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*Burada "Kutadgu Bilig" adlı bir incelemesini okuyucularımıza sunmuş olmakla bahtiyarız. D.T.S.*

**"Kutadgy Bilig" by Usuf Balasagun is one of the first written literary monuments of the aesthetical thought of the Turkic language peoples**

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*Prof Bakhtiyar Nazarov*

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Though paradoxically, but the fact is that in the history of the mankind development, almost without exception, every state, every empire, every social formation is reflected not only in historical works and scientific treatises but is impressed in great art works of oral and written character, that gives the future generations rather vivid and clear representation of the detailed picture about the life of the society and the people of the previous epoch.

Among those is one of the first written masterpieces of the Turkic language peoples "Kutadgy Bilig" appeared in the period of degradation the Samanid empire and the making of Karahanid state which existed from the middle of IX up to the beginning of XIII century on the territory of the Eastern and Western Turkestan.

As is known to esteemed colleagues, this wonderful work of the Orient and all world written literature has become the object of investigation by many scientist: Russian, Turkish, German, English, French, Hungarian, Uyghur and others. Noteworthy are the investigations of such scholars of different generations as G. Vamberry, R.R. Radlov, S.E. Malvo, V.V. Bartold, E.E. Bertels, M.F. Kupruluzade, A.N. Kononov, R.R. Arat, A. Dilachar, A.A. Valitov, E.K. Tenishev, N.A. Baskakov, S.N. Ivanov, I.V. Steblev, D. Majidenov, U. Asanaliev, K. Ashuraliev. Among those who contributed to the studying of the monument such Uzbek scientists as Fitrat, S. Mutalibov, G. Abdurakhmanov, N. Mallaev, A. Kajumov, K. Karimov should be mentioned.

It should be emphasized that the dissertations of the very young Uzbek specialists Bakidjan Tuxliev and Kasimdjani Sadikov are dedicated to the investigation of this work, which in its turn gives evidence that the problem of studying the literary heritage of our own national cultural traditions takes one of the central positions at the present time. We would like to notice with great pleasure that Permanent International Altaic Conference headed by the esteemed professor Sainor and facilitating to the cause of strengthening the international scientific and cultural contacts and mutual understanding between the West and the East, particularly among the Altaic peoples, contributes greatly to the studying and popularization of "Kutadgy Bilig".

Acquaintance with the ample literature dedicated to "Kutadgy Bilig" by Usuf Balasagyn shows that the specialists up to the present time addressed mainly to the linguistic, literature, philosophical, political, social and didactic aspects of the work. Special investigation from the point of view of aesthetical problems is still missing, if any, they are touched



extremely superficially, while "Kutadgy Bilig" is in its essence one of the first valuable sources of Turkic language written literature, where the formation of the aesthetic thought of Turkic language peoples is reflected most vividly and deeply. This consideration caused the choice of the subject of the present short communication which is called "Kutadgy Bilig" by Usuf Balasagyn as one of the first written monuments of the aesthetic thought of the Turkic language peoples". This is, of course, a very large theme, requiring efforts of many specialists to solve it. Taking advantage of the case, I'd like my colleagues to pay attention to this problem in their investigations, since the studying of the problem is of both scientific and practical importance in the cause of developing cultural and moral values in our present unique world. The aesthetic values of "Kutadgy Bilig" are considerable from our point of view because having general humane nature, they can have rather objective and direct influence on the development of moral basis of the nature of the modern personality irrespective of what social structure it belongs.

We are convinced that the works like "Kutadgy Bilig" are necessary for us at the present time, since there we can find answers to the urgent, exciting questions, the answers which our ancestors left as their legacy to us. In our communication we are trying to enlighten the aspects of aesthetic problems, reflected in "Kutadgy Bilig".

One of the central problems in aesthetics is known to be the problem of the beautiful. Democritus saw the beautiful in the order, symmetry and harmony of one part to the other. I must say here, that Usuf Balasagyn's views in relation to the beautiful coincide in many aspects with those of Aristotle (e.g. the sight of objective laws of the beauty not in the supersensual but in the real world) and Konfutzi (e.g. on the role of art and word in moral upbringing, their influence on the moral and ethics). This, to our opinion, makes it possible to say, that the roots of the aesthetics views not only of Usuf Balasagyn but of that period and the medium in general go back to the progressive thought of ancient China on one side and Greece - on the other. It is natural that the aesthetic views of Usuf go back through Firdousi and other eastern poets and scholars to ancient oriental aesthetics as well.

We know, in what interrelations Konfutzi considered the problems of the form ("may") and the content ("shan"), preferring the latter. Usuf Balasagyn in his treatise is trying to interpret them almost equally, as one coming out of the other, or using Konfutzi conception, "may" comes out of "shan".

In order to be beautiful, esteemed in the society person, in our case Khadjib, the man, according to Usuf, must possess both inner and outer beauty. Thus, the beauty in the man acts as the whole category in Usuf's conception. The harmony and

symmetry of the mind, physical beauty and moral basis in the man, especially the man influencing the life of the society is one of the central principles of the aesthetic conception of Usuf. On this occasion he writes the following:

(In order to be Khodjib, one must have the following ten qualities: acute sight (vision), capability to listen broad thankful soul, beautiful face must correspond to beautiful figure, language, mind, knowledge, quick thinking. All deeds must correspond to this.)

Here to some extent one can't help noticing the nearness of Usuf's conception to the classical understanding and treatment of the beautiful - known to us from aesthetic views of the ancient Greek philosophers of Socrates period - the harmony of the beautiful in body, spirit and mind, called by Greeks as "Kalokagatia."

To our opinion, the Usuf's understanding of the beautiful is one of considerable achievements of aesthetic thoughts of Turkic language peoples, expressed for the first time in the written form. This is simultaneously one of the significant treatments of the conception of man. The understanding of this problem by the author is of course, in the ideal rather than real attitude to the existing, for one can't forget that it matters Khadjib, whose class criteria were on the side of the ruling tops to whom this highest title was given at that time.

It should be emphasized, however, that Yusuf, developing his aesthetic views, states a number of important ideas, actual to the present day.

The beautiful in man, the beautiful man can't exist by itself, isolated from other people, from the society; more concrete, these qualities of the man be evaluated positively only in the case when there is usefulness from these to other people. That is as seen from the Usuf conception, the beautiful acts, on the one hand, inseparably with the usefulness but on the other hand, it begins to acquire public and social significance (here, to our opinion, it would be appropriate to make analogy between these thoughts of Usuf and those of Socrates who spoke about the usefulness and purposefulness of the beautiful).

Usuf Balasagyn expresses his views the following:

(Know that among people the man can be called only that who is useful to other people; useless people are harmful. For the society the usefulness is merely from useful people.)

Thus, according to Usuf, the beautiful in man, the beautiful in his deeds is not only in manifesting the individual, but at the same time is in the social significance of the manifested. Therefore, from our point of view, Usuf approaches to the understanding and treatment of the beautiful as the public and social phenomenon, which makes it possible to speak about the social purposefulness of his aesthetic views.



However, the author of "Kutadgy Bilig" does not stop here. He goes further. In his work, consisting of about 6500 bates, written more than 9 centuries ago from the very beginning to the very end there is the leading, main idea about the harmonious beautiful man, and it not by chance that the author names the main character (the hero) Kuntugdi - personifying the Justice. Thus, in Usuf's opinion, everything which is connected with social and personal life of the man, can become beautiful only if it is associated with justice in its high and ideal meaning. Without justice the man's life, will be as if in the sun eclipse.

All this to some extent witnesses the democratic purposefulness of Usuf's views, though due to his outlook narrowness he sometimes manifests tendentious attitude to simple people. In special sections of the book, dedicated to peasants, poor people, craftsmen, stock-breeders, black smiths, shoe makers, carpenters, carvers, archers the author gives tribute respect to the common people, but nonetheless, the sympathy of Usuf in the first rate refers to teh representative of the ruling classes. In this, one can see, of course, class narrowness of the author of "Kutadgy Bilig". Nevertheless, this does not lower the value of the basic, progressive conceptions and thoughts which are available in the book of Usuf Balasagyn.

It is noteWorthy, that sometimes Usuf manifests seperate moments of realizing (of course, not in the modern understanding, but on the level of thinking of his time) the class difference between people. In 3036 and 3037 bates of his work he says that who has riches, has "long" hands, i.e. he is all allowed, even the things that he does incorrect, are considered to be correct, all that he says is considered to be clever.

It should be emphasized that the beautiful in human's deeds Usuf is apt to associate first of all with his attitude to labour, to his skill.

(The thing to which the man gave a lot of his work is becoming the most favourite and dear to him-such is the Usuf's thought on this occasion).

Naturally, one should bear in mind that in relation to the problem of human perfection Usuf is (sturdily) firmly connected with theologic viewsof his time, that can't be otherwise. Therefore, much, if not everything in human perfection is treated by Usuf as the gift of the Most High to his obedient servants. In Usuf's opinion, the whole human nature, all the beautiful in man: his mind, his senses, etc. is the fift of the God.

But not al the beautiful, earthy is treated by Usuf in this manner.

As strange as it may seem the fact that the praising of the outer world paradise goods and benefits is almost missing in "Kutadgy Bilig". Usuf mainly praises the earthy joy of life and the beauty of the real world, where the man lives and works. The most beautiful for the poet seems to be the beauty of the

nature which is limitless and endless. And therefore he praises this beauty with great strength.  
The East began to blow with spring aroma  
It fanned the world with breeze of paradize  
And smell musk was spread over the camphoric surface

The world was lighted with radiant Beauty  
Spring tore away the curtains of winter sleep  
And. rainbow of happiness was bullt by spring  
The trees were dressed by green clothes  
Everything became red, crimson and purple  
The world became dressed to the green Beauty  
The ruler equipped caravan to China  
And mountains turned crimson and blew  
As if coloured by antimony and henna  
Thousands of flowers blossomed at that time  
The world world was breathing by musk and camphora

The countless flock of different birds  
Is being crowded, landing and flying  
Cranes are crying, are flying as caravan  
Looking like camels marching in the raw

It is known that under "word", it is meant the polynomial attribute of the human's reason and thought. It is the vord art morality, edification and life philosophy, study and many other things. Proceeding from the context we are entitled to imply the word art i.e. fiction by this "word" in many bates.

But the only word, though very good and corrects, doesn't mean the very essence of the subject rising from it. He writes that a good word should become a good deed. More exactly he says in the 230 bate:

Those who have power over the peoples.

Must have both words and deeds beautiful.

Those words look like as if being adressed to us from the remote past. They sound so modern, that need no comments.

But the unity of the words and the deeds should express the wisdom in the decision of this or that problem. According to Usuf this is not a result, but a purpose. The real result is not only the displaying of wisdom, but it is in its realisation, in motion.

That is why he says definitely:

When a wise man doesn't follow clear advices,  
The old wisdom doesn't shine.

Really, these are beautiful, aphoristic lines, which can sound quite sharply to-day.

Your words should be eyesight for the blinds "- the poet writes in the 175 th beit. For oufr opinion it is the word art that is meant here. The word art has to bear a social moral fund, which could help a person to get rid of his personal defects and misfortunes. Thies fund should become a definite life guide

Developing his thought in this direction Usuf puts forward the following beautiful words, which hadn't lost their meaning till our days and sound even more sharply.

Evil and fault are destroyed by study.



People's anxiety troubles are destroyed by knowledge.

And when both means become unfit  
Take weapons and act strictly.

This means that according to Usuf study, knowledge, the word power and the power of reason are more powerful than weapons. To prevent the evil and fault it is necessary to be able to use this great power.

Those words of our ancient ancestor impose a deep obligation upon us - inhabitants of the planet of the end of century to use the power of reason when solving any kind of conflict subjects. Usuf noted that the words of poets were more sharp than a sword. Like art in Aristotel's works, according to Usuf the words is the means of people's soul refinement from personal negative passions and one of the main sources of joy comprehension.

The main component of the Beauty is kindness. This opinion of Balasagyn testifies the unity of his point of view with that of Konfutzi's.

A person should always be kind in his thoughts and deeds, owing to kindness he can comprehend the joy source.

Usuf calls every person to be among the people and to present each other joy and happiness.

According to Usuf Balasagyn the most ugly thing in the life is violence in any of its form. The poet compares violence with a burning fire (1998 th *beit*), which swallows everybody, who approaches it. On the contrary to violence, Usuf puts forward justice and compares it to water - the source of life. Owing to water everything is alive. It is necessary to point out here, that to prove his aesthetic concepts the author addresses the things and phenomena of the Earth, not the world of paradise or hell. He composes his artistic Characters using the natural phenomena surrounding a man. This fact emphasizes their nearness to life and their influence the reader.

It is an important element in Usuf Balasagyn's aesthetics. The traditions of his aesthetics influenced greatly the development of the artistic and aesthetic thought of the Turkic language peoples of the following ages. In his poetry Usuf addresses the problems of justice, comparing it to a living water and he addresses oppression, comparing it to burning fire. For example, in the 3068 th *beit* Usuf says to his ruler that he went out the burning fire of oppression by his living water of justice. These opinions of the author were his ideals and somehow exalted the ruler, as in the other *beits* Usuf wrote about injustice and ignorance existing in the society of those times. There is no truth in the life, there is no justice and understanding - he says bitterly in his book.

There are some lines in "Kutadgy bilig", where the poet speaks about the justice as the most beautiful thing and about oppression as the most ugly thing not only in the Karakhanid's empire but all over the world.

(The people develops all the world Prospers by justice The people comes to crash, the whole world is ruined by oppression - this is the conclusion the author comes to).

This fact shows that "Kutadgy Bilig", created in Kashgar and devoted to Tabgach-Bogra) Karakhan describes the events of Hagan's life and includes his edifications. According to its artistic content and philosophical goal-direction it goes out of the frame and in general the work is of common humanistic and human character. The same one can say about the aesthetic value of the work.

From the *beit* mentioned above one can see, that Usuf pays special attention to the problems of justice and oppression, prosperity and destruction. Hence, the aesthetic opinions of Usuf are of aesthetic ideal's character. The progressive people of his time dreamed of this ideal and strived for it. So in Usuf Balasagyn's appeals the justice and oppression stand for the contrast forces, manifesting itself the first one in beauty, the second one in ugliness. It is necessary to note that the great son of his time calls his rulers to follow the first force and to deny the second one. These ideas of Usuf are very progressive for his epoch. One can say that they had not lost their meaning till our days. The aesthetic views of Usuf keeping in step with every next period of humanity development are powerful and modern.

In conclusion I want to say to my colleagues, to the participants of our international forum that we pay more and more attention to study the artistic heritage of remotest times, for example to the investigation of "Kutadgy Bilig".

It is sufficient to remember that the 4 th Special Conference on Turkology, held in Leningrad in 1970, was devoted to 900 th anniversary of "Kutadgy bilig" creation. During the last 2 years, 2 poetical translations of "Kutadgy bilig" are made in Uzbekistan. The translations into modern Uzbek were made by Sadulla Ahmaad and Bakijan Tuhliyev. 15 years ago this work was published in transcription and interpretation by K. Karimov. The volume of the work was about 400 printer's sheets. 2 years later we are going to celebrate the 920 th anniversary of the unique masterpiece of Turkic language people. In this connection I have a proposal: perhaps it would be reasonable for PIAC to begin preparations to mark this date. Surely, it is too early to decide, where the 32 nd session of PIAC will be held in 1989. But nevertheless it would not be bad, if a group of experts meet in Tashkent where one of three manuscripts of Usuf Balasagyn is preserved.

This measure would promote further strengthening of scientists international cooperation working in the difficult but very noble branch of modern social science.

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# NEW HEAD OF UZBEK WRITERS' UNION

*John Soper*

*Summary: Recently Adil Yaqubov was elected head of the Uzbek Writers' Union, replacing Olmäs Umarbekov who was appointed as the republici minister of culture. There were three candidates for the Union office, each of which represented a different tendency in literary politics, but so far press accounts of the election have been uninformative about the factors leading to the selection of Yuqubov.*

Recently, there has been a major shift in the leadership of the Uzbekistan Writers' Union. It represents the second major set of cadre changes in the Union since mid-1984 when a largescale campaign was launched to eradicate the corruption that had flourished in Uzbekistan under the late Party chief, Shāraf Rāshidov, who dated from the Brezhnev era. In the first of such shifts in 1985, the writer and playwright olmäs Umārbekov replaced Sārvār Azimov as head of the Writers' Union, a substitution that was followed by numerous other changes. 1 At the end of August this year, that is, less than two and a half years later, Umarbekov was given a new position, that of culture minister. 2 Although the Uzbek Party chief, Inamjan Usmankhojāev, has complained about discord and an unhealthy atmosphere in the creative unions of the republic, it is not clear whether Umār bekov is being held accountable for failure to improve the situation in the Writers' Union. 3 It is also unclear what his appointment to the post of culture minister means for his career.

Obviously, in this capacity he will be more involved in government, but at the same time his public profile will be reduced, inasmuch as the head of the Writers' Union is always a highly prominent figure in the republic.

On October 1, a plenum of the Writers' Union Board met to make a number of changes in the composition of the leadership. In an effort at injecting some young blood, seventeen young writers and critics were added to the existing 125 or so members of the Board. Further, three new members were elected to the presidium of the Board. More important was the election of the new chairman of the presidium—Adil Yaqubov. According to the account in *Literaturna ya gazeta*, there were three candidates for the position: Yaqubov, Erkin Vahidov, and Sārvār Azimov each of them representing a distinct tendency within the literary elite. 4

Sārvār Azimov, aged sixty-four, seems to adhere

to an older, more orthodox tradition within the Writers' Union. A writer who also served as ambassador to Lebanon and Pakistan, Azimov has dealt with such subjects as the struggle against imperialism in the non-Soviet East, respect for the Soviet motherland and the Party, and the promotion of heroism, truth, justice, labor, etc.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, previously, while the head of the Writers' Union, he received the extravagant praise that was customary during the Rāshidov era. For instance, he was said to rank among those at the highest levels in Uzbekistan

Who stand out in state and social activity, in science, literature, and art, in intellect and justice, and in superlative talent—in short in high human virtues. 6

True, he has also been associated with some slightly more controversial issues—abandoning the use of harmful chemicals in agriculture and the saving the Aral Sea from further dessication—but his writings have been noted mainly for their adherence to standard, orthodox themes.

At fifty, the poet Erkin Vahidov, on the other hand, is younger than Azimov and is associated with more "liberal" tendencies. Some of his poems have become widely read and can be quoted off by heart a popular audience; his anthologies are printed in editions of 20,000 to 60,000, an extraordinary amount for an Uzbek poet. One of the Uzbek Party organizations before Shāraf Rāshidov. Vahidov has studied the traditions of classical Oriental literature thoroughly and has made use of them in a contemporary context. His works have often given rise to heated debate, and not just over petty issues. For instance, some critics complain that his works, especially his *ghāzāls*, ★, have "a weak social spirit." 8 Furthermore, Vahidov has taken a clear stand on certain sensitive issues. In an interview published earlier this year, he advocated expanding what is permitted in Uzbek literature; he strongly supported the restoration of two victims of the purges Fitrāt and Cholpan, to the ranks of Uzbek writers and the reassessment of certain literary classics long considered "reactionary." 9

Adil Yaqubov, a prose writer aged about sixty-one yearsy seems to have taken less controversial positions than Vahidov. He has sometimes written on historical topics, as in his wellknown novel *Ulughbek's Treasure* (1973), but he does not appear to have been accused of "idealizing" the past or of an excessive interest in the past. His latest novel, *Aqqushlār, appaq gushlār* (Swans and Pure White Birds) (1986), deals with corruption among leaders in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but, since that theme coincides with the anti-corruption campaign conduc-



ted in the republic since mid 1984, the novel does not actually stray very far from the current political line. 10 At a plenum of the Writers' Union Board earlier this year, Yaqubov engaged in a little self-criticism with regard to his duties as the chief editor of the Uzbek literary-cultural newspaper *Ozbekistan ädäbiyati vä sän'äti*. He maintained that editors like him had not "reconstructed themselves" to the degree demanded by the Party. He noted the planned publication of *Doctor Zhivago* and complained of timidity about controversial works. 11 Subsequently, his newspaper has printed articles that discuss such sensitive issues as further rehabilitations, reassessments of the classical literature, the great harm that has been done to the environment in Uzbekistan, and social problems in the countryside. Although Yaqubov has permitted the publication of these articles, he has, however, avoided taking a controversial stand himself. In effect, he appears to be rather acutious in his own approach to sensitive matters and could therefore be thought of as being a half-hearted activist in this regard.

According to the *Literaturnaya gazeta* account of the recent the Writers' Union plenum, Vahidov withdrew his candidacy during the course of the debate on who should be elected as the head of the Union. His withdrawal can only have helped to assure victory for Yaqubov, but that is not explicit in the newspaper report. Perhaps as a concession to the more conservative members of the Union, Azimov was elected to the presidium of the Board. 12.

What is of special interest in this election is that a majority of the Board decided to hold an open balloting for the post, apparently in the spirit of "democratization." The meeting itself, however, has certainly not been treated in the press in the spirit of *glasnots'*. Thus, the Uzbek literary-cultural newspaper, *Ozbekistan ädäbiyati vä sän'äti*, at least

in the first three issues that have appeared after the plenum, has not published any information on the meeting other than to announce who the new chairman of the Union is. It has not even mentioned the open balloting or the names of the three candidates, let alone discussed the issues that decided the election. Hence, many questions many remain unanswered; What was the vote for and against Yaqubov? What decided the election--Yaqubov's concern about the future direction of the Union's work, or his character? What serious issues were raised by the dozen or so speakers at the plenum? Unfortunately, it does not look as if the answers to such questions will be forthcoming in the near future.

1. See RL 381/85, "Personnel Changes in Uzbek Literary ELITE," November 11, 1985.

2. *Sovet Ozbekistani*, August 27, 1987, p. 1.

3. See, for instance, *Usmankhojäv's remarks at the 4th plenum of the Central Committee, February 14, 1987, Ozbekistan kommunisti*, No. 4, 1987, p. 38.

4. *Literaturnaya gazeta* October 7, 1987, p. 7.

5. *Shärq yulduzi*, No. 5, 1983, p. 175.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

7. See, for instance, his remarks on the *Aral Sea in Ozbekistan ädäbiyati vä sän'äti*, April 10, 1987, p. 2 and September 11, 1987, p. 5.

\*A type of lyric poetry, variable in form, found in Oriental literatures.

8. On Vahidov, see *Shärq yulduzi*, No. 12, 1986, pp. 165-8 and *Ozbekistan ädäbiyati vä sän'äti*, December 26, 1987, p. 7.

9. *Ozbekistan ädäbiyati vä sän'äti*, April 24, 1987, p. 4. See RL 199/87,

"Two Banned Uzbek Writers to Be Republished," May 14, 1987, and RL 225/87, *Reassessment of Central Asian Classical Literature Urged*, June 3, 1987.

10. *Shärq yulduzi*, No. 10, 1986, pp. 169-74

11. *Ozbekistan ädäbiyati vä sän'äti*, March 6, 1987, p. 5.

12. *Literaturnaya gazeta*, October 7, 1987, p. 7.





# NEW ISLAMIC FUNERAL MONUMENTS BEING BUILT IN KAZAKHSTAN

*Alexandre Bennigsen*

Under the heading "Traditions and Customs," *Nauka i religiya* in its issue for May, 1987, published an article by A. Rozanov entitled "Chei oby-chai?" (Whose Custom?) The article discusses what seems to be new Islamic custom in Kazakhstan--the building of ostentatious Muslim cemeteries--and, indirectly, sheds some light on the revival of Islam in the Kazakh republic.

The struggle against Islam and its traditions, culture, and way of life is being conducted on a practical, rather than a philosophical level: the Soviet authorities hope to eradicate Islam by replacing the old Islamic traditions, rites, and rituals with new "Soviet equivalents" (they are encouraging couples to choose "Komsomol" weddings instead of religious ones, for example), and not by proving the cultural or intellectual superiority of Marxism-Leninism over Islam.

Some of the most deeply rooted traditional rites are related to funerals, and new Soviet funeral rites were therefore introduced into Central Asia some twenty years ago. Rozanov's article shows clearly, however, that the Soviet authorities are fighting a losing battle against "religious superstitions" associated with death and burial.

Over the past fifteen to twenty years, according to Rozanov, a great number of **mazars** (funeral monuments) have been built throughout Kazakhstan. These huge, ostentatious constructions, sometimes as high as a two-story building, are modeled on the **mazars** of Muslim saints, such as Bahautdin Naqshband, Sha-i Zenda, and the Sufi saint Ahmet Yasawi. The new **mazars** belong, as a rule, not to individuals, but to extended families and even to clans. The monuments have gilded cupolas and are decorated with crescents and other Islamic symbols and with inscriptions in Arabic. Their religious significance is obvious.

Rozanov says that new cemeteries containing such monuments can be found everywhere, even in parts of the republic where Kazakhs are in the minority. In East Kazakhstan Oblast, for example, where Muslims represented barely 26 percent of the population in 1979, there are **mazars** in Priozernoe (in Tarbagatai Raion) and in Ust-Kamenogorsk, the oblast center. Rozanov mentions also the city of Shevchenko in Mangyshlak Oblast, where Muslims make up 49 percent of the population, and the city of Chelkar in Aktyubinsk Oblast, where Muslims constitute 54 percent and expensive **mazars** are to be found even

in the republican capital, Alma-Ata.

"The little city of Chelkar," Rozanov writes, is surrounded by a belt of cemeteries: two of them are Christian (probably for the Old Believers and the Orthodox), one is a Tatar (Nogay) cemetery, and several are Kazakh, each one for a different clan--the Tleu, the Zahakaim, the Karakesten, the Toktarma, the Kabak, etc.

Rozanov adds that in Alma-Ata, near Koktobe Hill, a new cemetery appeared recently "where only **nomenklaturshchiki** of republican level and their families are buried."

The personalities who rest in these sumptuous funeral monuments were not mere **kolkhozniks**, high-ranking Party bureaucrats. To give but a few examples: a two-story **mazar** near Ust-Kamenogorsk contains the earthly remains of Mukatay Togzhigitov, representative for East Kazakhstan Oblast of the Council of Religious Affairs; and among the notables buried in the **mazars** in Tarbagatai Raion are U. Kusainov, secretary of the Party organization of the local **sovkhoz**, and B. Iskakov, chairman of the People's Control Commission of the raion.

The Muslim burial rite is generally performed in the presence of enormous gatherings of people by what Rozanov calls "vagabond mullahs," who are probably adepts of one of the three Sufi brotherhoods active in Kazakhstan--the Naqshbandiya, the Yasawiya, and the Qadiriya (this last was introduced into Kazakhstan by Chechens deported from the Northern Caucasus during World War II). Cemeteries containing **mazars** are also used as meeting grounds for religious festivals.

The Soviet authorities are apparently unable to put a stop to the construction of **mazars**. Rozanov writes: "A strong public opinion exists (in Kazakhstan) that is stronger than common sense." He points out that nothing can be done to prevent the performance of religious funeral rites because "they are supposed to be a national Kazakh custom" and because the authorities are "afraid of hurting the feelings of believers and unbelievers."

The building of new Muslim cemeteries is clearly part and parcel of the politicizing of Islam that is taking place not only in Kazakhstan but in the whole of Soviet Central Asia. Rozanov himself indicates this political dimension when he observes that twenty years ago, in the 1960s, "national relations in Kazakhstan were more friendly. All nationalities--Kazakhs, Russians, Tatars, and Germans--worked side by side and played the same games. Today, other customs predominate that cannot be called popular."



# PROBLEMS IN THE KAZAKH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

*Summary: The Kazakh press has recently been discussing an issue of great concern to the indigenous population -- the decline in the number of Kazakh speakers. Part of the problem lies with the current educational system, but efforts to alleviate the situation may not be sufficient to halt the decline.*

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*Johny Soper*

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This year in Kazakhstan special attention has been focused on the teaching of the Kazakh language in the schools of the republic. In March, a resolution mandating improvements in the study of the language was adopted at the same time as a resolution on the Russian language. (1) In October, a three-day seminar dealing with the resolution on the Kazakh language was held in the Kazakh city of Kyzylorda. (2) In addition, a republican meeting of people's educators is to be convened this month devoted to the issue of providing students with an ideological-political and internationalist education, at which the problem of teaching Kazakh will undoubtedly be discussed. (3)

Improvements are to be made in teaching Kazakh both to the Kazakhs themselves and to non-Kazakhs. While Kazakh courses for Russians and other non-Kazakh nationalities may enhance the status of the language as a legitimate part of the curriculum, Kazakhs themselves are probably more concerned about the state of language instruction for their own children. As the March resolution states, there has been a tendency in recent years for the status of Kazakh to decline, especially among the urban Kazakh population. In fact, according to a Russian writer in the republic, an incredible situation has arisen where by the number of Kazakhs is growing, but those who speak the language are decreasing. (4)

It seems that Kazakhs have good reason to be worried about the level of native-language proficiency among young Kazakhs and about the educational system that is supposed to develop that proficiency. There are at present 2,490 schools with instruction in Kazakh, out of a total of nearly 9,000 schools. (5) In other words, Kazakh-language schools make up only about 28 percent of the total number of schools--a figure considerably smaller than the percentage of Kazakh children in the republic. True, there are also 1,077 "mixed" schools with instruction in other languages (Russian, Uzbek, and Uighur)

in addition to Kazakh, but this does not change the fact that the majority of schools in the republic (perhaps 60 percent or more) have instruction only in Russian.

It is unclear how many Kazakhs are currently attending schools with instruction in Kazakh. One Soviet source claims that one fourth of all Kazakh children in the republic attend Russian schools in accordance with their own and their parents' wishes. (6) It is not known, however, whether this figure includes Kazakh children studying in Russian schools not in accordance with their parents' wishes, but out of necessity, because of a lack of Kazakh schools. Another source, the Kazakh-language journal *Bilim jane engbek*, states that the number of students in Kazakh schools and in Kazakh classes in mixed schools is close to one million. (7) That figure appears to be quite low, considering that the total number of students in schools of all kinds in the republic is 3,585,000. (8) It seems unlikely that either of these figures reflects the true situation.

What is clear, however, is that there are not enough schools for all the Kazakh children who want to study in their native language. In the city of Öskemen (Ust' Kamenogorsk), for instance, there are no Kazakh schools, aside from two boarding schools, which cannot be attended by the Kazakh inhabitants of the city since they are reserved for children from the countryside. (9) In Alekseev Raion, where there is a large Kazakh population, only one school has classes with instruction in the Kazakh language. In Atbasar, Vishnevsk, and Marinov Raions, there are no such classes at all. Moreover, there are indications that the situation has become worse in recent years. In the town of Ermentau, a raion administrative center, there used to be a boarding school for Kazakh students from distant villages and farms with instruction in Kazakh, but now all subjects at the school are taught in Russian. (10) Moreover, there appears to be a severe shortage of teachers for Kazakh language and literature courses. In Tselinograd Oblast, Kazakh is not taught in 233 of the 385 secondary and eight-year schools. The schools in Gur'ev Oblast alone are short of some 300 Kazakh language and literature teachers. (11)

The sorry situation among Kazakh language educational institutions is most keenly felt in the case of kindergartens. Out of nearly one million children in preschool facilities at present, only 60,276 children, or about 6 percent, attend Kazakh kindergartens. While on a republic-wide basis the number of Kazakh kindergartens is on the increase, in some



oblasts the number has actually declined in recent years. In 1985, Qaraghandy (Karaganda) Oblast had 21 Kazakh kindergartens out of a total of 554 (a mere 3.8 percent), but now there are only 12. The only Kazakh kindergarten in Tselinograd Oblast has been shut down, and the number of Kazakh children attending native-language kindergartens in Mangyshlaq Oblast has declined from 3,240 to 2,429 in just two years. (12)

It is therefore not surprising that Kazakhs are concerned about the level of native-language proficiency among their children. To a certain extent, the March resolution on improving the study of the Kazakh language, with its highly ambitious goals, was intended to address these concerns. And in fact, some steps have been taken. A pocket Russian-Kazakh dictionary has been produced by the educational publishers Mektep, and Kazakh classes have been introduced into the first grade in Russian schools (albeit for only one hour a week). Moreover, beginning in the 1988-89 school year, there is to be a republican-level olympiad for the Kazakh language. It is worth noting, however, that the March resolution does not directly call for improvements in the one area of most concern to Kazakhs--namely, the need for an increase in the number of Kazakh-language schools and kindergartens in the republic. Given this omission in the decree and the extent of the problem, Kazakhs may very well feel that the measures currently being taken will not be sufficient to reverse recent trends and enhance proficiency in Kazakh among the young.

1. *Sotsialistk Qazaqstan*, March 5, 1987, p. 2. See RL 284/87, "Problems Encountered in Improving the Teaching of Kazakh," July 15, 1987.
2. *Qazaqstan mughallmi*, October 30, 1987, p. 3.
3. *Qazaqstan mughallmi*, September 25, 1987, p. 1.
4. *Qazaq ädebiyatı*, August 21, 1987, p. 10.
5. *Bilim jäne engbek*, No. 9, 1987, p. 6. The exact figures for the beginning of the 1987-1988 academic year: 8,654 general education schools, 55 higher education institutions, and 246 specialized secondary schools; see *Qazaqstan ügıtshisi*, No. 18, September, 1987, p. 22.
6. *Kommunizm tughı*, October 17, 1987, p. 3.
7. *Bilim jäne engbek*, No. 9, 1987, p. 7.
8. *Qazaqstan ügıtshisi*, No. 18, September, 1987, p. 22.
9. *Bilim jäne engbek*, No. 9, 1987, p. 10.
10. *Qazaq ädebiyatı*, August 21, 1987, p. 10.
11. *Ibid.*, and *Qazaqstan mughallmi*, September 25, 1987, p. 2.
12. *Bilim jäne engbek*, No. 9, 1987, p. 9-10

#### BAŞTARAFI SAYFA 11 DE

**Rozanov**, 1960'lardan önce Kazakistan'da milli bağların çok daha dostane olduğunu müşahâde ederek, bu siyasi boyutu kendisi belirlemektedir. O zamanlar Kazakistan'daki bütün milletler (Kazaklar, Ruslar, Tatarlar ve Almanlar) yan yana beraber çalışıyor ve aynı oyunu oynuyorlardı. Bugün ise başka âdetler hâkim durumda olmasına rağmen, bunlar popüler sayılamaz. Bundan başka Kazakistan'ın Sovyet Hâkimiyetine girmesinden bugüne değin yetmiş yıl geçmesine rağmen, Kazakistan'da boy ve kabilecilik hâlâ çok kuvvetlidir. Halk, kendilerini şu veya bu boy'un üyesi olarak tanıtıyor. Halk kendilerini sırf Kazak olarak düşünecekleri yerde "Müslüman" olarak düşünüyorlar. Bugünlerde Kazak topluluğu daha kapalı olup, Ruslar'ın içeriye nüfuz etmesi, ihtilâlden önce ve hatta 20 yıl öncesine göre daha zordur.

