the Soviet intervention overlooked the fact that balance of power was always maintained in Afghanistan by the major powers. Besides, the Soviet Union intervened in a non-aligned Third World Muslim country which largely turned world public opinion against it. In addition, to conduct the Afghan War, it employed the people of same ethnic origin as that of the Afghan guerrillas who sympathised with their co-ethnics and it was also victimised by the asymmetric warfare techniques adopted by resistance forces. Though these factors weakened the Soviet position in Afghanistan and brought Gorbachev to the negotiating table, the Soviet Union kept supporting the Najibullah government and was not interested to withdraw without safeguarding its interests.

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This paper is the first part of a trilogy concerning Afghanistan's recent past. The second part will appear in the next issue and is entitled 'Changing Role of Russia in Afghanistan after Soviet Disintegration'. — Editor



LITERATURE & ARTS

MAHAPATRA, Debidatta Aurobinda

A Tribute to Ravi Shankar

The tribute to Pandit Ravi Shankar, the Indian music legend, by one of his famous collaborators Ehud Menuhin is fitting and remarkable: "Ravi Shankar has brought me a precious gift and through him I have added a new dimension to my experience of music. To me, his genius and his humanity can only be compared to that of Mozart's."

Ravi Shankar was a multifaceted personality. He was a musician, composer, writer and teacher – all rolled into one. His six decade long career was full of a rich saga which would be difficult to describe in a small piece like this one. His name is so much etched in popular memory in the west and the east, his contribution so rich, verdant and enduring; geniuses like Ravi Shankar continue to remain alive in the hearts and minds of music lovers around the world. In death, he remains immortal.

Applying the Sanskrit terminology, Ravi Shankar was a Karma yogi. His life was a life of action. He produced ceaselessly till he breathed his last on 11 December 2012. His old age could not be a fetter when he last performed along with her daughter Anoushka Shankar at Long Beach in California on 4 November 2012, at the age of 92. His contributions were so enormous it would be difficult to fill all in one piece of paper. Winner of three Grammy awards, and two more posthumously, composers of music of great films like Gandhi, an avant-garde musician impacting the hippy culture in America in sixties, a dear to Beatles particularly George Harrison, Ravi Shankar was not an individual person, but was a cult, an embodiment of music in its highest form. Harrison called him 'Godfather of the world music.'

Ravi Shankar's website succinctly describes his contribution. It would be apt here to quote from it: "Always ahead of his time, Ravi Shankar has written three concertos for sitar and orchestra, last one of which in 2008. He has also authored violin-sitar compositions for Yehudi Menuhin and himself, music for flute virtuoso Jean Pierre Rampal, music for Hosan Yamamoto, master of the Shakuhachi and Musumi Miyashita - Koto virtuoso, and has collaborated with Phillip Glass (Passages). George Harrison produced and participated in two record albums, 'Shankar Family & Friends' and 'Festival of India' both composed by Ravi Shankar. Ravi Shankar has also composed for ballets and films in India, Canada, Europe and the United States. The latter of which includes the films 'Charly,' 'Gandhi,' and the 'Apu Trilogy'. In the period of the awakening of the younger generation in the mid 60's, Ravi Shankar gave three memorable concerts - Monterey Pop Festival, Concert for Bangla Desh, and The Woodstock Festival."

Ravi Shankar was born Robindro Shaunkor Chowdhury in a Bengali Brahmin family in the religious city of Varanasi in India on 7 April 1920. Youngest among the four brothers, Shankar joined the eldest brother Uday Shankar, another legendry figure and dancer, in Europe tour. He left dancing in 1938 and developed interest in sitar, and learned it from the famous musician Allaaddin Khan of Maihar court in the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh. After rigorous training, Shankar shifted to Mumbai and joined Indian People's Theatre Association, and started working in All India Radio and HMV India. His star

rose faster and he started composing music for famous movies like Pather Panchali, composing music for the famous Indian song *sare jahane accha*, and Hindi films like Godaan and Anuradha. His tour of Europe, the United States, and Australia in 1961 made him immensely popular. In 1966 he met George Harrison of the Beatles brand in London and their relationship became enduring.

Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh paid tribute in glowing words and called him “a national treasure and global ambassador of India’s cultural heritage.” Perhaps the most important contribution of Ravi Shankar is to introduce Indian music to the West. Ravi Shankar Foundation’s official recording label called East Meets West Music is reflective of this resolve. He was also a great learner. He blended the north Indian music with the south Indian Carnatic music. The Beatles’ song ‘Within You Without You’ was influenced by Indian classical music as introduced by Ravi Shankar. He believed that there could be a synthesis between the music of the east and the music of the west.

In this regard, he has similarities with the 19th century Hindu spiritual leader and philosopher, Swami Vivekananda, though both espoused different thinking and life practices. The similarity is while Vivekananda introduced Hindu religion to the west Shankar introduced Indian music to the west. It is famously said that one of the great contributions of the America to India is Swami Vivekananda as it was his famous Chicago speech in 1893 and later discourses in America that made him popular, the same could be said about Ravi Shankar. Though he contributed to the world of music before his forays into the America, it was indeed his works in America, his collaborations with great musicians in the west that made Ravi Shankar immensely popular. Perhaps it may not be an exaggeration to say that Ravi Shankar was more popular in the west than in the east.

Besides a great musician, Ravi Shankar was also a great philanthropist. During the crisis in 1971 when millions of refugees rushed to India from West Pakistan, Ravi Shankar along with his collaborator Harrison organized a famous concert called Bangladesh concert to raise money for the refugees. The concert was successful. Not only that, it also inspired many others to contribute to the cause of the refugees.

India has a tradition to court its famous men and women in foreign countries. In 1986, Ravi Shankar was invited by Indian government to be a member of the upper house of the Parliament, called Rajya Sabha (Council of States). He was awarded the highest civilian award Bharat Ratna by India in 1999. He taught music to disciples world wide and left a mark. In the words of one of his disciples, “Surely, the world knows Guruji as one of the greatest musicians and countless articles have been written about him for decades. Aside from the music I was privileged to learn from him; I was fortunate to see the human side of this great artist as well. His childlike enthusiasm to learn and live life to the fullest, his humility, and his humour – like a true “guru,” he taught me not just music but about life itself.”

Certainly the absence of Ravi Shankar had left a void in the world of music. He not only influenced music lovers across continents and other divides, he also pointed to us how music could bring human beings together. In his life as well as in his death, Ravi Shankar would remain a shining example how a man from a modest background could conquer the world by the sheer power of his music and passion. He was not only an icon or a cult hero; he was also a human being who could understand the pulse of others, who could captivate millions by his music by drawing them to his orbit of love and compassion.

While receiving the Grammy Awards for their late father on 11 February 2013, Ravi Shankar's daughters, Norah Jones and Anoushka Shankar echoed the admirers of the legendary musician. Anoushka said, "It was 60 days ago today that he passed away. It's kind of difficult to be standing up here...My father always said that music could create world peace because it had the potential to raise the consciousness of people... When I watched him play what moved me was this incredible meditative state where he could take people." It may also be apt to say that rarely in human ages such geniuses are born.



MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia

Leiden Pearls

On my way to the exhibition *Pearls in the Arts, Nature and Dance*, I have met a girl called Gonya. We engaged in conversation when I accidentally stepped on her feet in the train – I did not see her standing there. She was not complaining at all, rather, she got enthusiast and treated me as an unexpected gift of Fate. She told me about her speciality: she could live in the skin. «When I am there», she said, giving me an excuse at the same time, «I am almost invisible.»

Then she told me how it happened: slowly with the years her skin was growing ever thinner until it felt transparent. And there came a day when she could see the sausage going in at one side of her and appearing on her other side. The only difference was that what she saw “inside” was not the sausage itself but her mother quarrelling with uncle Paul. Uncle Paul lost his half stomach due to excessive drinking and was forbidden to eat sausage and got nervous every time when he sniffed it out. Gonya also told me that beyond such small distortions, due to personal memories, there were identical lands on both sides. It did not matter much at which side she was looking at. Out of curiosity, I touched her skin: it felt silky, even, and intensely warm.

The train stopped, we took off and headed together towards the museum building. A grey thick fog, hardly penetrable for the light of the street lamps, blanketed us benignly. As we advanced in the mist, I heard the sounds of a far-away drum. The pale lights of the street lamps disappeared and we were surrounded by reddish-brown darkness. The drumming became louder and faster. It reverberated in my stomach, plucked the strings inside my bones and evoked deep remembrances of a onetime tribal existence. Drawings appeared, of women lost in the fervour of accelerated dance; their bodies disappearing in the swirl, letting see but a few arms and legs, each adorned richly with pearls. All was made of tightly placed curling lines.



Kinke Kooi: Eternal Dance (2003) 37*53 cm, © Copyright Kinke Kooi

Then we saw the young Aboriginal girl, Siluce, floating in the sea. She went to pearl hunting with her friends but swam astray when a fish enticed her. A sudden tropical storm hit the waters. Huge waves, sized of a three-storey building, carried her away from her beautiful home. Like a pearl torn out from the shell, her body floated unintentionally in the sea.

Siluce was brought finally to the faraway, cold and cloudy Northern Low Countries, inside a pearl shipment. She was sad and lonely, stripped of her youthful innocence, more beautiful than ever. She got placed in a jewellery box, just like the Barbie of Marlene Dumas.



Marlène Dumas: Barbie (1997), © Copyright Marlène Dumas

After some time, Siluce looked around in the jewellery box, and bit by bit began to discover the contents of the partitions. The more she saw the more astonished she became. New jewels turned up at every corner; gold necklaces with ruby beads, earring sets studded with pearls, emerald bracelets, diamond brooches, gold filigree cameos... She found herself engulfed with a lust for wealthy objects, enslaved to a love for luxury. She would put a handful of pearls in her mouth and let them slowly rolling down her youthful body. Just like in *Chasing Pearls*, a film of Michael Schumacher (2012).

By her thirties, Siluce gradually overcame all the decadent extremes. She expanded to a big two-story house, gloriously enlit, which emitted a welcoming air of warmth, comfort and stability. She got

populated with children and found her place in the vicinity of other houses; on her left stood a sombre-looking house, with just a few windows lit, on her right we saw a little coquette, with curly ornaments and a pigeonaire, while further away we found several shy, always-locked houses. No doubt: Siluce was by far the most attractive among them.

Siluce invited us into her realm of utter feminine beauty.



*Kinke Kooi: Digging (2011), 80*57 cm, © Copyright Kinke Kooi*

It was made of densely curling pencil lines which embraced us within their feminin world, enmeshed in the double realm of inside and outside. We looked behind the rich curtains between the thumb and the index finger and admired the myriad of little wonders.

We left Siluce, promised her to return soon and climbed to the upper floor. I soon forgot about my promise as I looked around. Great enthusiasm filled me. At first I thought that we went astray and

bumped into a nature history museum depot. I strongly hoped I had enough time to look around before a warden chases us off.

The first thing I saw was a pod of dolphin skeletons and a bale of preserved sea turtles swimming in the air. It looked so weird but also enthralling. Often skeletons appear as mute remainders of a one-time organism, as silent mementos to death. (Beyond doubt, the sight of a few skeletons scattered in a vast sea of sand dunes is quite depressing. Especially, I heard, if one's water/diesel reserves are running low.) However, these flocks of skeletons swimming above my head were not depressing. They were the Form, more precisely: the many individual forms that the invisible entity called bottlenose dolphin creates. They created wonder and respect in me.

Further away, I saw several collages of paper cuttings. The carefully arranged small pieces of paper, through their form and arrangement, reminded of bones bleached white in the sun. They evoked an ancient, totemistic effect. As if –acknowledging our inability to understand the complex natural order– we would create a new, simplified, esthetical order.



Sea scene (2012). Decoupages on light box. Courtesy Willem Barentsz galerie.

In the far left corner, little carved idols were lined up on a shelf together with jarred sea animals. Such jars, containing the murky remains of some animal specimen, are usually very sad to look at. Dispossessed of their original context and meaning, bathing in liquid preservative instead of seawater, the colourless, swollen bodies are trapped for ever in the process of decomposition. This installation, however, looked harmonious and created positive excitement and I did not know of it was for the smile of the little idols or the pairing of the innocent beauty with the beast.

On the right side of the room I saw a series of sculptures representing humans. I saw a flattened body, positioned like a victim of the 76 A.C. Pompeii eruption, the fleshless skin dried to the bones: what a perfect material for studying the bony structure!



Atelier Joep van Lieshout: Emaciated (2009), Cradle to cradle, © Copyright AVL

Next to it, an absurdly contorted female body standing on all fours ruffled my feathers: the abdomen was cut open and its content: intestines, uterus, bladder, ureter -still connected to the body- were solicitously exposed. It may have been for their whitish color and facelessness that the above sculptures were dwarfed in awfulness by two monstrous diving suits hooked on the ceiling. Heavy and cumbersome, the suits were hanging like water monsters and exhaled an air of annihilation. All of these objects were glorious examples of the analysing extremes of the Western mind.

Further to the right I found large show-cases filled with ceramic objects. Peacefully and in huge quantity rested the ceramics there, like amphorai in the hold of an ancient shipwreck - quite unaware of the rest of the room.

I was wandering around fervently, filled with excitement by the myriad of impressions. I might have left the path of Siluce and Gonya had definitely faded away. I found myself among historical objects: it was one of the rooms of the permanent exhibition. I saw two huge canvases on the subject of «Leiden's ontzet», the siege of Leiden. It occurred during the Eighty Years war when the Dutch revolted against the Spanish rule. During the siege thousands of inhabitants died of starvation. At a critical moment Mayor van der Werff inspired his citizens to hold on by offering his body as food (they did not eat him). Finally, on the 3rd of October, 1574 Leiden was relieved and ships carried provisions to the inhabitants. (The first food that got into the city was herring and white bread. Ever since 3 October is the biggest festivity in Leiden when the municipality distributes free herring and bread.)



Mattheus Ignatius van Bree: Mayor Pieter Adriaensz. van der Werff offers his sword to the people, (1816-1817), collection Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden



Erwin Olaf: Liberty – Plague and Hunger during the Siege of Leiden (2011), collection Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden

I was looking at the two pieces hanging in each other's proximity: the historicizing painting of *van Bree* created between 1816 and 1817 and the 21st century's photomontage of *Erwin Olaf*. One thing struck me deeply. There was an obvious difference in the behaviour of the citizens. A strong emotion was depicted on *van Bree's* painting; I could almost see that all the surrounding houses had been emptied, that the community was suffering together, as a whole, and I saw that its leader was ready to die for it. On the contrary, *Erwin Olaf's* work depicts many individual stories, many independent unities. Nothing, but the common space they happen to occupy keeps the people together. There is no big drama, just many small dramas. How true!

I kept wandering for some time. I saw the wonderful winged altarpiece from Lucas of Leyden and many other great artworks. And I went back, again and again.

Pearls in the Arts, Nature and Dance was a very successful exhibition designed by choreographer *Karin Post* who combined dance, visual arts, literature and natural history in one display. Temporary exhibits were superbly combined with elements of the permanent collection; individual artworks got often placed in a wider dramaturgical context. The exhibition took place in the Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden, The Netherlands, between 15 September 2012 and 13 January 2013.



TRAVELOGUE

MIRABILE, Paul

**Journey on Foot through the Western Himalayas
and
Retreat at Phuktal¹**

*«The traveller has to knock at every alien
door to come to his own, and one has to
wander through all the outer worlds to reach
the innermost shrine at the end.»*

Tagore

Introduction

Buddhism, its writings and iconography, its monasteries and chants; the Himalayas, their smells of Deodar and of Juniper, their cobalt snow-coiffed peaks and lapis lazuli valleys; and the solitary voyager, pilgrim or wayfarer are inextricably entwined: attempting to excise the parts from the Whole only plunges the curious-minded into a quagmire of cliché, of beguiled erring. No Experience is fragmented, parenthetical...the Whole must be encompassed before any reality transforms into an Experience, or the Experience, at an ontological level, transforms into reality...

For ontology is the Experience in which Art is perceived as a religious synthesis, be it iconographic or scriptural. Images and sounds transform daily foot-shuffling into a lighter, bouncier step! Art and Poetry transfigure the 'little man' into a pilgrim; his daily commerce into legend...into an odyssey. The Poet is he who creates his own life...

But this must be willed! To seek Without is equipoised in Time and Space as to seek Within: they are complementary. This dual movement constitutes the Art of Exposure. It also discards, with uncurbed violence, parasites, both professional and amateur.

¹ This travelogue was written in 1996. The piece here is an abridged version of it. The full version, including photographs and maps, can be read in the supplement to this issue. — *Editor*

For the experiencing of the Whole is a life-long Way of piecing each Event into and out of one's Self. It requires absolute Exposure; and this demands total sincerity without which Exposure can have no effect upon the Voyager.

And the Way is on foot! It is the stride that permeates the body, from the foot upwards and not the contrary. The inhaling and exhaling that absorbs, the ambulatory exercise of observation amasses the fragments into that Whole.

The Experience of the Whole may begin in a museum, with a book, or at times in idle, lounge-chair conversation; however, it truly begins with a gust of hot or cold wind upon the exposed face, with the naked foot touching soft soil or veiny marble. What then is the experimental triad? Imagination-Will-Exposure! And from this triad all legends are wrought. For it is the legend that is Art, it scoffs at the pious lies of historians.

It may just be that this chronicle has been written as a panegyric to the Hungarian philologist and Voyager Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös. Undoubtedly, the author of these pages sought to emulate the great Hungarian orientalist. Him, and indeed sundry others of the same stalwart and adventurous breed. And yet, there may be another reason: to delect in the simple and primordial things of life is not a sound reason to heave anchor and set sail? Must one really err from one prison to another? This author certainly thinks not...

To retrace an Experience consists not of piecing together fragments of reminiscences, memories and sensations?..

'Il y avait peut-être sous ces signes quelque chose de tout autre que je devais tâcher de découvrir, une pensée qu'ils traduisent à la façon des caractères hiéroglyphiques.'

M. Proust

Part I**The Mountain Journey to Phuktal**

*«Over the snowy peaks of the Himalayas burns a bright
glow, brighter than stars and the fantastic flashes
of lightning. Who has kindled those pillars of light,
which march across the heavens?»*

Nicholas Roerich

The Outset

At Lamayura, five or six hours by bus from Leh, the capital of Ladakh, the Singge sanctuary lay steeped in darkness. The small prayer hall, located in a maze of mud-baked adobe homes of a complicated network of low, narrow corridors, crumbling stairways, unceremonious entries and dilapidated walls is an iconographic gem for the contemplative: the oozing walls, one of which was cleaved from top to bottom, revealed an array of colour, tone and motif reminiscent of Alchi. Hundreds of tiny seated Buddhas nudged neatly in their red niches, other pastel-like figures such as Tara (the green and white ones), Heruka, the bodhisattvas, dancing skeletons or the *turdak*, those mail-coated warriors, were all either ensconced in their ruddy recesses in seated position, or lodged in larger dwellings, fully upright. Although the paint had flaked considerably, punctuating the frescoes with ugly chasms and fissured breaches, the variegated Buddhas could be discerned in all their refined contours and intense colours: notably Amitabha, in *Dayana-asana* leg-posture, his fine hands fashioned in the mudra-position nestled between a woman figure and an elderly man; he glowed a lusty red, encased within a guild-edged greenish shadow of himself. Here, the wrathful Buddhas and the milder ones blended into a harmonious One, reconciling thus the two extremes of opposing forces. All the *Dhyani-Buddhas*, one of whom is the statue of Vairochana, the transmuter of hate, expose him to the ruthless onslaught of non-duality; the relentless quest of Harmony...Mahakala glares at the contemplator as he steps into the dank second chamber, there where Paldan Llamo and a host of dancing skeletons pin the unexpected pilgrim to his place. To penetrate the intensity of the colours and the soundness of the curves means to leap out in order to leap back in! To be passive only as a passage towards activity.

And there the Lord of Compassion: Adalokiteshvara, four-armed, pure white (but not of hate!), radiates in joy in his large niche, peopled with bodhisattvas and flying Dakini, some of whom are playing flutes. He extends his thousand arms to those who suffer a thousand circumstances of suffering, whose souls lie exposed to a thousand pinings of mundane demeure. Milarepa had been a terrible tyrant, slaughtering at will, purging and pillaging, offering his extraordinary services to the Power of Hate. His conversion transformed the Power of Hate into one of Love...of Creation! Poetry and Art...like Mahakala, that once puissant demon who crushed even the strongest of gods, but who, yielding to Manjushri and Avalokiteshvara, joined forces with Poetry and Art in the eternal cycle of Creation...

Contemplation: penetration of colour and motif. Milarepa was no Saint Bernard or Saint Augustine. Saint Bernard refused to reconcile hate and love; he never experienced the harmony of contrasts. On some occasions he would speak of love, and on others of hate. He would pray to God for the souls of the tortured, lead screaming warriors against internal reformers and external infidels. As to Augustine, in spite of his conversion, he remained ontologically manichean: one does not evangelize with a soul overflowing with *ressentiment*...

The following morning, after a somewhat stifled sleep in my tiny cell, I settled my accounts with the prior and set out on the grassy path that would lead to the village of Wanla. Grassy at first, as I ascended the rock-strewn way, the luxuriant green, however, disappeared, leaving barren-faced stone and mounds of pebbles or glacier debris. It was the third of June and although only at 3.800 metres the earth bore the scars of thick glacier sediment. Enormous white bands streaked the lees of granite, peppered palisades of vitreous rock, enameled by the flow of long, hard winters. The path snaked upwards, narrow and sinewy: it was my first pass...

I carried 25 kilos: books with some writing paraphernalia, 50 packages of Maggi (a sort of Macaroni soup), dried apricots, warm clothing, a light stove with two small gas cylinders, a sleeping bag, a tent and my Pentax. In Leh, I had also purchased a small pot and frying pan. I had borrowed the pup-tent from a friend in Leh. It would certainly bail me out if no village, monastery or shepherd's hovel were to be found.

Huffing up a dried river bed which serpentine in and out of valleys and narrow glens, I took a rest on a flat-surfaced boulder atop Prinket La, a mountain pass of 3.750 metres. In spite of the blazing sun the briskness of the air chilled my exposed cheeks. I pulled my bonnet further down over my ears. The sky, a pure indigo, clashed against the whiteness of recently fallen snow that crowned the crenellated crests of the mountain ridges. I checked my books: the *Dhammapada*, the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, the *Superhuman Life of Gesur of Ling*, translated by Alexandre David-Néel, Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*, my Sanskrit grammar and dictionary, Tagore's *Gitanjali* and my own make-shift glossary of Ladakhi and Tibetan words with English and French equivalents. These were fine companions for mountain solitude...

Ladakh, cut from the world during nine long months, suffered from a lack of fresh food. Peasants and city-dwellers stocked what they could, praying that the Kashmir road would be cleared by the military at the end of May, which unfortunately was rarely achieved. As to the new road through to Manali, built by the military for the military (opened to civilians and tourists in 1977 up to Keylong in Lahaul, then in 1989 through to Leh), this was never cleared before the end of July! Thus I counted on the villagers of

Ladakh and Zaskar, knowing perfectly well, however, that they too would not have much to offer, and if they did, there would be much negotiating...Yak meat, cheese, yoghurt and curd they surely had, yet unlike the villagers of the Sahara whose lips curled in anger whenever one dared to offer them money for the tea and biscuits shared with them, here everything had a price!

The wintry winds and snow had beaten and thrashed these mountain kingdoms terribly: reports as far south as Kulu described the mass destruction caused by avalanches, unexpected snow-storms, overflowed rivers. Homes had been literally swept away, roads chopped up and fallen into bits, villagers and tourists killed under heavy snow falls. The old man in Lamayuru had explained that all treks into the Spiti Valley had been cancelled. And to think that last year I had spent months trekking in those devastated regions.

Darkness in the mountains settled in quickly. Over the russet flames of a hastily made campfire I warmed my fingers. The clouds, which had converged as if in battle array, slowly dispersed: over the blackening rim of a ridge the dim light of the crescent moon illumined various parts of the valley in an eerie ply of convex and concave forms...

At five thirty I was up. The light was a meld of the fantastic and the marvelous!

After breakfast of tea, honey and *chapatti* I resolutely made up my mind to tackle the Aksuta road. This would not require me to follow the Yapola River for very long which would save much psychological strain, for I had been told that the path weaved in and out of a vast canyon, at times so narrow that it became barely visible. The thought of constantly keeping a shoulder to the mountain wall in order to avoid the drop was hardly any comfort. Some English trekkers had lost three horses on that trail...had they lost any trekkers?

The nervy path arched upwards and downwards following the erratic rhythm of a veiny granite and limestone mountain flank, plunging headlong into deep ravines, then charging high above the foamy river again only to repeat the same movement. I felt like I was on the back of that Nilgiri jungle elephant, contracting and decontracting to each descent and ascent. But there the elephant did all the work, I on the *howdah*, the *mahout* shouting «hut!hut!hut!» followed by the crack of the stick on the beast's leathery ear or jowl. Here my legs cringed under a weighty pack, buckled when lifting a kilo of boots, trembled when crouching or slithering under low granite ledges in which (or through which) the path seemed to vanish, only to appear suddenly again some two or three metres ahead! There were some vicious bends where I hugged the gummy bulwark like a child its mother's breast, inching along the igneous filament. That day was one of stamina and nerve.

I reached a recently well-built bridge which, according to the map, designated the bifurcation Honumatta/Aksuta. I swung down, crossed the sturdy structure, then kept to the opposite side of the steep canyon. I had been walking for six hours...

The path got worse! More and more serpentine, meandrous; it now transformed into a soft sandstone debris whose unsteady deposit offered no sure foothold, crumbling into pieces and sliding into the river at a foot's touch, at present twisting into natural cavities, low and jagged, wide enough indeed for two boots but under which I had to crawl. During that whole day I hadn't met one trekker...

From the 4.000 metre ledge I dizzily observed scattered *dzo* (not to be mistaken for yaks) grazing on *nurji* and other variegated moss along the river bank. Although some *dzo* were undomesticated, this type of yak displayed no aggressivity towards the mountain interloper. If they happened to be roaming on the path at my approach, they would simply slide down the slope and there, motionless on the abrupt acclivity, maintain perfect stability. The shaggy-furred creatures would look at me with their sad eyes, shake their thick necks, then waddle down to the river's edge...

The lonely route now ran through a mammoth canyon exposed to whipping winds and sleet. The snowflakes grew bigger and thicker. I began to crunch across glistening glaciers which snaked down from the acclivities, twisted through cleaved and fissured rock, swept down into the canyon, there embracing it. This land was terrifying! Foreboding, awesome, dangerous; the old man had told me not to strike out on my own in such wild country at so early a date. I hadn't taken his advice very seriously for after all this wasn't the Yukon Territory out of whose ruggedness Jack London had written many a story and novel. I was neither ill-equipped nor absolutely alone: hamlets, villages and monasteries marked my map...

The cold numbed my exposed face, and the grey clouds percipitated the advent of darkness. Tiny bullets of hail played tick-tack against the petrified stone mass. Sengge Base Camp still lay many hours ahead, too far to be reached before nightfall. Above to the right, perched on a crag, a shepherd's hut jutted out from the pasty sky: it was too far and too high. A rather deep streamlet suddenly barred my way. Instead of wading across it, I stupidly tried to make the jump: I missed and now my feet stung with cold. Where would I dry my socks and boots in this weather? The canyon began to annoy me: the endless turns, the dismal streak of horizon, the obsessional crunching of rolling glaciers. Each new bend brought hope of the end; alas, it only accentuated the length of the valley...

Now and then roan-coloured mammals, resembling otters, darted across the snowy path, disappearing into underground apertures. They were call *piha*. I wondered whether the Ladakhi hunted them; I had never seen a peasant shouldering a rifle.

Up till now I had come across wooden bridges of a sturdy character, constructed with cable or wooden rigging. There were, too, the more make-shift spans which the peasants had done on their own by merely heaping up stone upon stone in an oblique manner on each bank, then throwing a board across the current on which had been aligned slabs of stone so that the animals could walk over without the risk of slipping on the wood. Sometimes these primitive spans were barred on each side with dried branches or hay in order to prevent stray animals from crossing or falling into the river. I had been advised to close these barriers properly after having crossed the bridge. However, the bridge I now came face to face with offered no comparison to the other types previously crossed...nor would it be comparable to the others that I would cross...

Silver-birch being flexible and pliable, and neither cable nor rope steadying the span, the moment I stepped on to the bridge the whole structure gave up and swayed under my weight. As I made my way tentatively across her *horizontally*, little by little I found myself steadily sliding down her *vertically*! Without any rope-barrier, a dreadful sensation of emptiness overwhelmed me. The pliant structure, rolling to and fro, rocked in perfect harmony to the rushing winds of the narrow gorge. It tossed and pitched to the drumming resonance of the pounding flow. Once in the middle, I realized that I was

closer to the river than to the other side of the gorge! And so, with the deafening roar of the river in my ears, I inched awkwardly upwards, the birch wood giving in to each nervous step, the weight of the pack arching me now to the left now to the right. Once gaining sure ground I retrieved my Pentax and photographed her. It had suddenly occurred to me that a monograph on 'Bridges of the Western Himalayas' might stir enthusiasm in the editorial rooms of Europe. But in fact it never did...

The old villager had warned me to climb Sengge La very early in the morning when the solidity of the snow would not give way under my weight. If I waited too long I would find myself battling through waist-deep snow at 5.000 metres! And so, just as the rim of the peeping disc rose, I struggled up the coated slopes of the glistening white, the new soft rays making sparkle the caps of the icy undulating wavelets. Although I did plunge knee-deep into pockets of crusty snow the old man had spoken the truth: the freezing air of the morning maintained the compactness of its surface. In spite of this advantage the climb all but wasted me: age does not lie. At 43, one's stamina and endurance lack the fresh robustness of an eighteen or twenty year old's, no matter how strong the will to overcome. Indeed, those cross-country days, those twenty-kilometre days had widened and thrown out my chest, had obliged me to open my stride to keep pace with the 'taller guys', to draw deep breaths when breathing became uncontrollable ; half-way up the inclining slope I couldn't catch my breath! I heaved, panted and coughed...even long periods of rest proved insufficient. I decided to practice yogic respiratory exercises: ten seconds of inhaling, of retention, of exhaling, of retention and so on, whilst thumping one leaden foot in front of the other. I felt nauseous and somewhat disorientated. At least the breathing would occupy my chilled thoughts. Csoma, dressed in Tibetan garb, hands tucked under his armpits, suddenly flashed across my mind. And then another colourful image slid into view: the Hungarian's tombstone in Darjeeling, weeded regularly by the long-haired gardener...

With the white sun now full in the sky I found himself at the top, next to the flapping prayer flag, panting and coughing, my back against a make-shift *chorten* of heaped up flat stones. I felt weak but not ill. My thoughts soon steered away from the discomfort of the climb towards the might and grandeur that lay below: I was atop God's kingdom! Rippled crests, snow-capped or barren of ochre and russet, spread out in all horizons, an ocean of swirly vanishing lines and points stretching into a cloudless sky of nelumbo blue. Here and there valleys ripped through the granite bulwarks, whose spiky cants of salt and pepper shone iron-grey. A sudden wind stirred and gathered a few distant cloudlets concealed behind sparkling sommets, rushing them speedily through the lithic crenels, some trailing within the blue, others disappearing into the fissures and crevices, dashing into particles. The prayer flag flapped to the rhythm of the spectacle! This majestic sight engraved in my mind, I procured *Zarathustra*, my eyes falling on this bold phrase: '*..He who climbs upon the highest mountains laughs at all tragedies, real or imaginary...*' I lifted a booted foot and examined it: light feet? Light feet? Could I dance atop Sengge La with those booty brogans? Ah! And there was still the 'going down' to accomplish...

Yulchang was dominated by a huge fortress-like house which made me think of North Italy, especially Tuscany and her house-fortresses. From afar, this particular house, and those that straggled out behind it, blended nicely into the dun coloured backdrop of granite and tuft. However, as I drew nearer to them, and on closer inspection, I realized that the white roughcast and red-painted framework of the casements distinctly demarcated them from the ever-changing natural colours of the surrounding area, a playful ply between the light of the sun and the darkness of earthy soil and stooping blades of

buckwheat and alfalfa. A few children came running to greet me (this had never happened before), and pointed chubby fingers to the first house. They, in fact, led me round the back of it, to the left of three enormous *chortens*, and up again right in front of the dwelling where they halted in a small courtyard in which a pen and stables had been sturdily constructed. The façade of the house, imposing in height and width, contained no less than twelve perforated casements. A double wooden staircase led to a majestic door framed in unpainted planks. This was no miserable little village: to all sides lay carpets of green fields, and rising by degrees to the left of the house, the rest of the village with its monastery neatly aligned on the crest of the wide ridge like beads on a rosary. I rapidly negotiated a room for the night in the spacious house, then the owner invited me out for a stroll in the village...

After an hour's promenade, we entered a large wooden house by way of a long corridor, then down into a cellar where barrels were piled high and a group of men were seated in a circle. All the men were heavily dressed, sullen, gloomy, talking in whispers. In front of each, a brick had been placed upon which a wooden bowl lay filled with a thick creamy liquid. An old man whose beard glowed as creamy and white as the thick brew he savoured, presided the gathering; he was doing most of the talking whilst a younger man, seated directly opposite the 'foreigner', ladled out the *chang* in a very ceremonious fashion: only when a villager had taken one sip from the *chang*-bowl would he ladle out one more. This 'one sip' ritualized the solemn assembly, as the conversation passed from one man to another, each taking his sip, the ladled chant acting as the hubbed axle of a wheel that rolled on and on in a slow deliberate manner...along its ladled rut, the arm of the ladler, a mere spoke of the ancient Wheel. It rolled on and on, sluggishly, leisurely but never hesitatingly: tradition never hesitates! One sip at a time, one turn of the Wheel! One tirade at a time, one turn of the Wheel! One ladle at a time, one turn of the Wheel! *Chang* is a light alcoholic beverage fermented from barley. From what I had learned, the barley is first dried then boiled for several hours. The boiled barley is put into a sack for two or three days after which it is poured, in its liquid form, into kegs against which the 'foreigner' now reposed his aching back. Sometimes the *chang* is distilled in order to brew *rakshi*, a stronger spirit in the same way that *le marc* is distilled from the naked stems of the grape-bunch in Burgundy. The conversation, as the Wheel churned and churned, grew somewhat livier. I picked up pieces of phrases, mumbled words, laughing vowels or grounded consonants. This *chang* was certainly no sooty swill that one downed like a bar-brawler: the old villager had stated that it was a veritable institution, especially during marriage ceremonies at which time the groom's family enters the future fiancée's house with the *request-chang*. The groom's family returns a second time to the future fiancée's house and there negotiations begin for the marriage, during which the *fiancée-chang* is copiously served. However, it is only when the 'serious marriage negotiations' begin that the *listening-chang* is ladled out to both households in its usual circulatory manner. Finally, the last visit to the future fiancée's kith and kin is crowned by the offering of the *solution-chang*, the circulating of which seals the marriage negotiations. There in the cellar, however, no marriage negotiations were pending: the men merrily caused the Wheel to turn and turn and turn as it had always turned ever since the first sip had been sipped! My head, too, seemed to turn with the turning. The owner caught my eye and suddenly stood; it was time we were off to eat. We thanked the men, momentarily upsetting the perimeter, and dismissed ourselves. With a heavy head, speaking more Hindi and Ladakhi than I had ever imagined, we criss-crossed the labyrinth of lanes until the owner's house had been reached. Odd, I had always noted that when I wasn't 'quite myself' I spoke foreign languages with unusual fluency and accuracy! Perhaps this was why people or nations who cling unconditionally

to themselves remain dull, lethargic, almost asinine as regards language acquisition. For indeed, they cling to themselves as the patriot clings to his country, an infant its mother's nurturing but possessive breast. To remain pitifully oneself translates the attitude of the unreaching and consequently the unreached...Mevlanâ's technique of *semâ*, the cosmic dance, certainly had been created with the design to turn the ego-Self into the Other's Self...And it succeeded...But one must turn like the Wheel...And wasn't it Nietzsche who once proclaimed high atop his mountain: '...For one must be able to lose oneself occasionally if one wants to learn something from things different from oneself?..

Back in the owner's home we had a light supper in the kitchen. The Ladakhi kitchen is a lieu of sacredness! The hub of family and social life. All ceremonies and festive occasions take place in this remarkable space whose emptiness of miscellaneous items dissimulated the plenitude of the Sacred. The black iron stove in the middle of the room was rarely extinguished, continually fed with faggots by the women of the house, it being the very heart of the household for both cooking purposes and the welcomed heat it emitted during the brutal winter months. In order to kindle her, the housewoman would activate a little bellows which sent the flames dancing and the heat swirling. Now and then, she would throw in a faggot or some dried dung. A blackened pipe pushed through the smoke-hole (*yam-tong*, like the 'golden smoke-holes' of the Oghuz tents?) of the birch-rod ceiling which evacuated the fumes. In fact, the enclosure had no other outlet save this smoke-hole and the low squatty entrance of the room, generally covered by a thick curtain-like material. The mistress of the house rose from behind her stove and distributed *chapattis*, tossing them into the outstretched hands or plates of the children. In the dim light the 'foreigner' (who had eagerly accepted his third *chapatti*) noted that one of the kitchen walls bulged with copper cauldrons, pots, pans and other cooking utensils, all nicely placed on elongated niches, some of which were covered with newly cut wood, whilst others remained in their natural tamped state. The walls, too, like the floor, felt smooth to the touch, shone of well-polished clay, impeccably clean. However, the kitchen element that most fascinated me was the *ka*, that lone central pillar which bore the weight of the birch rods and the joists, all packed solidly with yak-grass and mud. For it is this pillar that once erected, symbolises the completion of the house, triggering thus *chang* celebrations and festivities galore! Symbolically, the *ka* is the Ladder that joins the house to the realm of the Sacred; at the same time, it acts as the Axis round which all fellies rotate. It is now the Nadir, now the Zenith! Connection is equipoise to separation. It is the Shaft of Light that illuminates the Darkness of the long wintry world, pulsating with warmth, invoking the Higher Order by the Lower, joining the Lower to the Higher...

The next morning, after having thanked my kind hosts, I set out fully refreshed: alas, that entire day proved to be terribly exhausting, and in the glimmers of twilight, I struggled up a spur on whose flat surfaced top Snertze, or the shepherd's stone hovel, was situated. I arrived precisely the moment in which the shepherd was leading his fifteen or twenty *dzo* up from the valley into the numerous low, stone wall enclosures that surrounded his abode. Instead of greeting the old shepherd at once, I crouched down and observed the penning of the animals. My tired thoughts drifted back to the twelve exasperating hours of jumping, hopping, skipping and sliding over glaciers and muddy debris. My hands bulged blistery red: the gradual contrast of the hot sun and the freezing snow had slowly swelled my fingers to monstrous proportions. There were moments when I couldn't feel my fingertips. The shepherd jerked his head as if he were calling to me. I jumped up and made a bee-line for the *dzo*-pens.

Although the shepherd spoke no Hindi, we managed, nevertheless, to communicate simply because the essentials of mountain life were contained in about fifty words, all of which I now knew by heart. The good shepherd invited me to pitch my tent adjacent the stone wall hovel, a safe distance from the *dzos*. Moreover, as I busily erected my flimsy annex, the stalwart man brought forth from his humble abode yak-lassi and yoghurt. Once settled in, we shared this excellent food to which were added three packages of Maggi cooked over a fire that the *dzo*-herder had expertly built with dried twigs and *dzo*-dung. For this unexpected gesture of hospitality, I offered my host twenty rupees. We conversed (this word, of course, should be understood in its broadest sense) until the *dzo*-herder's son, a strapping young lad, strode up the dark slope followed by three baby *dzos* who had apparently erred from the herd. He greeted us from afar then disappeared in the hovel. The shepherd shook my hand, and he too vanished within the entrance of the sturdy *doksar*, bending low in order to do so. I lay back: The province of Zanskar, isolated ten months out of twelve, has remained imbued in the joyous light of the Middle Ages! And is this not precisely the reason for which I, well-versed in mediaeval mind and lore, decided to traverse and sojourn in this untimely *Now*? In this utopian *Here* of Middle Earth? I inhaled the mediaeval ambiance and fell into a deep sleep. Before sunrise, I slowly descended into the harrowing gorge of the legendary land, the path of which serpentine along glimmering lees, whilst the Zanskar River herself thundered dizzily below, huge, metamorphosing into other forms both known and unknown...the echoes of her roarings bouncing off the tessellated bulwarks. Truly, this land glowed that marvelous mediaeval light; that gloaming of twilight...

PART II

The Retreat

Several days later I arrived at Purni, some five kilometres from Phuktal Gumpa. Outside I listened to the silent wind as it made the leaves of the silver birch shimmer. For a few moments my imagination ran riot: Pondicherry, where I had been working for five years, had, quite paradoxically been the starting point of this voyage to Phuktal! A chance meeting with a lad from Leh, a glance at his excellent satellite map, his finger running over the paths and passes from Lamayuru to Phuktal, his advice and encouragement; was this unforeseen Event not another contingency on the woof that weaves our narrative identity? Or had some 'hidden hand' guided me to Pondicherry in order to encounter the Ladakhi lad, to scrutinize his map, to follow his nimble finger, rejoice at the advice and encouragement? Had I been predestined to this voyage in the same way as the one over the Sahara to Tombuktu in 1972-73, and the one that would take me over the Mekong River to Northern Laos from Southern China? Or was a narrative identity a more complex process of will-power and hope? A meld of contingency and determinism struck me as the meaning behind the expression Royal Road; that Road that joins the Past to the Future via the Present...

My narrative identity may be a stretch of that Royal Road, and by shaping it perhaps I shall be able to understand it! Have I understood why my steps are now taking me to Phuktal? Have I fully comprehended this Himalayan halt? Could it be a nostalgic plunge into the golden past that I am sluggishly accomplishing in the Present because totally unconcerned with the Future? Am I a mere tourist or rather an earnest pilgrim? Are the lieu of worship in which I have prayed cold temples of stone, or rather the warmth of the hearts of men?

A long, long voyage on the broken line of Life: And does this voyage imply a duty to posterity, an absolute inertia towards that posterity, or a prophetic vision of the Future? These thoughts tugged at me as I made my way to the monastery.

The walk, in effect, required no great exertion, although I did have to be on the alert against falling rocks caused by the gambolling *barasins*, who leapt back and forth along the ridges far above. Had anyone ever been killed by the falling rocks of a *barasin*?

At the newly built bridge, I caught sight of Yugar, a hamlet which lay opposite the monastery. I struggled up a path which wound round the gorge, and ten minutes later Phuktal Gompa, ensconced within the tuft of fairy chimneys, honey-combed spires, crags, bluffs, flat-nosed pilons, bulging white and red against the background of sandy dazzling ash and cinerous tones of hemp, sprawled out! From the old photos that I had seen nothing appeared to have changed: the immutable architecture betokened no poverty; here it bespoke rather of the nobility of the spirit...

From the jagged palisade a solitary tree emerged in full strength of its age, protecting the huge open maw of the 'Meditating Grotto', just like the cobra's hood protects Buddha from the blazing sun, parasols the Jaina saints...I approached the layered edifice along a path traced by seventeen *chortens*: those gleaming translucent drops of the Buddha; I had never seen so many *chortens* that escort the weary wayfarer to his monastery retreat. Soon I was met by an aging monk who accompanied the weary wayfarer to his little cell of stone...

The aging monk, the librarian of the gompa, escorted me to my cell: it was bursting with Juniper-leaf incense. The scent emanated a certain warmth which contrasted with the chilly dampness of the corridor. The whole cell in fact gave the impression of coziness, due, I guess, to the small square carpets that formed a quaint corner near the window, below which had been placed a straw mat and a *choksey*. I peeked out of the tiny window which offered an extraordinary view of the gorge. I turned to the standing monk who had been observing me stoically. He stood upright in the centre of the cell where no carpet blanketed the tamped earthen floor because of the stove around which bundles of faggots had been neatly stacked, and alongside of which a few tea pots, cups, bottles of sugar, tea and a poker lay strewn. He told me keep my door locked when out or at night, then left me to my own thoughts...

Night mantled the gorge with a bluish darkness, the colours of which recollected the Himalayan Series of Nicholas Roerich's paintings. I had to sit or crouch down in order to peer out of the tiny window, so low had it been encased. I had been told that some forty monks were actually residing at the monastery, and that the library contained rare books in Tibetan, Pali and Sanskrit, but also in some Western languages, notably English. I imagined that Alexander Csoma's English-Tibetan dictionary, the first of its kind, was amongst those rare books.

I lay back on the mat; gradually the images of Ngawang Tsering rose before me: the Phuktal monks were fed upon mountain solitude, their robes, the misty clouds, their hats, caves...The waters of the Meditation Grotto were always of the same level, even during the monsoons when, thundering they spurted from the gigantic maw, cascading down into the deep gorge where the thunder joined the Lungnak River. I would drink these wondrous waters, cool and apparently curative, boil them upon my stove. I filled my stove with faggots and dried dung...

The morning mist upon the mystical mountains: the sky, pale and blue, after a night of light rain. The Gelupka, a lamanist cult of the yellow bonnet was founded by Tsongkapa during the XVI century in defiance to the other lamanist sects at the time. Tsongkapa sought to re-abide by the ancient doctrine of the Buddha as preached in Northern India. This reformed denomination was quite powerful in Ladakh and in Zanskar. Why I awoke with this piece of information learned on the way to the gompa caused some confusion in my mind; in fact, I felt light-headed, almost nauseous. I splashed some water on my face from an earthen wash-basin, then wandered up to the prayer room: dark, calm and droning, the monks sat on cushioned benches, their legs crossed in *vajra*, their hands in the *mudra* of meditation, their shoulders flung back like the wings of a vulture, their throats bent like hooks, their backbones straight like arrows, their eyes fixed into space, four fingers from the point of their noses, their teeth and lips in natural respite, their tongues glued to their palates. They all appeared quite comfortable..

No one stirred as I crept in and took my place in a corner to the left where a cushioned bench lay unoccupied. The low murmuring of the *mantras* is a continuous meditative woof, punctuated by the beating of dragon-painted drums (*rnga*), the jingling of triangles, the clashing of cymbals (*aghati*) and the braying of ox-horns (*glang-ru*) and conch shells (*chas-dung*). At the foot of the Buddha sat the High Priests in throne-like chairs, coiffed in yellow bonnets, reading the *pustuk*, the Sacred Book, whose pages are turned from the bottom up, exactly the way in which the *thankas* are rolled...and unrolled...

The prayer room, one of the three of the monastery, steeped in smoky shadows (there was no electricity, only rows of candles near and round the statue of the Maitreya Buddha), suffused with camphor and copal, was ice-cold. The younger monks slapped their 'vulture' sides and shoulders as they chanted, beating their carmine mantles as if ready to take to the wing! As to me, I had wrapped my Kulu shawl snugly round my shoulders and pulled my Keylong socks right up to my bony knee caps. I observed that all the monks were barefoot: Did they not here mantle themselves with the cloth of mindfulness? Did they not here chant to prompt the lamas to rule virtuously, or so all Buddhists, high or low, rich or poor, could receive the blessings of the Buddha? Liturgical rites and prayers energize the spirit...

From time to time I stood and went outside to stretch my aching legs. The prayer hall was just to the right of the 'Meditation Grotto', inside which, according to legend, had been the original XI century hall. Deep in the big fish's mouth (for it did appear to be Jonas' big fish: like the fresco at Sumela!) some monks hurried to and fro from a well, lugging huge pails of water for the monastery kitchen. The cave, an enormous natural cavity in the face of the mountain, sheltered a few cells *in pisé* to the left. To the immediate right, the outer wall of the prayer hall, founded by Sherab Zangpo in the XV century, and in which the prayers were still in session, transpired a gluey humidity that caused all the roughcast to dribble down to the cave floor. It was on that sticky wall that a shiny plaque commemorated Csoma Sándor of Kőrös' two year sojourn at Phuktal between 1825 and 1827. He unfortunately left no document

to attest to this remarkable experience; to this truly ontological immersion with the Other. The plaque consecrated this grand gesture of reciprocity, this ultimate experience of 'togetherness'...

Every day, when the ceremony had finished, many of the monks gathered round me to ask questions; my Ladakhi was hardly adequate to understand, much less to answer those cheery-toned inquiries. I did, however, make an effort, whose grammatical and semantic inaccuracy doubled the delight of their Himalayan countenances: rough, rugged, coarse, as if carved out of the mountain granite like the monastery countenance carved out of this pulsating cliff...

A coenobitic existence is one in which every individual shares the same countenance: mountain solitude! But not the same Path towards Eternity. This chiasmus is what runs deep in Man, for it exposes him to an aporie: being his Being, he has thus the choice of being conscious of Being, filling it with insight and equanimity. Yet how many of us do? For this very reason the Buddhists, whilst celebrating Cham, wear the masks of their divinities: the mask that represents the Other, and consequently what we are...it is a direct means of communication with the Other; for being with the Other is Being *tout court*....

The movement of the vocals and instruments incite various meditative and contemplative levels within and without us: a sort of ontological 'temps fort et temps faible', which contracts and decontracts Existence, which makes surge existential profundity through the extension of being. Similarly, existential profundity may create ontological depth, or may have been created by it! It may, too, sprout sterile dichotomy: ontology/existentialism...form/matter...Essentia/Existentia...philosophy/theology...Here in the East, one proposition does not cancel out another, does not prove one proposition false, does not convince us of untruthfulness; they are both sound because they have been wrought from ontological and existential circumstances...they have been proved by and in Life...'Contrasts' are therefore not contradictory: they are a Harmony, a One whose emanated manifestations are all but that One, whatever form, matter or colour they may assume at one particular moment. This is not Pantheism or Monism, it is another way of loving and serving an expounding Creator and His Creation...It is a Philosophy of Life...The High Priest, a yellow conical bonnet fixed proudly on his raised head, tapped the rim of a cymbal with the ring of his middle finger; it kept the time of extraordinary long silences punctuated on every fourth beat by the powerful intone of the monks' chanting: raising slowly from the bowels...of the Earth. The High Priest would simply let the ring 'bounce' off the razor-sharp rim, as if a marble had dropped onto a stone floor: bouncing...bouncing...bouncing...like the backwash of the sea: declining...declining...declining, only to return, sometimes accompanied by 'dying voices': from sharps to lows...and lower still to the bowels...of the Earth. The *dzongs*, which lay carefully on their carmine-cushioned tripod stools were lethargically lifted to the lips of four monks, listlessly, and sounded, a lull, a bellowing vibration, or rather a dull undulation, rolling in languid wavelets that caused the very foundations of the hall to pitch and toss...

The pounding rains had ceased, momentarily: every pitch claims a particular Time and Space because a sound signified nothing in particular outside of this Whole. Would I ever be seized by this auditive Time and Space? How long would it need to seize the listener in a precise moment of Time and Space? I had absolutely no intention of leading the hermit's life; my existence merely lay in the margins of the world narrative, out of which my own was being forged *hic et nunc*...

...and that night the spiritual Dance of Mahakala began: six monks masked as Mahakala, strode out of the hall into the open Space in front of the doors, swords held high. They twirled and whorled in a slow deliberate drum beat from inside the prayer hall. A reflected beat, every three or four seconds...perhaps to each whorl (incertum). The six monks, gruesome in their colourful masks, huge and menacing, flaunted, paraded and exhibited them to all and sundry; for we are communicating, indirectly, with the Enlightened One. Around Buddha they danced, shaking their masks...a clash of cymbals was answered by a chorus of ox-horns and conchas. The silence...excruciating Silence. The six Mahakalas remained rooted to the floor, that ice-cold floor, petrified, like fossil wood. How long? The drum resounded: one foot moved then another. Another drum beat forth and the dance began anew, slowly, deliberately...druggedly. All six masked Mahakalas dashed from monk to monk, blessing them with holy water. I, too, was blessed; a terrible green mask lured at and over me...

I stepped out into the freezing night. The ox-horns blared, the monks resumed their murmuring. Tiny flakes cooled my burning face. In spite of the darkness, the contours of the mountains could be readily discerned, black against grey. A Roerich painting? Yes, I felt no desire, no 'real' desire to descend into the scorching plains, teeming with crowds of saffron and hemp colour; into the stuffy, stifling and claustrophobic Institutions, where stale discourses intermingle with crass self-esteem and tiny pleasures, where polite respect dissimulates great respect for oneself. And yet Sándor did indeed direct the Asian Society; did publish twenty-one articles in Calcutta; did work for those who despise hermits, outsiders, marginals, renegades. I remember those poignant words:

'...Dharma has mind as fore-runner becomes noble through mind, is mind itself...'

Did Sándor go native? Did he reject his poor family background, the majestic Carpathians of his fatherland to don the weeds of orgulous erring and haughty erudition? According to legend, this poor adventurer returned to his native Transylvania carrying with him a small bag of gold! But I saw his tomb at Darjeeling! Alexandre Csoma of Kőrös became what he was: a bodhisattva...

Back in the icy room, the Kulu shawl thrown tightly round my shoulders, I lay the *Dhammapada* wide open at this verset:

'...knowing this two-fold Path for gain and loss, one shall employ one self in such a way that there will be the growth of knowledge...'

With the waning of daylight the monks removed their rooster-like, conical bonnets and there on their cushioned benches stood for a full thirty minutes. No one coughed or cleared his throat; a deep, solemn silence set free the sluices and floods of the mind with fey waters, unfathomable. And the masks paraded sluggishly before the Buddha. Swords crossed silently. Footsteps thumped soundlessly. A pure epic tale of silent metonymy beyond the figures and tropes of Gesture: ...the eternal beat of the heavenly drum which vibrates within that eloquent Silence...

No! A solitary voyager would not look back, for his mission was not the pursuit of knowledge but of Life itself. That night at my lectern, going about alone, unwearied, disciplining my Self alone, remarking

the silver moonbeams illuminating the crêpe-like hoarfrost on the window pane and the acclivities of the gorge, I read from the *Dhammapada*:

'...Sitting alone, sleeping alone, going about alone, unwearied, discipling one's self alone, one can remain rejoicing within a forest...'

Hand gestures or *mudras* are a salient feature of Buddhist mural painting: gradually my Self in forest-retreat discovered their ritual importance during prayer. Graceful sweeps of the hands, long silvery fingernails combing the frosty air, like the Buddha Himself, the energetic index finger indicating the full, waxing moon. The word itself means 'seal', and symbolized Buddha's mental powers, His teachings, His meditation, His courage, His public testimony. Buddha's pointing finger intrigued me: a philosophical (metaphysical?) gesture of pure demonstration, of pure yes-saying, a Yes-Sayer, or the vital certitude of that which demonstrates and that which is demonstrable. The chanting grew and grew more frenetic. Eyes scanned the scriptures quicker than I could catch the vowels and consonants. The hall filled with fervour, an overwhelming sensation that I found difficult to control. The two thick wooden doors of the prayer hall had been left ajar for some unknown reason: wisps of chilly mist trailed in, circling above the bobbing heads, scanning the scriptures like a cluster of maddened fumes. Some heads welcomed the ticklish whiffs, others covered their tonsured pates, shiny to the touch, with carmine hoods or yellow bonnets. A sudden burst of rain swept in but no one appeared affected. Then a phrase of Tagor slipped into my mind quite unexpectedly:

'...The first essential of art is that it should communicate a vision never before expressed on the subject...'

I recalled Mahakala at Rumtek Monastery in Sikkim during the Cham Festival, his face unexposed, hidden by the silken cloth, sword ready to defend his mask (or face?), to slice through ignorance, Mahakala, brimming over with laughing skulls, those of Bhairava, filled with bloody (libations)! Remnants of Brahma's lay. He, too, in dancing position, Mahakala, skulls (unsmiling) clinging to a tiger's skin which garnished thick muscled thighs, robed in red and green, flowing penants and a beggar's bowl in hand, outstretched, crossing a bulging blue belly over whose enormous hump hung jewels of variegated colours. And again it suddenly dawned upon me:

'...was there any 'particular' reason for being Here and Now?..Was this being Here and Now a Mask, or the face of some infantile impulsion which contained a twisted mouth of unreality, of convulsed thoughts, of a grotesque regard upon the world in general?.. Another Desert, yet this time without Lawrence, without Burton, without the heroic crutch?.. A phantasmatic escape from...from Responsibility?..'

A dull thud! The tough-hide *gna* beaten with a curved stick vibrated a dead thump. Thump...the frame rattled, the painted dragons rattled their scaly tails, and from their open mouths red-tongued orange flames lashed out these solemn words which I happened to overhear:

'...the eternal beat of the heavenly drum which vibrates in the world as life and death vibrate...expounding and transmitting of the Truth on the wave-length of universe...'

Gna-Cham continued slower and slower: the solid sound of the triangle made appear, or so I believed, a vision so clear, so limpid of a primitive *chaitya*, three-naved, at the end of which a giant Buddha, seated on His throne, sat before a bigger *stupa*, both monuments situated in a vaulted ambulatory supported by thirteen-inch thick length ribs. The whole ceiling right up to the loft bore those powerful nerves which the thirty pillars bolstered, groined and dense in the shadows of the ambulatory. The vision, nonetheless, remained ambiguous: there I sat indeed, but the surroundings appeared so familiar, like a Christian church-grotto in southern Turkey or in northern Syria! Behind the giant *stupa* the odour of camphor, urine and screaming bats. A wicked stench indeed, it seemed to converge there like the decomposing corpse of Father Zossima. From afar the temple lay in statuesque repose: the serried pillars, bare, not those of buff backgrounds, encasing Bodhisattva warriors of grey, orange and ochre robes. A pity indeed: I had forgotten to count the number of ribs and joists.

'Untergehen! Untergehen!' rang the *relmo*. The face of that Buddha, of brow serene, sensual, inactive, looming large in its golden rimmed green nimbus, pursed its lips in a compassionate smile. In His hand he held a shell bowl from which a lotus of *nelumbo* blue sprouted...

The mountains can provoke powerful and insane visions; trigger unfathomable obsessions: was any particular peak overwhelming me? Would the obsessions, if any, transform into a Style? How was one to overcome that obsession? Perhaps by donning the mask and dancing with the laughing skeletons...to dance, yes, to dance to the service of thought...to the service of *leaping*...

And so I began to go 'go down' as the bold glowing sun rose over the village of Yugar, setting afire the rushing waters of the Lungnak, promising many a new Dawn to come...Untergehen!Untergehen! Was it not time for this subterranean soul to rise once again to the surface? This habit had endured long enough...

...'Death, thy servant, is at my door. He has crossed the unknown sea and brought thy call to my home.

The night is dark and my heart is fearful -yet I will take up the lamp, open my gates and bow to him my welcome.

It is thy messenger who stands at my door...'

Nicholai Roerich 'Agni Yoga

En hommage à Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös



VIVEK, Nenmini Dilip & SENGUPTA, Rakesh**The Tourist and Enlightenment: Man Fridays of Fanny Parkes**

There is something common between transgression and travel. The commonality is not as trivial as the deconstructionist's notion of the "other". The material of the commons, of transgression and travel appear in the Indian concept of *Kala Pani* and the rise of the Western tourist. One may see *Kala Pani* as an expression of the pre-modern superstitious residual kernel of a feudal society whereas the tourist is modern in his/her bearing. However, if we look at the point of departure of a transgressor¹, from tourist we can truly appreciate Said's definition of Orientalism as "an act of geographical violence" (Said 2001). The banished transgressors go into the unknown familiar whereas the tourist comes to known unfamiliar. The tourist's departure in itself is a transgression following the "act of geographical violence". The determination of the tourist can happen, a travelogue can be written once we understand how the universal of tourist comes about. In his *Ethics of Psychoanalysis*, Lacan speaks of "master signifier" as one for which all the other signifiers can represent the subject (Lacan 1992). The proof of this formula lies in a fundamental inversion (in the line of Hegelian reflexive identity), of the generalized (totalized) signifier which can represent the subject for all the signifiers. In the present context the colonial system propagates to give the chance to any of its subjects to become tourists; however the tourist is determined only when all the others have been made into colonial subjects. Herein lays the universal of modernity, represented in its proletarianized kernel given by the tourist. After all the tourist travels in search of the sublime into the territory of transgressors who are too afraid to cross into the unknown familiar.

On 19 June 1822 the *Marchioness of Ely* set sail from Gravesend, England embarking on a near five month voyage to Calcutta, India. Among the many passengers on board were a minor English civil servant appointed to a new posting to India and his wife, Fanny Parkes. Following her mother's request, Fanny would maintain a journal of her "thoughts, feelings and adventures", and as she describes enthusiastically, "vagabondising over India" for twenty-four years, which would finally culminate in the single edition and almost forgotten *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*. A score short of two centuries later the new edition of her writings appeared as *Begums, Thugs and Englishmen-The Journals of Fanny Parkes*, selected and introduced by William Dalrymple the award-winning historian and travel writer.

Through Fanny Parkes's writings one notices and begins to comprehend the evolution of one of the many archetypes of the colonial citizen subject-the tourist. The tourist- in search of exotic experiences, colorful trinkets, visual wonders and in a sense a new world. The tourist, unlike the traveler who seeks adventure, traces a unilinear path tied down by her fear of the unfamiliar, yet keeps an open eye for anything which is different. The unfamiliar piques her interest and satiates her voyeuristic tendencies. For the tourist the journey itself has to be recorded in proximity in a detailed narrative. In Fanny Parkes,

¹ With transgressions come concepts of impurity, infusion as such, as we see in earlier travel narratives. At some point the tropes of travel, disease, infection somehow get cauterized together.

soon after she embarks on the voyage to India one observes the attention to detail- descriptions of changes in weather, seasickness, the sailors' rituals of Crossing the Line which she and her fellow passengers participate in and avenues of amusement to fight the fatigue of an enervating journey including among other sport, fishing expeditions². Writing about catching a shark she notes, "During the time of the *battue* on the third day, three sharks were astern, we caught one that had a young one by her side. When opened on deck, a family of twenty-four were found, each about twelve or fourteen inches long; the mother measured seven feet. The shark is said to swallow its young when in peril, and to disgorge them when the danger has passed. The curious birds and fish we see relieve the tedium of the passage" (Parkes 2002). The details are not only characteristic of the alienation which she has to grapple with, but also an indicator of her coming to terms with the unfamiliar, marking her point of departure – of becoming the archetypal tourist.

The Empire so to speak is a prerequisite for the tourist. Colonies have to be established before the tourist ventures out into (un)charted territory in search of the exotically familiar. The colonies have to be thus penetrated further for the tourist to bring back trinkets and other collectibles to satisfy curiosities and *Schaulast* – the pleasure of viewing. Fanny Parkes too embarks on a journey with the anthropological gaze to view already explored wonders. Landing at Carnicobar to replenish supplies of food and water, she describes the island as, "[...]...covered to the edge of the sand of the shore with beautiful trees; scarcely an uncovered or open spot was to be seen. Off the ship the village appeared to consist of six or eight enormous beehives, erected on poles and surrounded by high trees; among these, the coconut, to an English eye, was the most remarkable." Her fascinatingly detailed account of the Churuk Puja or 'swinging by hooks' accents the inquisitive eyes that examine the thousands of people including the remarkable, "[...]...Voyagee mendicants; their bodies were covered with ashes, their hair clothed in mud

² Opening her entry for 22 July 1822 she writes, "What a strange, bustling life! This is baggage day; all the trunks are on deck- such a confusion! I am suffering from *maladie de mer*, the wind is contrary, we tack and veer most tiresomely; the ship pitches; we cling about like cats, and are at our wit's end, striving to endure our miseries with patience." Nine days later as the *Marchioness* crosses the Equator, she closes her account of the customary frolic on board in high spirits, "In the evening the sailors danced, sang, recited verses, and spliced the main brace (drank grog), until very late and the day ended as jovially as it began. Several times they charmed us with an appropriate song, roared at the utmost pitch of their stentorian lungs, to the tune of 'There's na luck about the house'.

We'll lather away, and shave away,
And lather away so fine,
We always have a shaving day
Whenever we cross the line.

With sorrow I confess to having forgotten the remainder of the ditty, which ended-

There's nothing half so sweet in life
As crossing the line.

'Rule Britannia' with a subscription for the ruler of the seas, was the finale, leaving everyone perfectly satisfied with his portion of salt water. It was agreed the rites and ceremonies had never been better performed or with greater good humor."

and twisted round their head; they were naked all but a shred of cloth" (Parkes 2002). How does one trace the view of the anthropological gaze one might ask? In continuation to the parallel developments witnessed in science and technology and trade leading to the discovery of sea routes and the New World, the principles of observation and objectivity were adapted for anthropological studies. The tourist views through these same lenses of observation and objectivity to differentiate the trinket from the actual archaeological or cultural artefact. Science and technology as such provides also the alienation which informs the tourist. This view from the decks of ships also creates the tourist subject as opposed to the people confined to the holds of ships-slaves, workers, etc. akin to cargo transferred as objects.

The visual dimension which makes the familiar local sights exotic also maintains the illusion of the voyeur and piques the vaudevillian nature of the tourist in the trinket. This is possibly a manifestation of commodity fetishism which in different dimensions leads the tourist to view certain sights not from an exotic angle but more of facing something grotesque or horrifying. Thus each tourist faces the dilemma of Robinson Crusoe characterized by a curious and inquisitive nature mixed with the fear of the unknown. This however is overcome by the tourist in the form of traveling with a retinue of Man Fridays in attendance, foraying into the 'so called' unknown but in the company of familiar faces. Fanny Parkes states upon her arrival in Calcutta, "I thought India a most delightful country, and could I have gathered around me the dear ones I had left in England, my happiness would have been complete." and continues, "The number of servants necessary to an establishment in India is most surprising to a person fresh from Europe..." (Parkes 2002).

Following the 2004 tsunami, the Sri Lanka Tourist Board issued a statement, "In a cruel twist of fate, nature has presented Sri Lanka with an unique opportunity, and out of this great tragedy will come a world class tourism destination." Isn't the idea behind the government's response just an extreme version of Fanny Parkes's own observation quoted in the end of the previous paragraph? In a certain sense the category tourist is determined after a void (in the lines of Hegelian antithetical determination), as what Naomi Klein states as the "blank slate". And it is a seeming "blank slate" on which Dalrymple has created the opposition of Fanny Parkes and the Eden sisters. Fanny Parkes, the simple wife of a lower class Englishman in search of the pure and the exotic, understanding the local customs and colors is opposed to the Eden sisters who are seeped into the role of the master and never quite grasping the narratives of the natives. However, it is with Fanny Parkes's remark about the servants this seeming contradiction breaks down. Here Fanny Parkes in her role as the innocent prattler, (Zizek 2002), comes dangerously close to the basis of her and the Eden sisters's existence – to the 'ground' of their existence, (cf. Hegel's Logic), it is here that she reveals her position as a subject who is always already subjectivised. (So is the case with the Eden sisters). On the other hand, Fanny Parkes and the Eden sisters appear as moments of derivation of the universal of Enlightenment Man³ – because of the void or the "blank slate" in their determination as tourists becomes a point of determination of the proletarianized colonial citizen-subject. The objectivity of the tourist derives from the subjectivation (Sengupta, 2012) of the proletarianized subjects; thus even the most subjective moments of the travelogue are nothing but the objective illumination of the symbolic order (Zizek, 1989). The narrative of travelogue (as far as all narratives are

³ cf. The abstract labor appears as a moment of the movement from many capitals to capital I general (Rosdolsky, 1992)

part of symbolic order) operates on the ground of impossibility – the impossibility of tourist as such⁴. Tourist is impossible without the empire. Tourist exists because that which will make the tourist impossible has already been taken care of. The faraway has come within the borders of both space and time, of history. The impossibility of the tourist is also the backdrop for the possibility of history of the nation-states.

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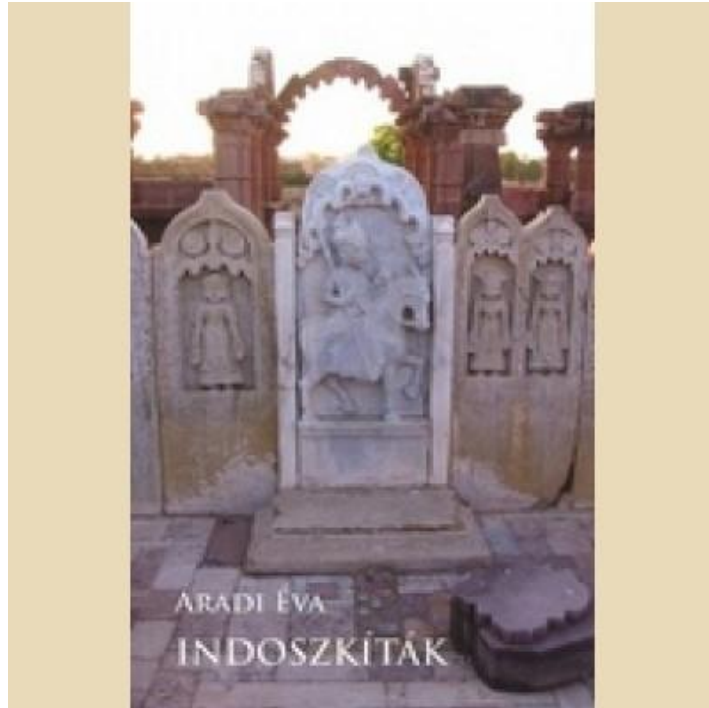


⁴ If there were not so many servants to maintain it, there would be no tourism in the colonies, if there was no disaster displacing millions there would be no opportunity for the tourism destination.

NEW BOOKS

ARADI, Éva

Sakas, Indoschythians, Indoparthians and Western Ksatrapas



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The Sakas were the Asian Scythians. They occupied a huge territory in Central Asia between the 6th and 3rd centuries B.C.

The Hsiung-nus defeated the Yue-chis in about 174 B.C., therefore the Yue-chis migrated to the West. They occupied a part of the Saka territories, so this people started for the South. They settled first in Parthia, where they were vassals of the Parthians. Later they became allies of the Parthians. Together they occupied the ancient Bactria, the Indus-delta, later the northern part of India, first of all *Taxila*; for a short time even *Mathura* in Central India. The Indoparthians occupied the territory near the Indus-delta. They did not rule there for long, as the Yue-chis (the Kushans) defeated them. After some time (in the second century A.D.) the Kushans and the western Sakas (the historians call them Western Ksatrapas) became allies.

The most famous rulers of the Indoscythians were the so called *Western Kshatrapas*. They ruled in the western part of India, in today's *Gujarat*. Their capital was *Ujjain*. They lost their territory in 398 A.D. Altogether the Indoscythians and Indoparthians occupied some parts of India, Kashmir and Bactria for more than 400 years. They had many dynasties. Their influence is still could be traced in some Indian tribes, first of all in *Gujarat*, and its smaller part: *Kutch* (Katch). These territories have many *palias* (burial memory-stones) in the museums, the old cemeteries and in the 1500 years old Hephtalite ruined fort in

Kanthakot. Kutch is keeping the influences of the different tribal unions who occupied India in the ancient times. Its people are mixed today, containing the original Arian race and the successors of the Scythian, Hephtalite and Arab invaders.



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