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МАЗМҰНЫ

ТАРИХ

<i>Адилова А.К., Ильясов Ш.А.</i> Қазақстанда қола дәуірінде мал шаруашылығының дамуы.....	8
<i>Амиров Е.Ш.</i> Ежелгі сақ-үйсін жүйесіндегі Қаратума қорымы.....	14
<i>Бодеев К.Т., Сактаганова З.Г.</i> Кеңес өкіметінің Қазақстандағы діни ұйымдарға қатысты саясаты (XX ғасырдың 30–40 жж.).....	25
<i>Горовой В.В.</i> Ежелгі дәуірдегі гендер факторы: антикалық кезең.....	31
<i>Григоркевич А.А., Сактаганова З.Г.</i> 1946–1960 жылдар аралығында кеңес өкіметі кезеңінде Қазақстанда дене тәрбиесі және спорттың даму тарихы.....	35
<i>Едгина Г.Т., Жұмашев Р.М.</i> Тәуелсіз Қазақстан үкіметінің сыртқы саясаты.....	42
<i>Сактаганова З.Г., Карсакова Г.Б.</i> 1921–1923-ші жж. Ақмола губерниясында балалар панасыздығы және оны жою жөніндегі іс-шаралар.....	49
<i>Саметова Г., Алтысбес М.</i> Дәстүрлі қазақ қоғамының өзгеріс жағдайындағы XVIII–XIX ғғ. Қазақстанның урбанизация тарихы.....	57

ФИЛОСОФИЯ

<i>Дюсалинова Б.К., Караконисова С.Г., Солощенко П.П.</i> Қазақстанның рухани жаңғыру шеңберіндегі Ұлы Жібек жолының мәдени мұрасы.....	63
<i>Сисенғалиев К.М., Зиязетдинов Р.М., Ким Р.</i> Азаматтық қоғам және құқықтық мемлекет: ұқсастық пен айырмашылығы.....	69
<i>Амрахлы Л.Ш.</i> Жасөспірімдердің когнитивтік әрекеттерінің ерекшеліктері.....	74

ПСИХОЛОГИЯНЫҢ ӨЗЕКТІ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРІ

<i>Алимбаева Р.Т., Есназарова Л.У., Лазарева Е.А.</i> Медициналық университет студенттерінің эмоционалдық зердесін зерттеу.....	81
АВТОРЛАР ТУРАЛЫ МӘЛІМЕТТЕР.....	86

СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

ИСТОРИЯ

<i>Адилова А.К., Ильясов Ш.А.</i> Развитие скотоводства в Казахстане в эпоху бронзы	8
<i>Амиров Е.Ш.</i> Могильник Каратума в системе сако-усуньских древностей.....	14
<i>Бодеев К.Т., Сактаганова З.Г.</i> Политика Советской власти по отношению к религиозным организациям в Казахстане (30–40-е годы XX в.).....	25
<i>Горовой В.В.</i> Гендерный фактор в Древнем мире: античность	31
<i>Григоркевич А.А., Сактаганова З.Г.</i> Развитие физкультуры и спорта в Казахстане в 1946–1960 гг. ...	35
<i>Едгина Г.Т., Жумашев Р.М.</i> Внешнеполитический курс независимого Казахстана	42
<i>Сактаганова З.Г., Карсакова Г.Б.</i> Детская беспризорность в Акмолинской губернии в 1921–1923-м гг. и меры по ее ликвидации.....	49
<i>Саметова Г., Алтысбес М.</i> История урбанизации Казахстана в XVIII–XIX вв. в условиях трансформации традиционного казахского общества	57

ФИЛОСОФИЯ

<i>Дюсалинова Б.К., Караконисова С.Г., Солощенко П.П.</i> Культурное наследие Великого Шелкового пути в контексте духовной модернизации Казахстана	63
<i>Сисенгалиев К.М., Зиязетдинов Р.М., Ким Р.</i> Гражданское общество и правовое государство: сходство и отличие.....	69
<i>Амрахлы Л.Ш.</i> Особенности когнитивной деятельности подростков.....	74

АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ ПСИХОЛОГИИ

<i>Алимбаева Р.Т., Есназарова Л.У., Лазарева Е.А.</i> Исследование эмоционального интеллекта студентов медицинского университета.....	81
---	----

СВЕДЕНИЯ ОБ АВТОРАХ.....	86
--------------------------	----

CONTENTS

HISTORY

<i>Adilova A.K., Ilyassov Sh.A.</i> Development of cattle breeding in Kazakhstan in the Bronze Age	8
<i>Amirov Ye.Sh.</i> Karatuma burial grounds in the system of the Saka-Wusun antiquities.....	14
<i>Bodeev K.T., Saktaganova Z.G.</i> The policy of the Soviet government in towards religious organizations in Kazakhstan (30–40th of the XX century).....	25
<i>Gorovoy V.V.</i> The gender factor in ancient world: antiquity	31
<i>Grigorkevich A.A., Saktaganova Z.G.</i> History of the development of physical culture and sports in Kazakhstan in 1946–1960 in the period of Soviet power.....	35
<i>Yedgina G.T., Zhumashev R.M.</i> Foreign policy course of independent Kazakhstan	42
<i>Saktaganova Z.G., Karsakova G.B.</i> Children’s homelessness in the Akmola province in 1921–1923 and actions for its elimination	49
<i>Sametova G., Alpysbes M.</i> History of urbanization of Kazakhstan in XVIII–XIX centuries in the conditions of transformation of the traditional Kazakh society.....	57

PHILOSOPHY

<i>Dyusalina B.K., Karakonisova S.G., Soloshchenko P.P.</i> Cultural heritage of the Great Silk Road in the context of spiritual modernization of Kazakhstan	63
<i>Sisengaliev K.M., Ziyazetdinov R.M., Kim R.</i> Civil society and constitutional state: similarities and differences	69
<i>Amrakhly L.Sh.</i> Peculiarities of cognitive activity of adolescents	74

ACTUAL PROBLEMS OF PSYCHOLOGY

<i>Alimbayeva R.T., Yesnazarova L.U., Lazareva Ye.A.</i> Study of emotional intelligence of a medical university students	81
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INFORMATION ABOUT AUTHORS	86
---------------------------------	----

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Development of cattle breeding in Kazakhstan in the Bronze Age

Becoming an independent state and development of new national identity in Kazakhstan caused an increase of interest for the past, the necessity to learn about historical processes that took place on a huge territory of our country. Present article gives an account of the origin of cattle breeding and the influence of climatic changes on the development of Andronian household and also on the identification of regional peculiarities in the household extension. As well it describes the meaning of the contribution of the Bronze Age achievements in the sense of formation of a new mode of life among the Andronian population — nomad cattle breeding. Having appeared originally as one of the major parts of mixed economy, later cattle breeding served as driving force for the number of the most important phenomena in the history of society.

Keywords: the Bronze Age, cattle breeding, farming, Begazy-dandybay population, culture, past.

The problems of the origin and development of forms of cattle breeding and, in particular, horse breeding in the steppes of Eurasia are far from their final solution. However, the materials suggest the ways of solving these problems, based on the data of the source study and theoretical basis. The historiography of issues of domestication of horses and roles in the economic structures of societies is quite extensive.

The researcher of the history of primitive society and ethnographers try to solve these problems through the systematization of ethnographic observations and logical constructions of various literary data from a vast region of the planet. These works are valuable from the standpoint of the history of socialization process of animal domestication. In this respect, first of all, the investigations of V.A. Shnirelman are of interest. In the book «The Origin of Livestock» and other works, he analyzes almost all the main foreign and domestic literature on cultural and historical problems of domestication of animals [1].

The archeologists also deal with problems of domestication of animals. The very specific nature of archaeological science presupposes an integrated approach to the solution of these questions. The systematization and interpretation of osteological materials in the biological, archaeological and historical contexts allows us to find conditional contradictions.

The complex economy that was formed on the territory of Kazakhstan in the Bronze Age included a number of industries that serve the needs of Andronian tribes. Despite the fact that these sectors organically fit into the economical structure of the local ancient population and constituted a single indivisible whole, the significance of each of them in the life of the people of the Bronze Age was not the same. The degree of significance, importance of each of the branches of the Andronian economy determines the structure of this chapter, which, as it were, is divided into two blocks. The industries directly providing population with food products are considered, and therefore are the most important in the structure of the economy. First and foremost, this is cattle breeding, which is the main occupation of the Andronian people, then farming, which plays a secondary role, and closes the first block of appropriating forms of farming - hunting, fishing and gathering.

A cattle breeding appears in Kazakhstan in the III century BC in the Botay culture of horse breeders, but at the turn of the III-II century BC as a result of the environmental, ethnic and social factors, the Botay economic and cultural type collapses, the ethnos disintegrates, and the productive forces are degraded. People move from lakes to river valleys and reorient their economy to appropriating forms — hunting and fishing. It is believed that the population remains a small number of livestock.

Analysis of paleosol and paleobotanical data, topography of settlements, and species composition of animals showed that the early Bronze Age was characterized by increased moisture content, lake basins were flooded in the steppes and semi-deserts. The process of swamp formation began in the pine forests of Pritobolye and Kokchetau highland. The boundaries of the landscapes were shifted to the south by 1–2 sub-zones. All this gives grounds for reconstructing forest-steppe conditions throughout Northern Kazakhstan, including the northern edge of the Kazakh hilly area. The abundance of water and a good juicy herbage created good conditions for the development of domestic animals, especially cattle.

In the early Bronze Age — at the beginning of the II century BC the Pit-Comb cultural area, leaving the base in the taiga regions of the Pritobolye, went far to the south in the Ishim-Irtysh forest-steppe. Such settlements as Sergeevka, Vishnevka I, Roshinskoe, Balandino and the downstream Ishim Kokui II, Odino, Loginovo VI, Likhachevskoye, Kai-Karagai, Malyshevskoye and a number of others similar to pottery with Kazakhstan are dated from this time. «Thus, the range of the closest similarity, obviously of an ethno-cultural order, is outlined» [2]. Perhaps part of the Botay population entered this new ethno-cultural education. But, nevertheless, the population of the early Bronze Age formed a completely different composition of the herd. Osteological materials show that this composition included large and small cattle, a horse, and the bones of a camel were also found in the settlement of Balandino. The remains of the dog were noted in all the Kazakh settlements. In general, the pre-andronian period of cattle breeding is characterized by the presence of a small number of remainders of small and large cattle with a significant predominance of horse remains.

Analysis of bone materials from the settlement of Sergeevka showed that the basis of its life support was a horse. Moreover, the reconstruction of the age composition of slaughtered animals showed that it was: young (up to 1.5 years) — 7 %; semi-mature (1.5–3.5 years) — 16 %; mature (5–15) — 31 %; old (more than 15 years) — 8 %. A large number of young and semi-mature individuals (in the amount of 61 %) indicate the predominant use of the horse as a source of meat. It is rather characteristic that «according to the size of bones, the horse from the settlement of Sergeevka is unique and it is impossible to bring it closer to the horse of Botay or the settlements of late Bronze» [3]. According to the primary use in the horse's food, the way of life and economy of the population of Sergeevka was closer to the Botay type, but unlike it there were already large and small cattle.

Studies of the North Kazakhstan archaeological expedition headed by V.F. Seibert, a farming enterprise in the territory of Kazakhstan, first appears in the era of the Eneolithic tribes of the Botay culture. Undoubtedly the dominant form of farming was horse breeding. The Botay economic-cultural type that emerged in favorable climatic conditions and based on horse breeding, with the onset of an ecological crisis, was declining and dying.

It was the latest discoveries of the last 20 years in the Dnieper, Volga, Ural, Kazakhstan (Vasiliev, Danilenko, Seibert, Logvin, Matiushin, Telegin), in the steppe zone of Eurasia, that allow substantively, based on a huge factual base, taking into account the natural ecological situation and paleoclimatic dynamics, to propose specific models for the emergence and development of cattle breeding, in the system of diversified farming of appropriating and producing types.

In the Bronze Age, a fundamentally different — multisectoral type of farming was formed on the territory of Kazakhstan, the basis of which was homestead pastoral herding, agriculture and metallurgy. The need for the formation of this type of economy was determined by two factors: 1) the diversity of the climatic and landscape conditions of Kazakhstan; 2) the variability of the natural and climatic conditions over time, and as a consequence of the above-mentioned reasons, this type should have met the criterion of adaptive lability. As M.F. Kossarev noted, the significance of the multisectoral type of economy does not consist in the fact that various basic branches were represented in it, but that this type allowed the population of the Bronze Age to survive in changing conditions (natural and climatic and social), increasing or decreasing the share of one or another branch, depending on various kinds of circumstances, in sphere of maintenance of the ability to live. In the light of this, it is interesting to see what changes took place in the cattle breeding and agriculture of the Andronian people throughout the entire Bronze Age of Kazakhstan.

The Bronze Age is a period of the final approval of producing economy — livestock and agriculture. In a complex, this gives a higher level of economic, social and cultural development of the Bronze Age population.

The economy of the population of the Central Kazakhstan in the late Bronze Age was characterized by the researchers of this era M.P. Gryaznov and A.Kh. Margulan as seminomadic. With this form of cattle breeding pastures are divided into winter and summer, or in winter cattle is in confinement in the village, and in summer it is driven off to the summer pasture [4]. K.A. Akishev considered the late Bronze Age to be «the initial stage of the spread of nomadism on the territory of Kazakhstan» [5]. It should be noted that such conclusions were made on the basis of an analysis of small osteological collections that often occurred from stratigraphically complex settlements.

In the last decade, the source study of the paleoeconomy of the Bronze Age has been significantly increased, which allows us again addressing the problem of the reconstruction of the type of cattle breeding.

Osteological material is the most representative one because of its massiveness. Table 1 shows the results of the determination of bone residues from eight settlements that reflect the percentage of bones by the species of domestic animals.

When reconstructing the actual composition of the herd, it must be taken into account that the bone material obtained is somewhat smaller than the actual number of animal bones that went to people's needs. Some part of the bones was burned, taken away by dogs, used to make tools and various handicrafts. A certain amount of meat was eaten outside the village, for example, on the way, at funeral feasts. Moreover, when reconstructing the actual composition of the herd, the dilemma invariably confronts the researcher: whether to use in the calculations the total number of bone residues or the minimum number of individuals, which is determined by the largest number of the same-named bones of the given species. T.M. Potemkina used in the calculations the average indicator, i.e. the arithmetic mean between the percentage of the species by the number of bones and the percentage by the minimum number of individuals. The most representative collection of bones comes from the settlement of Kent.

Begazy-Dandybayev population bred four kinds of domestic animals: cattle, small cattle, horse and dog. A.Kh. Margulan reports about finds of camel bones in the 2nd and 5th mausoleums of the Begazy burial ground. But in a single-layered settlements the camel bones were not met. The bones of this animal from the Atasu settlement do not have a specific stratigraphic reference. In the settlement of Kent, the bones of only one species of camel were found. Obviously, this species of domestic animals did not play a significant role in the economy of the Bronze Age.

The ratio of the number of animals in the herd in the settlements was not adequate. In the settlements of Buguly II, Shortandy-Bulak, Karkaraly II, Kent, Domalaktas, Dongal small cattle prevailed. In the settlements of Sargary and Kopa I the sheep is inferior respectively to the cow and horse.

The ratio of cattle and horses is not so unambiguous. The cow dominates in the settlements of Buguly II, Karkaraly II, Sargary, Domalaktas, Kent, Dongal. In Shortandy-Bulak and Kopa I horse's share is higher.

For the Begazy-Dandybayev population, the ability of animals to obtain food in winter conditions was very important. When completing a herd, preference was given to horses and sheep that could get food from under the snow and move when roaming for long distances. In all settlements the percentage of horses and sheep prevails. Unfortunately, it is difficult to trace the tendency in changing the composition of the herd during the middle and late periods of the Bronze Age of the Central Kazakhstan. Data on osteology of Alakul and Fedorov settlements in Saryarka are absent. T.M. Potemkina revealed a tendency towards a decrease in the share of cattle in the period of developed and late Bronze Age in the forest-steppe region of the Urals, the Southern Urals and the Northern Kazakhstan. It is likely that a similar phenomenon occurred in the steppes of the Kazakh hummocky terrain. The increase in the number of herds was primarily due to animals that did not require significant forages for winter.

Cattle, small cattle, horses were bred not only to get meat, hides and skins. The cattlemen of this time, no doubt, were familiar with milk and dairy products. K.V. Salnikov supposed Andronians of Trans-Urals to have dairy farming. This assumption was confirmed by the analysis of stable isotopes for lipid residues in ceramics of Kent settlement. The analysis was conducted at the University of Bristol, England. It was found that the vessels from Kent contained residues of food cooked from milk and meat of ruminants. Milk processing products were also known, because dairy food played a great role for cattlemen. Sheep milking was practiced; it is confirmed by ethnographic evidence. One of the important incentives for breeding small cattle was the production of sheepskin for sewing winter clothes and wool for making fabrics. Their slaughter had

a seasonal character, i.e. the overwhelming majority was cut in the beginning and at the end of summer, in June and September. The age of the animals was at this time from 11 to 17 months.

Cows in the settlement of Kent were kept for meat, milk and as draught animals. Cattle were slaughtered in winter, at the age of about 2 years.

Kent's horses possessed a rather slender constitution and slightly larger sizes than horses of earlier eras. Unfortunately, we do not have data on the seasonality of the slaughter of horses, but the majority of them died at the age of 3–5 years. Horses were used for transport purposes and partly for meat.

Cattle were bred to produce meat and dairy products, hides, skins, etc. Probably, the inhabitants of different ecological niches could have different forms of cattle farming - pastoral, semi-nomadic, nomadic or other.

By the definition of G.Ye. Markov, «the economic basis of nomadic cattle breeding (nomadism) is formed by extensive pastoral cattle breeding, in which breeding animals is the main occupation of the population, which provides for the main part of livelihood». It is important for us that there are no fundamental differences between the nomadic and semi-nomadic cattle breeding; the same socio-economic relations develop on their basis, and the semi-nomadic economy represents only one of the subtypes of nomadism.

The role of cattle in the herd increases in semi-settled cattlemen, and conversely, with the transition to nomadism, the proportion of horses, small cattle and camels increases. It would seem that a large percentage of cattle in the herd of ancient residents of Saryarka should demonstrate a high enough degree of settledness. It seems that when assessing the ratio of livestock species by archaeological materials, it is necessary to take into account the difference in time and place of slaughter of different species. The Kazakh had the autumn-winter slaughter of cattle [sogum] on the way to winter nomadic places, and for winter, mainly meat of cattle and horses was procured. Sheep were cut throughout the year as needed. It is likely that this rational rule was also observed by the ancient cattlemen, which explained the high proportion of bones of cattle in the settlements.

The composition of the herd with the predominance of horses and small cattle, characteristic of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes, was already formed in the late Bronze Age. The tendency to increase the number of animals capable of obtaining food from under the snow was stimulated by the general growth of the herds. This process, in its turn, led to the development of a system of alternation of pastures as they depleted, which contributed to the accumulation of the necessary experience in running a nomadic economy.

One of the factors of the transition from sedentary, cattle-breeding farming to nomadism was the climatic conditions. The opinion of a number of researchers on the decisive role of climate humidification, which led to the formation of the nomadic type of economy, is valid only in relation to the final rupture of the population with sedentary traditions on the eve of the early Iron Age. The increase in the size of the herds in arid climate conditions required the most frequent change of pastures and migrations. «The reduction of the forage base was to promote the mobility of cattle breeding».

The seminomadic form of cattle breeding shall be considered to be the most probable for the late Bronze period of Kazakhstan. The proposed model of the gradual formation of the economy of semi-nomadic cattlemen within the economic and cultural type of nomads of the Eurasian steppes is adequate to archaeological and ethnographic sources. But extending it to the whole range of the Begazy-Dandybaev culture would be premature. A high degree of adaptation to specific environmental conditions and possible differences in types of households of discrete population groups should be assumed.

Before the beginning of the II century BC only a horse was bred on the territory of Kazakhstan. In the early I century BC the transition to nomadic and semi-nomadic economy was realized. E. Khan suggested that one of the most important prerequisites for the transition to a nomadic economy was acquaintance with milk and its products. Many specialists link special types of vessels to the dairy industry, among which there are several types: for milking and storing milk (pots or milk jugs with a high neck and two handles), for churning (high large vessels with side holes), for making cheese (open bowls, the bottom and walls of which are studded with holes). Apparently, wooden vessels were used, but because of the fragility of the material they are not fixed. Vessels with holes at the bottom were encountered in the II century BC among Andronian people, and, according to K.V. Salnikova, they were used for dairy farming. All of the above suggests that the Andronian people mastered the milking of cows (among the Aryans it was recorded in the Rigveda in the second half of the II century BC) and the production of butter, cottage cheese and cheese from it. As mentioned above, except for milk, livestock was also used as a source of meat. For its preparation for future use special household pits were arranged. Dairy products were stored in the same way. The presence of oxen testifies to the spreading of the castration technique among Andronian people and the use of their muscular

strength - harnessing them to a plow and a wagon. The bull team spread long before the chariots and carts began to harness the horses. The bull preceded the horse and as a riding animal. The use of a horse in a chariot for riding was mentioned above. Domestication of a camel in Central Kazakhstan during the Bronze Age made it one of the main transport animals in the Betpak-Dala desert.

Sheep and goats, just like horses and cattle, were used as meat. However, finds of wool remains in Andronian burial grounds and the age of slaughtered sheep indicate the breeding of woolly sheep, which is also one of the prerequisites for the emergence of nomadism, since wool provided nomads with important raw materials for domestic production and served to exchange with neighboring farmers [6].

Bones also came into play. They were used as tools and ornaments. Deadlocks from the lower jaw of large animals served as tools for processing cordovan leather. The blades were used to rake the crushed ore. From the bone, spindles and ornaments of military armor, horse dress, as well as graceful plates decorated with fine carvings were made. Unsuitable for other purposes (or extra) bones were used as fuel. Animal skin could be widely used for the manufacture of various types of clothing, footwear, horse harness and other products.

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А.К. Адилова, Ш.А. Ильясов

Қазақстанда қола дәуірінде мал шаруашылығының дамуы

Мақалада тәуелсіздік алу және Қазақстандағы жаңа мемлекеттіліктің дамуы өткенге деген қызығушылықтың артуына, мемлекетіміздің ұлан-байтақ аумағында орын алған тарихи оқиғаларды білуге деген қажеттілікке әкелді. Авторлар шаруашылықтың дамуындағы аймақтық ерекшеліктерін, климат өзгерісінің андронов шаруашылығының дамуына әсерін және мал шаруашылығының пайда болуын сипаттаған. Сондай-ақ қола дәуірі жетістіктерінің Қазақстан халқының шаруашылық өміріндегі жаңа өмір-салтын қалыптастырудағы көшпелі мал шаруашылығының үлесі бағаланған. Бастапқыда көпқұрылымды экономиканың негізгі бөліктерінің бірі ретінде пайда болған мал шаруашылығы кейіннен қоғам тарихындағы бірқатар маңызды құбылыстардың қозғаушы күшіне айналды.

Кілт сөздер: қола дәуірі, мал шаруашылығы, ауыл шаруашылығы, бегазы-дандыбай мәдениеті, өткен, қозғаушы күш.

А.К. Адилова, Ш.А. Ильясов

Развитие скотоводства в Казахстане в эпоху бронзы

В статье отмечено, что обретение независимости и развитие новой государственности в Казахстане обусловили повышение интереса к прошлому, потребность узнать о том, какие исторические процессы протекали на огромной территории нашего государства. В статье описаны происхождение скотоводства и влияние на развитие хозяйства андроновцев климатических изменений, выявлены региональные особенности в развитии хозяйства. Дана оценка значения вклада достижений эпохи бронзы в формирование нового уклада в хозяйственной жизни населения Казахстана — кочевого скотоводства. Возникнув первоначально как одно из основных частей многоукладной экономики, скотоводство в дальнейшем послужило движущим стимулом целого ряда важнейших явлений в истории общества.

Ключевые слова: бронзовый век, скотоводство, производящее хозяйство, Бегазы-дандыбаевское население, культура, прошлое.

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Karatuma burial grounds in the system of the Saka-Wusun antiquities

The article is devoted to the results of the archaeological research of the Saka-Wusun burial ground of Karatuma. The Saka-Wusun issue despite of the long history of the study still requires additions to the factual base. A number of key issues related to the ethnic history, economic activities, social structure of the Zhetysu tribes need to be clarified. In this light, the results of excavations of the Karatuma burial ground acquire a high degree of relevance. The investigation of 167 mounds during the excavations at the burial ground in 2010 made it possible to obtain a very wide data series at once. The collection of the burial ground includes a number of interesting findings: armament, objects of worship and belt set. Mass material is ceramic crockery and paleoanthropological collection. Comparative analysis of the inventory, as well as radiocarbon dating analysis aided to date the burial to V–III BC. The results of the excavations at Karatuma burial ground confirm existing theories about the ethnic and cultural attribution of the memorials of the region, their economic activities and intercultural contacts. At the same time they allow to identify new challenges in the study of social structure in the saka-wusun period.

Keywords: Tien Shan, Zhetysu, Early Iron Age, saka, wusun, arms, agriculture, alluvial fan, Karatuma.

1. Introduction

Early Iron Age in South-eastern Kazakhstan (Zhetysu) is one of the well-studied dimension in the Kazakhstan archeology. Significant archaeological material, which became one of the bases for the reconstruction of the history of the region in the era of early nomads has been gained for more than half a century of study. The population of the region in the early Iron Age is traditionally associated with the tribes of Saka-tigraxauda (VII-III BC) and the Wusun (III BC – IV AD.) [1; 3]. The researchers also registered the presence of the Yuezhi and Xiongnu ethnic components [2; 359, 3; 34, 4; 67]. The Saka and Wusun inhabited almost the entire Zhetysu region between the Tien Shan and the lake Balkhash. However, the greatest number of memorials is located in the foothills of Tien Shan, as a result of favorable natural conditions.

However, Saka-Wusun issues remains valid, due to a number of issues which are still under development. In many ways they are caused by the mismatch between data in written sources and the results of archaeological research. In particular, it is a problem of the Wusun resettlement in North Tien Shan. In Soviet historiography chronological boundary between Saka and Wusun periods was defined as a frontier between IV and III BC. [1; 139, 2; 359]. However, according to Chinese sources, the Wusun resettled in this region in the first half of II BC. Moreover, Chinese sources determine the Wusun as pure nomads, while archeologists found evidence of a significant amount of agriculture in Saka and Wusun period. The trend to align the data of written and archaeological sources needs new factual material.

In this light, a wide range of data obtained during the study of Karatuma burial ground has high relevance. The history of the study of the burial ground has 2 phases: 1960s and 2009–2010.

Due to the first phase some mounds of the burial ground were researched. As a result, the main characteristics of the funeral ceremony such as the size and shape of mounds and burial pits as well as the composition of the accompanying inventory, were determined. During the excavations of those years an outstanding discovery — a sample script was found at the bottom of the stone vessel [5; 58].

In 2009 exploratory expedition LLP «Archaeological Expertise» determined that the territory of the burial ground is located in the area of the construction of the railway «Zhetygen – Khorgas». In 2010 research work of excavations of the mounds, located in the area of railway construction was organized. In total 167 mounds belonging to different clusters of the burial ground were studied in 2010.

2. Physiography of the Karatuma burial ground location.

The Karatuma burial ground is situated in the south-eastern Kazakhstan on the foothills of the northern spurs of the Tien Shan Mountains nearby the borders with Kyrgyzstan and China (Fig. 1). The burial ground is related to the sub-region, limited by the northern foothills of the Trans-Ili Alatau mountains, stretching for 280 km in latitude from the Shu River to Shelek (Fig. 2). Valleys of the rivers flowing down from its slopes outstand by a high concentration of ancient and medieval memorials.



Figure 1. Localization burial Karatuma



Figure 2. Alluvial fan of Shelek river

2.1 Climate. The Karatuma burial ground location is characterized by relatively favorable climate conditions. The average air temperature in the foothill zone is between $+8^{\circ}\text{C}$ to $+9^{\circ}\text{C}$. The warmest month of the year is July, where as January is the coldest month. The absolute maximum in summer is $+42^{\circ}\text{C}$. Autumn transit of temperature through 0°C occurs in the middle of November. In spring the pass to the temperatures above zero occurs in the middle of March. Thus the duration of the warm period is 8 - 9 months, which provides a long enough vegetation season.

2.2 Geomorphology. At the exit of the Trans-Ili Alatau mountain gorges the rivers form the alluvial fans consisting of sandy-clay alluvium, which is extremely favorable for settlement and economic activities. Calm relief and sloping terrain give great opportunities for irrigable agriculture. As nowadays ancient and medieval people were able to exploit skillfully the potential of these oases, as it is evidenced by numerous burial grounds, settlements and mounds.

The Karatuma burial ground is located on one of the largest alluvial fans of the Shelek River, at the far eastern spurs of the mountain ridge. The remarkable amount of burial mounds indicates a high density of population in these areas. On both banks of the Shelek River royal burial mounds were discovered, including Chilik burial ground with the conoid and pyramidal burial mounds. And almost the entire periphery of the Shelek alluvial fan is occupied by the burial fields of ordinary population or people with similar social status.

2.3. *Watering.* The northern slope of the Trans-Ili Alatau is characterized by significant humidity. Annually there are two minimums in precipitation — in winter and summer, and two peaks — in spring (April – May) and lowering autumn (October – November).

The Shelek River is one of the largest left tributaries of the Ili River, the main waterway of the South-Eastern Kazakhstan. Shelek generally receives water from glaciers and snow packs, melting in the alpine zone, as well as precipitation in the form of rain. Accordingly to the power conditions, flow regime is characterized by a significant spring-summer freshet. Today, almost entire territory of the Shelek alluvial fan is used for irrigable agriculture because of favorable natural conditions.

3. *Description of the Karatuma burial ground.* The Karatuma burial ground occupies the north-eastern foot of the Shelek alluvial fan. Its length is 3 km. Within the frames of the burial ground mounds form several local groups (clusters), separated from each other by free spaces extending to 0.3–0.5 km (Fig. 3).

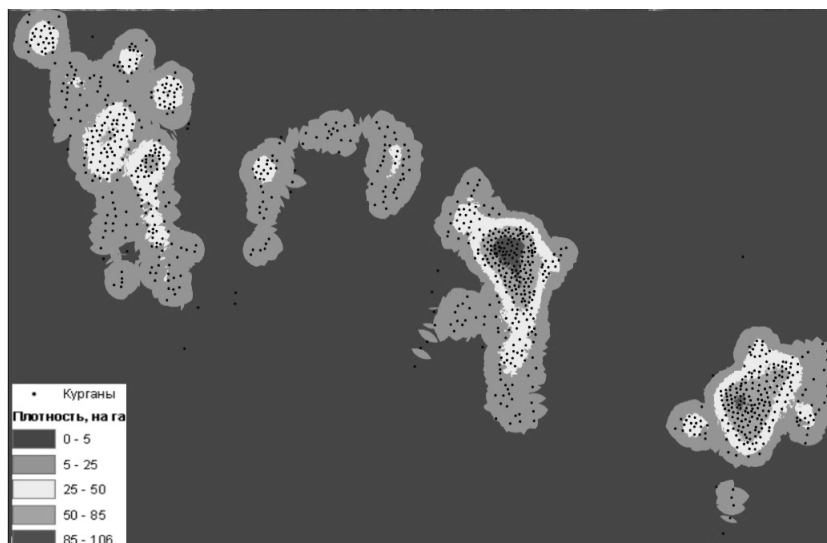


Figure 3. Clustering burial Karatuma

These congestions exhibit high density and cover territories along the shallow dry river channels, spreading radially from the top of the alluvial fan. In most cases it is possible to trace the chains, the orientation of which coincides with these channels. The Karatuma burial ground includes 1070 mounds built of earth and fine gravel. The height of the burial mounds varies from 0.1 to 1.3 m, the diameter changes between 4 and 14 m. The mounds contain from 1 to 4 burial pits without alcove. The mounds with only burial pit prevail (Fig. 4). The burial pit shapes are elongated oval or rectangle. The orientation is dominantly east-west with some deviations.

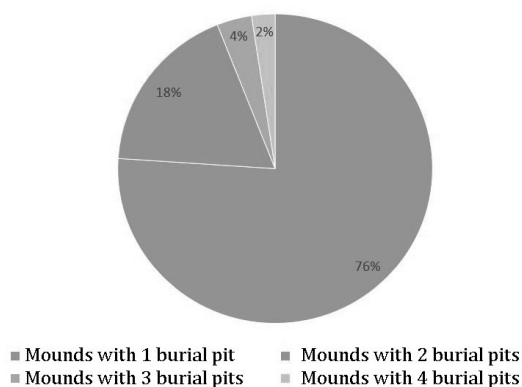


Figure 4. Percentage of mounds on the number of burial pits

Buried people laid with their heads pointing westwards. In the burial pits from 1 to 3 individuals were discovered. In total in 167 investigated burial mounds there were the remains of 237 buried individuals.

The racial type of the buried is European with a small admixture of Mongoloid. An increased number of injuries on the skull is noted. Odontological research has shown an increased incidence of dental caries in comparison with the memorials of Western Kazakhstan, which had a synchronous sampling [6].

4. Accompanying

Funerary Objects generally are quite poor and monotonous. Mainly it is presented by ceramic vessels, occasionally iron knives, things of belt set, extremely rarely weapon. The burials are characterized by a high degree of robbery (89 %) and poor preservation of the remains and equipment. The burial pits are dug in the alluvial gravel soil at the border of the waterlogged Shelek delta and it must be assumed that the groundwater, rising occasionally influenced on the state of the burials.

4.1 *Objects of weapon.* A characteristic feature of this burial ground, as well as other burial grounds of this kind, is a small amount of armaments. This significant difference between the Saka-Wusun burial ceremony in Zhetysu from other Saka cultures reflects its cultural specification.

A few weapon objects found during the research of Karatuma burial ground can be referred to the arsenal of early Eurasian nomads. They are an iron dagger from the mound 116 (Fig. 5, 1) and quiver set from the mound 166 (Fig. 5, 2).

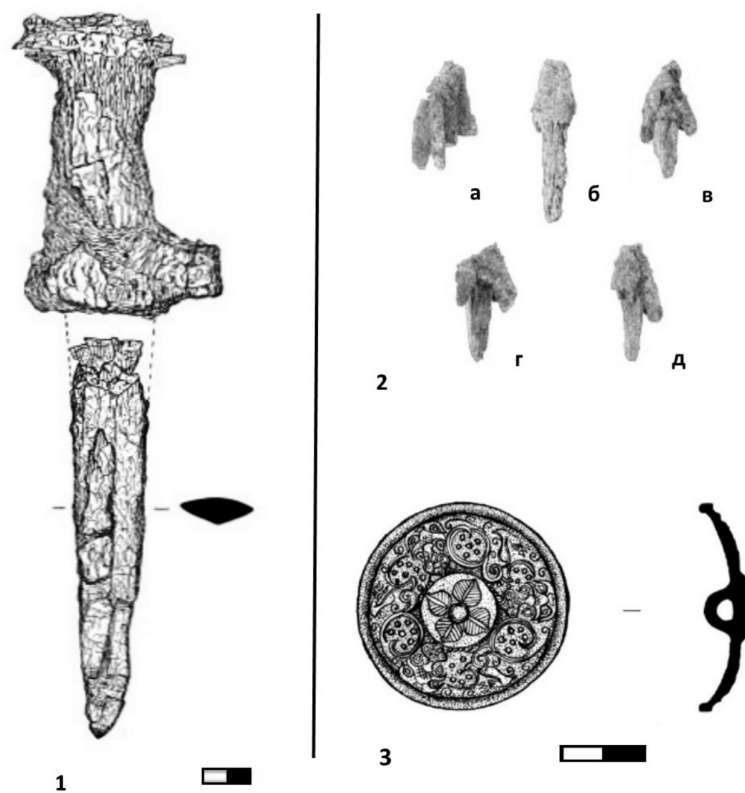


Figure 5. Items weapons from the burial Karatuma

The dagger of Prokhorov type dates back to IV - II BC [7; 2]. It refers to the type 5 of group 1 according to the classification of blades from Zhetysu and Tien Shan, proposed by S.S. Ivanov [8; 40].

The remains of the quiver set include a quiver shield of nonferrous metal and 5 iron arrowheads.

The quiver shield is interesting due to the composition made on its surface (Fig. 5, 3). It includes images of feline predators in combination with floral ornaments. Iron arrowheads are classified as of three-bladed tanged type with a triangular shape of the blade and protruding stingers (Fig. 5, 2). In general, the quiver set dates to VI - III BC [7; 3].

4.2 *Belt set.* Just as the weapon, objects of a belt set are likely to have status characteristics. Among those, crutches-shaped pendants can be noted in the collection of Karatuma burial ground. An important characteristic of this category of findings is their chrono-diagnostic properties. The systematization of crutches-shaped pendants existing today allows us to get a fulcrum in finding this kind of artifacts [9]. Crutches-shaped pendants were found in three burial mounds of the burial ground.

The crutches-shaped pendants from the burial mound 24 (Fig. 6, 1). Two identical crutches-shaped pendants with stapes-shaped tops and drop-shaped holes in the stem are made of copper (Cu) [10; 196]. The stapes' holes have a notch-isthmus. They date from the V century BC.

The crutch from the mound 40 has a stapes-shaped top and a solid stem (Fig. 6, 2). The «stapes» hole has a notch-isthmus. At the joint of the stem and the loop there is a fixed roller. The object is made of (Cu-6.2 % Sn-0.2 % S) [10; 196]. This refers to the first type of crutches found in Zhetysu with a loop-top existed in VI – V BC [11; 236].

The crutch-shaped pendant from the mound 55 (Fig. 6, 3). It is the iron crutch-shaped pendant with a smooth solid stem. The loop is preserved partially. Its shape can be reconstructed as ring-shaped (loop-shaped), and provides a basis to relate the discovery to the second group of crutches-shaped pendants with loop-tops. This type dates to IV – III BC [12; 164].

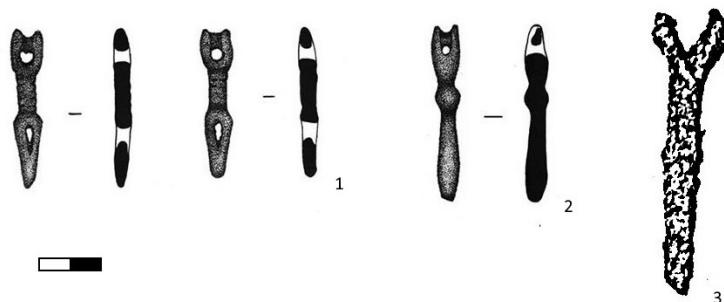


Figure 6. Crutches-shaped pendants burial Karatuma

4.3 Subject of the cult. Traditionally mirrors are considered as cult objects, applied in burial rituals. The Karatuma mirror was lying in a wooden case, the remains of which were found on the back of the object. The working part of the mirror is a disk represented by a circular shape. On its back side there are decorative elements — 4 traced concentric circles, the roller in the central part and a small hemispherical bulge in the center. The border and edge are lacking. The handle of the mirror is side and presents a monolith with the disc. In place of the junction between the disk and the handle there is a characteristic line bent at a right angle. The handle widens to the end. The section thickness of the handle is equal to the thickness of the disk. The end of the handle is rounded, the surface is not ornamented. The total length of the object, including the disk and the handle is 31.2 cm (Fig. 7).

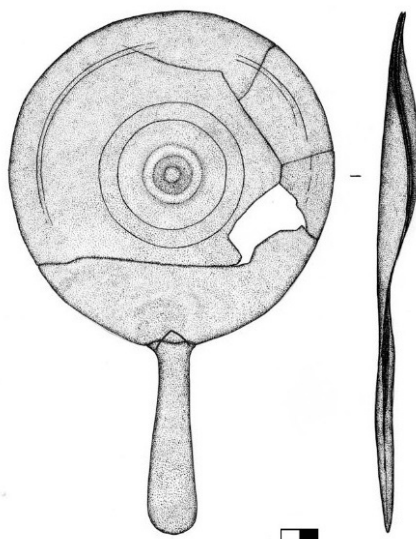


Figure 7. Metal mirror of the repository Karatuma

The Karatuma mirror dates to the frames between the end of the VI and the III centuries BC [13; 236]. It is the first finding of a kind in Zhetysu. Possibly it appeared here, due to the communications with the cul-

tural centers of the Central Asian region. It is highly probable that this finding marks the way in which the mirrors of this type appeared in the Ob river basin without the participation of the early Sarmatian supposed by some researchers [14; 24].

4.4 Ceramic crockery. Ceramic crockery is the most common type of the burial items not only in Karatuma but other memorials of Saka-Wusun period in Zhetysu. The most part of the ceramics from Karatuma burial ground is made of medium kneaded reddish dough with admixture of gruss and fine sand. In some cases, on the inner side of the vessels there are traces of a fabric template.

Karatuma ceramics is presented in forms, widely introduced in the memorials of Saka-Wusun period in Zhetysu: chalices, bowls, pots, jugs, mugs and cups (Fig. 8). Within the presented classes there are some variations in decoration, which served as the basis for the segregation of types and subtypes.

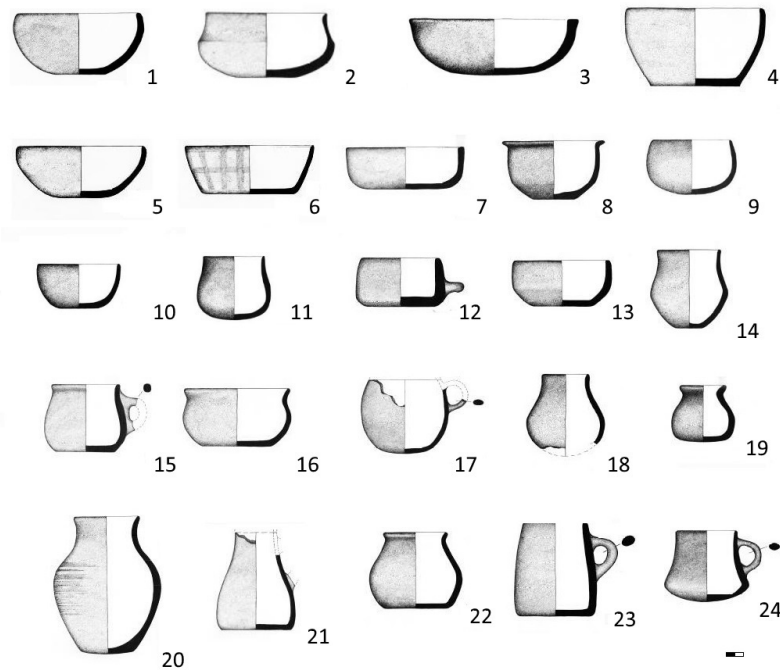


Figure 8. Pottery burial Karatuma

In general, the ceramics of Karatuma finds a wide range of analogies in the memorials, traditionally defined as Wusun. However, other categories of inventory date from more ancient times.

The complexity in differentiation of the Wusun and the Saka material culture has been repeatedly emphasized by researchers. That formed the thesis about ethno-cultural unity of Saka-Wusun antiquities [3; 29]. The chronological constructions dedicated to the Wusun ceramics, types, presented in Karatuma date to the III BC and lately [1; 266, 15; 42, 16; 136, 17; 161]. Studied the result of there search of the ceramics from Tien Shan and Ketmen Tobe K.I. Tashbayeva concluded that ceramics of early nomads of the region does not allow chronological reconstructions [18; 84]. The same types of ceramics in various combinations were used in wide chronological frames.

Thereby the comparison of Karatuma ceramics types with general chronological position of the burial ground can be used to confirm the thesis of the unity of the so-called Saka-Wusun cultural complex.

5. Chronological issue

Although the ceramics does not have chronological characteristics, we have dates obtained by comparative analysis of other categories of inventory. Also some dates were received due to radiocarbon analysis [19; 26].

On the whole, Karatuma burial ground dates broadly from VI – II BC (Fig. 9). With some clauses it is possible to narrow the dating of the burial ground to V – III BC (Fig. 10).

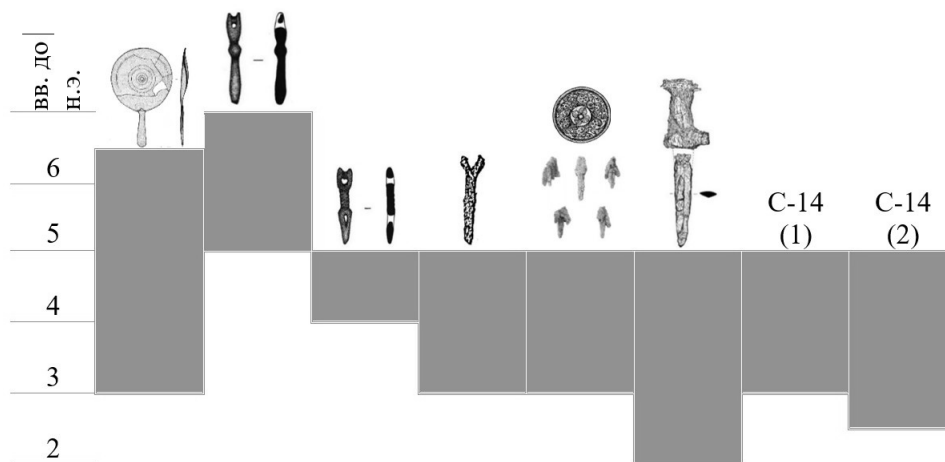


Figure 9. Comparison of the Dating Signs of a Burial Ground of Karatuma

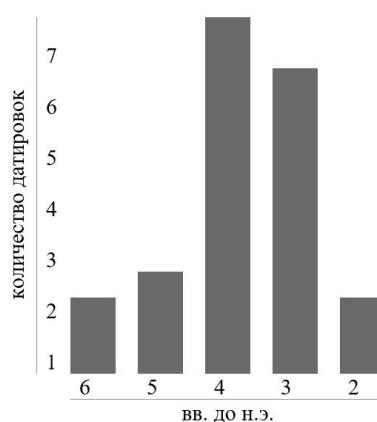


Figure 10. Quantitative distribution of the dating signs of a burial ground of Karatuma

6. Cultural Affiliation

The dating of the burial ground relates to the late Saka period. In general, cultural character of the burial ground associates with Saka-Wusun antiquities of the region.

At the same time it is necessary to make a clause about the meaning given to the term «Wusun culture». In this work, we start from the classical definition of Wusun culture as a complex of Zhetysu memorials, the lower chronological boundary of which is traditionally defined as III BC. Thus, the terms «Saka» and «Wusun» are more a matter of chronological framework of the existing definitions in the historiographical tradition. The emergence of the «historical» Wusun in Zhetysu as it is known was described in Chinese sources in the first half of the II BC. It is more likely to identify them as the alkove burials of aigyrzhal type [3, 4]. However, while researchers do not have the tools to separate the Wusun and Yuezhi layers in archeology of Zhetysu, the term «Wusun» is not fixed in the updated definition.

It is possible that the increased injuries noted in buried in the Karatuma burial ground reflects the onslaught of the Eastern nomads, provoked by the military-political activity of the Xiongnu.

7. Economic activity

A number of features allows us to correlate the burials from the Karatuma burial ground with agricultural population. Number of burials indicates a high density of population in the surrounding areas, what is difficult to associate with mobile lifestyle. The burial ground, like most of the so-called Wusun memorials is tied to the alluvial fan of a large river, agricultural potential of which could provide such high population density. Significant amount of stone grain grinders was found during the study of Karatuma.

The above-mentioned increase in the incidence of caries indicates the presence of high-carbonate meal, perhaps cereal in the diet.

In general, composing picture corresponds to the accumulated data about the development of agriculture in the Saka-Wusun period [20, 21].

K.A. Akishev marked an increased concentration of royal burial mounds, stand out for their enormous size, in the foothills of the southern and south-eastern Kazakhstan [22; 8]. The burials of unusual size reflect the social stratification of the population and the availability of tools to mobilize population for large public non-producing works. It can be assumed that agriculture in foothill area was one of the economic foundations of incipient statehood.

On a slight distance away from the ordinary burials of the Karatuma, which are presented in majority, there are royal burial mounds, including Chilik burial ground and royal burial mounds near the village Masak (10 and 15 km from Karatuma respectively).

It is noteworthy that the population of the Altai, which exhibited cultural affinity with Saks of Zhetysu, especially carriers of the Kamenskaya culture practiced farming widely too [23; 97]. It is possible to assume that ordinary members of society and the layer closest to them in status were buried in the Karatuma burial ground. Elite layers used the burial mounds of the royal type, known in the alluvial fan of the Shelek river.

Another problematic issue is the identification of Saka-Wusun settlements on the territory of the alluvial fan of the Shelek river, that could match as big burial ground as Karatuma. It can be assumed that it could be lost as a result of modern economic or construction activities or be overlain by alluvial deposits. Thus the search for the Early Iron Age settlement in the Shelek delta is one of the important directions of field research.

Apparently irrigated farmlands in the alluvial fan of Shelek were the economic basis of one of the Saka cultural centers of Zhetysu. Along with Shelek alluvial fans of other rivers flowing down from the ridges of the Northern Tien Shan were actively exploited. The most representative and best studied are the foothill valleys of such rivers as the Small and Big Almatinka, Talgar and Issyk.

Presented information about agriculture of the Saka in Zhetysu can be confirmed by comparison with the culture of the Saka in Aral Sea region. They also eventually began to develop agriculture in the Syrdarya delta and its tributaries. The Zhetysu Saka were developing in the same way. The difference is that the Saka in the Aral region had cities and fortifications, which we have not seen in South-East Kazakhstan. Perhaps it was influence of the architectural traditions of Khorezm and the Achaemenids, as well as the difference in the political situation. The fortified settlement Rahat in Zhetysu may be noted, but it is rather an exception.

8. Questions of public organization

As noted above Karatuma and other similar burial grounds were characterized by a small number of armaments in the funeral inventory. Funeral rites — a sphere which specifically reflects a synthesis of material and spiritual culture. On the one hand, it can be assumed that the religious views after transformation did not require lying the weapons in burials. On the other hand, it is possible that the population ceased to have items of weapons, which is reflected in the observable set of funerary inventory.

Specializing in agriculture reduced the ability of the population to the total military mobilization, which could provide the impetus for the appearance of social class structure. Separated social (or ethno-social) groups took the military functions, which led to the demilitarization of the ordinary population. It is natural to assume that the social position of the service class was higher than farmers'.

This is also indicated by the sizes of Karatuma burial mounds, where the burials with a weapon were identified. They have much higher values than the average for the burial ground. It can be assumed that the social status of the individuals involved in military functions was confirmed by the size of mounds and objects of weapons in the burial inventory. The sample size is too small for definitive statements, but it may be used to identify the trend.

In addition to the military class, in the materials of Karatuma there is evidence of presence of representatives of the priesthood in Saka-Wusun society. This is acknowledged by the burial, where a metal mirror was found. The context of the burial coincides with the sacerdotal burials discovered in the Altai. P.I. Shulga set a regularity, according to which typologically close mirrors relate to the burials of young women, attached to a pair sacerdotal burials, which are characterized by the remains of young and elderly women [24; 82]. The Karatuma mirror also accompanied the burial of a young woman, and the buried in a nearby burial pit individual was more mature [13].

9. Intercultural communication between Zhetysu and Altai in the Early Iron Age

Besides the mirror, the findings of crutches-shaped pendants and some forms of ceramics confirm the relationship with the Altai (mostly forest-steppe). It matches to the observations made on the materials of the Kamenskaya culture. The recent discovery of the fragment of a decorative ritual table foot, made in the mound, located on the alluvial fan of the Talgar River corresponds to the outline of the north-eastern dimensions of ethno-cultural contacts. The origin of such products is likely to have relation to the cultural centers

of the Central Asia [25]. However, among the memorials of the Scythian-Siberian world they are most represented in the Altai Mountains.

Conclusion

In general, the Karatuma burial ground quite clearly shows the cultural character of Zhetysu in Saka-Wusun period. The materials of the Karatuma burial ground confirm the theory regarding to economic activity, ethno-cultural identity and social structure of the population. The obtained results are determined by the number of researched burials, provided a wide series of data, as well as the location of the burial ground, close in the principles of localization to the support memorials of Saka-Wusun period.

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Е.Ш. Амиров

Ежелгі сак-үйсін жүйесіндегі Қаратума қорымы

Мақала сак-үйсіндік Қаратума қорғандарының археологиялық зерттеулеріне арналды. Сак-үйсін қорғандарының мәселелері зерттеудің ұзақ тарихына қарамастан, әлі де нақты қорды толықтыруды талап етеді. Жетісу тайпаларының этникалық тарихына, экономикалық белсенділігіне, әлеуметтік құрылымына байланысты бірқатар маңызды мәселелер түсіндірілуді талап етеді. Осыған байланысты Қаратума қорғанының қазба жұмыстарының өзектілігінің нәтижесі жоғары деңгейіне ие. 2010 жылы қазба жұмыстарының нәтижесінде қорымның 167 төбешігі зерттелген, бұл бір уақытта деректердің кең ауқымды топтамаларын алуға мүмкіндік берді. Қорымның жинағы бірқатар қызықты табыстарды қамтиды: қару-жарақ, табынушылық бұйымдар, сондай-ақ белбеулер жиынтығы. Керамикалық ыдыс және палеоантропологиялық жинақтар жалпы деректер болып табылады. Зерттеудің салыстырмалы, сондай-ақ радиокөміртекті талдаулары зираттардың б.д.д. V–III ғғ. жататынын анықтады. Қаратума қорымының қазба жұмыстарының нәтижелері аймақтың ескерткіштерінің этномәдени белгілері олардың экономикалық қызметі мен мәдени қарым-қатынастарына байланысты қолданыстағы деректермен расталады. Сонымен қатар олар сак-үйсіндік кезеңіндегі қоғамның әлеуметтік құрылымын зерттеуде жаңа мәселелерін анықтауға негіз болып табылады.

Кілт сөздер: Тянь-Шань, Жетісу, Ерте темір дәуірі, сақтар, қару-жарақ, ауыл шаруашылығы, керексіз заттар, Қаратума.

Е.Ш. Амиров

Могильник Каратума в системе сако-усуньских древностей

Статья посвящена результатам археологического исследования сако-усуньского могильника Каратума. Сако-усуньская проблематика, несмотря на многолетнюю историю изучения, все еще нуждается в пополнении фактологической базы. Ряд ключевых вопросов, связанных с этнической историей, хозяйственной деятельностью, социальной структурой племен Жетьюсу, требует уточнений. В этом свете результаты раскопок могильника Каратума обретают высокую степень актуальности. В ходе раскопок 2010 г. на могильнике было исследовано 167 курганов, что позволило одновременно получить очень широкую серию данных. Коллекция могильника включает в себя ряд интересных находок: предметы вооружения, культа, а также ременной гарнитуры. Массовым материалом являются керамическая посуда и палеоантропологическая коллекция. Сравнительный анализ инвентаря, а также радиоуглеродный анализ позволили датировать могильник V–III вв. до н.э. Результаты раскопок могильника Каратума подтверждают существующие теории касательно этнокультурной атрибуции памятников региона, их хозяйственной деятельности и межкультурных контактов. Вместе с тем они позволяют обозначить новые проблемы в области изучения социальной структуры общества в сако-усуньский период.

Ключевые слова: Тянь-Шань, Жетьюсу, Ранний железный век, саки, усунь, вооружение, земледелие, конус выноса, Каратума.

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Кеңес өкіметінің Қазақстандағы діни ұйымдарға қатысты саясаты (XX ғасырдың 30–40 жж.)

Мақалада Кеңес өкіметінің Қазақстандағы XX ғасырдың 30–40 жж. дінге қатысты ұстанған саясаты қарастырылды. Діни ұйымдарға қатысты большевизмнің негізгі идеологтарының көзқарасы негізінде Кеңес өкіметі орнаған тұстағы дінге көзқарастың өзгеруі талданды. Орталықта қабылданған заңнамалық-құқықтық актілердің Қазақстанға әсері, нұсқаулардың орындалуы, діни саясатты жүргізудегі асыра сілтеу әрекеттері қазақстандық мысал негізінде жазылды. Қазақстандағы дінге қатысты саясаттың өзгеруі, репрессия жылдарындағы діни ұйымдар, діндарлардың ахуалы мен Екінші дүниежүзілік соғыс басталғаннан кейінгі мемлекеттің дінге қатысты саясатын өзгертуге мәжбүр еткен жағдайлар талданды. Отандық және шетелдік авторлардың зерттеулеріне қорытынды жасалды. КСРО аумағындағы діни ұйымдардың қызметін тоқтатудағы жіберілген өрескел қателердің, посткеңестік кезеңдегі елдердің, оның ішінде Қазақстан аумағындағы салдарымен байланыстырылды.

Кілт сөздер: дін, саясат, қуғын-сүргін, Ұлы Отан соғысы, Кеңес өкіметі, діни ұйымдар, дінмен күрес.

Қазақстан тарихының жетпіс жылдық кезеңі кеңес дәуірі ретінде тарихқа енді. Тарихи кезеңдеу бойынша қысқа уақыт аралығы болса да, түбегейлі өзгерістер әкелген кезең ретінде тарихта қалды. Бұл кезең отандық тарихта атеизмді күштеп енгізілуімен ерекшеленді. Кеңес өкіметі тұсындағы өлкедегі діни ахуалды шетелдік зерттеуші Д. Мантгомери: «Кеңестік кезеңде дін жаппай аяқасты етілді. Бұл саясат, өз кезегінде, өлкеде діннің нашар дамуына әкелді. Соған қарамастан, Орталық Азиялық әрбір адам өзінің мәдени бірегейлігін мұсылман дінімен байланыстырады», — деп сипаттайды [1; 356, 357].

Кеңес өкіметі орнамай тұрып, идеологиялық жұмыс басталған болатын. Большевиктер Қазан төңкерісінің көсемі В.И. Лениннің бастамасымен дінмен күрес жүргізді. Жұмысшы партиясы саясатының дінге байланысты негізгі қағидаларына партия көсемі В.И. Лениннің 1905 жылы жазған «Социализм және дін» атты шығармасында: «...дін — рухани қанаудың құралы. Ол әлеуметтік теңсіздік пен қаналған таптың шарасыздығынан туындайды» [2], — деген баға беріп, дінге қарсы күрестің қажеттілігін айқындады. Әлемдік революцияны жүзеге асыруды мақсат еткен большевиктер үшін кез келген қарсы тұрар күш пен кедергіні жою негізгі міндеттердің бірі болды.

Кеңестер билігі тұсында жалпы дін мен діни ұйымдардың жай-күйі қалай болды? XX ғасырдың 30–40 жж. дінге көзқарас қалай өзгерді? Екінші дүниежүзілік соғыс дін мен мемлекеттің арақатынасына қалай әсер етті? Осы сұрақтарға мақала шеңберінде жауап беруге тырысамыз.

Мақаланың хронологиялық шеңберіндегі мәселелерді талқыламас бұрын, алғышарттарын, яғни большевиктер билігі орнаған тұстағы діни ахуалды, қарастырып өткен дұрыс. Қоғамдағы ықпалынан айыруды мақсат еткен билік құқықтық-нормативтік негізін жасап, қабылданған заңдар аясында дін мен діни ұйымдардың мүмкіндіктерін шектеуді мақсат етті.

Сонымен, 1917 жылы 26 қазанда Кеңестердің II Съезі қабылдаған «Жер туралы» Декрет, 1917 жылы 18 желтоқсанда РКФСР ХКК қабылдаған «Азаматтық неке туралы, балалар және хал-ахуал кітабын жүргізу туралы», 19 желтоқсандағы «Неке бұзу туралы» Декрет Қазақстандағы мешіттер, шіркеулер, діни қауымдардың иелігіндегі жерлер Жер-су комитеттерінің қарамағына берілді. Шіркеу мен мешіт некесіне тыйым салынбады, дегенмен тек азаматтық некенің заңдық күші болды. Ал, діни ұйымдар жөніндегі кеңестік заңдардың негізгі қағидаларын жариялаған қорытынды құжат болып 1918 жылдың 20 қаңтарындағы РКФСР ХКК қабылдаған «Мемлекеттің шіркеуді және мектепті шіркеуден бөлу туралы» Декреті саналды [3]. Жаңа форматтағы кеңестік адамды, атеистті қалыптастырудың алғашқы қадамдары осылай жүзеге аса бастады. Дегенмен, әлі де болса, нақты күшке ие болмаған кеңестерге дінді, діни ұйымдарды түбегейлі жою мүмкін болмады. Елдегі азамат соғысы, XX ғасырдың 20 жж. аштық, В.И. Лениннен кейінгі «таққа» талас дін мәселесін кейінге шегерді.

Сталиннің саясатын Қазақстанда жүргізген, Қазақ өлкелік комитетін басқарған Ф.И. Голощекин тұсында Қазақстандағы діни ұйымдардың жағдайы мүшкіл еді. М.Қ. Қозыбаев Қазақ өлкелік

комитетінің басшысы Ф.И. Голощекин жайлы: «...Қазақстанға патшаның отарлау саясатының кеңестік нұсқасын енгізген кішкентай Сталин» [4; 16], — деген болатын. Голощекин басқарған шолақ белсенділер діни қызметкерлерді қудалап, мешіттер мен шіркеулерді қиратты. «Иттихат-ва-Тарахки», «Шуро-и-Ислами» партияларының мүшелері де қуғындалды [4; 152].

Кеңестердің алғашқы билікке келгеннен кейінгі дінге қатысты солақай саясатының нәтижелерін қайта қарау мақсатында 30-жж. жеңілдіктер жасай бастады. Мысалы, 1930 ж. 19 наурызда қабылданған Қаулыда: «1. Дін орындарын ауыл, поселке халқының көпшілігінің ырзалығынсыз жабу, иә болмаса, олардың шын көңілден ырзашылық білдірмей жабу тоқтатылсын. 2. Мешіт, шіркеу иелері ауыл, поселке халқының көпшілігінің шын ырзашылығы алынған соң ғана Қазақстан Орталық Кеңес Комитеті Президиумы тиісті тоқтамды бекіткен соң ғана жабылсын», — деген болатын. Бұл Қаулының орындалуын бақылау Ішкі Істер Комиссариаты мен оның жергілікті бөлімдеріне жүктелді. Қаулыдан билік басындағылардың діни орындарды жабуға бұқара халықтың талап-тілектерін, көңіл-күйлерін ескеруге мән беруге тырысқандығын көреміз.

Дегенмен орталықтың бұйрық-нұсқауларына бағынышты республиканың заң шығарушы, атқарушы органдары дін орындарын сақтап қалуға дәрменсіз еді. Сондықтан да азаматтардың жеке құқықтарына қатысты мәселені шиеленістірмей, халықтың наразылығын тудырмай шешудің жолдарын қарастырды. Осыған орай кеңестік билік облыстар мен аудандардағы ахуалды бақылап отыру үшін діни мәселелерді қарау жөніндегі тұрақты жергілікті комиссиялардың рөлін күшейтуді көздеді.

Осы бағытты іске асыруда 1931 жылы 31 мамырда БОАК-нің «Діни мәселелерді қарау жөніндегі тұрақты Орталық және жергілікті комиссиялар жайлы Ережені бекіту туралы» Қаулысы шықты. Ережеде тұрақты Орталық комиссияның діни мәселеге байланысты барлық басқарушы қаулылары мен талаптары бүкіл жергілікті ұйымдар үшін міндетті деп атап көрсетілді [3; 55]. Осы ереже негізінде КАКСР ОАК, ҚАКСР прокуратурасы, қазақ кәсіподақ кеңесі, халық ағарту халкоматы және қаржы халық комиссариатының өкілдері енгізілді. Төралқа бекіткен комиссия мүшелері келесідей: Завиратько (ҚазОАК Төрағасының орынбасары); төраға орынбасары — Ярмұхамедов (қалалық кеңестің төрағасы); мүшелері: Өтешов — республика прокуратурасынан, Әлкенов — халық ағарту комиссариатынан, Қазбеков — қазақ кәсіподақ кеңесінен, Сытдыков — қазақ қаржы халық комиссариатынан.

Сонымен қатар орталық тұрақты комиссияға келесі міндеттер жүктелді:

а) діни бірлестіктер жөніндегі заңдарды дұрыс жүргізу мәселелері бойынша қажетті басшылық нұсқауларды жер-жерге тарату;

ә) аудандық атқару комитеттері жанынан діни мәселелер жөніндегі комиссияларды құру туралы мәселелерді қарастыру;

б) ҚазОАК-нде шоқыну мекемелерін жою туралы материалдарды шұғыл қарастыру.

Комиссияға дін туралы заңдардың дұрыс жүргізулерін бақылау, діни үй-жайларды ашу және жабу туралы мәселелерді қарау, республика көлемінде діни съездер өткізуге рұқсат беру, Қазақ АКСР-індегі барлық діни қоғамдар мен топтарды есепке алу сияқты міндеттер тапсырылды. Ресми уақытша құрылымның жергілікті органдары облыстық және аудандық атқарушы жанындағы комиссиялар болып табылды. Комиссия өз жұмысын 1935 жылы 23 ақпанда тоқтатып, оның міндеттері тікелей ҚАКСР ОАК-не берілді.

ҚазОАК төралқасы жанындағы Дін мәселесі жөніндегі Тұрақты комиссиясы құжаттарында діни мекемелердің мынадай түрлеріне сипаттама беріледі:

– сыйыну, дұға ету ғимараттары — діни жоралғыларды орындау үшін арнайы салынған ғимараттар (шіркеу, мешіт және с.с.);

– сыйыну жайлары — арнайы діни құрылыс емес, дінге сенушілердің, діндарлардың жай үйлерден (жеке немесе муниципалды) сыйыну, дұға қылу жиындары үшін жалға алған ғимараттар;

– үй шіркеулері деп жеке оқшауланған ғимараттары жоқ, ескі тәртіптегі аурухана, түрме, орта оқу орындары және сол сияқты мекемелерде орналасқан (негізінен қалаларда) шіркеулер аталады. Бұл үй шіркеулері РКФСР Халық Ағарту Комиссариатының олар туралы Ерекше Қаулысына сәйкес міндетті түрде жабылуға тиіс болды;

– діни қоғам деп кәметке толған, саны жағынан 20 адамнан кем емес діндарлардың бірлестігін атайды, ал діни топ деп саны жағынан 20 адамнан аз діндар азаматтардың бірлестігі саналды [3; 55].

Тоталитарлық жүйе қалыптасқан XX ғасырдың 30-жж. қатаң саяси шектеу орнықты. 1937–1938 жж. дін өкілдері үшін өте ауыр кезең болды. Дінге қатысы барларды қамап, кемсітіп, ату жазасына кесті. 1937 жылы Қазақ өлкелік комитетінің Бюросы «еңбекшілерге троцкист-зиновьевшілдер, қылмыскерлер, контрреволюционерлер, ұлтшылдар, молда, поп және сектанттарды әшкерелеуде, діннің таптық мәнін түсіндіріп, дінге қарсы кең көлемде үгіт-насихат жұмыстарын жүргізу» жайлы Қаулы қабылдады.

Түркістан БК(б)П аудандық комитеті бюросының Оңтүстік Қазақстан облысы бойынша шешімінде (1937 ж. 9 ақпан) «мешіттер жанындағы контрреволюцияшыл ұлтшыл және бай-кулак элементтер, фашистік бұзақы троцкист және зиновьевшілдермен бірігіп, қазақтардың Ауғанстанға қоныс аудару, ұжымшарлардағы аштық, большевиктік режиммен күрес жайлы айтып, пасық діни-контрреволюциялық үгіт-насихат жүргізуде» деп айыптады [5; 17].

КСРО-ны қамтыған репрессия дін өкілдерін де қырғынға ұшыратты. Түрмеде оларға жасалмаған қылмыстарын мойындатты [6]. 1940 жылы Карлагта 355 дін өкілдері қамақта отырды. Ал түрме мен жала жабудан құтылғандардың жағдайы мәз емес еді. Олар дін қызметкерлеріне салынатын үстеме салық төледі. Отбасылары, балалары мен немерелері қоғамда қуғын көрді. Мысалы, 1938 жылы Торғай ауданының мұғалімі Ахметовты, баласының молда болғаны үшін, жұмыстан шығарып жіберген [5; 17].

Большевиктер мерзімді басылымдар, кітаптар шығару арқылы да күрес жүргізіп, дінсіздікті насихаттады. Дінге қарсы сипаттағы әдебиеттерді жариялауға мүдделі болған Кеңес үкіметінің бастамасымен, шамамен 1926–1939 жылдар аралығында-ақ 300-ге жуық атеистік бағыттағы, үгіт жүргізу сипатындағы еңбектер жарық көрген. Бұл тек бір Ұлттық кітапхана қорында сақталғандары ғана. Аталмыш еңбектердің көлемі шағын болғанымен, ішкі мазмұны діннің пайдасыздығын, тиімсіздігін, ең бастысы, зияндығын дәріптеген шығармаларға толы болды. Тіпті 90-шы жылдарға дейін жарық көрген зерттеулерде дінге қарсы біржақты баға беріліп, таптық көзқарас тұрғысынан шыға алмады [7; 39].

Коммунистік партияның дінге қатысты ұстанымдары партия бағдарламасында арнайы қарастырылып, кейінгі кезеңде партия конференциялары барысында шешімін тауып отырғандығын мұрағат құжаттары дәлелдеп бере алады. Партия бағдарламасының діни қатынастар саласындағы пунктінде былайша белгіленген: «Бүгінде партия діннің мемлекеттен бөлінгенін қанағат тұтпайды... Партия қанаушы тап пен діни насихат ұйымдары арасындағы байланысты толық үзуге және жұмысшы таптың діни қағидалардан азат етуге тырысады. Ол үшін кең көлемде ғылыми-ағартушылық және дінге қарсы үгіт-насихат ұйымдастырады» [8].

Жалпы алғанда, большевиктік партия пікірінше, дін қанаушы таптың рухани құралы болғандығын, теңсіздікті, жеке меншікті, адамды адамның қанауын ақтап отырады, халықты қанаушылыққа төзуге шақырады. Құлдық психологияны тәрбиелеуші болатындығы тұжырымы халық санасына тереңдете енгізілді [7; 39].

Сонымен, XX ғасырдың 30-шы жылдарына дейін, кеңестік билік дінмен күресті кең көлемде жүргізді. Заңнамалық-құқықтық базаны осы бағытта жүргізумен қатар, дін жолында жүргендерді қудалап, түрмелерге қамап, діни ғимараттарды бұзу немесе оларды басқа да мақсатта қолданды.

Ал Ұлы Отан соғысы басталысымен дінге көзқарас өзгерді. Орталықтан шеткері орналасқан Қазақстанда дінмен күрестің кеш келгені сияқты, діни ұйымдардың қайта қалпына келіп, жұмысын бастауы да кештеу жүзеге асты. Себебі дінмен байланысы болғаны үшін адамдарды қудалау жұмыстары соғыс басталған алғашқы жылдарда Қазақстанда әлі де болса жалғасып жатқан болатын.

КСРО-да дінге қысымның азаюының бірнеше себептері болды. Біріншіден, оккупацияда қалған аймақтарда оған дейін жабылған шіркеулерді фашистік Германияның қайта ашып, діни әдебиеттердің таратылуы, діни ұйымдар жұмысының қайта жандануы себеп болды. Мемлекет пен дін арасындағы ара-қатынастың реттелетіндігін, дін еркіндігі мен ұлттық діни ағымдардың дамуын қамтамасыз ететіндігін дәлелдеді. Басқыншыл фашистердің болжамынша, осы әрекеттер арқылы КСРО-да большевиктердің беделі түсіп, түрлі діни бағыт өкілдері арасында көтеріліс басталып, мұсылмандар осы тұрғыдан құқығы ең көп шектелген халықтар ретінде алғашқылардың бірі болып, көтеріліске шығуы тиіс еді [9]. Дегенмен, соғысқа КСРО халқының бірігіп қатысуы ол ойды теріске шығарған болатын.

Екіншіден, дінге қарым-қатынасының өзгеруі себептерінің бірі, КСРО-ның сыртқы саясатымен де байланысты болды. 1943 жылы өткен Тегеран конференциясында екінші майданды ашуға Англия мен Францияны көндіру үшін, КСРО-да діни еркіндікті қалпына келтіруі керек еді. Сталин

демократиялық мемлекеттерде көп мәселенің шешімі қоғамдық пікірге байланысты екендігін жақсы түсінді. Көп ұзамай одақтастардың талаптары қанағаттандырылды [9; 70].

Үшіншіден, КСРО-да дінге көзқарастың жұмсаруының негізгі себебі ішкі факторларға да байланысты болды. Соғыс жылдарында фашизмге қарсы халықты біріктіру үшін шіркеулердің қалыпты жұмыс жасауына жағдай жасала бастады. Елге төнген қауіптен қорғану үшін дінбарлық адамдардың дүниетанымына қарамай, ортақ жауға күш біріктіретін негізгі құралдарының біріне айналуы тиіс еді. Діни ұйымдардың да отансүйгіштік ұстанымы, соғыстың алғашқы күндерінде-ақ байқалды. ОПШ (Орыс православиелік шіркеуі) Мәскеу және Коломна митрополиті Сергей, православиелік христиандарға Отан алдындағы қасиетті борышын орындауға шақырған үндеу жариялады.

Негізінен, діннің қоғамдық өмірге және саясатқа араласуы кеңестік заңға қарама-қайшы еді. Дегенмен, шіркеудің жауға қарсы күресуге шақырған үндеулері елдің қорғанысына көмегін тигізіп, ішкі саясатпен ұштасып жатқандықтан, митрополит Сергей әрекетіне тыйым салынбады. Керісінше, оның үндеулері мемлекеттік баспаханаларда басылып, көбейтіліп ұшақтармен жау тылына тасталып отырды [10].

Соғыс жылдарында отансүйгіштікке шақырған үндеулерді православиелік христиандардан өзге де діни ұйымдар жасады. Мысалы, КСРО Орталық діни басқармасы барлық мұсылмандарға «КСРО мұсылмандардың орталық діни басқармасы барлық діншілдерді туған жерін қорғауға, мешіттерде Қызыл Әскердің жеңісі үшін және соғысып жатқан ұлдар үшін дұға оқуға шақырады... Өз елінді сүй, себебі ол — мұсылманның борышы» [11] деп үндеу тастады. 1942 жылдың мамыр айында Уфада КСРО-ның сибір мен еуропалық бөлігінің мұсылмандарының Діни басқармасының Төтенше кеңесі өтіп, Кеңестер Одағының барлық мұсылмандарына Отанды қорғауда өз өмірлерін аямауға шақырған үндеу жасалды. Бұл үндеулер барлық мешіттер мен діндарлардың жиындарында оқылды. Жүргізілген іс-шаралар 1943 жылдан Орыс православиелік шіркеуіне, кейінірек ислам діні мен өзге де діндерге билік саясатының жұмсаруына әкелді [5; 30].

Нәтижесінде, 1943–1944 жылдарда үш – орталығы Ташкент қаласында орналасқан Орта Азия және Қазақстандық (ОАМДБ — САДУМ ор.), алғашқыда орталығы Буйнақ, кейінірек Махачкала қаласы болған Солтүстік Кавказ және Дағыстан, үшіншісі орталығы Бакуде орналасқан Закавказье Мұсылмандар басқармалары құрылды. ОАМДБ-ға КСРО-дағы жалғыз кәсіби діни қызметкерлерді дайындайтын мұсылмандық жоғарғы оқу орны Бұхарадағы Мир Араб медресесі қарады [12].

1943 жылы 15–20 қазанда Ташкентте Орта Азия және Қазақстан мұсылмандардың Бірінші құрылтайы өтті. Құрылтайда Орта Азия мен Қазақстан Мұсылмандарының басқармасын құру туралы шешім қабылдап, төрағасы болып Ишан Бабаханов сайланды [13].

Соғыс жылдарындағы діни ұйымдардың кеңес халқын рухани біріктірудегі рөлі ескеріліп, тартылып алынған мешіттер қайтарыла бастады. Мысалы, 1944 ж. Петропавл қаласында 1937 ж. жабылған мешіт мұсылмандарға мерзімсіз пайдалануға берілді. 1945 ж. Алматы қаласының мұсылмандарының өтінішімен жатақханаға айналдырылған бұрынғы Шалақазақ мешітін ашуға ресми рұқсат берілді. Ал 1946 ж. жергілікті халықтың өтінішіне сәйкес Ақтөбе облыстық атқару комитетінің рұқсатымен Шалқарда мешіт ашылды [12; 49].

Ал, 1945 жылдың басынан бастап КСРО-дан қажылыққа баруға рұқсат етілді. Қажылыққа барғандардың алғашқы тобын мүфти Ишан Бабаханов бастап барды. Сол кезден бастап жылына 20–25 кеңестік мұсылмандар, Қазақстаннан үш адамнан қажылыққа барып отырды. Олар имамдар, мешіт әкімшілігінің мүшелері еді [5; 30].

Осы бағытта белсенді жұмыс жасағандардың бірі христиан евангелистер мен баптистер болды. Соғыстың ауыр кезеңдерінде христиан евангелистер мен баптистер өзара келіспеушіліктерді ұмытып, мемлекетті жаудан азат етуге белсенді қатынасуға, жеңіс күнін жақындату үшін күресуге шақырды. 1942 жылдың мамыр айында баптистер мен христиан евангелистер өкілдері қол қойылып діндарларға арналған үндеу-хат жасалып таратылды.

Діни ұйымдар патриоттық үндеулермен ғана шектелмеді. Мешіттер мен шіркеулерде майданға қаржы, киімдер мен азық-түлік жиналды, мемлекеттік облигациялар, лотерея билеттері сатылды. Қазақстанның барлық шіркеулері мен мешіттері осы іс-шараларға қатысты. Солтүстік Қазақстан облысында жұмыс жасайтын жалғыз шіркеу соғыс басталған уақыттан бастап қорғаныс қорына қаржы аударып отырды. Сондықтан халық арасында діндарлықтың артуымен санасуға тура келді. Кеңестік билік діннің біріктіруші және рухтандырушы рөлін мойындады.

Бірақ Екінші дүниежізілік соғыс аяқталысымен, дін мен діндарларды қудалау қайта басталды. Бейбіт жағдайға көшу барысында соғыс жылдарында ортақ жауға қарсы идеологиялық күресте көмек көрсеткен діни сала керексіз болып қалды. Мемлекеттің атеистік саясаты өз күшіне қайта мінді. Дін партия, мемлекеттік қауіпсіздік органдары тарапынан қатаң бақылауда болды. Қазақ КСР Министрлер Кеңесі жанынан Дін істері бойынша Уәкілетті кеңес құрылды. 1947 жылы Қазақ КСР ҒА-ның Тарих институты жанынан Дін және атеизм тарихы секторы құрылды. Осы бағыттағы секторлар өзге де институттар жанынан құрылды. Мұсылмандардың шетелдердегі діни орталықтарымен байланысы үзіліп, қатаң шектеулер мен саяси қысым жағдайында қаржылай көмексіз қалған ислам діні Қазақстанда даму мүмкіндігінен айрылды [5; 30].

Жалпы діннің қоғамдағы орны ерекше. Оның қоғамдағы қарым-қатынасты қалыптастырушы ықпалы зор. Ежелден қалыптасқан рухани институт ретінде, талай кезеңдерден өтіп сұрыпталып келген қағидаларды жою мүмкін еместегін, посткеңестік мемлекеттердегі діннің дамуы дәлелдеп отыр. Діни фанатизмнің ушығуы, реакциялық әрекеттерге баруы наным-сенімнің белгілі бір дәрежедегі азғындауы болып табылады. Дегенмен, кей жағдайда ол қорғаныш реакциясы түрінде де пайда болады. Дінді ауыздықтамай, оны қоғамға бейімдеу керек. Әрбір ұлттың, халықтың, нәсілдің, тағы басқа өзгеше болатынындай, діндер де мүлдем бір-біріне ұқсамайтындай болып көрінгенімен, оларды байланыстыратын бір ортақ белгі — адамзаттың наным-сенімі болуында еді.

Азаматтық қоғам, әрине, заң үстемдік ететін орта. Сондықтан адамдардың әралуандығын ескере отырып, оның дінді ұстанудағы құқықтарын да шектеуге болмайды. Әлемнің жарты ғасыр бойына екі полюске бөлінуіне себеп болған КСРО-ның өзі дінді, оның ықпалын жоя алмады. Тіпті, дінмен күрескен кеңес билігі кейде оны мемлекет мүддесіне пайдаланып та отырды.

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К.Т. Бодеев, З.Г. Сактаганова

Политика Советской власти по отношению к религиозным организациям в Казахстане (30–40-е годы XX в.)

В статье анализируется изменение антирелигиозной политики после установления Советской власти апологетами большевизма. Характеризуются влияние принятых нормативно-правовых актов в Казахстане, выполнение руководящих указаний по антирелигиозной политике, перегибы, допущенные центром в религиозной политике в Казахской Советской Республике. В статье показана политика государства в отношении религии и верующих до начала Второй мировой войны, приводятся доказательства реального смягчения отношения к религии в годы Второй мировой войны. Авторы

делают обоснованные выводы, соотнося свои собственные доказательства и выводы по исследованию отечественных и зарубежных историков. В заключение дается характеристика последствий грубых ошибок и просчетов, допущенных при предотвращении деятельности религиозных организаций на территории СССР, в странах постсоветского пространства, в том числе и на территории Казахстана.

Ключевые слова: религия, политика, репрессия, Великая Отечественная война, Советская власть, организации духовенства, борьба с религией.

K.T. Bodeev, Z.G. Saktaganova

The policy of the Soviet government in towards religious organizations in Kazakhstan (30–40th of the XX century)

The article considers the policy of Soviet governance about religion and religion organizations in the 30–40 of the XX century. The analyzed change in the anti-religious policy after the establishment of Soviet governance, the apologists of Bolshevism. In article describes the impact of the adopted legal acts in Kazakhstan, the implementation of guidelines on anti-religious policies, the excesses committed by the center in religious policy in the Kazakh Soviet Republic. in the article is analyzed the state policy regarding religion and believers before the beginning of the Second World War, provides evidence of a real softening of the attitude towards religion during the Second World War. The authors make informed conclusions, citing their own evidence and conclusions on the study of domestic and foreign historians. In conclusion, a description of the consequences of gross errors and miscalculations made in the prevention of the activities of religious organizations in the territory of the USSR, in the countries of the post-Soviet space, including in the territory of Kazakhstan.

Keywords: religion, politics, repression, Great Patriotic War, Soviet power, the organizations of the clergy, the struggle against religion.

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Гендерный фактор в Древнем мире: античность

Современность и новейшая история с XIX в. сориентированы на социально-экономические и социально-политические события и факты. Однако в XX в. большое значение приобретает фактор, который историками-позитивистами прежних времен не учитывался. Данным фактором, являющим собой принцип гендерной дополнителности и включение в историю потенциала женского пола, является фактор гендерного ожидания. Однако не только в плане социально-экономической и политической истории данный фактор присутствовал в Древнем мире. Поэтому автор данной статьи доказывает его присутствие в античности, используя материалы источников как исторического, так и мифологически-религиозного содержания. С точки зрения автора, данное доказательство ориентирует научное исследование и на признание движущей роли фактора гендерного ожидания в античной Греции и Древнем Риме. Это доказательство предваряет переход от равенства мужчин и женщин в гендерном плане, доказанном на материале Древней Греции, к развитию предварительных тенденций региональной и мировой безопасности (античный мир), развивающийся исторически.

Ключевые слова: античность, Древний мир, гендерное ожидание, женские и мужские союзы, полис, Древний Рим, весталки, безопасность.

Древний мир — постпервобытность, история Древнего Востока в изобилии представлена отношениями полов в режиме не только господства (мужчины) и подчинения (женщины), но и ожидания перспективы сотрудничества полов на поле воспроизводства поколений, форматов поведения в том или ином социуме, на тот или иной манер, форматов поведения как обозначения сотрудничества и соперничества в потоке повседневной жизни и спонтанно, а также эстафетно развивающейся истории [1; 19, 39, 45].

Античность Греции и Рима представляется нам опорным пунктом для противовесов факторности гендерного ожидания между указанной выше протоцивилизацией в качестве отрыва от доисторических отношений в сторону цивилизационной инвариантности Древнего Востока и европейской современностью (начинающейся со времен европейского рыцарства и Возрождения и заканчивающейся формационно-капиталистическим феминизмом и гендерно-экономической определенностью).

Греческая античность в Олимпийской семье богов представлена двумя системами взаимоотношения богов и богинь (что на Востоке теряется в роли женщин-богинь во множественности тысяч божеств Египта и их разновариантности для очагового комплекса цивилизации Месопотамии). В группе Олимпийских богов поровну богов и богинь: в женской группе против шести божеств мужского пола присутствуют шесть богинь — Гера, Артемида, Деметра, Афродита, Афина, Гестия. Они явно самостоятельны, издревле наделены качеством общественного соучастия, в проявлении чудес не уступают мужам божественного масштаба. Семейные узы их тоже ничем не ограничивают (лишь Деметра «озабочена» судьбой дочери Персефоны, да и то в календарном плане).

Агон как соревнование вообще предположительно зародился в мифологии не между героями, а между богинями: суэта вокруг Трои и прекрасной Елены по мифологическому сюжету произошла из-за спора между Олимпийскими богинями по поводу «яблока» с надписью «Прекраснейшей». За эту свободу в режиме ожидания на гендерном поле жизнедеятельности (хотя бы и небесной) поэты-мелики (по-нашему — лирики) упрекали Гомера за то, что он изобразил богов и богинь ворами и одержимыми любострастностью: не только показывая их небожественные качества, но и опуская божества до человека [2; 164, 165].

Первое отступление от равенства гендерных ожиданий произошло на уровне героев. Героинь — наследниц богов и богинь в Древней Греции нет, есть группы старух, женщин среднего возраста, девиц, дев и девушек (группа муз при Аполлоне вообще безвозрастная, среди них и муза истории Клио, чье происхождение вообще загадочно). Но этим социально- и природно-представленным персонажам (среди последних — нимфы, дриады, наяды и т.д.) не присущи подвиги, лишь превращения и чудеса отражаются на их судьбе каким-нибудь завершением.

Это ущемление прав божественных и боговдохновенных женщин уравнивалось в полисном гендерном ожидании положением женщин как членов полиса (фиванок, спартанок, милетянок и т.д.), которые в своем полисном виде иногда признавались какими-либо образцами (фиванки — аристократки, спартанки — атлетки, милетянки, по Фокилиду, — образцы выбора судьбы) [3].

Как ни странно, гендерное ожидание не коснулось афинянок: художники Афин на фризах храмов и на художественных чернофигурных сосудах любили изображать борьбу афинских мужчин-гоплитов с амазонками из скифского мира, причем довольно долго афинские гоплиты изображались лишь обороняющимися, отражающими атакующие удары могучих амазонок. Из-за этого историки предположили, что был в свое время какой-то поход женского племенного ополчения скифянок во главе со скифскими царицами в Аттику (правда, из-за вмешательства Ахиллеса все-таки закончившийся их поражением) [4].

«Отец истории» Геродот описал образ жизни амазонок у реки Термодонт как жизнь женского полиса, из-за лагерной жизни посредством искусственно сохраняемого местообитания амазонок без мужчин похожего на спартанский. Так что данный момент уравнивания происхождения полиса греков (по К. Марксу) и стационарного, без мужчин, лагеря амазонок — тоже сюжет гендерного ожидания древних греков — афинян, так и не заподозривших своих женщин (по отношению к амазонкам) в гендерном равенстве. Но и это не конец данной художественной истории: с V в. до н.э. художники-керамисты, перейдя с чернофигурного стиля изображения на краснофигурный, рискнули начать изображать амазонок, терпящих поражение от греческих гоплитов. Так произошло возмещение гендерной проблематики между мужчинами и женщинами по-афински.

Женщинам Греции такая ситуация в гендерном ожидании не показалась странной: центром полиса становился не храм, где поровну могли быть представлены боги и богини посредством жертвенников и статуй. В V–IV вв. до н.э. центром полиса (по крайней мере, в Афинах) становится пританей, от которого кормились дежурные общественники и особо заслуженные сограждане (правда, сограждане — лишь по праздникам). Жена (и другие женщины в доме семьи), по Аристотелю, была наряду с мужем госпожой и обладала своим пространством в доме — гинекеем, куда мужчинам (кроме мужа) без спроса заходить было нельзя. Однако общественного гинекея в полисе не появилось: женщины, таким образом, в пространстве гендерного ожидания вынуждены были дополнять свое равенство с мужчинами процессиями в храмы своих божеств, присутствием на рынках, где они меньше были торговками, а больше покупательницами (никогда не было продавщиц, владелиц мастерских, трапедзиток, «оптовиц»). Некоторые женщины, начиная с архаики, предположили, что возможно стать своеобразным самостоятельным отражением гендерного превосходства — наперекор амазонским мечтам воинов-гоплитов. Среди них особо выделяется единственная известная на всегреческом уровне поэтесса Сапфо с острова Лесбос. В агоне — соревновании с поэтами-мужчинами и появилось историческое свидетельство о лесбийском союзе женщин, которое затем стало фактором развития их отношений без мужчин. На самом деле, Сапфо явила миру Греции не партнерство сексуального масштаба между женщинами, а возможность реально общаться между сородичами в дружбе — любви наперекор мужской, так называемой дружбе – любви, в гораздо более разнообразных проявлениях. Сопричастность с музами была главным комплексом женской любви – дружбы. Афродита и Афина здесь получали не просто опредмечивание нового состояния несоревновательного сотрудничества, но и новые возможности (для всех — переоценка ценностей, в которой можно было качественно повышать значение общественных союзов мужчин и женщин) [5, 1; 142–143, 198–200].

Античный Рим был, конечно, суровее Греции, но и в этой «полутьме» гендерного ожидания были просветы. Римляне с III в. до н.э. начали уравнивать, насколько это было возможно, в своих триадах богов — женские и мужские божества. Триад богов было две — для патрициев и для плебеев. В патрицианской счет был 2:1 в пользу мужчин (Юпитер, Марс, Юнона), в плебейской — 2:1 в пользу женщин (Цэра, Либера, Либера). Перспектива истории римлян из ранних времен постоянно включала гендерный фактор (сабинянки, матроны времен Кориолана), из-за сохранения римских женщин и детей появилось первое «иностранны-италийское» право (Цэритское). Таким образом, безопасность стала отличительным качеством, которое Риму с IV в. до н.э. приходилось обеспечивать и при помощи гендерного фактора дополнительности.

Однако в античности нигде не было такого института, исторически засвидетельствованного на всем протяжении римской истории не как положение жен и дочерей, спасающих Рим, а как коллегия дев-весталок. Эта коллегия, кажется, еще с царского периода, служила не только включением богини

Гестии из Греции в Пантеон римских богов под именем Весты, но и обозначала наивысшее положение женщины в римском обществе.

Девы-весталки, обреченные на безбрачие, тем не менее были особенными «гражданками своего права» (безотносительного преимущества по отношению к мужчинам в Риме). Ими ведал лишь один страж — главный жрец Рима, Великий понтифик. Именно весталка, призванная служить сакрально всю репродуктивную фазу жизни у священного огня Весты, олицетворяла собой чистоту, единство и неделимость образа жизни всех женщин Рима по-квиритски. Весталии праздновались в июне — месяце богини Юноны, повышая авторитетом Гестии / Весты авторитет женщин перед богами-мужчинами — Юпитером и Марсом в патрицианской триаде. В этом виде именно данный комплекс и придал значение такому правовому отношению, как римская юстиция — божественно-правовая справедливость. Кстати, первая стипендия — оплата ежемесячно, до римских солдат времени Гая Мария, выплачивалась из казны только действующим весталкам. В личностно-правовом плане с молодых ногтей весталка, назначенная на свой пост, приравнивалась к высшей степени положения женщины: матроне без мужа — вдове, вырастившей трех сыновей. В таком виде она могла распоряжаться своим имуществом, писать завещание. И только если завещания не было, имущество весталки отходило в государственную казну. До времени народных трибунов весталка получила право провокации — помилования ведомого на казнь государственного преступника (правда, только тогда, когда данная процессия встречалась весталке случайно). Что интересно, ни один из мужей Рима не мог обладать указанным выше правом.

Однако коллегия весталок не была женским союзом (как лесбийский союз женщин в Греции). Девы-весталки были вшестером (полный состав) обычно разновозрастными, интересы их не соотносились на социальном уровне, так как они не знали брака, дававшего социальность женщинам в Риме. Девы не могли выступать согласно, лишь какие-то привилегии при проведении жертвоприношений имела старшая дева-весталка. В уголовном плане Великий понтифик мог приговорить весталку за нарушения (прежде всего за прелюбодеяние) к смерти, но только после совещания со всей коллегией понтификов. Дружбы весталок в источниках не замечено, из социально-политических качеств за ними закреплено самое древнее право в Риме — отпуска рабов на волю (вольнотпущенничество). Так что фактор гендерного ожидания для всех женщин представлен весталками как качество, предвещающее системную безопасность Древнего Рима как «корпус целомудрия» по гендерному образцу [6; 287–298].

Историки всегда оценивают течение истории процессуально. Процесс от простого к сложному прослеживается в случае присутствия в нем античности — как развитие именно практики гендерного ожидания, насколько мы это смогли увидеть на примере Древней Греции и Рима. Самое значительное присутствие в данном процессе, конечно же, женщин Рима в образе весталок — вместе с верховным божеством, триадой и пантеоном богов у них покровительство нерушимости клятвы. Но при этом весталки Рима как бы выпадают из обычной античной процессуальности — системность их присутствия здесь обеспечивает развитие сотрудничества как жречества мужчин и женщин Рима и состояние обеспеченности прав женщин и мужей в Римской республике.

В таком виде качество целостности (единства и неделимости) в ракурсе безопасности античного образа жизни на греческо-римский манер защищено лишь чистотой огня Весты и целомудренностью ее служительниц. Но не это ли является следующим шагом в гендерном ожидании при переходе от полисной (локальной) безопасности, как региональной безопасности Древнего Рима, к фазе мирового постижения безопасности вообще? Недаром весталки, как цари и важнейшие магистраты, сопровождалась охраной ликторов, а чистоту Сапфо обеспечивал лишь стыд поэта Алкея, который признавался, что именно это качество удерживает его от того, чтобы сказать Сапфо скабрзность...

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В.В. Горовой

Ежелгі дәуірдегі гендер факторы: антикалық кезең

XIX ғ. бастап қазіргі кезең мен қазіргі заман тарихы әлеуметтік-экономикалық және әлеуметтік-саяси оқиғалар мен фактілерге бағытталған. Бірақ XX ғ. ертедегі тарихшы-позитивистер тарапынан ескерілмей қалған фактор айтарлықтай маңызды болды. Бұл фактор тарихқа әйел жынысының енуі және гендерлік болып саналады. Аталған фактор тек қана әлеуметтік-экономикалық және саяси тарихта болған жоқ, сонымен қатар ежелгі дәуір тарихында да орын алды. Сол себепті мақала авторы тарихи және діни сипаттағы мифологиялық деректерді қолдана отырып, гендерлік фактордың антикалық кезеңде орын алғанын дәлелдейді. Автордың пікірінше, аталған дәлелдеме ғылыми зерттеуді антикалық Греция мен Ежелгі Римде гендерлік фактордың қозғаушы күш болғандығын мойындауға бағыттайды. Бұл дәлелдеме ерлер мен әйелдердің теңдігінің Ежелгі Грецияда болғандығын және аймақтық, әлемдік қауіпсіздіктің тенденцияларының дамуына алып келгендігін көрсетеді.

Кілт сөздер: антикалық кезең, ежелгі дәуір, гендерлік фактор, әйелдер және ерлер одағы, полис, Ежелгі Рим, весталкалар, қауіпсіздік.

V.V. Gorovoy

The gender factor in ancient world: antiquity

Modernity and modern history since the XIX century are oriented towards socio-economic and socio-political events and facts. However, in the twentieth century is becoming increasingly important a factor, which not taken into account by historians-positivists of earlier times. This factor, which is the principle of gender complementarity and the inclusion of female potential in history, is a factor of gender expectations. However, this factor was not only in socio-economic and political history, also in the ancient world. Therefore, the author of this article proves its presence in antiquity, using materials from sources of both historical and mythological religious content. From the author's point of view, this evidence focuses on scientific research also on the recognition of the driving role of gender expectations the factor in ancient Greece and Ancient Rome. This evidence precedes the transition from gender equality in gender terms, proved on the material of Ancient Greece, to the development of preliminary trends in regional and world security (the ancient world) developing historically.

Keywords: antiquity, ancient world, gender expectation, female and male unions, police, Ancient Rome, Vestal, security.

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History of the development of physical culture and sports in Kazakhstan in 1946–1960 in the period of Soviet power

The article notes that one of the crucial conditions for the development of the physical culture movement in the postwar years in Central Asia and Kazakhstan was the restoration, expansion of sports facilities, the production of sports equipment, the resumption of sports sections, organizations, sports schools, the revival of national sports. It is emphasized that the sports communities of Kazakhstan, actively created after the war, take an enormous part in the formation of physical culture and sport. The healthy way of life is propagandized, drunkards and parasites are ridiculed, new kinds of sports, for example, mountaineering get popular. At competitions of different levels — from rural competitions to the sports days of the peoples of Central Asia and the USSR — new sports records are set, new names of Kazakh athletes are sounded. More and more representatives of the indigenous population are attracted to all kinds of sports sections, sports are developing in rural areas. The article traces the main trends and trends in the development of physical culture and sports in the Kazakh SSR, quantitative indicators of sport achievements are outlined.

Keywords: physical culture, sport, sports societies, after the war years, Kazakhstan, TRP, sports facilities.

The interest of researchers in development of physical culture and sport, in history of their formation, is shown throughout quite long period of time. Especially often address this perspective in recent years. We consider, interest is attracted by nation-wide policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan, one of priorities of which is connected with orientation on development of the full-fledged personality. Interest in history of physical culture and sport in the USSR is shown in increase in number of works on this problem. Researchers seek to reveal culture potential, its internal reserves, possibilities of activization and development. Much attention is paid to problems of physical culture and sport which are one of the most effective means of extension of life and vigorous activity of the person.

In all times of the existence of the Soviet Union, the development of sports, physical education in the state has been given considerable attention. As a result of the war, the Soviet athletic movement suffered great losses — many specialists in physical culture and sports were killed, sports facilities were destroyed, sports organizations ceased to exist. And the first post-war decades there was an acute need to provide training and retraining of personnel in physical education. In this connection, in 1945, an extensive system of training courses for workers in physical culture and sports of various organs of the state and public apparatus was created, beginning from the union and republican ones and ending with the district link. New institutes and faculties of physical education were opened in the country.

In post-war years there was reevaluation of value of sport. It was promoted by the resolution of the All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) of the Central Committee of December 27, 1948 which has set the task «increase in level of sports skill and on this basis gaining of world championship by all Soviet athletes on the major sports» [1].

Propaganda of sport and healthy lifestyles in the post-war decades in the Soviet Union has become a matter of state importance. The morning gymnastics is becoming a common phenomenon, in obligatory physical culture «pauses» are held in the pre-school and educational institutions, the Days of Health are held on a regular basis. To the glorification of sport, radio, cinema, and television are also attracted, but the most popular means of propaganda are propaganda posters, which often featured the best artists of the Soviet country. Cartoons, caricatures of people leading unhealthy lifestyles and not engaged in sports, appeared both in the popular magazines of the time «Ogonyok», «Worker», and in the wall newspapers of factories, factories, institutes, schools. Radio and television programs, posters and agitation products actively informed the public that without sport, the life of a Soviet man is inadequate. Socialist propaganda of physical culture and sports was aimed at both adults and the younger generation. The media actively spread information about new achievements of Soviet athletes, making them an example for compulsory imitation. Booklets were published for children, collections, poems by famous poets on the subject of the need for sports to become as «brave and dexterous» as their fathers and grandfathers [2].

Standards which failure to follow could entail considerable problems not only at the teacher of physical culture and sport, but also directly and at the pupil have been entered into the school program even if he was round excellent student: it had problems with peers — malicious pokes and sneers have been provided to all shirking physical culture. Students without fail needed to visit sports sections. Inspired in actually Soviet people contempt and disrespect for those who fell short of necessary sports tops. Pioneers and Komsomol members condemned and boycotted idlers and shirkers of physical education classes. Participation in competitions and outdoor games was not just fashionable, it became lifestyle of the Soviet person in the 1940-the 1950 years.

It should be noted that promotion of physical culture and sport has brought the results: in the 1960 years in the country of Councils there were 84 million people who officially systematically played sports. Health was the real element of prestige, the sign of advantage and valor, — it was the real cult of health. By means of promotion of healthy lifestyle and sport the main cultural, social, economic and political objectives of the USSR were resolved, distracted exercises from problems of social disorder and shortage, everyday problems, dissatisfactions of pressing needs of the person. Motivation of the Soviet people to physical activity, occupations tourism and sport, increase in availability of these types of leisure — all this has been started for the sake of increase in productivity of work, competitiveness of production, decrease in expenses. Besides, it was both the available and most mass way of leisure occupation for the Soviet people when other types of active recreation (for example, tourism, etc.) were inaccessible for the majority. Such huge mass work has borne enormous fruits — the USSR for many years remained the strongest sports power of the world.

The considerable merit in creation of world sports prestige of the Soviet country belongs also to the Kazakh SSR. Formation of the correct perception at society of physical culture and sport has been included in economic plans of the Kazakh republic. The country leaders began to attach great value to training of youth for hitting qualifying standards of GTO, providing financing of sporting events. Work on arrangement of the available sports constructions has been carried out, numerous community work days on restoration of stadiums and athletic fields were held. Voluntary sports communities were created, these organizations have made the significant contribution to development of sport of Kazakhstan.

In March 1947, a voluntary sports society was organized «Red Banner», created VSS «Airplane», in June 1947 was organized by the VSS «Sadovod», consisting of six athletic teams [3]. In addition, physical culture collectives were created: at a furniture factory, a confectionery plant, etc. By the end of 1947, only 14 voluntary sports societies (VSS) functioned in Alma-Ata alone: «Bolshevik», «Urozhai», «Dynamo», «Spartacus», «Kairat» and others, among them there is also the rural sports society «Kolkhozhy» [4]. Altogether on the city of Alma-Ata on January 1, 1948, there were 73 sports teams with a total of 4,323 athletes, of whom 4215 people were members of the VSS. The number of sports events also increased, their number in 1947 was many times greater than a year earlier. The preparation and holding of these competitions has improved noticeably, large-scale competitions of the republican scale have been regularly held in the cities of the Kazakh SSR. In 1946–1951 the athletes of Kazakhstan repeatedly became winners and prize-winners of large all-Union competitions in boxing and equestrian sport. So, the success was accompanied by boxers M. Omarov, A. Usenov, the first of them, athlete-Kazakh, was awarded the title of Master of Sports [5].

Competitions were remembered during the mass holidays devoted to significant dates, such as, century since the birth of Abay in 1945 and century since the birth of Jambyl Dzhabayev in 1946. In 1947 city and regional track and field athletics championships, to sports, national fight against the number of participants have been carried out to them 14 521 persons (June). Same year city and regional sports contests on the leading sports (hand-to-hand fighting, swimming, track and field athletics, sports, shooting, etc.) with the number of participants of 3712 people (July), etc. were held. Since 1948 traditional sports contests of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan began to be held regularly. During this period till 1957 9 sports contests in which teams of the Kazakh SSR won first place twice, have been held to the others - stable the second [6].

As it was already noted, on December 27, 1948 the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) has adopted the resolution «About the Course of Performance by Committee on Affairs of Physical Culture and Sport of Decorative Indications of Party and the Government about Development of the Grass-roots Sports Movement in the Country and Increase in Skill of the Soviet Athletes» [7] which made active the level of development and the relations to physical culture and sport in the Soviet country in general as during Stalin era of the directive of party were carried out strictly. In the resolution number of problems have been displayed: lack of mass character, unsatisfactory skill level of the Soviet athletes, etc. For the solution of these problems the tasks have been set: to provide broad development of physical culture and sport among the population of the cities and villages, expansion of the grass-roots sports movement in the country,

increase in level of sports skill, gain by the Soviet athletes in the closest years of world championship on the leading sports, need of organizational strengthening of collectives of physical culture and improvement of work on the major sports; importance of mass development of sport among country people.

As a result of daily work the sports organizations of the country have achieved considerable progress, second «birth» of national sports in Kazakhstan became one of such progress of development of physical culture and sport. Long time about them was safely forgotten. Only before the beginning of war «remember» traditional sports of federal republics, begin to take national forms of competitions mass character, the skill and achievements of participants grow.

In fight championships kazakhsha-kures, to tayak-zhugurt (throwing of sticks on snow), board game toguz-kumalak and to many horse sports representatives of almost all areas of Kazakhstan take part. In particular in military years, for example, in the winter of 1942 republican competitions in tayak-zhugurt have been held, in the summer of 1943 during the first sports contest of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan indicative competitions on fight «kazakhsha-kures», to «kyz-kuu», «kumis-alu» and others have been organized [8]. The new round in development of national sports in Kazakhstan begins since 1944. The sports organizations of the republic have developed new competition rules on the main national sports and games [9]. Since 1944, competition, sports contests and sports festivals on national sports began to be spent more often.

At the beginning of 1945 the All-Union committee on affairs of physical culture and sport has issued the special order «About Strengthening of Work on National Sports» in which it has noted need of wide use of national types of the physical exercises which are part of means of the Soviet physical culture and powerful factor in development of the grass-roots sports movement in the national republics. As practical actions the committee has suggested to include elements of national games, dances and entertainments in programs of physical culture of national schools and in practice of work of preschool institutions, to organize in days of holidays demonstration performances on national sports, to reconsider existing and to develop new competition rules, to make selection and streamlining of national sports, having included them in practice of sports work in city and rural sports collectives.

Since 1948 the emphasis on strengthening of work of the sports organizations of the republic for creation in collectives of physical culture, in particular in rural, sections on national sports, improvement of educational and training work in them, broader involvement of the Kazakh youth in sports activities is placed. In 1949 in the republic «The short collection of the Kazakh national sports» has been published that has finally set their official status and contributed to their further development. Almost in 10 years after release of the Resolution, in 1958 in Moscow All-Union horse-racing competitions of collective farms, state farms and studs which participants competed in the «көкпар», «bayga» on 7 km, to «kyz-ku», «kyz-zharys» were held the first. And in 1960 the anniversary Spartakiad on national sports where as obligatory valid types have been included «bayga» on 7 and 16 km, «zhorga-zharys», «kazakhsha-kures», the «көкпар», «toguz-kumalak» has been held.

A distinctive feature of the development of physical culture and sports on the territory of Kazakhstan was the possibility of the development of mountaineering. Massive mountaineering Kazakhstan trade unions began to revive back in wartime in 1944. The alpinad of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions) was held. In the summer of 1945, three camps of voluntary sports societies («Lokomotiv», «Almatinets», «Medik») were already operating in the mountains of our republic. In April 1946, the first plenum of the All-Union section of mountaineering was held after the war, outlining the ways for the further development of alpine sports. The first postwar mountaineering season — the summer of 1946 — was quite successful. Seven camps have already been in operation and 2,600 people have visited them, of them an absolute majority (2 thousand) — beginners. As an incentive, in the same year, the Red Banner of the All-Union Committee for Physical Culture and Sports was established for the camp that took the first place in the socialist competition. The first was the camp «Lokomotiv», the following year it was won by the camp «Alibek» DSO «Nauka», in 1948-1950 — camp «Molniya» DSO «Burevestnik» [10].

Between 1947 and 1949, the number of camps continued to grow. In 1947, the Physical Culture Society «Spartak» opened its camp. The system of training instructors-public workers was restored, courses of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions began to work on the basis of the camp «Lokomotiv». In Alma-Ata, the task of training instructors was decided by the Republican school of instructors.

In 1948 climbers of Kazakhstan in commemoration of the 25 anniversary of the Soviet highland sport organized the largest after the war mass ascent to the summit of the Pamirs, to the summit 502 climbers

climbed. During the course of 1950, a number of district alpinads were successfully conducted with the participation of collective and urban youth, hundreds of new icons were prepared by the «Mountaineer of the USSR» [10]. In the 1949–1950-ies the growth of sports skills of Kazakhstani mountaineers continued, an increasing number of athletes took part in the ascent to the highest category. The mass figures of Soviet mountaineering and the growth of sports skills of the climbers are characterized by the following figures: the number of trained icons was already greater in 1949 than in 1940, and in 1950 the pre-war indicators were surpassed in the mass coverage of all types of climbing events. The level of sports skills of Soviet climbers has increased. In the last year of the post-war five-year plan, the number of sports groups increased 2.4 times in comparison with 1940, and the number of participants in sports ascents is 10 times. High-altitude sports in the Kazakh SSR developed more and more every year. It became a truly popular folk sport: newspapers wrote that metallurgists, miners, and military began taking holidays during the mountain climbing season.

In 1949, thanks to the joint coordinated work of all interested departments, in the cities of the republic the first masters of sports of the USSR have appeared. The government of the republic has indicated the need of broader attraction to exercises and sport of representatives of indigenous people. As the characteristic phenomenon of this period was given such fact in the resolution that among participants of the second sports contest of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan of 1945 there was no athlete from among the Kazakh youth [7]. Kazakh girls joined physical culture and sport [11].

In 1949 on the 4 All-Union sports contest of the people of the USSR the Kazakhstan athletes have brought to the country of 38 new records [12]. Traditional in the 1950 years are city sports contests of labor collectives. Meetings between sports collectives of Alma-Ata, Karaganda, Semipalatinsk, Kostanay, Petropavlovsk, Sarani, Temirtau enjoyed wide popularity. Specific place in the history of the Kazakhstan sport is held by 1951 when the country's first high-mountain skating rink Medeo near Alma-Ata has become operational [13]. The first official competitions which have begun with draw of prizes of Council of ministers of the Kazakh SSR were marked by establishment of two world and six all-Union records.

The sports organizations of the republic and in development of different types of sport have achieved great success. The VI All Kazakhstan sports contest which has taken place in Alma-Ata in August, 1952 has brought together the most large number of participants — 2000 athletes. In October, 1952 the best athletes of the Kazakh SSR participated in traditional sports contest of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan where they have taken the second all-command place. Since 1953 participation of athletes of Kazakhstan in the international friendly matches and official competitions as a part of the USSR in boxing, heavy and track and field athletics, speed skating begins. Also in 1953 in the Kazakh SSR over 525000 organized athletes were registered — it is 3,5 times more, than in pre-war 1940. Among them there were more than 50000 qualified athletes. The sport became mass hobby, every fifth inhabitant of the republic has been acquainted with physical culture, but nevertheless the overwhelming number from them was citizens. The problem of familiarizing of villagers with sport is staticized in the 1950 years. In the summer of 1954 the III All Kazakhstan sports contest of athletes villagers was held, about 800 athletes have participated in it. The victory in these competitions was won by rural athletes of the North Kazakhstan area.

In 1953, the Central Children's Sports School of Higher Sports Skill was opened in Alma-Ata, over the following two years it trained 20 masters of sports, 33 candidates for masters, 130 athletes of the 1st category of adults, 230 athletes of the II category and 1,100 athletes of the youth category [14].

In February 1955 the Council of Ministers of Kazakhstan adopted a detailed resolution on the measures for the further development of physical culture and sports in the republic. At the first Games of the USSR, Kazakh athletes took the 13 place, the inadequacy of the development of sports, and its poor performance in the allied competitions gave rise to the creation of a new document. In 1956, the CPC Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the CEB jointly adopted a resolution «On the state and measures for the further development of physical culture and sports in the republic», it spoke of the unsatisfactory performance of the teams of the Kazakh SSR at the Games of the Peoples of the USSR. Given the assessment of their activities, sports organizations began to pay special attention to the training of highly qualified athletes. Also, the tasks of preparation and participation at the XVI Olympic Games in Melbourne (Australia, 1956) were set. This was another upsurge, a new stage in the physical culture movement in Kazakhstan.

Also construction of sports constructions and complexes became more active: the second half of the 1950 years was characterized by commissioning of new city sports constructions. If in 1957 371 persons who are engaged in sections, then in 1958 — already 292,3 persons fell on one sports construction. In 1957 about 3 % which were engaged in sections have executed standard of 2 and 3 categories, and in 1958 4 % became rated sportsmen. During this time the number of masters of sports and in the village has increased in the city

more than twice. Also the number of znachkist on the I step of the TRP complex and on step of RTRP which are annually prepared by the sports organizations [15] has more than twice increased.

In January, 1959 the Central Committee of the CPSU and Council of ministers of the USSR have adopted the resolution on expansion of the public beginnings in the Soviet sports movement. Again questions of mass involvement of the population to physical culture and sport were brought up. Practical implementation of plans of the resolution has begun with preparation and holding the Second sports contest of the people of the USSR on which athletes of Kazakhstan have risen by two lines up, they have taken the 11th all-command place. Performances of Kazakhstan citizens in equestrian sport, weightlifting, basketball and rowing were the most successful [16].

The sports organizations of Kazakhstan increased the rates of preparation of sports and sports shots. In only one 1960 Kazakhstan has given to the country more than 250 thousand znachkist of TRP, 77598 qualified athletes, including 116 masters of sports and 1674 athletes of the I category. At that time in the republic there were 12 961 sports constructions. Shots of workers of physical culture totaled 5694 people, including 971 with the higher sports education [17].

In the ranks of athletes of Kazakhstan there were many athletes of the international class. Many leading athletes of Kazakhstan were part of national teams of the country on different types of sport and repeatedly protected sports honor of the Soviet Union at the international competitions in Italy, France, Australia, China, Poland, Romania, the USA, etc. foreign countries. During this time in Kazakhstan significant amount of talented athletes — masters of sports whose names became known far outside the republic and even the country has grown. Among them: world record-holders — the skater G. Romanova and the weightlifter S. Ulyanov; champions of the Soviet Union: on alpine skiing — A. Artemenko and Yu. Kabin, on acrobatics — V. Starodubov, on boxing — A. Kadetov, on fight — A. Kolesov; prize-winners of the II Spartakiad of the people of the USSR (1959) are boxers M. Omarov and A. Nurmakhanov, the athlete V. Savinkov and the oarsman K. Neulybin and other strongest athletes of the republic [18].

The results of the 9 All-Kazakhstan Games and the Second Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR served as an indicator of the achievements of Kazakhstan athletes. Only at these two major sporting events the athletes of Kazakhstan installed 57 new records and the highest achievements of the republic, most of which were the norm of the master of sports or the 1st category. In the hard struggle with the strongest athletes of the country, athletes of the republic at the II Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR won 14 prizes, including 2 first, 2 second and 3 third places.

Thus, in the considered years of the city of the republic become the centers of development of physical culture and sport: sports constructions are restored and under construction, various sporting events are held and the number of the Kazakhstan citizens playing physical culture and sport increases. Especially widely and everywhere sports activity in the Republic of Kazakhstan developed in the period of 1951-1958. These years functioning of the sphere of sport and physical culture and welfare infrastructure of the cities of Kazakhstan in general has considerably improved. In general during the post-war period the Soviet system of physical training, its ideological, organizational and administrative, scientific and methodical bases have been created. Formation of system of physical training took place in difficult conditions and was followed by great difficulties of social and economic character, aspiration of the leading numbers of the state to create «special physical culture of socialist character». Nevertheless, such positive moments as tendency to mass development of physical culture and sport, achievements of science about physical training, increase in skill level of athletes, creation of reserve of sport of adults in the person of children's sport, revival of national sports, familiarizing of indigenous and country people of the republic with participation in sports life of the country were found.

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1946–1960 жылдар аралығында кеңес өкіметі кезеңінде Қазақстанда дене тәрбиесі және спорттың даму тарихы

Соғыстан кейінгі жылдарда Орталық Азия мен Қазақстандағы денешынықтыру қозғалысының басты даму шарттарының бірі — ол спорттық құрылыстарды кеңейтіп қалпына келтіру, спорттық құрал-жабдықтарды жасап шығару, спорттық секциялардың, ұйымдардың, спорттық мектептердің, ұлттық спорт түрлерінің жұмысын қайта дамытып жұмыс істету. Қазақстанда соғыстан кейін қалыптасқан спорттық қауымдастықтар денешынықтыру мәдениеті мен спорттың тұрақтанып дамуына зор үлесін қосқан. Салауатты өмір салтын насихаттап, маскүнемдік пен арамтамақтарды күлкіге ұшыратқан және де альпинизм секілді спорттың жана түрлері пайда болған. Ауылдық сайыстардан Орталық Азия мен ҚСРО халықтарының арасындағы спартакиадаға дейін жаңа спорт рекордтары орнатылып, жаңа қазақтың аттары әйгілі болып жатты. Байырғы халық өкілдерін спортқа тартып, ауылдық жерде спортты дамыту басты мақсатқа айналды. Мақалада Қазақ КСР-дағы денешынықтыру мәдениеті мен спорттың даму бағыты мен негізгі беталысы, сондай-ақ спорт жетістіктерінің сандық көрсеткіштері қарастырылған.

Кілт сөздер: денешынықтыру мәдениеті, спорт, спорттық қауымдастықтар, соғыстан кейінгі жылдар, Қазақстан, ЕКД, спорттық құрылыстар.

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История развития физкультуры и спорта в Казахстане в 1946–1960 гг. в период Советской власти

В статье отмечено, что одними из решающих условий развития физкультурного движения в послевоенные годы в Центральной Азии и Казахстане были восстановление и расширение спортивных сооружений, производство спортивного инвентаря, возобновление работы спортивных секций, организаций, спортивных школ, возрождение национальных видов спорта. Подчеркнуто, что колоссальное участие в становлении физкультуры и спорта принимают спортивные сообщества Казахстана, активно создававшиеся после войны. Пропагандируется здоровый образ жизни, высмеиваются пьяницы и тунеядцы, приобретают популярность новые виды спорта (например, альпинизм). На соревнованиях различных уровней — от сельских состязаний до спартакиад народов Центральной Азии и СССР — устанавливаются новые спортивные рекорды, звучат новые имена спортсменов-казахов. Все больше представителей коренного населения вовлекается в различные спортивные секции, развивается спорт в сельской местности. В статье отмечены основные тенденции и направления развития физкультуры и спорта в Казахской ССР, выделены количественные показатели спортивных достижений.

Ключевые слова: физическая культура, спорт, спортивные общества, послевоенные годы, Казахстан, ГТО, спортивные сооружения.

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Foreign policy course of Independent Kazakhstan

With the acquisition of sovereignty, the republic faced the need to develop and implement its own foreign policy. The concept of Kazakhstan's foreign policy was determined by the President of the Republic N.A. Nazarbayev in his work «Strategy of the formation and development of Kazakhstan as a sovereign state», published in May 1992. «The main goal of foreign policy», it says, «is the formation of a favorable external environment and support for the country's stable development on the basis of political and economic reforms». The authors consider the long way that Kazakhstan has traveled since independence. The multi-vector foreign policy of Kazakhstan, emerged at the dawn of independence, was able to contribute to the strengthening of sovereignty and statehood, the country's entry into the system of international relations and world economic relations. Over the years, the Republic has become a full member of the international community. Its initiatives have almost always received international support and were put into practice. The Republic established stable and predictable relations with all neighbors. There is an international image of the republic as a serious and reliable partner.

Keywords: Republic of Kazakhstan, President, history, government, relationship, world, policy, foreign.

One of the most successful post-Soviet republics, the Republic of Kazakhstan, in just 21 years of its independence is widely recognized in the modern world and has become an important player in complex global politics. At the same time, the country's economy is developing successfully, its numerous bilateral relations are successfully developing with almost all countries of the world, including with the countries of the Arabian Gulf region.

Over the years of independence, Kazakhstan has achieved significant foreign policy successes in the world arena, has become an authoritative and responsible member of the world community.

The chairmanship of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Eurasian Economic Community, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Collective Security Treaty Organization and the Turkic Council has become a testament to the high international prestige of the state in recent years.

Priority in the foreign policy of Kazakhstan was given to the relations with Russia. This is understandable. Russia accounted for 66 % of all that Kazakhstan imported from abroad at the time of independence. In turn, Kazakhstan supplied to Russia more than two thirds of its exports, with 80 % of exports being raw materials and semi-finished products. Of all agricultural products, 40 % was supplied to Russia. In 2000, Russia continued to be the main economic partner of Kazakhstan: the 1-st place both in exports and imports [1].

Trade and economic relations between Russia and Kazakhstan:

- of the 89 regions of the Russian Federation, 72 have trade and economic ties with the Republic of Kazakhstan,
- the most active participants in foreign trade with Kazakhstan are the border regions of Russia,
- on the whole, 80 % of Russia's foreign trade turnover with Kazakhstan falls on 16 regions of the Russian Federation out of 72,
- an important place in the Russian-Kazakh ties is cross-border cooperation, which accounts for 71.5 % of the total turnover,
- Omsk, Orenburg, Astrakhan, Chelyabinsk, Novosibirsk regions and the Altai territory most actively develop trade and economic ties with the border regions of Kazakhstan,

More than 300 joint ventures operate in the Russian-Kazakh border zone, interstate associations such as Kazrokhrom, Koksohim, an automobile complex based on the UralAz and Kustanai diesel plant.

Cooperation in oil and gas and energy:

- intergovernmental agreement of 2010 «On trade and economic cooperation in the field of oil and oil products supplies»;
- in the oil and gas industry, cooperation is also developing along the lines of joint development of Kazakhstan deposits;
- Russia takes the fourth place in projects on subsoil use in the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan;

- investments in this sector are represented by two Russian investors — ANK Bashneft and OAO LUKOIL.

Cooperation in the field of transport and communications:

- the most promising areas for the development of bilateral relations between Kazakhstan and Russia;
- both states in the context of the development of transport cooperation are of strategic importance for each other,
- Kazakhstan and Russia are closely connected by transport communications.

Development of Russian-Kazakh trade and economic relations in 2014:

- Kazakhstan in the trade turnover of Russia took 11th place among all Russian foreign trade partners, and Russia — the 1st place in Kazakhstan's trade with other countries;
- according to the information of the Financial and Trade Union (FCS) of Russia, this indicator in the past 2014 grew by 2.8 % and amounted to 26.5 billion dollars;
- the share of machinery and technical products in Russian exports was 24 %, fuel and energy products — 29 %, metals — 16 %;
- in the Kazakhstani deliveries to Russia, the chemical industry products account for 14 %, machine and technical products — 10 %, metals — 24 %, fuel and energy — 41 %.

Investment cooperation:

- 20 large Russian companies, such as OAO Gazprom, OAO LUKOIL, Rusal, Mechel OAO, AvtoVAZ, EuroChem;
- in 2014, special attention was paid to the implementation of investment projects between Russian and Kazakh companies in the field of economic modernization;
- according to experts, in 2014 the gross inflow of direct Russian investments into the economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan amounted to 1.3 billion dollars;
- in 2014, 14 large investment projects were realized for a total of \$ 1.9 billion, at the same time, there were 12 projects worth \$ 16.1 billion at various stages of implementation, and 7 projects worth \$ 277 million were planned for the future;

Prospects for cooperation in the investment sphere:

- in the field of electric power industry, the main result of cooperation is the creation of a competitive and liquid general electricity market within the framework of the Unified Energy System by 2019;
- cooperation in the aviation industry, in the space sphere and in the peaceful use of atomic energy can also be identified among the promising areas;

Development of small and medium business:

- currently, about 10,500 representative offices and enterprises with the participation of Russian capital are registered in the republic. Five years ago this figure was 4 thousand;
- entering Kazakhstan, the Russian enterprise becomes not only an employer, but also a Kazakh taxpayer;
- Eurasian integration allows minimizing costs, increasing the scale of production and expanding the scientific and technological base of the participating countries. This will activate the scientific and technical potential of Kazakhstan and restore the production of high-tech products with high added value;
- in turn, Kazakhstani enterprises have established the supply of their products to Russia: JSC «Kaynar AKB» — a factory for the production of batteries in Taldykorgan, Kentau Transformer Plant, JSC «Rakhat», Almaty Fan Factory, Almaty Heavy Machinery Plant (pipe-rolling equipment), Stepnogorsk Bearing Plant [2].

The deliveries of cargo vehicles assembled at the Kazakhstan enterprise are arranged.

Cooperation in the field of security and military-technical sphere:

- Kazakhstan and Russia already have a legal framework for cooperation in the military-technical sphere, which includes both bilateral agreements and participation in multilateral cooperation structures, such as the CSTO and the SCO.
- at present, military equipment and property, components and equipment are being supplied on a bilateral basis.
- issues of joint activities on the use and development of the technical and production potential of the Baikonur cosmodrome, the issues of increasing the participation of Kazakhstan specialists in scientific projects at the cosmodrome.

The countries of Europe occupy one of the key places in the multi-vector policy of Kazakhstan. This is noted in many agreements and documents. Diplomatic relations between Kazakhstan and the European Union were established at the beginning of 1993, and already at the end of the year, the Kazakhstan Mission to the EU in Brussels was opened.

Kazakhstan occupies an insignificant share in the EU turnover, although it is its main partner in the CAR. According to the results of 2012, the main trade partners of the EU — the USA, China and Russia accounted for 40 % of foreign trade, or 14.1 %, 8.6 % and 17.3 % respectively. The share of Kazakhstan in 2012 amounted to 0.7 % of the EU trade. For Kazakhstan, the EU is a key trading partner along with Russia, China and Ukraine, which now account for more than 75 % of Kazakhstan's total foreign trade.

Relations with key partners of Kazakhstan are of a stable nature, and deviations in the dynamics of trade turnover are largely related to changes in the world economic conjuncture in the mineral resources market. The EU countries occupy the largest share in the total trade turnover of Kazakhstan. In 2012, the share of the EU in the turnover, exports and imports of the Republic of Kazakhstan amounted to 32.5, 39.4 and 28.5 %, respectively [3].

The nature of trade relations with European countries is determined, on the one hand, by the dependence of Europe on external energy resources, with another underdevelopment of the Kazakhstan market of manufactured goods. At the same time, the dynamics of trade relations between Kazakhstan and the European Union has a different character. So, for the period since 2005, there is no pronounced tendency to change the share of Europe in Kazakhstan's exports and imports, while in the European exchange of goods for the same period, the tendency of increasing the share of export-import transactions of Kazakhstan, which may, with some reservations, degree of interest in trade cooperation with the European side.

The main European trading partners of Kazakhstan are Italy, France, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria and the United Kingdom. They account for 75.5 % of Kazakhstan's trade with the EU. The largest European buyer of Kazakhstan's products is Italy, which accounts for 30 % of Kazakhstan's exports to the EU countries, the main European supplier of goods for Kazakhstan is Germany, whose share in the total volume of Kazakhstan's imports is 26.3 %.

The share of the European five largest trading partners of Kazakhstan today accounts for more than half of the 50.7 % of foreign direct investment in the country. In total, the flow of foreign direct investment from the EU countries determines the positive dynamics of the total volume of FDI's gross receipts to Kazakhstan, regardless of the situation on the world financial market, especially in the period from 2007 to 2009, when the inflow of direct investment from other investors tended to reduction [4].

There was a tendency to strengthen not only trade but also investment cooperation between the European Union and Kazakhstan, although the sharp outflow in recent years of Kazakhstan's capital in general, and in particular to the EU countries, is only partially explained by investment in the production sector, since the bulk of investments accounted for trade cars and real estate transactions.

The EU's trade relations with its main partners are largely determined by its needs in external energy resources, and Kazakhstan is no exception, as evidenced by statistics on the commodity structure of EU exports and imports to the outside world and Kazakhstan. Thus, the largest share in the commodity structure of exports and imports of the countries of the European Union falls on two product groups: machinery, equipment, vehicles 7 group; mineral products 3 group.

It should be noted that Kazakhstan is becoming an increasingly active participant in world trade. However, in the commodity structure of Kazakhstan's exports to the European Union countries, the bulk of the share is accounted for by mineral raw materials, which corresponds to 89.3 %, and in the import from the countries of the European Union to Kazakhstan, machinery, equipment and vehicles account for 55.2 %.

For both groups of goods, the Kazakh share in exports and imports with the EU countries exceeds their average European value. This indicates, on the one hand, the already formed mutual interest in strengthening the existing structure of trade between the EU and Kazakhstan and expanding the potential of cooperation, on the other hand, the raw material nature of the economy of Kazakhstan, the need to change the sectoral structure and diversify exports in accordance with the Program of Forced Industrialization of Kazakhstan economy [5].

So, since 2000 the commodity structure of Kazakhstan's exports and imports has not undergone significant changes, mineral products predominate in the main range of export goods and intermediate industrial demand goods and investment goods — in the import.

Thus, the trade relations of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the European Union are stable and have an economic future, conditioned by the nature of the development of the European and Kazakh markets, the

specifics of the development of the European demand for energy resources and the features of Kazakhstan's international specialization. Nevertheless, the existing structure of commodity exchange does not meet the economic interests and prospects of Kazakhstan due to the need to implement the strategic goals of forced industrial-innovative development. The European Union, on the contrary, is economically interested in preserving the existing asymmetric structure of trade turnover before solving the problem of dependence of its economy on external energy resources.

The main task of Kazakhstan in promoting the idea of «Eurasianism» at the present stage is seen by us in providing the conditions for the formation of common strategic approaches from the European Union and Russia both on the implementation of the «single Eurasian continental project» with the participation of Kazakhstan as the main subject of government and projects on economic integration of the Central Asian region.

The formation of the concept of the relationship between the European Union and the new independent states began with the adoption in December 1992 by the heads of state and government of the EU member states of the Declaration of readiness to promote the process of democratization in the post-Soviet space. The agreements on partnership and cooperation of the PCA, signed in 1996 with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, confirmed the mutual interest of the parties in strengthening bilateral contacts. At the initial stage, the cooperation of the European Union with the Central Asian states was carried out within the framework of the TACIS program. The transition to a fundamentally new level of cooperation in EU relations with Central Asian countries began with the official approval in 2007 of the «Strategy for a New Partnership for the Period Until 2013».

To date, the EU's interest in the CAR countries, and in particular the RK, is due to two main reasons: first, it is obvious that in the process of implementing the EU's strategic interests in Central Asia, priority is given to issues of its own energy security. Diversification of energy sources, along with the development of a strong domestic market and environmental issues, is one of the three main priorities of the European energy policy. Interest in Central Asian hydrocarbons is due to the possibility of creating an alternative to dependence on US-controlled Middle East oil fields and on Russian energy diktat by 2030, when Europe plans to import 90 % of gas and 70 % of oil needed for domestic consumption; Secondly, Kazakhstan plays a new political and economic role in the region as a vehicle for the concept of «Eurasian centrism», based on the principles of unified continental security in all its dimensions [6].

Kazakhstan is interested in cooperation with European states on political, social, economic parameters. A feature of the current stage of relations between Kazakhstan and the European Union is, in our view, the willingness of both sides to review existing cooperation strategies in the light of the prevailing transcontinental realities.

New European initiatives within the framework of the Strategy for the CAR countries are linked by a number of European experts with the need to adopt a new version with a clearer list of the real tasks of the EU in the CAR aimed at: strengthening all-round cooperation with Kazakhstan as the key country in the region that seeks to strengthen ties with the EU and acquiring a new quality in the light of the successful chairmanship of the OSCE; ensuring European energy security, diversification of energy supplies in the face of the existing danger of losing the leading positions of the EU in the regional market and the harmonization of the European energy policy with the energy policy of the countries of the region in this regard; implementation of a new concept of regional cooperation with the CAR countries towards developing relations with neighboring countries outside the region — Eastern Europe, Russia, China, South Asia. The Asian vector, according to experts, will provide a comprehensive view on the issue of regional partnership in Central Asia, which will help to include this region in a broader geopolitical context and provide prerequisites for the emergence of a common Eurasian strategy.

For Kazakhstan, the European Union is today and remains in the future the main strategic partner in ensuring regional-Eurasian economic security. Therefore, in our opinion, the «way to Europe» for Kazakhstan presupposes, first of all, the expansion of the Eurasian space for the CAR countries, which, on the basis of a coordinated position on the issues of sustainable development of the region, could in the long term proceed to the implementation of joint European-Central Asian economic projects. On this aspect, it is advisable to pay attention in the process of implementing the «advanced partnership» project [7].

Kazakhstan with the European Union, it is also necessary to bear in mind the EU's interest in the membership of the republic in the WTO. Kazakhstan and the European Union are ready for a new stage in the development of economic relations. In our opinion, the Kazakhstan strategy regarding the EU should be considered as an integral part of the overall Kazakhstan-European economic partnership strategy. To do this, it is

necessary to take the following measures: Coordinate regional positions on issues of European cooperation with CAR countries. Identify common priorities for economic cooperation for the transition from the EU's bilateral cooperation with the countries of the region to the region-wide format of cooperation. Formulate proposals for the program for the development of economic relations between the SES countries and the EU. To participate in the development of a strategy for the development of the Eurasian continental geo-economics. Ensure the interests of the CARs in the process of forming new general Eurasian strategic goals in the economic sphere.

Thus, Kazakhstan can become an equal partner of the EU, which becomes evident in the context of the new geo-economic situation in Eurasia and the prospects for regional integration in the format of the SES and the CAR. Kazakhstan has a clear position on the prospects for cooperation with the EU countries, which remains its key partner.

Kazakhstan and the European Union are mutually interested in strengthening partnerships and are ready to review and adjust economic cooperation strategies. The common strategic interests of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the EU in Eurasia are related to two continental projects, in which both sides are interested in one way or another: the single Eurasian continental project and the project of a single integrated space in Central Asia.

For Kazakhstan, it is important to adjust the strategic objectives of cooperation and ways to achieve them in accordance with the expected consequences of the ongoing policy of EU enlargement, the creation of the CES, and prospects for economic integration in Central Asia. Implementation of the project «United Continental Economic Space» is not possible without the participation of the Republic of Kazakhstan and should be implemented in stages. For the Republic of Kazakhstan, the main task of the first stage is to provide the conditions for the formation of common strategic approaches from the EU and the Russian Federation both on the implementation of the «single Eurasian continental project» with the participation of the ROK as the main subject of governance and in relation to projects on economic integration of the CAR [8].

Trade relations between Kazakhstan and the European Union are determined by the prospects for the development of the European and Kazakhstan markets, the specifics of the development of the European demand for energy resources and the features of Kazakhstan's international specialization. The existing structure of commodity exchange does not meet the economic interests and prospects of Kazakhstan. The European Union, on the contrary, is economically interested in preserving the existing asymmetric structure of trade turnover before solving the problem of dependence of its economy on external energy resources.

Kazakhstan is to realize its long-term economic interests in Europe in accordance with the specifics: the EU strategy for regional integration; mutual commodity exchange between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the EU; Kazakhstan international specialization and the program of forced development of industry in Kazakhstan; the European situation in the energy sector; modern Eurasian policy [9].

Representative offices of 18 Chinese companies are accredited in Kazakhstan, and about 70 joint ventures operate. The Chinese oil and gas company won a tender to sell 60 percent of Aktobe munai gas shares and is the winner of a similar competition for the Uzen oil field. The parties are working on documents on the construction of pipelines from, Western Kazakhstan to the border of the PRC and towards Iran. Xinjiang Design Institute won a tender for the best project for the construction of a new gas processing plant with a capacity of up to three million tons per year and the reconstruction of the Zhanazhol plant. Started traffic on the second air corridor — from the Kazakh Ayaguz to the Chinese Fukana [10].

The Agreement on Cultural Relations is also working more fully, on the basis of which contacts are being built between ministries and departments of the humanitarian sphere. As is expressed by diplomats, a stable and progressive character also acquires cooperation in the field of tourism and sports.

The main directions of the domestic policy of Kazakhstan are declared: the increase in the well-being of citizens, the strengthening of statehood, the modernization of society, intra-national unity and interethnic harmony [11].

The internal political life of Kazakhstan is built mainly on the liberal-socialist model, due to the fact that the authorities of Kazakhstan actually carry out the socialist planning of the country's economic and political life, but at the same time they allow for active market relations, which is very similar to the Chinese model. For corruption crimes and betrayal of the motherland in Kazakhstan, very severe punishments are provided.

Kazakhstan's foreign policy is based on historical and geopolitical traditions, economic priorities and strategic expediency.

Priority in the foreign policy of Kazakhstan was given to relations with Russia. This is understandable. Russia accounted for 66 % of all that Kazakhstan imported from abroad at the time of independence. In turn, Kazakhstan supplied to Russia more than two thirds of its exports, with 80 % of exports being raw materials and semi-finished products. Of all agricultural products, 40 % was supplied to Russia. In 2000, Russia continued to be the main economic partner of Kazakhstan.

Thus, the trade relations of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the European Union are stable and have an economic future, conditioned by the nature of the development of the European and Kazakh markets, the specifics of the development of the European demand for energy resources and the features of Kazakhstan's international specialization. Nevertheless, the existing structure of commodity exchange does not meet the economic interests and prospects of Kazakhstan due to the need to implement the strategic goals of forced industrial-innovative development. The European Union, on the contrary, is economically interested in preserving the existing asymmetric structure of trade turnover before solving the problem of dependence of its economy on external energy resources [12].

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Тәуелсіз Қазақстанның сыртқы саясаты

Егемендік алғаннан кейін Қазақстан өз сыртқы саясатын әзірлеп, жүзеге асыру қажеттілігіне тап болды. 1992 жылы мамыр айында Елбасының «Тәуелсіз мемлекеттің құрылуы мен дамуы стратегиясы» еңбегі арқылы Республиканың сыртқы саясат тұжырымдамасы бекітілді. Сыртқы саясаттың негізгі мақсаты, қолайлы сыртқы ортаны қалыптастыру, елдің саяси және экономикалық реформалар негізінде тұрақты дамуын қолдау. Авторлар Қазақстанның тәуелсіздік алғаннан бері жүріп келе жатқан ұзақ жолын қарастырды. Тәуелсіздіктің басында пайда болған Қазақстанның көпвекторлы сыртқы саясаты егемендікті және мемлекеттілікті нығайтуға, елдің халықаралық қатынастар жүйесіне және әлемдік экономикалық қатынастарға кіруіне үлес қосқан. Көптеген жылдар бойы республика халықаралық қауымдастықтың толыққанды мүшесі болды, оның бастамалары әрдайым халықаралық қолдауды алды және тәжірибеге енгізілді, барлық көршілермен тұрақты және болжамды қатынастар орнатты. Республиканың халықаралық имиджі елеулі және сенімді серіктес ретінде танымал болып қалыптасты.

Кілт сөздер: Республика Қазақстан, Президент, тарих, мемлекет, қарым-қатынас, әлем, саясат, шетелдік.

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Внешнеполитический курс независимого Казахстана

С обретением суверенитета республика столкнулась с необходимостью выработки и проведения собственной внешней политики. Концепции внешней политики Казахстана были определены Президентом Республики Н.А. Назарбаевым в его работе «Стратегия становления и развития Казахстана как суверенного государства», вышедшей из печати в мае 1992 г. «Основная цель внешней политики, — указано в ней, — формирование благоприятной внешней среды и поддержки для стабильного развития страны на основе политических и экономических реформ». Авторы рассматривают большой путь, пройденный Казахстаном с момента обретения независимости. Многовекторная внешняя политика Казахстана, появившаяся на заре независимости, смогла поспособствовать укреплению суверенитета и государственности, вхождению страны в систему международных отношений и мирохозяйственных связей. За прошедшие годы республика, чьи инициативы практически всегда получали международную поддержку и осуществлялись на практике, стала полноправным членом международного сообщества, установила стабильные и предсказуемые отношения со всеми соседями. Сложился международный имидж республики как серьезного и надежного партнера.

Ключевые слова: Республика Казахстан, Президент, история, правительство, отношения, мир, политика, иностранные.

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Детская беспризорность в Акмолинской губернии в 1921–1923 гг. и меры по ее ликвидации

В статье рассмотрены последствия голода 1921–1923 гг., охватившего многие регионы КАССР и отразившегося на положении детей. Анализируется деятельность партийно-государственных органов и общественных организаций по спасению детей. На основе архивных источников авторы приводят сведения о количестве беспризорных детей как по республике в целом, так и в северном регионе, в частности, в Акмолинской губернии. Рассмотрены основные причины детской беспризорности, к которым отнесены не только социально-экономические факторы, но и политика военного коммунизма Советского государства, повлекшая за собой разрушение семьи, голод, высокую смертность и др. В условиях беспризорного и безнадзорного детства ребёнок попадал в тяжелейшие жизненные условия, которые отрицательно сказывались на его здоровье, психике, дальнейшей социализации. Делается вывод о том, что детская беспризорность была следствием тяжелого социально-экономического положения республики, обусловленного войной, голодом, разрухой.

Ключевые слова: детская беспризорность, голод 1921–1923 гг., эпидемия, детский дом, коммуны.

Введение

Проблемы, связанные с детской беспризорностью, проявлялись во многих странах в начале XX в., после Первой мировой войны. В Западной Европе и США основными «агентами» в борьбе с беспризорностью стали семьи, которые брали таких детей на воспитание, и благотворительная общественная деятельность. Аналогичный подход был и в России до октября 1917 г., когда частная благотворительность и общественность были широко вовлечены в дело спасения беспризорников. В Советской России возобладала государственная опека над ними, борьба с беспризорностью очень быстро превратилась из социального явления в политическое. Для большевиков важна была не просто ликвидация 7-миллионной (в 1922 г.) [1; 134] детской беспризорности, а борьба, при которой обеспечивался бы приоритет классовых ценностей. Беспризорность не была специфическим явлением пришедшей Советской власти, она неминуемо возникает в переломные периоды, когда государство и общество переживают глубокий кризис в экономической, политической и социальной сферах. Именно такой кризис переживала как вся Советская Россия, так и ее национальные периферии. Проблема беспризорных детей с особой остротой возникала в различные периоды истории, в первую очередь в годы бедствий, связанных с войной, голодом, эпидемиями и другими тяжелыми общественными потрясениями. Одной из важных причин беспризорности являлось и является разрушение семейного быта и естественного уклада жизни. В подобных условиях бездомный ребенок рано выпадал из семьи, включался в уличную борьбу за выживание, при отсутствии всякой помощи взрослых и нормальной детской среды. Не имея родных, дети скитались в поисках пищи, приюта, заботы и внимания и, как правило, не находили их. Существовая в условиях законов улицы, часто попадали под влияние преступных элементов, становились обозленными, воспринимали окружающий мир как враждебный. Большевики понимали, что без принятия системы мер, без помощи государства и общества вырвать беспризорников из замкнутого круга не удастся. Данные меры и анализируются в статье на примере Акмолинской губернии.

Считаем возможным остановиться на термине «беспризорный». В период с 1917 до 1926 гг. точного определения не существовало, поэтому его трактовка была достаточно широкой, слишком общей и неуточненной. Немногочисленные дискуссии на эту тему не решали вопроса [2]. И лишь после выхода постановления ВЦИК и Совнаркома РСФСР от 8 марта 1926 г. термин «беспризорный» обрел более четкое содержание в советской социальной и воспитательной парадигме [3; 233]. Согласно этому документу детей, оставшихся на улице, разделили на две категории: на собственно «беспризорных» и нуждающихся «в мерах временной или частичной помощи и воспитании». Беспризорными стали признаваться только дети до 16 лет, «которые не имели родителей, взрослых братьев, сестер,

способных принять на себя заботы о них; потерявшие связь с родителями и родственниками; изъятые из семьи постановлением суда или комиссией по делам несовершеннолетних; подкинутые» [3; 238]. Под нуждающимися «в мерах временной или частичной помощи и воспитании» понимали детей, родители которых или опекуны вследствие болезни или по другим причинам не в состоянии были их содержать [3; 238].

Таким образом, со второй половины 1920-х гг. под беспризорностью понималось отсутствие у детей и подростков постоянного места жительства, определенных занятий, семейного или государственного попечения и систематического воспитательного воздействия в результате потери родителей, ухода из семьи, бегства из воспитательного учреждения. Из всей массы беспризорных наиболее нуждающимися в полном обеспечении и воспитании признавались категории беспризорных бездомных и беспризорно заброшенных, в то время как беспризорные безнадзорные считались лишь нуждающимися в охране и в мерах временной или частичной помощи и воспитания [4; 36].

Обсуждение

Основными причинами появления детской беспризорности в начале 1920-х гг. стали Первая мировая война, революции 1917 г., гражданская война, в ходе которой большевики ввели продразверстку, отрицательно сказавшуюся на хозяйственной деятельности российских крестьян и казахских скотоводов-кочевников. Миллионы погибших в эти годы от войн, умерших от голода и эпидемий, разоренных продразверстками, оставляли своих детей сиротами. Дальнейшая жизнь этих детей в условиях переломного времени была трагической. Тотальный голод начала 1920-х гг. породил неслыханную беспризорность с ее прямыми последствиями — детской преступностью, детской проституцией, детским нищенством и нередкими психическими отклонениями у выживших детей и подростков. По информации председателя ЦИК СССР М.И. Калинина, в 1923 г. в Советском государстве насчитывалось свыше 5,5 млн бесприютных, безнадзорных и брошенных детей [5].

Тяжелейшая ситуация в начале 1920-х гг. сложилась и в северных регионах Киргизской (Казахской) АССР, в частности в Акмолинской губернии. Большие масштабы голод приобрел в Акмолинском уезде, имевшем репутацию самого плодородного уезда в Акмолинской губернии. Политика «военного коммунизма», неурожай и джунты 1921–1922 гг. в немалой степени способствовали появлению в уезде «призрака Поволжья» [6; 69]. Голодающие, в особенности жители южных волостей — Асан-Кайгинской и Сары-Аркинской, направлялись в город Акмолинск, где пытались найти работу и улучшить свое бедственное положение. Детские дома были переполнены беспризорными детьми. Население употребляло в пищу кошек, собак, различные суррогаты [7; 12].

Символом того времени стала детская беспризорность. Уже в 1921 г. в советской прессе стали появляться статьи и заметки о беспризорниках, а летом 1922 г. в «Известиях» была опубликована сводка РКИ (Рабоче-крестьянской инспекции) о детской беспризорности и преступности несовершеннолетних (до этого подобные сведения были достоянием ограниченного круга руководителей страны). С увеличением количества голодающих увеличивалась и детская беспризорность. Например, на 1 декабря 1921 г. беспризорных детей по КАССР насчитывалось 128000 чел., а на 31 декабря — 158000, в январе 1922 г. количество беспризорных увеличилось до 333043 человек [8; 1].

В августе 1921 г. Президиум КазЦИКа рассматривал вопрос о положении детей и молодежи в губерниях республики. В докладе члена Президиума А. Айтиева говорилось, что в голодающих губерниях «132 детдома, в которых находится 44698 детей. Имеется острый недостаток одежды, питания, обуви, посуды. Заболевание среди детей велико: дизентерия, тиф, холера» [9; 71]. Центральная Комиссия помощи голодающим сообщала, «что по данным на июнь 1922 г. обеспечивалось продуктами 777192 человек, из них 422799 детей». На 1922 г. Комиссией по борьбе с последствиями голода в Казахстане были выявлены «219328 беспризорников, для помощи которым была разработана специальная программа с выделением материальных средств. В пяти губерниях были открыты 575 детских домов, 9 детских приемников» [9; 363].

В 1922 г. в Акмолинской губернии насчитывалось 14 детских домов, где находились 9426 детей, и 4 приюта для содержания младенцев с грудного возраста до 3 лет. Как констатируют источники, «детская смертность была высокой и достигала 40 %» [10; 42]. В 1922 г. среди населения г. Петропавловска насчитывалось 300 детей для прокормления. Детские дома были ликвидированы за недостатком средств, и дети перераспределены среди населения волостей «по 1–2 человека на каждое трудовое хозяйство в количестве 1000 человек. Численность детей составляла: Петропавловск — 1396, Кокчетав — 450, Атбасар — 300, Черлак — 150 человек. Всего 2596 детей» [11; 54]. В целом

детская беспризорность в КАССР, несмотря на все усилия Народного комиссариата просвещения и Центральной детской комиссии при КазЦИК, продолжала оставаться острым вопросом. Как одни из мер по борьбе с детской беспризорностью были организованы детские приемники, увеличивалось число детских домов.

В 1920–1924 гг. в губерниях КАССР насчитывалось «196 детских учреждений с числом детей в 15156 человек, беспризорных детей, находящихся вне всякой помощи, по неточному подсчету на 1 января 1924 г. насчитывалось до 45000 человек, которые распределялись по губерниям следующим образом: Оренбургская — 4596, Кустанайская — 5800, Акмолинская — 6900, Семипалатинская — 8000, Уральская — 10600, Букеевская — 2200, Актюбинская — 2404 человека» [12; 56]. Условия жизни детей в этих детдомах были тяжелыми, дефицит проявлялся во всем. В Оренбургской, Кустанайской, Акмолинской, Семипалатинской, Уральской, Букеевской, Актюбинской губерниях дети детских домов имели лишь по одной смене белья, одеждой теплой обеспечены лишь «на 30 %, обувью на 20–25 %» [12; 56]. Средства, отпускаемые центром на детское питание, были недостаточными, поэтому питание детей было минимальным и однообразным. Дети получали хлеб, пшено и изредка мясо. На содержание детских домов из местных средств отпускались мизерные средства, вследствие их недостаточности. В связи с «недородом» (неурожаем из-за засухи) в большинстве губерний КАССР (первое место среди которых занимали Уральская, Актюбинская губернии, два уезда Акмолинской губернии и частично Оренбургская) детская беспризорность городов значительно увеличилась притоком детей из деревень. Так, например, «в Акмолинской губернии количество беспризорных детей вне детских домов составило 2963 человек» [11; 9].

С 1920 г. органом, курирующим работу по борьбе с беспризорностью, устройству детских домов, по правовой защите детей, помощи бесприютным, стал отдел охраны детства в секторе социального воспитания Народного комиссариата просвещения, выросший из отдела детских домов при Народном комиссариате социального обеспечения. В соответствии с Декретом от 11 февраля 1921 г. Наркомата просвещения РСФСР было образовано Главное управление социального воспитания и политехнического образования детей до 15 лет. Параллельно шло образование Комиссии по улучшению жизни детей, созданной по инициативе Наркома внутренних дел Ф.Э. Дзержинского 27 января 1921 г. и утвержденной постановлением Президиума ВЦИК 10 февраля 1921 г. [13]. В течение первой половины 1920-х гг. осуществлялись наращивание административных структур и становление системы по борьбе с детской беспризорностью. В апреле 1922 г. при Главном управлении социального воспитания был образован отдел социально-правовой охраны несовершеннолетних и воспитания дефективных. Главными задачами отдела были признаны защита и правовая охрана несовершеннолетних в самом широком смысле этого слова, а также борьба с беспризорностью. На местах работу по охране детства контролировали уполномоченные Детской комиссии, которым должны были оказывать всевозможную помощь местные исполкомы, парткомы, продовольственные комитеты, отделы народного образования и профсоюзы. Свою работу Детская комиссия начала с тщательного изучения положения детей в республике. По ее распоряжению было предпринято общереспубликанское обследование детских учреждений, которое еще раз подтвердило, что в данный момент основная задача заключалась не в улучшении жизни детей, не в предоставлении им каких-либо дополнительных благ, а именно в «спасении подрастающего поколения от вымирания» [14; 20]. Система ликвидации беспризорности включала выявление и контроль за безнадзорными детьми, неблагополучными семьями, социальную помощь и профилактику беспризорности. Организовывались детские воспитательные учреждения интернатного типа — детские дома, трудовые коммуны, школы-колонии, школы-коммуны, детские «городки» (представляли собой объединение нескольких детских домов, школ, ФЗУ с обслуживающей их инфраструктурой и подсобными учреждениями) и пр. Ликвидация беспризорности также требовала проведения санитарной обработки обитателей подвалов и улиц, в необходимых случаях — лечения, организации питания и учебы детей, предоставления жилья и работы подросткам. Для этого на предприятиях были введены специальные 7 %-ные квоты для производственного обучения и трудоустройства подростков. Одним из основных методов борьбы с детской беспризорностью и преступностью государство считало создание сети разнообразных детских учреждений для сирот и беспризорных, опыт которых отражен в обширной литературе и в архивах республики [15].

КазЦИК ходатайствовал перед Центральной Комиссией по борьбе с неурожаем об отпуске средств «в сумме 472584 руб. на питание и организацию первичных учреждений — питательных пунктов или столовых в течение 7 зимних месяцев для беспризорных детей» [12; 57]. Так, в «г. Петропавловске 8 ноября 1923 г. на заседании Акмолинской Губернской Комиссии постановили:

«8000 пудов ржи распределить так: 1000 пудов отпустить Акмолинской Губернской Детской комиссии на оказание помощи беспризорным детям, предоставив Губкомиссии право распределить это количество ржи по губернии, строго сообразуясь с действительной потребностью на местах. 7000 пудов распределить: 1) 60 %, т.е. 4200 пудов, для уездов: Кокчетавского — 1500, Атбасарского — 1000, Акмолинского — 1250, Черлакского — 450; 2) 200 пудов — выдать Губернскому собесу на содержание беспризорных инвалидов голода» [11; 90]. Для борьбы с детской беспризорностью и голодом планировалось открыть питательные пункты. Сеть питательных пунктов должна была раскинуться по волостным центрам, из расчета по 50 человек в среднем на каждый пункт. Общее количество детей, нуждающихся в помощи питанием, в сельских местностях достигало «12668 человек, которые по губерниям распределяются следующим образом: Актюбинская — 5564, Букеевская — 2158, Акмолинская — 1013, Уральская — 1122, Павлодарская — 1075, Атбасарский уезд — 593 человек» [12; 66 об.]. Питательные пункты должны были выдавать детям горячую пищу один раз в день.

Основными учреждениями для беспризорных детей и подростков были приемники-распределители и детские дома различных типов (существовало около 23 разновидностей названий детских домов). Вначале схема борьбы с беспризорностью была простой: ребенок с улицы — детский приемный пункт — детский дом. Такой порядок очень скоро привел к переполнению детдомов, которые государство было уже не в силах содержать. С переводом в 1923 г. детских учреждений на местный бюджет количество детдомов и детей в них стало резко сокращаться [16; 50].

Еще более усугубил ситуацию с беспризорностью массовый голод в Поволжье в 1921–1923 гг. Учащались случаи, когда на территории КАССР в семьях, прибывших из Поволжья, родители умирали, а ребята становились беспризорными. В те тревожные дни эшелоны с детьми из районов, пораженных голодом, шли на восток страны, чтобы спасти от смерти молодое поколение. Больше всего страдали дети, которых сдавали в детские дома, так как положение в них было зачастую катастрофическим. Так, в архивных источниках отмечается: «В настоящее время в связи со стихийным голодом, постигшим Кирреспублику (Казахскую Республику), смертность детей до 1-го года в наших домах колеблется между 80–90 %, а старше одного года — между 50–60 %. Санитарное состояние детских домов в связи с их перегруженностью и неблагоустроенностью ниже всякой критики: грязь, зловоние, скученность, по трое, четверо детей на одной койке, если таковые имеются, без матрацев, без одеял, без света; дети грязны, голы, босы, проводят целые дни в ожидании полуголодного обеда. Дети чахнут физически и тупеют морально» [17; 37]. В детских домах не хватало постельного белья, одежды, обуви. Тиф, холера, дизентерия, чесотка уносили много детских жизней. Но в большей степени, чем от болезней, дети умирали от истощения, например, только в ноябре–декабре 1921 г. умерли 115 детей. Как следует из материалов Детской комиссии, к 1921 г. «питание детей» не было налажено «положительно нигде». «Дети ведут полуголодное существование, — сообщалось в докладе Детской комиссии Президиуму ВЦИК от 15 апреля 1921 г., — местами питаюсь только хлебом и капустой или мерзлым картофелем» [18; 19 об.].

Точных сведений о численности голодающих детей по республике и по отдельным губерниям не было. Данное обстоятельство делало невозможным плановое снабжение губерний детскими продовольственными пайками. Поэтому первым делом Детская комиссия попыталась установить численность детей в различных регионах для организации снабжения их соответствующим количеством пайков по специально разработанной норме. Суточные нормы первоначально не были едиными для всей республики, а устанавливались в зависимости от местных условий. В среднем по стране каждому воспитаннику закрытого детского учреждения в сутки полагалось «200–300 г хлеба, около 100 г мяса или рыбы и столько же крупы, 300–400 г картофеля, по 12 гр. соли и сахара. В некоторых губерниях в продовольственную норму включали также яйца (по 20 в месяц), молоко (по стакану в день) и овощи (около 200 гр.)» [19; 209]. Положение с питанием детей характеризует телеграмма губисполкома в КазЦИК: «Кирнаркомпродом разрешено для детдомов только 500 пайков, вместо бывших 6710. Детей 10000, положение ужасное, приходится выбрасывать их на улицу. Примите срочные меры» [11; 10]. Некоторые детдома месяцами не получали продукты, и дети разбежались, чтобы не умереть с голоду.

В общей сложности в эти годы более 2300 тыс. человек голодали, около 1 млн человек умерли от голода и болезней. Следует учитывать, что данные сведения неполные, так как регистрация голодающих в Казахстане стала проводиться лишь с ноября 1921 г. И если в ноябре 1921 г. в Казахстане, по данным Народного Комиссариата здравоохранения, голодало «1559911 человек, или на 1 тыс. че-

людей приходилось 315 голодающих, то уже в апреле 1922 г. численность голодающих достигла 2471740 человек» [6; 22].

Архивные материалы рисуют ужасную картину роста количества голодающих на территории Казахстана. Вместе с тем говорить о том, что государство не предпринимало в это сложное время меры по борьбе с голодом и беспризорностью, будет неправильно. Так, Центральная детская комиссия отдала в начале ноября 1921 г. распоряжение губернским комиссиям о том, чтобы детские дома, сады, очаги для детей не закрывались, несмотря на переполненность, а продолжали прием детей. Комиссией было предложено немедленно приступить к открытию специальных домов-приемников для беспризорных детей, в которых они могли бы получить кров, пищу и уход. Более того, Центральная детская комиссия поставила вопрос спасения детей «вопросом дня», призывая все органы власти и население всемерно помочь беспризорным детям. Следует подчеркнуть, что призывы комиссии не остались неуслышанными. Организация детских приемников развивалась довольно быстрыми темпами, не отставала от нее и организация новых детдомов нормального (штатного) типа. Если мы сравним количество детей в детских учреждениях за время с 1 июля 1921 г. по 1 сентября 1922 г., то в целом увидим разницу в сторону увеличения. «Если 1 июля 1921 г. детских учреждений было 423, с числом детей в школах 21551, 1 января 1922 г. — 580, с количеством детей 33342, то 1 июля 1922 г. число их понизилось до 505, однако количество детей увеличилось до 41215 человек. 1 сентября 1922 г. количество учреждений составляет 498 и детей в них 33726» [20; 85].

Голод, судя по неполным статистическим данным (поскольку беспризорность слабо поддавалась учету), напрямую влиял на негативную тенденцию роста беспризорности в республике с 1921 по 1922 гг. Это можно проследить на архивных материалах, данные которых показывают, что по республике «16 ноября 1921 г. — 100000, 1 декабря 1921 г. — 128873, 1 января 1922 г. — 158564, 1 марта 1922 г. — 408022 беспризорных детей» [20; 90]. Такая же отрицательная динамика наблюдалась и по Акмолинской губернии, где число беспризорных детей составляло: «16 ноября 1921 г. — 8176, 1 декабря 1921 г. — 8670, 1 января 1922 г. — 13170, 1 марта 1922 г. — 12000 человек» [21; 230].

Т а б л и ц а

Количество детских учреждений по КАССР и детей, содержащихся в них (сентябрь 1922 г.) [22; 6]

Губерния (уезд)	Детские дома		Приемники	
	Учреждения	Кол-во детей	Учреждения	Кол-во детей
Оренбургская	120	6582	12	1890
Уральская	65	3673	7	1400
Актюбинская	100	6583	7	1550
Кустанайская	53	2909	5	1050
Букеевская	13	588	3	500
Акмолинская	35	1790	7	1550
Семипалатинская	49	2562	4	650
Адаевский уезд	8	449	—	—
Итого	453	25136	45	8590

Расширение сети детских учреждений не решило задачи — число беспризорных, судя по архивным материалам, ежегодно росло. К тому же переполненные детские приемники при недостаточном питании детей, недостатке топлива в них могли превратиться в очаги болезней. Поэтому перед Центральной детской комиссией встал вопрос о вывозе детей за пределы республики — в благополучные районы РСФСР, Туркестанской и Бухарской Республик. Центральная детская комиссия спешно поставила вопрос перед властями о присылке санитарных поездов для эвакуации детей. В 1921 г. в Туркестанскую Республику было «вывезено 5 поездов с детьми в количестве 3271 человек. За 1922 г. на 19 санитарных поездах было вывезено за пределы КАССР 12840 детей: в Бухару — 1 санитарный поезд, остальные — в Россию и Украину. Из этих поездов 4 санитарных поезда были предоставлены для Актюбинской губернии, 6 — для Уральской, 2 — для Кустанайской, остальные — для города Оренбурга» [21; 251].

Таким образом, за все время эвакуации было «24 санитарных поезда и вывезено 16111 детей. Общее количество эвакуированных детей по КАССР было 79500 человек» [22; 5 об.].

В Акмолинской губернии в апреле 1922 г., согласно данным Народного Комиссариата здравоохранения, голодали «472 тыс. человек» [7; 21]. Существенно увеличился уровень сиротства в связи с ростом смертности населения. Повышение смертности объясняется многими обстоятельствами, в числе которых голод, отсутствие медикаментов, разрушение существовавшей системы здравоохранения. Голод в немалой степени способствовал возникновению эпидемий таких заболеваний, как туберкулёз, тиф, оспа, малярия, холера и другие. Например, «в 1922 г. в Акмолинской губернии заболело тифом 36524, холерой — 4731, малярией — 4234, цингой — 1137, дизентерией — 2780 человек» [6; 7]. Начальник Акмолинского уездного здравотдела в своём докладе на губернском совещании отмечал, что «смертность киргиз (казахов) от инфекционных заболеваний (тифа, оспы, туберкулёза) — огромная» [6; 8]. В Акмолинской губернии в 1922 г. «умерло в больницах 8373 человек» [6; 13].

Тяжелая эпидемическая ситуация осложнялась развалом существовавшей системы здравоохранения. Трудное положение сложилось с обеспечением лекарствами и перевязочным материалом. Отпуск медикаментов населению производился в минимальных количествах. В это же время начался стихийный наплыв возвращающихся бывших военнопленных, многие из которых болели венерическими и другими инфекционными болезнями. Все это усугубляло ситуацию. Санитарное состояние детских учреждений в КАССР было далеко не удовлетворительным. Изоляторы не оборудованы, медицинская помощь осуществлялась на низком уровне. Детские дома размещались в непригодных зданиях. Большинство помещений нуждались в капитальном ремонте. Работа по школьно-санитарному надзору осуществлялась слабо, медицинские осмотры школьников проводились с большими нарушениями [23; 527].

Нужно отметить, что одним из важных вопросов в деле борьбы с детской беспризорностью являлся вопрос о подростках. В КАССР насчитывалось «до 7000 подростков» [8; 12], находившихся в детских домах и на улице, совершенно не приспособленных к жизни, не имеющих трудовых навыков. Борьба с детской беспризорностью велась в направлении организации сельскохозяйственных артелей из беспризорных подростков и производственных мастерских, которые могли дать трудовые навыки для будущей самостоятельной жизни. Например, были открыты «в Акмолинской губернии — 1, Кустанайской — 1, Оренбургской — 2, Уральской — 1 и Семипалатинской — 1. Всего 6 коммун» [12; 57]. На участках земли, имеющихся при детских коммунах, силами детей производились посевы пшеницы и других злаков. Детские коммуны стали чуть ли не единственными учреждениями, оказавшими реальную помощь беспризорным подросткам республики. Главный контингент беспризорных детей в КАССР — это дети крестьян и рабочих. Вернуть их в ряды трудящегося пролетариата — стало главной задачей Советской власти в борьбе с детской беспризорностью. Отсюда вытекала необходимость организации производственных мастерских: сапожных, столярных, швейных и других. В КАССР действовало 35 различных мастерских. Эти мастерские превратились в подсобный орган по обслуживанию нужд детских домов, например, исполнялась пошивка и починка белья и обуви, переплетались книги и т.д. Для развития трудовых навыков у подростков детских домов и беспризорных государственных органы открывали центральные мастерские, где подростки могли под руководством опытного руководителя хорошо изучить то или иное ремесло, работая в них несколько смен.

Заключение

Подводя итог сказанному выше, следует отметить, что, несмотря на тяжелейшую социально-экономическую ситуацию начала 1920-х гг., Советская власть прилагала немало усилий по включению беспризорных детей в нормальную общественную жизнь посредством организации их физического труда и распределения их по семьям. Говоря о результатах работы с детьми-беспризорниками в 1921–1923 гг., необходимо учитывать сложную ситуацию, в которой находилась в тот период республика. Полностью ликвидировать беспризорность и коренным образом улучшить положение детского населения в 1920-е гг. не удалось, но, если учитывать экономическую ситуацию в стране, было сделано немало. Местные органы власти при поддержке центра прилагали значительные усилия для спасения детей от голода и эпидемий. Создавались различные детские учреждения, в которых детям предлагался широкий спектр услуг — от предоставления жилья до временного трудоустройства. Вместе с тем советским органам не удалось решить проблему ликвидации беспризорных и голодных детей, отчасти из-за тяжелого материального положения республики. Меры принимались, но их было недостаточно. Голод 1921–1923 гг., охвативший повсеместно весь Советский Казахстан, на его фоне вспыхнувшие эпидемии тяжелее всего отразились на положении детей, лишая их здоровья и даже

жизни. Все это в совокупности позволяет нам считать проблему борьбы Советской власти с голодом и ростом числа беспризорных детей в 1920-е гг. нерешенной.

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З.Г. Сактаганова, Г.Б. Карсакова

1921–1923-ші жж. Ақмола губерниясында балалар панасыздығы және оны жою жөніндегі іс-шаралар

Мақалада 1921–1923 жж. Қазақ АКСР-нің көптеген аймақтарын қамтыған және балалардың жағдайынан көрініс берген аштықтың салдары қарастырылған. Балаларды құтқару жөніндегі партиялық-мемлекеттік органдардың және қоғамдық ұйымдардың қызметіне талдау жасалған. Мұрағат деректерінің негізінде авторлар жалпы республика бойынша, сонымен қатар солтүстік аймақта, атап айтқанда, Ақмола губерниясындағы панасыз қалған балалардың саны туралы мәліметтерді келтірген. Балалардың панасыз қалуының негізгі себептері қарастырылған, олардың қатарына әлеуметтік-экономикалық факторлар ғана емес, сондай-ақ жанұяның бұзылуына, аштыққа, өлім-жітімнің көбеюіне және тағы басқаға алып келген кеңес мемлекетінің саясаты жатқызылды. Панасыз және қараусыз қалған балалық жағдайында балалардың өмір сүруі қиындап, олардың денсаулығына, психикасына, әрі қарай әлеуметтенуіне теріс әсер етті. Балалар панасыздығы соғыстың, аштықтың нәтижесінде туындаған республиканың ауыр әлеуметтік-экономикалық жағдайының салдарынан болды деген қорытынды жасалды.

Кілт сөздер: балалар панасыздығы, 1921–1923 жылдардағы аштық, індет, балалар үйі, коммуна, жанұя.

Z.G. Saktaganova, G.B. Karsakova

Children's homelessness in the Akmola province in 1921–1923 and actions for its elimination

In this article is examined the consequences of the famine in 1921–1923, which involved many regions of Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialistic Republic and affected on children's condition. It is analyzed the activities of the party and state authorities and public organizations to rescue the children. On the basis of archival sources the authors cite information on the number of homeless children both in the whole republic and in the northern region, in particular in Akmola province. It is examined the main causes of children's homelessness, which includes along with socio-economic factors also the policy of military communism of the Soviet state, involved the destruction of the family, famine, high mortality rate, etc. In the conditions of the homeless and uncared for childhood, the child fell into difficult life conditions, which negatively affected his health, mind, further socialization. It is concluded that children's homelessness was the result of difficult socio-economic situation of the country which caused to war, famine, devastation.

Keywords: children's homelessness, the famine of 1921–1923, epidemic, the orphanage, communes.

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History of urbanization of Kazakhstan in XVIII–XIX centuries in the conditions of transformation of the traditional Kazakh society

The article considers the key stages of urbanization processes in Kazakhstan in the XVIII–XIX centuries. The processes of city formation of fortresses in the territory of Kazakhstan are considered. The features of the construction of fortresses and military lines in general have been revealed and studied. Studying the history of Kazakhstan cities in the XVIII–XIX centuries allows us to imagine how the economic life of urban settlements was changing, under the influence of what factors these changes took place, what significance they had for the population of cities and districts. Also, the article highlights the role of Kazakh historical figures in the process of urbanization of Kazakhstan in the XVIII–XIX centuries. Considerable attention is paid to revealing, both in common features, and the specificity of the socio-economic and cultural development of the county towns of the region. The authors conclude that the colonial policy of the Russian Empire had a significant impact on the transformation of the social and economic life of the population of the cities of Kazakhstan, had an impact on the socio-cultural processes in the region, and changed the ethnic composition of the urban population.

Keywords: urbanization, city, military line, fortress, military colonization, the County town, the colonial policy.

History of urbanization of Kazakhstan in XVIII–XIX centuries are attracting attention of researchers of many scientific fields. Kazakhstan cities, being the centers of resettlement of people of different ethnicities, as well as being the centers of industry, trade, material production, political life and private enterprise in the preservation of socio-political norms, played a significant role in the complex process of interaction.

The cities of the Steppe Kray can be divided into three groups as they arise: formed in the XVIII century, in connection with the construction of fortified lines-Orenburg, Yaitsky, Gorky, Irtysh, and others; emerged in the first half of the XVIII century as a result of the adoption of the «Charter of the Siberian Kirgiz» and «The Charter of the Orenburg Kirgiz»; the cities that arose in the second half of the 18th century as a result of «Provisional Statute on governance in the steppe regions Orenburg and West-Siberian Governorate General» [1; 71, 72].

The process of city formation of fortresses in the territory of Kazakhstan begins in the XVIII – early. XIX centuries, when fortresses were erected on fortified lines, the royal administration used the so-called bastion system, improved by the French marshal S. Vauban. The construction of fortresses at the beginning of the XVIII century allowed to take into account the topography of the terrain, regular lay-out was well superimposed on the terrain conditions. However, it should be clarified that the expression «fortress» meant at that time just a settlement, enclosed by a log palisade and a moat. Such fortresses as Omsk, Semipalatinsk, Yamyshevskaya, Ust-Kamenogorsk and Petropavlovsk were built with an earthen rampart along the bastion system.

The frontier line of military fortresses consisted of several parts: Gorky line — from the south-western side to the Omsk fortress, which was established in the middle of the XVIII century and included 10 fortresses. The key fortification was the Peter and Paul Fortress [2; 408, 409]; the Uyiskaya line — from the Verkhneyaytskaya fortress to the Zverinogolovskaya fortress, the Yaitsky line — from Guryev to Western Siberia, the Irtysh line — from the fortress of Omsk on the right bank of the Irtysh; the Kolyvan line — from the fortress of Ust-Kamenogorsk in the direction of the fortress of Kuznetsk. In 1752, by the decision of the government, construction began on several fortifications from the tract of the Zveriniy on Tobol to the Omsk fortress. According to the plan of Knyazh M.P. Gagarin construction of Ishim fortification from Tobolsk to Yarkend began. The Novo-Ishim line connected the Uyiskaya line with the Irtysh river. In the West, the Uyiskaya line was divided into the Upper-Uyiskaya and Lower-Uyiskaya lines. Lower-Uyiskaya distance included Zverinogolovskaya fortress, which was previously part of the Novoishimskaya line and was part of the Orenburg region [3]. Later Zverinogolovskaya fortress, according to the report of the chief of the General Staff, was annexed to the Siberian line and became part of the Omsk Region [4; 1a].

The number of erected fortresses on the Irtysh in the first half of the XVIII century allows us to judge the scale of military colonization of the region: in 1715 built the fortress of Yamyshevskaya by Expedition

under the command of lieutenant-colonel I.D. Buchholz. In 1716 the Omsk fortress at the mouth of the Om River laid by I.D. Buchholz marked the beginning of the construction of the Irtysh border line; in 1717 the fortress of Zhelezinskaya was laid at the Temirkash tract by detachment of the Svierskiy; in 1717 Kolbasunskaya fortress was built in the vicinity of Yamyshvsky fortress by Tarski Cossack captain Vasily Cheredov; in 1718 the Semipalatinskaya fortress was built by expedition of Lieutenant Colonel P. Stupin; the fortress of Ust-Kamenogorsk was founded by Expedition of Major I.M. Likharev.

The newly built fortresses and fortifications provided an opportunity for further advancement into the Kazakh steppe. In addition, they were important for the constant intimidation of Kazakh nomadism. Also these fortified points were used as centers for military-administrative management of the steppe.

In 1735, the construction of the city of Orenburg began, which was built on the initiative of the Khan of the Younger Zhuz Abulhair, as evidenced by the following fact: «In return for such a splendid promises Abulhair through his son asked for two things; the assertion of the khan's dignity in its kind for the eternal times and the construction, at the confluence of the Ori River in the Urals of the city with a fortress, in which he could find refuge in case of danger» [5; 186]. Abulhair Khan repeatedly appealed to the royal administration to build a city in the steppe. However, the decision to build the city was made on July 7, 1734. Under the signature of Empress Anna, the future city was given an extensive charter «Privilege», it listed benefits to the future population of the city. Also in this document the city was called Orenburg. In the beginning it was planned that the city would be inhabited by merchants and «craftsmen» and was viewed as a trade gate of Russia to Central Asia. Since 1744 the city became the center of the Orenburg province, and since 1748 — the Orenburg Cossack army.

By the middle of the 18th century, the Ishim line represented a weak defense. Local military commanders considered it necessary to strengthen the line with new fortifications. The old line fell into decay even a few years before the construction of Novaya. In 1740, the royal government approved a project to create a new chain of military fortifications, south of the Ishim line, a length of 558 km. — from the natural boundary of the Zveriniy Head to the Tobol River to the Omsk fortress to the Irtysh River. In 1755, after the rebuilding of the new Ishim line, the old line was destroyed. In 1752, the Senate approved the project of the correction of the Ishim line. The foundation of the Novaya line was the reason for joining the borders of the Orenburg province, which belonged to the Kazakhs. Under the erection of fortresses, the most favorable and convenient places were chosen. The seizure of the most significant pasture areas in the area has led to an exacerbation of relations of Kazakhs with prilinear inhabitants. A feature of the Novaya line is that the construction of the planned fortresses and redoubts was started at the same time in all places in the summer of 1752, by the soldiers of the Vologda regiment and the Cossacks of the Ishim irregular regiment and was accelerated. The construction of all fortresses and redoubts was completed in August 1752.

Thus, in the early fifties of the XVIII century a continuous line of fortresses and outposts was formed from the mouth of Yaik to the Ust-Kamenogorsk fortress. Initially, the main population of the fortresses consisted of soldiers and officers of the regular army, later replenished with Cossacks from Siberian cities, as well as Cossacks from the Don, Volga and the Urals, which led to the emergence within the fortresses of Cossack villages.

By the middle of the XVIII century Kazakhstan was surrounded on three sides by Russian fortified lines, which limited the territory of the settlement of Kazakh tribes and races, destroying the traditional routes of nomadism.

In 1752, in the very center of the Ishim steppe, the main fortress of Russian fortifications was erected in the Kyzyl-Zhar tract. The reason for the construction of the fortress was the establishment of political and trade and economic relations between the tsarist administration and the khan's authorities. Abylai Khan did not object to the construction of the Novo-Ishim fortress line on his land, as he was interested in the security functions of the Russian troops against the Dzungarian aggression. When erecting the fortress of St. Peter put forward certain conditions — to open a bargain here for the Kazakhs with Russia, geographically more profitable for the northern nomads, rather than Orenburg or Orsk. Thanks to this trade laid down as a military fortress, the city of Petropavlovsk (Kyzylzhar) in the XVIII century became a city of trade with Russia and Kazakhstan and Central Asia. Twice a year there were fairs where livestock and livestock products were traded. The fair was attended by merchants and local nobility, also, the exchange yard was in the city. Thus, Petropavlovsk owes its development to the insistence of Abylai Khan. He actively participated in fairs, here he sent his livestock for sale, he even had a personal cattle-driving track «Abylai Zhol» [6].

In connection with the frequent Cossack raids in the steppe, the culling of the cattle in the indigenous population and the seizure of land, there was a need for the construction of a special house, the residence of

the khan to resolve the issues that arose. Archival materials show that «at his request, Abylai, for his stay was built right at the fortress of St. Peter, up the river Ishim in the mountains of Engistau, in 1765 a wooden house». Thus, Abylai's house was intended not only for staying, but also for resolving conflict issues in the steppe [7; 119, 120].

The erection of fortified military lines in the 50's of the XVIII century gave the tsarist government the opportunity to adopt the first legal acts that legitimized land restrictions for Kazakhs, which led to the Kazakhs losing the best pastures. The creation of fortifications limited the traditional wandering of the Kazakhs, violated the way of life, created tension between the tsarist administration and the Kazakh sultans. Thus, in the period from 1740 to 1760, 114 fortifications and fortresses were established on the border area with the northern region of Kazakhstan.

Thus, it should be asserted that the tsarist colonial administration began intensive penetration into the Kazakh steppes in the XVIII century, introducing at the same time a number of restrictions that undermined the foundations of the traditional Kazakh society.

In the first half of the XIX century, as the inclusion of the Kazakh steppe into the Russian Empire, on the territory of Kazakhstan, district towns were developed. The development of the district towns of the Steppe Krai had a special specificity in comparison with the cities of the European part of the Russian Empire. In the late 60s of the XIX century, due to the colonial reforms carried out by the tsarist government, urban settlements that emerged in the first half of the XIX century, such as Akmolinsk, Atbasar, Kokchetav and Karkaralinsk, became district centers. At the same time, new cities appeared on the territory of Kazakhstan, for example, Orenburg on the Turgai River and the Urals on the Irgiz River [8; 1, 2]. On the Tobol River in the Urdabai district, the city of Novo-Tobolsk was erected, where the administration of the Nikolaevsky district was located [9; 52, 53]. In 1870, the steppe fortifications of Irgiz and Turgai, later Aktobe, were transformed into district towns [9; 11, 12]. During the construction of district cities, terrain was chosen that were comfortable according to soil conditions, climate and abundance of water for the development of urban life. The district cities for a considerable time performed mostly administrative functions (military and civilian) and only after the Trans-Siberian railway in the mid-90s of the XIX century they began to significantly develop trade and industry and the population is growing.

In the first half of the XIX century, among the nomadic tribes of the Kazakh clans, populated areas arose, which later became administrative, commercial and cultural centers. For example, the village of Khan-Kala (Zhangir-kala) (now — the village of Urda), or, as in Russian sources Khan's rate. Its foundation began in 1826 [10; 45]. Zhangir Khan was one of the first who realized the consequences of the crisis of nomadic culture and the development trend of world civilizations. He is taking decisive measures and radical reforms in the internal policy of the Bukey Khanate. In 1827, he completed the construction of the Khan's Rate and set an example for a house-building. In Khan's Rate, besides the khan's house, houses for servants were built. By the summer of 1846, there were already 89 houses in the rate [11; 5].

In 1835, at the direction of Zhangir, the first Moslem mosque was built, the number of mullahs in the villages increased, and they functioned as clerks and spiritual guides. In 1841, at the initiative of Zhangir, the first Russian-Kazakh school appeared in Khan's Rate. This educational institution was kept at the expense of Khan's financial resources. Zhangir Khan widely implemented office work and even created his own archival service. In the field of healthcare, the khan introduced into practice vaccinations against infectious diseases.

According to the results of the first all-Russian census of 1897, there were 111 thousand inhabitants in the Bukeyevsky horde, of which 107 thousand were Kazakhs, 3 thousand Tatars and 1 thousand Russians. There were 1366 inhabitants in the Khan Rate in the capital of the Horde, including 742 Kazakhs, 341 Tatars, 231 Russian, 37 Ukrainians [12].

In the 20-ies of the XIX century, a new stage begins the erection of military lines and fortifications in the Steppe. So, in July 1822, the fortifications — Aktau on the Sary-Su River and Zharkaiskoye on Ishim — are based.

In the second quarter of the 19th century, the territory of Kazakhstan was surrounded by a chain of military lines surrounded by fortresses and outposts. Thus, the Urals line stretched from Guryev to the Iletskaia Defense and was at the beginning of the 19th century from 5 fortresses [13; 6, 7]. The upper line stretched from Orenburg to the east, including 9 fortresses, Orskaya — from 5 fortresses and Uyiskaya line — from 9 fortresses [14; 277].

In 1822, the Russian Empire, violating the conditions of the protectorate over the Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz, abolished the khanate power. They began building military fortresses on the territory of the Middle Zhuz. Fortresses had to cover the newly created external districts. In 1824 in the territory of the Middle Zhuz

were opened the first two district orders — Kokchetavsky and Karkaraly. In 1829 the sultan of Konurkulja Kudaymendiuly appealed to the Russian government with a request to form an outer district in the volosts administered by him at the Akmola district. Governor-General of Western Siberia Veliyaminov I.A. ordered to send a lieutenant-colonel F. Shubin, commandant of the Peter and Paul Fortress, to lay the fortress and the base of the Akmola district. The fortress was laid on the right bank of the Ishim River, in the center of the steppe. The official opening of the Akmola district order took place on August 22, 1832. The chief sultan of the Akmola external district was Konurkulja Tore Kudaymendiuly [15; 553]. One of the positive steps of Konurkulja Tora Kudaymendiuly, as the senior sultan of the Akmola external district, was that he tried to protect the interests of his population. So, in 1837 he asked for a postponement of payments to the yasak because of the attack of the Tashkent people and the approaching dzhute. His request was granted, and the servants were given the right to pay it only since 1840 [16; 40]. By the beginning of the second half of the XIX century the city became one of the important and large shopping centers of Central and Northern Kazakhstan. This is connected with giving city status to Akmola.

Thus, in the first half of the XIX century, new fortifications were erected, such as the Bayan-Aul (1826), Ayaguz (1831), Kokpektinskaya, (1844) and Urdzharskaya (1855).

In the second half of the 19th century, the presence of educational institutions, schools and madrassas under mosques becomes an important factor in the formation of the city. For example, Kunanbay, the father of the great Abai, being a sultan of the Karkaraly external district paid much attention to education and enlightenment. As a religious person, he was inclined to the traditions of the old education, but he also accepted the new, connected with Russian culture, as a social necessity. In 1845, he sent a letter to the border administration asking him to send a Russian teacher who can speak Kazakh in order to open a school for Kazakh children. The head of the frontier post approved the decision of Kunanbay to open the school. Kunanbai opened a school in the area «Eski tam». He took part in the creation of the first mosque in Karkaralinsk. In 1850, Kunanbay told the head of the Siberian Kazakhs that «the Moslem mosque in the village of Karkaraly has been completed by construction». In 1851, the chief of the region of the Siberian Kazakhs with a special instruction allowed Kunanbay Uskenbaev «to have premises for mullahs and an educational institution».

The years spent by Musa Shormanov in the post of agay sultan of Bayanaul external district allowed him to create favorable conditions for improving the social status of the external district. Being a dedicated adherent of education, M. Shormanov realized the importance of education, approved the opening of schools for Kazakh children in Omsk and Pavlodar, provided financial assistance to schools. So, for example, with his participation were opened in Omsk: in 1857, the Kazakh school for the preparation of writers of the parish chancery; in 1878, a boarding school for Kazakh girls. He was one of the first to voice the issue of creating mobile gymnasiums adapted to the conditions of nomadic life before the regional administration of Siberian Kazakhs. In Bayanaul Musa Sharmanov built a madrasah and a mosque at his own expense.

In 1868, the «Provisional Regulations on Governance in the Steppe Regions of the Orenburg and West Siberian Governor-General» was adopted, after which the process of urbanization in the region began to occur more intensively. So, back in 1873 the Orenburg governor-general was presented with the draft of the Provisions on benefits for the cities of the Turgai region and the steppe settlements of the Ural region. The purpose of this project was to «provide benefits to people who settle in the steppes of the Orenburg department, to attract the Russian population in them and form industrial and trade centers in them» [9; 125]. Earlier, in 1858 a similar provision on benefits was adopted for the cities of Ayaguz, Kokpekty and Kopal of the Semipalatinsk region [17]. On the reform of 1867–1868, five urban settlements, while entering Kazakhstan — Orenburg, Omsk, Semipalatinsk, Vernyi and Uralsk, became regional centers, while Tashkent was the center of the Turkestan governor-general with the Syrdarya region, Omsk had a control center for the steppe governor-general.

Since the middle of the 19th century, certain changes have taken place in the socioeconomic development and population of the cities of Kazakhstan. The population of cities was formed in different ways: at the expense of the settlers assigned to the urban estate, due to internal demographic growth, etc. Gradual erection of industrial objects in cities led to an increase in the number of workers and a change in the national composition. According to the First General Population Census of the Russian Empire in 1897 there were slightly more than 6 % of Kazakhstan residents living in cities, and there were 20 cities in total [18].

As a result of the resettlement policy in Kazakhstan, the multi-ethnic structure of the population has gradually evolved. According to the general census of the population of 1897, Kazakhs constituted the majority — 3,392.7 thousand people. The highest proportion of Kazakhs in 1897 was recorded in Semipalatinsk

(90.6 %) and Turgai (88.3 %) regions; in the Urals — 71.3 % in the share of Kazakhs, 62.6 % in Akmola, 60.4 % in the Syrdarya, 52.1 % in the Semirechye regions [19].

Thus, the new Russian city-fortresses on the territory of modern Kazakhstan were formed in the traditions of Russian town-planning art of the late XVII – early XVIII centuries. Some cities-fortresses, by virtue of their successful location, gradually began to transform into trade-craft and agricultural centers, growing into county cities, others remained at the level of a small settlement or ceased to exist. Constructed fortresses and county towns in the XVIII–XIX century were not only military in nature, but also had a significant impact on the socio-economic and cultural development of the region, led to a change in the traditional way of life of the Kazakh population and society as a whole.

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Дәстүрлі қазақ қоғамының өзгеріс жағдайындағы XVIII–XIX ғғ. Қазақстанның урбанизация тарихы

Мақалада XVIII–XIX ғғ. Қазақстандағы қалалық процестердің негізгі кезеңдері, бекіністер құрылысының үдерістері жан-жақты қарастырылды. Бекіністер мен әскери желілер құрылысының ерекшеліктері анықталды және зерттелді. XVIII–XIX ғғ. Қазақстан қалаларының тарихын зерттеу қалалар мен аудандардың тұрғындары үшін қандай маңызды факторлардың әсерінен қалалық елді мекендердің экономикалық өмірі өзгергенін елестетуге мүмкіндік берді. Сондай-ақ мақалада XVIII–XIX ғғ. Қазақстанның урбанизация процесінде қазақ тарихи тұлғаларының рөлі көрсетілген. Қалалардың әлеуметтік-экономикалық және мәдени даму ерекшеліктерін анықтауға көп көңіл бөлінген. Авторлар Ресей империясының отарлық саясатының Қазақстан қалаларының әлеуметтік-экономикалық өміріне, аймақтағы әлеуметтік-мәдени процестерге және қала тұрғындарының этникалық құрамының өзгеруіне айтарлықтай әсер еткендігін атап көрсеткен.

Кілт сөздер: урбанизация, қала, әскери желілер, бекініс, әскери колонизация, уезді қала, отарлау саясаты.

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История урбанизации Казахстана в XVIII–XIX вв. в условиях трансформации традиционного казахского общества

В статье рассматриваются ключевые этапы урбанизационных процессов в Казахстане в XVIII–XIX вв. Показаны процессы градоформирования крепостей на территории Казахстана. Выявлены и исследованы особенности строительства крепостей и военных линий в целом. Изучение истории городов Казахстана в XVIII–XIX вв. позволяет представить, как менялась хозяйственная жизнь городских поселений, под влиянием каких факторов происходили эти изменения, какое значение они имели для населения городов и округи. В статье также освещена роль казахских исторических личностей в процессе урбанизации Казахстана в XVIII–XIX вв. Значительное внимание уделяется выявлению как общих черт, так и своеобразия социально-экономического и культурного развития уездных городов региона. Авторы делают вывод о том, что колониальная политика Российской империи оказала значительное влияние на трансформацию социально-экономической жизни населения городов Казахстана, на социально-культурные процессы в регионе, изменила этнический состав населения городов.

Ключевые слова: урбанизация, город, военные линии, крепость, военная колонизация, уездный город, колониальная политика.

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Cultural heritage of the Great Silk road in the context of spiritual modernization of Kazakhstan

The article analyzes the historical and cultural phenomenon of the Great Silk Road in the context of actual problems of Kazakhstan's spiritual modernization. The traditions of interaction and dialogue of cultures on the Great Silk road are considered as factors of modern civilization development. It is proposed to use the spiritual experience of various cultures that Kazakhstan has accumulated to overcome political and religious confrontation and achieve peace and harmony among peoples. It is noted that the Great Silk road is a vivid example, which must be used to form the mutual relations of peoples in the modern world on the basis of dialogue but not the opposition of cultures.

Keywords: cultural heritage, interculturality, dialogue among cultures, national culture, spiritual modernization.

In modern culture, it is strongly said about calls for the achievement of a new level of trust between different peoples and people towards each other. Due to the cardinal changes that are taking place, the present era requires a renewed view of the world and of a man and the results of his creative activity as well. Modernity reveals an urgent need to develop a new worldview that would be based on the understanding of the unity of the historical destiny of mankind and guided by the ideas of a dialogue and mutual trust. However, the achievement of such a renewed historical form of the universal worldview is impossible without the maintenance of the dialogue by each participant, without its unique and original cultural identity, since, a full development of a society is impossible without the spiritual experience of past generations and without the study of its cultural heritage. It is no coincidence that representatives of modern philosophical and cultural studies insist that cultural diversity is an indispensable distinctive feature of mankind and a common heritage of mankind. It is necessary to cherish and preserve it for the benefit of all mankind. Cultural diversity creates a rich and diverse world that expands the range of choices and provides the necessary conditions for the realization of human opportunities and values, thus, being the driving force of the sustainable development for communities, peoples and nations. Cultural diversity that flourishes in conditions of democracy, tolerance, social justice and mutual respect between peoples and cultures is essential for ensuring peace and security at the local, national and international levels.

Modern cultural theory believes that, on the one hand, there is an idea of the plurality of equitable cultures and its uniqueness, but, on the other hand, it is necessary to think about an integrating beginning that creates cultural unity, without which the existence of mankind is impossible. The most promising dialogue is the dialogue between cultures with its value orientation on equality and partnership and ensuring cultural stability as well [1]. In this regard, the scientific and theoretical as well as practical significance of cultural studies becomes actual where modern processes of cultural interaction between countries and peoples and the dialogue of cultures are analyzed in the context of historical experience of this kind.

It is important to remember that cultural diversity is strengthened as a result of the free dissemination of ideas and, that, it is enriched due to constant exchanges and interaction between cultures. Therefore, so much

importance in modern relations between nations is attached to creating conditions for flourishing and free interaction of different cultures on a mutually beneficial basis as well as to encouraging dialogue among cultures in order to ensure broader and more balanced cultural exchanges around the world in the interests of mutual respect of cultures and a culture of peace.

The cultural uniqueness and value of the Great Silk road is in fact, that, for the first time in the history of mankind, it connected various countries and peoples on the gigantic expanses from the Mediterranean to the Pacific and connected their material, artistic and spiritual cultures as well. The most various achievements of different peoples' culture were exchanged for many centuries along this road.

The United Nations, proposing the revival of the Great Silk road in modern realities and promoting the adoption of the UNESCO project «The integral study of the Silk road — the ways of dialogue», initiated a broad and detailed study of the history of ancient road and its integration opportunities in the development of modern cultural relations between East and West and the improvement of relations between peoples inhabiting the Eurasian continent from the end of the twentieth century.

Today, there is a revival to a new life of the Great Silk Road thanks to the efforts of many states of the world. An increasing number of people show a keen interest towards the history of this ancient transnational trade highway, to unique cultural monuments, preserved spiritual values and traditions, customs and holidays of the peoples. The Great Silk road had a great influence on the formation of social, economic, political and spiritual characteristics in the culture of the countries through which it had passed. There were large and small commercial cities and settlements along all its routes, the cultural significance of which is still relevant today.

Such a region as Central Asia and, more specifically, the territory of modern Kazakhstan, was of a particular importance for the functioning of the Great Silk road. This region was not only crossed by dozens of trade routes, but there were also important ethnic processes, diplomatic treaties and military alliances were entered into a contract and there was an active interaction of cultures as well. A great role in the spread of written languages, world religions, many material and technical achievements belongs to the peoples of this region. According to N.A. Nazarbayev, «Kazakh steppe and Kazakh cities were crossroads of the dialogue of great cultures of the South and East, North and West» [2; 18]. And the culture of the Kazakh steppe is «a complex and multilevel phenomenon with the greatest historical tradition» [2; 19].

For the first time in the history of mankind, the Great Silk road connected various countries and peoples and also connected their material, artistic and spiritual cultures on the giant expanses from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. The most varied achievements of different peoples' culture were exchanged on this way for many centuries.

The United Nations, proposing the revival of the Great Silk road in modern realities, promoted the adoption of the UNESCO project «Integral study of the Silk Road — the ways of dialogue», according to which a wide and detailed study of the history of the ancient road, the formation and development of cultural relations between East and West, improvement of relations between the peoples inhabiting the Eurasian continent have been carried out [3].

Nowadays, the peoples of many countries are trying to learn the roots of their history, to understand the sources of spirituality, their national involvement in the world culture. Therefore, it is no coincidence that, in recent years, there has been an intensification of scientific and public interest towards the Great Silk Road, the idea of its revival as an important channel for interaction between different cultures.

As far back as 1972, the UNESCO adopted the Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. 146 countries are the supporters of this agreement, that involves the world community in the process of recognition, protection and revival of the unique values that human civilization has. The Convention provides a permanent legal, administrative and financial basis for the international cooperation in this field. Its implementation allowed to form a «concept of world heritage», overcoming all political and geographical boundaries. The international community, in accordance with the adopted agreement, helps countries to protect cultural and natural sites, classified as the world values.

All these efforts contributed to the fact that interest towards the Great Silk Road stimulated various studies that allowed to fully study the scientific, technological and cultural relations that existed between the West and the East and to find out how intercultural contacts developed closed social systems, broadened people's horizons, contributed to a more intensive development of the intellectual sphere. V.M. Mezhev confirmed that «to understand the present historically means to find a key to understanding the past and the future» [4; 93].

Today, when mankind has faced problems of survival under new conditions and the processes of globalization give rise to crises in all spheres of human life, and especially in the sphere of cultural development, the point of mutual understanding in the relations between people and states, the results of human activities as a whole of which depends on the communicative competence. Thus, the problems of trust, sensitivity to each other's interests, readiness to listen and understand all the participants in the dialogue arise on the way to common goals.

The Great Silk road is a phenomenon of world history and culture, a kind of cultural artery through which contacts of many peoples and states have been going on for a long time. It is possible to trace the processes of intercultural communication for 1500 years, to see the diversity of peoples who took part in this grand exchange of achievements in material and spiritual culture, to determine the main characteristics of current cultural situation, as well as the trends in the development of intercultural relations in the future.

Under conditions of globalization characterized by tendencies towards cultural unification and cultural isolation, the dialogue of cultures with its value orientation on ensuring world order and stability is an important factor in preserving the cultural unity of the world in a variety of cultures. This is most typical for the Eurasian multicultural space, where ethnic cultures develop dialogue models that include both universal foundations and its own cultural characteristics.

The Great Silk road has played a huge role in the development of human civilization and has a unique cultural value. Due to the existence of the intercontinental road, there was one of the fastest in the world history and a grand interpenetration of cultures of different peoples and the expansion of the space of international communication. The Great Silk road contributed to the strengthening of social, economic and cultural contacts between the farmers of oases and pastoralists of the steppes of Central Asia as well as the development of the northern steppe and mountain regions, especially the Syrdarya basin, valleys and foothills of the Tien Shan and Semirechie by farmers and townspeople. The history of cultural contacts on the Great Silk road shows a special role of nomadic tribes and peoples inhabiting the territory of Kazakhstan and neighboring countries in the formation of the Eurasian cultural area.

The cultural history of the Great Silk road, the development of which is an important component of cultural policy of modern Kazakhstan, shows that the alliance of forces has always been the most effective form of people's response to historical challenges. The disintegration of common space that connected the peoples close to each other for centuries is increasingly perceived as a great loss, with which many of today's difficulties and turmoil meet in people's minds. Only unity opens up the scope for its dynamic development. The main goal of the states' efforts on reviving the Great Silk road is to demonstrate the advantages of cultural diversity through the recognition of the importance of constant interpenetration and interchange processes in relations between cultures, as well as the ties established since the time of civilization.

An important role in the revival of the Great Silk road belongs to the Eurasian idea, which, emphasizing the importance of the development of national cultures, the uniqueness and originality of each nation and peoples, offers such a way of civilizational development when, many national cultures are united within the framework of a single cultural and historical integrity that ensure unity in diversity. Nazarbayev N.A. has become one of the first heads of state who substantiated the position of his country in the process of Eurasian integration and the revival of the Great Silk road.

Thus, the Great Silk road appears as one of the oldest integration models of human society's development, which is still in the 21st century. Due to the exchange of material and cultural values, this way links the unique and original civilizations of the East and the West for twenty centuries. The experience of the past cultures' interaction on the Great Silk road allows modern cultures to understand better each other, to realize the continuity of the development of civilization, the enduring connection of the times and destinies of peoples whose further existence is impossible without an equitable dialogue of cultures.

Today, the culture of the world is a set of dialogues of local cultures. We see the results of these communicative processes in the manifestations of culture, its forms and tendencies. The Great Silk road was a powerful accelerator in the process of communication of many peoples of the past. It is possible to draw certain parallels between the opening of the Great Silk road and the advent of the information: the opening of the Great Silk road made intercultural relations regular and more frequent, gave a new idea of the world, and the expansion of the information area with the help of new technologies allowed them to become almost instantaneous, changing the attitude towards the time and space in general. Both of these global processes have led to the activation of the communicative ability of societies and individuals.

The topic of cultures' dialogue gets a particular urgency in the interrelated processes of preserving the uniqueness of ethnic cultures on Kazakhstan territory and the formation of modern Kazakhstan culture.

Therefore, it is necessary to pay the closest attention to the concept of cultures' dialogue of such scientists as M.M. Bakhtin, V.S. Bibler, A.N. Nysanbayev, according to whom the dialogue as a universal phenomenon fixes the constructive aspect of cultural interaction, is an integrator of cultural integrity, shows the impossibility of the existence of culture outside the dialogue. The dialogue of cultures with its value orientation on ensuring world order and stability is an important factor in preserving cultural integrity in the globalized world characterized by tendencies towards cultural unification and cultural isolation. This is most typical for the Eurasian multicultural area, where ethnic cultures develop dialogue models that include both universal foundations and its own cultural features.

Dialogue of cultures as a complex social and cultural phenomenon has its own specific nature and its existence supposes mutual interest of dialogue's participants. The interdependence of the ideological content, the semantic field of dialogical interaction and the real factors of life is a fundamental feature of cultures' dialogue.

In conditions of cultural plurality, a dialogue with its internal idea of partners' equality becomes the main counter-balance that creates the integrity of the world's perception, in which any culture must be perceived and understood.

«The very history of mankind is the deepest communication of people with each other. The very existence of a man is the deepest communication. To be means to communicate» said M.M. Bakhtin [5; 312].

V.S. Bibler warned against a primitive understanding of dialogue as the different types of dialogue heard in a person's speech that are not related to the idea of dialogue within the dialogue concept of culture. «In the dialogue of cultures» we are talking about the dialogic nature of the truth itself (beauty, goodness) and, that the understanding of another person implies the mutual understanding of «I-You» as ontologically different personalities possessing different cultures actually or potentially, logics of thinking, different meanings of truth, beauty, and goodness. The dialogue, understood in the idea of culture, is not a dialogue of different opinions or views but it is always a dialogue of different cultures» [6; 299].

The Kazakh philosopher A.N. Nysanbayev noted that in the globalized world, dialogue becomes a problem: «not a theme, but a complex and vitally real problem that pervades all spheres of modern life within the interconnected and conflicting world» [7; 3].

Culture is the «soul» of society. It expresses a creative character of a person inspiring him in practical and creative activity and has universal significance, referring therefore to phenomena that have absolute significance for a person when educating and moulding a person. Being originally a social phenomenon, it is absolutely historical, since the factors determining its development and the social conditions of functioning in a particular society are historical and variable. Today, the thinking and being of a person is not recognized just as something independent, but, moreover, they deepen their own culture. They become internally vital and necessary for their own culture. This determines and causes the need to learn to accept and take into account the diversity of cultures and fully recognizing its singularity, uniqueness and authenticity at the same time.

It is no coincidence that in modern Kazakhstan, starting a new historical stage of its civilizational development, that is, the Third Modernization [8], special importance is attached to such an important process as the modernization of public consciousness. Stressing the specifics and innovative character of planned modernization, N.A. Nazarbayev noted the preservation of its culture, its own national code as the first condition for its implementation. «The new modernization should not look arrogantly at historical experience and traditions as before. On the contrary, it should make the best traditions a prerequisite, i.e. an important condition for the success of modernization. Modernization will remain undecided without reliance on national and cultural roots. I want her to keep its feet on the ground. And this means that history and national traditions should be taken into account» [9].

Modernization does not exclude, but implies the development of different cultures and traditions, since there is the potential for further civilizational development in them. It is important to remember that the values of different cultures are incomparable and incommensurable. However, in order to enrich the civilization and achieve the integration of society, a dialogue based on universal human values is needed. It is in this dialogue that each culture returns to its spiritual origins and reflects on the universal values that relate it to other cultures. Therefore, the principle of non-use of force, mutual respect and broad cultural exchange should be the basis for interaction and dialogue between countries.

In today's realities, when mankind faced the need to search for more effective forms of cooperation for maintaining peace and security on the planet, a comprehensive and complex study of the Great Silk road's history and culture and its restoration as a «way of dialogue» corresponds to this need. For many millennia

the Great Silk road has served as a rapprochement between different peoples, the exchange of ideas and knowledge and the mutual enrichment of languages. Man, as the creator of culture, constantly strove to overcome political and religious confrontation, to assert his activity on the principles of universal and common to all mankind character. And the Great Silk road is a vivid example of this, which must be used to form the mutual relations of peoples in the modern world on the basis of dialogue but not the opposition of cultures.

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Қазақстанның рухани жаңғыру шеңберіндегі Ұлы Жібек жолының мәдени мұрасы

Мақалада Қазақстандағы рухани жаңғырудың өзекті мәселелері шеңберіндегі Ұлы Жібек жолының тарихи-мәдени феномені талданды. Ұлы Жібек жолындағы мәдениеттердің өзара әрекеттесуі мен диалогы қазіргі өркениеттік дамудың факторлары ретінде қарастырылды. Саяси және діни конфронтацияны өту, халықтар арасында бейбіт өмір мен келісімді орнату үшін Қазақстанда жинақталған әртүрлі мәдениеттер қатынасудың рухани тәжірибесін қолдану ұсынылды. Қазіргі заманда мәдениеттерді бір-біріне қарсы тұрғызу арқылы емес, керісінше, диалог негізінде халықтар арасында қатынастарды қалыптастыру үшін Ұлы Жібек жолды жарқын мысал ретінде қолдану қажеттілігі туралы айтылды.

Кілт сөздер: мәдени мұра, мәдениеттердің өзара әрекеттесуі, мәдениет сабақтастығы, ұлттық мәдениет, рухани жаңғыру.

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Культурное наследие Великого Шелкового пути в контексте духовной модернизации Казахстана

В статье анализируется историко-культурный феномен Великого Шелкового пути в контексте актуальных проблем духовной модернизации Казахстана. Традиции взаимодействия и диалога культур на Великом Шелковом пути рассматриваются как факторы современного цивилизационного развития. Предлагается использовать накопленный Казахстаном духовный опыт общения различных культур для преодоления политической и религиозной конфронтации и достижения мира и согласия между народами. Отмечается, что Великий Шелковый путь — яркий пример, который необходимо использовать для формирования взаимоотношений народов в современном мире на основе диалога, а не противопоставления культур.

Ключевые слова: культурное наследие, взаимодействие культур, диалог культур, национальная культура, духовная модернизация.

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Civil society and constitutional state: similarities and differences

The article analyzes the essence of civil society and the rule of law in the light of two paradigmatic approaches: subject-object and subject-subject. Traditions of interaction of these concepts are considered as factors of modern civilization development. It is proposed to use the historical experience of public contract theories to build a truly legal platform where the first place is the freedom of citizens. It is noted that civil society is possible only if the obligations are fulfilled equally by all participants in legal relations.

Keywords: civil society, constitutional state, global community, subjects of law, polis, social system, subject-object paradigm, subject-subject paradigm.

The collapse of the USSR had led to the foundation of new sovereign states, that faced the hardships of forming constitutional state, establishing market relations, creation of institutes of the civil authority. Everything had been done with a single goal — to become a part of global community as its equal member. As the results of their independent sovereign existence shows, these transitions were carried out without sufficient theoretical comprehension of the nature of these new types of relations, which just could not but negatively affect the effectiveness of ongoing reforms.

The phenomenon of civil society is a kind of historical product that Hegel defines as communication of individuals through the system of needs and division of labor, justice (legal institutions and law and order system), external order (police). He noted, that «The legal foundations of civil society are the equality of people, subjects of law, their legal freedom, individual private property, the inviolability of treaties, the protection of the law against violations, as well as orderly legislation and an authoritative court, including a jury» [1; 233].

The very concept of «civil society» itself was the subject of study for more than a single generation of scientists, and its understanding has a long history. So, in ancient Greece was formed a special type of society, not similar to other communities of antiquity. Ancient Greeks called that society «polis», which is often translated as «city-state». Ancient Greeks themselves considered the polis primarily as civilian collective. Aristotle noted that the state is a natural product, since it reflects the interests of the polis and society, because the essence of the individual, as a political animal is inextricably linked to civil society and the state. Based on the political nature of man, all other spheres of human life are politicized: moral, marital, economic etc. In the Greek polis only those who participated in the court and the people's assembly were truly considered a citizen, i.e. ones who were part of the political life of society. So, according to Aristotle, civil society is a totality of political citizens, and the state is political communication of citizens [2; 110].

Further development of the understanding of the essence of civil society can be found in the writings of many thinkers of different times.

For example, Machiavelli believed that the essence of the political organism is to harmonize obedience (to the state) and freedom (in association, in society). People's sovereignty is the highest in relation to the state, the people have the right to overthrow absolutism.

In Kant, civil society is based on the following principles: 1) the freedom of each member of society; 2) its equality with every other member of society; 3) the independence of each member of society as a citizen.

For Hegel, civil society and the state are independent, but interacting institutions. Civil society, together with the family, forms the basis of the state. The state represents the general will of its citizens, civil society is the sphere of special, private interests of each individual.

Marx believed that in civil society each individual is a certain closed set of needs and only exists for the other because they mutually become a means for each other [3; 213].

At the present stage, civil society is increasingly viewed as a relationship based on private property. «Civil society is such a social system, the economic basis of which are market relations, various types of

ownership and forms of entrepreneurial activity that can meet the needs of people in various vital benefits» [4; 96].

Despite positive achievements in understanding the essence of civil society, all of them, however, have one feature. As a rule, all of them were formed in conditions of domination of only one paradigm — the subject-object paradigm of social self-organization of a society. A characteristic feature of this paradigm is that those who acted in the role of subject, pursued, in the first place and above all, their own interests and treated other members of society as an object-like mass. Therefore, in the long term, civil society was doomed to develop only in the framework defined by the authorities themselves. Hence the corresponding understanding of the essence of civil society. «The term civil society does not correspond to what it designates, because the community of citizens is not a civil society, but a state» [5; 110]. Thus, an objective need for a civil society emerges as a form of protest against social self-organization existing in a regime dominated by the subject-object paradigm in the organization of all spheres of life of society. Its development manifestation in sort of the opposition of interests primarily of a member of the society, in the person of its ordinary citizen, on the one hand, and the interests of the government in the person of the state, on the other. Traditionally, in this relationship, as a rule, priority has always been and still given to the interests of the state. That is, the dominant subject-object paradigm of social self-organization put ordinary citizens of society in the position of the object: they were used only as a means to achieve any goals of the state itself.

Long history of different understanding has such phenomenon as constitutional state. In the traditional sense, a constitutional state refers to a state where each citizen is provided with a set of specific rights. And no less important principle of the rule of law is the compulsion for all state bodies and officials to comply with the requirements of laws. Laws come from the state, therefore, the state itself undertakes to comply with the requirements of laws. «A constitutional state is a state where a law is formed, a lot of laws are issued and there are established procedural and legal norms that allow citizens to protect their rights and freedoms from their violation from someone else's side» [6; 57].

In addition, the state assumes the function of a guarantor of observance of these rights. Of course, this guarantee does not apply to cases when the interests of the state and society are in conflict. In these cases, of course, the priority remains for the state.

One of the attributes of the constitutional state is the rule of law, its dominance in public life. The most important aspects of social life must be regulated by laws. For example, in accordance with the Constitution, the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan «has the right to issue laws that regulate important social relations, establish fundamental principles and norms relating to the legal personality of individuals and legal entities, civil rights and freedoms» [6; 56].

The very idea of a rule-of-law state arose as a response to a solution of the problem associated with the unfair distribution of rights and the search for a mechanism for reducing the rights of power on the one hand by increasing the rights of subordinates on the other. The subject-object paradigm itself necessarily created a situation in which the object-like mass chose for itself the way of overcoming object-like nature through such means as rebellion, insurrection, revolution. This all corresponded to the model of establishing justice on the contrary. And then bourgeois philosophers proposed a different way out of this situation. An alternative to rebellion, as a form of violence, was a social contract.

The idea of a social contract, as an option to overcome the distortion in the distribution of rights between the rulers and subordinates, was progressive in nature in many aspects. First, it contributed to the preservation of social stability. Secondly, it suited the authorities, because the authorities went on a voluntary refusal from part of their privileges in order not to lose everything. Thirdly, it was believed that this suited the people as well, who became the owner of more rights, and shifted part of his duties to the shoulders of authorities. Nevertheless, the social contract offered only the following option: the civil society formed and determined by the government was under the control of this exact government, and, first of all, served its interests.

Ideologists, fathers of the idea of a social contract, being representatives of the bourgeoisie, could not even allow the thought of formal equality of everyone in rights. It was, first of all, about equality in following the requirements of the law, but not about equality in securing rights. Therefore, control over the activities of civil society, was a kind of guarantor of maintaining the dominant position of authorities.

The origin of the ideas of the constitutional state originates in the ancient world. In Greek society, as well as in Roman society, man, due to the emergence of private property (as part of the ownership of society, as the owner of a part of social property, as the owner of certain rights (limited to certain conditions: short-term, long-term, perpetual use), could become a subject, that is living on new, artificially created social

norms, which just allowed members of this society to acquire a part of social property (with a certain condition) into private property. And thanks to private property, all free citizens had the opportunity to become subjects. But they became subjects only when they were legally sanctioned by the state law. Therefore, the nature of the relationship between the owners of this right was called legal relationship. The fact that a man could have such a right only when he had deserved it (after fulfilling a certain range of duties) fell into the background and began to be forgotten. A new, artificial system of norms was needed to regulate any type of relationship, in particular between subjects. And so there was a need for a legislator. And in order for the law to have real power, the legislator should have been vested with authority.

The state arises there and then, where and when the authority legitimately appropriates for itself the right to write laws defining rights and duties for its citizens. Thus, the very idea of a constitutional state and its features, as in the case of civil society, was formed under the conditions of the same subject-object paradigm. Therefore, the state, forming the institutions of civil society, based them on the principle of self-preservation. To regulate any type of legal relationship, it went on the principle of imposing its will on top of any other. Both of these institutions served the interests of power, and, ultimately, the preservation of the existing order. Hence the logic of the formation of legal relations of the legislative system of the state: rights, freedoms, duties. Algorithm of civil society activity: freedom, duties, rights. Traditionally, even in the conditions of the existing constitutional state, it is believed that civil society is dependent on the state, moreover, the state controls the phenomenon itself and further activity of the civil society institutions, and the prospect of the development of civil society is linked with the interests of all the same state. Therefore, the power, thanks to this way of the formation of the system of law, tried to keep as much of freedom of activity as possible.

As alternative to this approach can serve another logic of the relationship between society and power. If, in the understanding of the traditional approach, the state allows the emergence and existence of civil society institutions with the main goal of maintaining its dominance (the supremacy of the majority), then the activity approach puts human interests first, and the state is secondary in function. After all, the need for any authority function arises as a need for the implementation of managerial functions and need for the guarantor of compliance with applied rules transformed into a form of law. Hence, the nature of the formation and functioning of civil society institutions should be built on the basis of taking into account the interests, first of all, of members of society as its ordinary citizens, and the power should build its activities, within the limits permitted by these citizens. It is no accident, for example, that it is stated in the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan: «The only source of power is the people» [7; 3]. And the interests of the state, logically, can not have priority over the interests of a person.

The logic of the formation of civil society in the theory of activity is as follows. Joint activity of the legislative and executive branches of power is a way of solving the difficulties arising in the course of life in the crossing of these branches of power. This scheme of «cooperation» is known as a system of checks and balances. The activity approach determines the order of emergence of civil society and the state institutions, which is an alternative to the generally accepted one. All types of relationships in society are reduced to the following main manifestations.

The first of them is a relationship that emerges at the interpersonal level. Their goal is to create, through joint efforts, various types of opportunities to ensure the individual existence of each of the participants in case they lack personal resources for this.

The second are relations that arise between ordinary citizens and any kind of social entities that have a social, production or authoritative character and arise as a service function for servicing the interests of physical entities.

The third is a relationship that, due to its legitimate nature, arises between various kinds of public, industrial, power structures, individual states and other structural subdivisions of the world community [8; 288, 289]. Thus, power is formed from the bottom up. And those who have the power work in the regime of legal permission — do only what they are allowed. And managed ones operate in the regime of legal prohibition — everything that is not forbidden is allowed. Therefore, it is necessary to affirm a certain set of not rights, but specific duties. This form of organization of governance allows to prevent various conflicts (financing on the residual principle, election of akims). It is in this way that the emergent state can be considered legal — the rule of law for the legislative and executive power.

The activity approach asserts the interests of the person, civil relations as the determining value, and the state has the role of guardian of these interests.

Another difference between the constitutional state and civil society is that freedom in a constitutional state is limited by the will of others through law, and in civil society, a person's freedom can be limited only

by his own will, by accepting the obligations of each member of society to his environment. As it was said above, in the traditional interpretation in a constitutional state, the measure of freedom is determined by a legal authorization regime, that is, everything that is not allowed is prohibited. A measure of human freedom in civil society is limited to the regime of legal prohibition, that is, everything that is not forbidden is allowed. In addition: in civil society, a person through a ban restricts freedom to himself, but in the traditional sense, the freedom of man is limited from the outside through laws determined by the authorities. Therefore, it is the order of freedom-duty-right that allows members of society to make them formally equal in the sphere of legal relations

Unfortunately, this particular feature is not taken into account today when forming the legislative base of a society that claims to be a civilian. And this could help the organization of interaction between society and the state in the spirit of relations that truly correspond to their market essence.

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Азаматтық қоғам және құқықтық мемлекет: ұқсастық пен айырмашылығы

Мақалада екі парадигмалық тұжырымдамалардың (субъект-объектті және субъект-субъектті) шеңберінде азаматтық қоғам мен құқықтық мемлекеттің мәні талданды. Осы ұғымдардың арақатынасы дәстүрлері қазіргі өркениеттік дамудың факторы ретінде қарастырылды. Бірінші орында азаматтық құқықтары тұрған шынайы құқық алаңын құру үшін қоғамдық келісім теорияларын тарихи тәжірибесін қолдану ұсынылды. Құқықтық қатынастардың барлық қатысушылары міндеттерді тең атқарған жағдайда ғана азаматтық қоғам бола алады деп ескерілді.

Кілт сөздер: азаматтық қоғам, құқықтық мемлекет, субъект-объектті парадигма, субъект-субъектті парадигма, полис, элеуметтік жүйе.

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Гражданское общество и правовое государство: сходство и отличие

В статье анализируется сущность гражданского общества и правового государства в свете двух парадигмальных подходов: субъект-объектной и субъект-субъектной. Традиции взаимодействия данных понятий рассматриваются как факторы современного цивилизационного развития. Предлагается использовать исторический опыт теорий общественных договоров для построения истинно правовой площадки, где на первом месте стоят свободы граждан. Отмечается, что гражданское общество возможно только при условии соблюдения обязанностей в равной степени всеми участниками правоотношений.

Ключевые слова: гражданское общество, правовое государство, субъект-объектная парадигма, субъект-субъектная парадигма, полис, социальная система.

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Особенности когнитивной деятельности подростков

Вопросы, поставленные в статье, посвящены половым и возрастным особенностям когнитивной деятельности подростков. Здесь деятельность характеризуется как активность, возникающая с какими-то потребностями человека. Ведущая деятельность подростков — интимно-личностное общение. Поэтому когнитивная деятельность в жизни подростков по сравнению с такими потребностями, как самоидентификация, самоопределение, самоутверждение, составляющими структуру личности, не имеет ведущего значения. Особенности, уровень развития когнитивной деятельности подростков в статье объясняются взаимосвязью компонентов, входящих в когнитивную сферу: восприятие, внимание, память, мышление, воображение и эмоционально-волевые процессы. Отмечается, что чем больше эти компоненты соответствуют возрасту, тем выше эффективность когнитивной деятельности. Другой вопрос, которому уделяется пристальное внимание, — это эмоциональное содержание когнитивной деятельности подростков, связанное с половым созреванием. Так, подростки в сталкиваемых ситуациях, в том числе в учебном процессе, проявляют высокую эмоциональность. Отмечено, что сама когнитивная деятельность также повышает у них эмоциональный тонус. Учитывая это, когнитивная деятельность подростков должна связываться с их самоидентификацией, самоопределением и другими потребностями. В таком случае подростки в учебном процессе будут проявлять моделированную, сознательную, производительную, интегративную, т.е. когнитивную, деятельность.

Ключевые слова: подросток, когнитивная деятельность, восприятие, память, внимание, мышление, речь, эмоция, самоидентификация, обучение.

Деятельность — это активная взаимосвязь человека как субъекта с действительностью внешнего мира, целенаправленное влияние на объекты соответственно отношениям среды и таким путем удовлетворение своих потребностей. С этой точки зрения деятельность — это один из особых видов активности человека, направленный на творческое познание окружающего мира, форма его существования. Личность человека формируется в процессе деятельности. С этой точки зрения гармоническое, закономерное развитие деятельности создает почву для адекватного развития человека.

На реальном опыте это развитие происходит в процессе рациональной организации (соответственно возрасту, ведущей деятельности), познания выполняемых действий, усвоения и применения нового опыта. «Деятельность субъекта всегда связана с некоторой потребностью. Являясь выражением нужды субъекта в чем-либо, потребность вызывает его поисковую активность, в которой проявляется пластичность деятельности — ее уподобление свойствам независимо существующих от нее объектов... Понятие деятельности необходимо связано с понятием мотива. Деятельности без мотива не бывает: немотивированная деятельность — это деятельность, не лишенная мотива, а деятельность с субъективно и объективно скрытым мотивом. Деятельность обычно осуществляется некоторой совокупностью действий, подчиняющихся частным целям, которые могут выделяться из общей цели. Роль общей цели выполняет осознанный мотив» [1].

В психологии в основном выделяется 3 вида деятельности: игра, труд и учебная деятельность. Каждый из этих видов деятельности, являясь более актуальным в определенных этапах онтогенеза, таким же образом характерен для каждого возрастного периода. Вместе с тем на разных этапах психологического возраста какой-то из них является ведущим.

Ведущая деятельность подростков — интимно-личностное общение, однако это вовсе не означает, что учебная деятельность в их жизни является чем-то второстепенным, несущественным. Нельзя отрицать и реальность. Для подростков учебная деятельность не является и такой актуальной, как самосознание, самораскрытие, самореализация и другие личностные компоненты. Такое положение между подростками и взрослыми (родители, учителя) из-за нарушения ролевых ожиданий, изменения отношений, ослабления общения становится основным фактором конфликтов. В результате у подростков происходит ухудшение результатов общей учебной деятельности.

Т.В. Алейникова ослабление познавательной активности подростков связывает с особенностями переходного периода, в том числе происходит активное торможение вследствие гормонального взрыва, характерного для пубертатного кризиса у подростков. В подростковом периоде устанавлива-

ются гармоничные возбuditельно-тормозные отношения коры и подкорково-стволовых отделов мозга, которые достигают дефинитивной зрелости у взрослого человека, хотя и отмечаются некоторые половые различия в протекании психических процессов. Так, у женщин быстрее замыкаются положительные условные связи, а у мужчин быстрее вырабатываются дифференцировки. Было показано, что в переходном периоде нарушается баланс возбuditельного и тормозного процессов при нарастании возбуждения и ослаблении всех видов внутреннего торможения и при нарушении подвижности процессов [2; 33].

Поэтому в последние годы пристальное внимание уделяется повышению у подростков учебной мотивации и интереса к учебе, исследованиям, направленным на рациональную организацию когнитивной деятельности в процессе обучения. Для получения реальных результатов в этой сфере в первую очередь необходимо рассмотреть возрастные особенности подростков в социально-когнитивном контексте.

Когнитивная деятельность (cognitive activity) в более широком значении — это деятельность, в результате которой человек приходит к определенному решению или знанию, т.е. мыслительная деятельность, приводящая к пониманию [интерпретации] чего-либо. В когнитивной деятельности участвуют разные системы переработки информации, а потому образуемые структуры сознания нетождественны и зависят от того, по какому каналу пришла к человеку информация [1]. В психологической литературе отмечается, что когнитивная деятельность, как составная часть сознания человека, развивается в определенном культурном контексте, что сильно ограничивает набор допустимых «возможных миров». В частности, содержание мифов, этические нормы, политические установления, религия и другие компоненты культуры сказываются на процедурах и результатах когнитивной деятельности.

А.А. Ализаде, высоко оценивая возможности организации деятельности на когнитивном уровне в подростковом возрасте, связывает это с усвоением культурных норм со стороны подростков: «Подростковый возраст отличается своей необычной границей. Это не линейные границы, а иерархические границы. Подростковый возраст начинается с биологии, завершается в культуре. Это пробуждение, возрождение имеет социальные, социально-психологические и социально-педагогические секреты. И альфа, и омега этих секретов связаны с двумя бесподобными феноменами — с талисманом социума и культуры... В этом возрастном периоде, как правило, в психологическом развитии подростков возникают конфликтные потребности и мотивы. Такие склонности, в частности, магия психологического возраста, наблюдаются особенно в первых шагах у девочек, обучающихся в VII–VIII классах» [3; 125–129].

Следы этих происходящих у подростков изменений А.А. Ализаде считает целесообразным искать в их учебной деятельности, а также в творческих интересах, фантазиях, в общении со сверстниками. По его мнению, чтобы доказать свою взрослость, мальчики и девочки в подростковом периоде рассказывают о себе нереальные случаи о подвиге, доблести и любви. «Никто из них не показал свою неграмотность в сфере техники и технологии... Когда речь доходит до секса, говорят неправду. Мальчики и девочки во многих случаях придумывают небылицы ...» [3; 252].

Наряду с отмеченными выше вопросами причиной тому являются также происходящие перемены в разных областях когнитивной сферы под влиянием возрастного кризиса. А.А. Ализаде, связывая эти особенности с воображениями подростков, выделяет также их положительные и отрицательные отличия в учебной деятельности. По мнению А.А. Ализаде, в период подросткового возраста регулярное изучение учащимися разных дисциплин создает благоприятное условие для развития восстановительного воображения. Объяснительное чтение, рисование иллюстраций, инсценировка, чтение чертежа, изготовление макета, работа над картой и другие подобные действия ускоряют развитие воображения. Вместе с тем, например, «в воображении неодинаково отражаются все стороны внешнего вида литературного героя. В скорости воображения подростков основное место занимают следующие стороны: выражение глаз, выразительные действия лица, образ поведения, тон речи и интонация» [4; 173].

Когнитивная деятельность подростков, в отличие от младшего школьного возраста, приобретает новое качество. Перемены, происходящие в связи с развитием когнитивных способностей, характеризуются регулированием внимания, повышением мнемонических возможностей памяти, дальнейшей активизацией и обогащением речи, развитием логического и абстрактного мышления.

Подростки уже в широком объеме усваивают информацию, проводят операции понятиями, рассуждают о свойствах и качествах тел, участвуют в обсуждениях, выдвигают гипотезы, реализуют свою запланированную исследовательскую деятельность.

А.А. Реан когнитивную деятельность подростков связывает с количеством и качеством познавательных процессов. «Развитие познавательных процессов и особенности интеллекта в подростковом возрасте имеют две стороны — количественную и качественную. Количественные изменения проявляются в том, что подросток решает интеллектуальные задачи значительно легче, быстрее и эффективнее, чем ребенок младшего школьного возраста. Качественные изменения, прежде всего, характеризуют сдвиги в структуре мыслительных процессов: важно не то, какие задачи решает человек, а каким образом он это делает» [5; 319].

Основываясь на полученных результатах таких исследователей, как Дж. Брунер [6], Ж. Пиаже [7], Дж.П. Гилфорд [8], М.И. Познер [9], Л.С. Выготский [10], можно прийти к мнению о том, что присоединение познавательных процессов к когнитивной деятельности происходит благодаря их взаимосвязи. На основе этих связей для когнитивной деятельности формируются новые структуры, свойственные и возрасту, и полу, и индивидуальным особенностям. «Когнитивные структуры — индивидуально-своеобразные формы организации личностью своего интеллектуального (ментального) опыта, лежащие в основе его упорядочивания и регулирующие познавательную активность личности» [1]. Чем продолжительнее, интенсивнее и длительнее связи между процессами в когнитивных структурах, тем эффективнее происходит регулирование когнитивной деятельности. Если в иерархическом порядке подходить к познавательным процессам, регулирующим когнитивную деятельность, то можем стать свидетелями того, что на основе этой структуры лежит ряд подструктур.

Учитывая изложенное, для выделения основных компонентов когнитивной структуры подростков и изучения особенностей их регулирования в процессе деятельности следует относиться к проблеме с нескольких аспектов:

- когнитивные особенности психологического возраста;
- индивидуально-когнитивная структура;
- приемлемость для подростков учебного процесса;
- когнитивные модели, применяемые в обучении подростков;
- уровень развития когнитивного стиля;
- когнитивная коррекция и др.

Цель данной статьи — рассмотрение первого аспекта: когнитивных особенностей психологического возраста.

В анализе когнитивных особенностей психологического (подросткового) возраста рассматриваются компоненты, которые относятся к когнитивной сфере: восприятие, опознание образов, память, внимание, воображение, мышление, формирование понятий и др. [1].

Когнитивная деятельность учащихся 10–15-летнего возраста характеризуется тем, что их восприятие отличается объемом, полнотой и избранностью. По необходимости они умеют мыслить и находить новые формулы средства запоминания, управлять своей памятью, определяют гипотезы, регулируют, направляют свой мыслительный процесс, однако затрудняются еще познать в целом собственную личность, управлять своими действиями. Это преимущественно связано с импульсивностью, чувством взрослости, а иногда с новыми интересами, впечатлениями, хронической эмоциональной нестабильностью, создающими агрессивность.

А.А. Реан особенности восприятия подростков характеризует так: «Например, на уроках геометрии, черчения и др. у ребенка постепенно формируются и развиваются способности воспринимать косвенные признаки предметов, мысленно трансформируя их до уровня, позволяющего адекватно идентифицировать воспринимаемый объект. Так у ребенка появляются умения видеть сечения объемных фигур, читать чертеж и т.д.» [5; 321].

Т.В. Алейникова значительно отличает восприятие подростков от детей младшего школьного возраста. «В начале младшего школьного возраста (7–11 лет) восприятие имеет еще черты дошкольного возраста... У подростков (11–15 лет) продолжается интеллектуализация восприятия. Это связано с усложнением школьного материала. Геометрия и черчение способствуют развитию объемного восприятия. На базе интеллектуализированного восприятия развиваются фантазирование и воображение, в том числе и творческое. Восприятие себя (своего «Я») с разных сторон и в связи с этим развивающийся самоанализ способствуют формированию «Я-концепции» [2; 37].

В подростковом периоде увеличиваются возможности объема, продолжительности, централизации и распределения внимания. Вместе с тем у них встречается и невнимательность. В.А. Крутецкий, указывая на наличие противоречий во внимании подростков, связывает причину происходящего: «Развитие внимания отличается известной противоречивостью: с одной стороны, в подростковом возрасте формируется устойчивое, произвольное внимание, с другой — обилие впечатлений, переживаний, бурная активность и импульсивность подростка часто приводят к неустойчивости внимания, его быстрой отвлекаемости. Все зависит от условий работы, содержания материала, настроения и психического состояния самого ученика, от его отношения к работе» [11; 111]. К данному объяснению можем добавить и то, что для централизации внимания подростков к когнитивной деятельности к этой деятельности полностью должны присоединиться все когнитивные компоненты, в том числе эмоциональные процессы. В таком случае подросток более внимательно будет относиться к учебной деятельности, связанной своими актуальными потребностями и переживаниями.

Память подростков по своему количеству и качеству также отличается от памяти младших школьников. Даже когнитивная деятельность младших подростков направляется не на осознание и повторение, а на запоминание учебного материала. У средних подростков память идет в сторону интеллектуализации. Увеличивается количество подростков, использующих косвенное запоминание, увеличивается объем таких приемов, их применяют более сознательно и целенаправленно. В мышлении подростков увеличивается и объем логических изменений. Ж.Пиаже мыслительную деятельность, происходящую на фоне этих перемен, называет «формальные операции (11–15 лет)». «Учащиеся-подростки имеют индивидуальные различия и в характере мнемической деятельности: если ученики 5-го класса используют больше внешние приемы запоминания (ассоциации, смысловую группировку), ученики 8-го класса больше используют приемы запоминания и поиск для каждого материала специфических приемов. Центральное место занимает анализ содержания материала, его своеобразия и внутренней логики» [7].

Л.С. Выготский связывает уровень мыслительной деятельности подростков с их умением усвоения научных понятий. Он применял свой метод одинаково и к пятилетнему ребенку, и к взрослому человеку, уравнивая того и другого в отношении их знаний... «Мы можем твердо установить, — говорит ученый, — что лишь по окончании 12-го года жизни обнаруживается резкое повышение способности самостоятельного образования общих объективных представлений. Мне кажется, чрезвычайно важно обратить внимание на этот факт. Мышление в понятиях, отрешенное от наглядных моментов, предъявляет к ребенку требования, которые превосходят его психические возможности до 12-го года жизни» [10; 112].

Мыслительная деятельность подростка уже в значительной степени оказывается связанной мотивационной сферой. В источниках (Кабанова, Меллер, Менчинская, Добрынин, Решетников и др.), обсуждая психологические особенности мышления подростков, выдвигая на передний план его словесно-логический характер, отмечают достаточное развитие этого вида мышления. Это уже является показателем того, что подростки обладают когнитивными возможностями логически рассуждать, выдвигать соображение, выполнять сложные умственные действия и операции при решении задач.

Психосоциальные признаки подросткового периода больше всего наблюдаются в самоидентификации, самооценке и саморегулировании. По этой причине речь подростков по сравнению с мышлением развивается в более тесной связи с социальной стороной его личности. Так, усиление самоидентификации в подростковом периоде, наряду с поведением и деятельностью, создает у них потребности в активизации вербальной речи. Одним словом, как социализация подростков зависит от культурной среды, так и вербальный характер речи формируется в зависимости от этого фактора. «Подросток в силу возрастных особенностей способен варьировать свою речь в зависимости от стиля общения и личности собеседника.

С одной стороны, такое принятие словесного состава речи и стиля общения другого несет в себе *возможность ориентировочного познания многообразных вариантов речи*, но, с другой стороны, этот феномен речевого поведения подростка следует рассматривать как возрастную речевую зависимость. Эта социальная слабость подростка должна быть доведена до его сознания как некая возрастная несостоятельность... Именно для подростков важен авторитет культурного носителя языка» [10].

Обучение — самое благоприятное средство для когнитивной деятельности подростков. Именно с помощью обучения в процессе приобретения образования у подростков когнитивная сфера, когнитивные способности, возможности когнитивной деятельности, наконец, когнитивный стиль, еще более развиваясь, доходят до уровня взрослости. Имеется миллион людей 50–60-летнего психологиче-

ского возраста, которые не могли достичь того успеха, которого достигли ряд подростков в когнитивной деятельности.

Характерная особенность, ослабляющая когнитивную деятельность средних и младших подростков в процессе обучения, — старание быстро решать и завершать задачи, не вникая в детали, не анализируя, не планируя и не разделяя на части предстоящую работу. Они мысленно представляют достигаемые результаты, однако впоследствии выясняется, что при анализе этих представлений их второстепенные детали не до конца понятны подросткам, в то время как именно эти детали при решении задач не дают возможность эффективно выполнить работу с точки зрения времени, количества и качества [9].

Еще одна характерная особенность средних и младших подростков — это усердие разделять с другими мнения, связанные с достигнутыми результатами. Независимо от верности достигнутых результатов они эмоционально относятся к процессу их провозглашения. Это, несомненно, вытекает из еще недостаточного развития чувства реальности у подростков этого возраста, из неточности операций воображения (анализ-синтез) и слабости связи с абстрактным мышлением.

Следует отметить еще один момент, который ставит педагогов и родителей в трудное положение. Подростки (10–13-летние) в своих неудачах во многом обвиняют или взрослых (учителей, родителей), или сверстников и группу. Эгоистичные чувства, самонадеянность в высшей степени, допущенные в самоидентификации ошибки заглушают у них желание признать недостатки. Одним словом, по сравнению с младшими и старшими подростками у подростков среднего возраста результаты когнитивной деятельности недостаточно успешны.

Старшие подростки своими весомыми достижениями в обучении отличаются от средних и младших подростков. Они более терпимо относятся к критике, а также проявляют реальное действие, чтобы сделать соответствующие выводы. Эгоистичные чувства, правящие еще некоторыми подростками, мешают им постоянно советоваться со старшими и просить у них помощи. По этой причине они в ряде случаев стараются выполнять непосильную работу, присущую жизни взрослых, и их постигают неудачи. В результате у них проявляется неуверенность в своей способности довести до качественного конца серьезные дела. Такое положение может возникать у подростков в результате недостаточного формирования когнитивного стиля.

Здесь следует учитывать также эмоциональное содержание когнитивной деятельности подростков. Основываясь на мнении ряда исследователей (Л.С. Выготский, П.М. Якобсон, Т.О. Гордеева, С.В. Духновский, Н.Я. Керемова и другие), можем сказать, что когнитивная деятельность создает у подростков повышенный эмоциональный тонус и определяет их активное отношение к учению. Если эмоции младшего школьника носят относительно спокойный характер и легко поддаются управлению со стороны учителя, то эмоции подростка отличаются большой силой и трудностью в их управлении. Подростки отличаются большой страстностью и вспыльчивостью. С этим связано неумение сдерживать себя, слабость самоконтроля, резкость в поведении.

Если подходить к проблеме с психоаналитической точки зрения, выясняется, что деятельность подростка, связанная с его интимными переживаниями, в той или иной степени направляется на поиск «Я», на осознание своих возможностей и способностей, а также на получение сведений об оценке его окружающими. «Психоанализ различает три различных периода в жизни ребенка: раннее детство, вплоть до конца пятого года жизни, латентный период до начала отрочества, то есть одиннадцати или тринадцати лет, и само отрочество, ведущее к «взрослой» жизни. Каждый из этих периодов характеризуется различными эмоциональными реакциями ребенка на взрослый мир и различными уровнями инстинктов» [12; 45].

С этой целью подросток берет на себя разные роли, берется за посильные и непосильные дела, его во многих случаях постигает неудача, а иногда он встречается с трагедией. Все это возникает из эмоциональных потребностей в формировании «Я» образа. Для подростка главное состоит в том, что то или иное выполняемое учебное задание с условием удовлетворения отмеченных потребностей обеспечило развитие его личности. Если учебные ситуации связаны с его чувствами, характер и форма общения помогают ему быть в положении взрослого, в таком случае когнитивная деятельность подростка становится продолжительной и централизованной.

Когнитивная деятельность подростка обуславливается также усвоением ими человеческих ценностей и самоопределения в сфере общения. «Подросток приобретает навыки межличностного общения со сверстниками своего и противоположного пола, формирует более независимые отношения с родителями, пытается ставить задачи, связанные с будущим, осваивает «новое тело». Подростки

стремятся быть самостоятельными и независимыми от мнения родителей. Центральная потребность подростка — быть и чувствовать себя взрослым» [1].

Таким образом, в конце подросткового возраста психологическое развитие ориентируется на три направления:

- качественно более зрелое самоопределение;
- формирование самоидентификации и «Я» образа;
- половая идентификация.

На этом уровне психологического развития у подростков возникает целая когнитивная система. «Когнитивная система — система убеждений человека, сложившаяся в его сознании в результате становления его характера, воспитания, обучения, наблюдения и размышления об окружающем мире. На основе этой системы человек ставит себе цели и принимает решения о том, как надо действовать в той или иной ситуации, стараясь избежать когнитивного диссонанса [1].

Итак, исследования показывают, что для подростка очень важно осознать, осмыслить жизненное значение знаний и прежде всего их значение для развития личности. Это связано с усиленным ростом самосознания современного подростка. Учебный процесс нравится подростку потому, что он отвечает его потребностям не только много знать, но и стать культурным, всесторонне развитым человеком. Мы солидарны с убеждением о том, что только когнитивная деятельность может дать подростку такие возможности. Ибо это — смоделированная, осознанная, продуктивная, всесторонне интегрированная (психические процессы, мотивы, интересы, убеждения, ценности и др.) деятельность подростка.

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Л.Ш. Амрахлы

Жасөспірімдердің когнитивтік іс-әрекеттерінің ерекшеліктері

Мақалада қойылған сұрақтар жасөспірімдердің когнитивтік әрекеттерінің жыныстық және жастық ерекшеліктеріне арналған. Мұнда іс-әрекет адамның мұқтаждылығымен пайда болатын белсенділік ретінде сипатталды. Жасөспірімдердің басым әрекеті — сырлас-тұлғалық қарым-қатынас. Сондықтан жасөспірімдер өміріндегі когнитивтік әрекет тұлғаны құрайтын өзін-өзі идентификациялаумен, өзін-өзі анықтаумен, өзін-өзі бекітумен салыстырғанда соншалықты маңызды емес. Автор жасөспірімдер когнитивтік әрекеттерінің ерекшеліктерін, даму деңгейін когнитивтік салаға кіретін компоненттердің байланысымен түсіндіреді: қабылдау, зейін, ес, ойлау қабілеті, қиял және эмоционалды-еріктік үдерістер. Жастық шаққа сәйкес келетін бұл компоненттер когнитивтік әрекеттерді арттыратыны ескертілді. Басқа бір қадағалап отырған сұрақ — жыныстық жетілуімен байланысты жасөспірімдер когнитивтік әрекеттерінің эмоционалдық мазмұны. Осылай жасөспірімдер көп жағдайларда, оның ішінде оқу үдерісі барысында да жоғары эмоционалдықты көрсетеді. Олардың эмоционалдығын когнитивтік әрекеттің өзі де арттырады. Осыны ескере, жасөспірімдердің когнитивтік әрекеттері олардың өзін-өзі идентификациялаумен, өзін-өзі анықтаумен және тағы басқа мұқтаждылықпен

байланыста болу керек. Осындай жағдайда ғана жасөспірімдер оқу үдерісі барысында үлгілі, саналы, нәтижелі, интегративті қызметті көрсете алады. Ол қызмет — когнитивтік.

Кілт сөздер: жасөспірім, когнитивтік қызмет, қабылдау, ес, зейін, ойлау, сөйлеу, эмоция, өзін-өзі сәйкестендіру, оқу.

L.Sh. Amrakhly

Peculiarities of cognitive activity of adolescents

The questions posed in the article are devoted to the sexual and age specific features of the adolescents' cognitive activity. Here, activity is characterized as an activity that arises with some kind of human needs. The leading activity of teenagers is intimate personal communication. Therefore, cognitive activity in the life of adolescents, in comparison with such needs as self-identification, self-determination, self-affirmation, which make up the structure of the individual, are not very much important. The features, the level of development of cognitive activity of adolescents in the article are explained by the interconnection of the components that make up the cognitive sphere: perception, attention, memory, thinking, imagination and emotional-volitional processes. It is noted that the more these components correspond to age, the higher the efficiency of cognitive activity. Another issue that is paid close attention is the emotional content of cognitive activity of adolescents associated with puberty. So, teenagers show high emotionality including in educational process. Cognitive activity also increases their emotional tone. Given this, the cognitive activity of adolescents should be linked to their self-identification, self-determination and other needs. In this case, adolescents in the educational process will exhibit modeled, conscious, productive and integrative activities. Such activities are cognitive activities.

Key words: adolescent, cognitive activity, perception, memory, attention, thinking, speech, emotion, self-identification, learning.

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ПСИХОЛОГИЯНЫҢ ӨЗЕКТІ МӘСЕЛелЕРІ

АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ ПСИХОЛОГИИ

ACTUAL PROBLEMS OF PSYCHOLOGY

UDC 159.9.07.

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Study of emotional intelligence of a medical university students

This article examines the role of emotional intelligence in the professional work of doctors. The understanding of emotional intelligence in foreign and Russian psychology is presented. The general characteristic of the basic models of emotional intelligence is given. The components included in the structure of emotional intelligence are described. The urgency of this line of research is substantiated. In the study, the percentage of students of a medical university with a low, medium and high level of emotional intelligence development was revealed. Features of the development of empathy, emotional consciousness and self-motivation in these students are described.

Keywords: emotional intelligence, empathy, emotional consciousness, self-motivation.

The idea of the unity of the emotional and rational principle in man has been of great interest since the time of the great philosophers. With the development of psychological science, changes in the views of psychologists on the relationship between emotional and cognitive processes led, among other things, to the emergence of the concept of emotional intelligence.

The term «emotional intelligence» was most widely used in psychology in the 1990s when information on the results of theoretical and practical research in this field began to appear in the scientific literature, but up until now the essence of the concept of «emotional intelligence» has not been unambiguously defined in science.

The first concept of emotional intelligence was created by American scientists J. Mayer, P. Salovey and D. Caruso. They also introduced into science and term «emotional intellect». They defined the phenomenon being studied as the ability to process information contained in emotions, in particular, to determine the meaning of emotions and their relationship to each other, and also as the ability to use emotional information as a basis for thinking and making decisions. In the structure of emotional intelligence, the following components were identified, relating to both their own and others' emotions: the identification of emotions (the ability to perceive, as well as to recognize genuine emotions and their imitation); the use of emotions to increase the efficiency of thinking and activity (the ability to evoke the necessary emotions, use them to direct attention to important events); understanding of emotions (the ability to understand the connections between emotions, the transitions from one emotion to another); management of emotions (ability to control emotions, to realize their emotions) [1–4].

Later, on the basis of this concept, the American psychologist D. Goleman proposed a model of emotional intelligence supplemented, in addition to the cognitive characteristics, by a number of personalities such as enthusiasm, perseverance and social skills. It was this concept that later acquired the greatest popularity among psychologists.

In domestic psychology, the development of ideas about emotional intelligence was promoted by the idea of the unity of affective and intellectual processes, presented in the works of L.S. Vygotsky, S.L. Rubinshtein, A.N. Leontiev. At the present stage, the results of the study of emotional intelligence are reflected in the works of I.N. Andreev, D.V. Ushakov, D.V. Lyusin, E.A. Sergienko, O.V. Belokon et al. [2].

The model proposed by D.V. Lyusin, in which emotional intelligence is defined as a combination of abilities to understand one's own and others emotions (the ability to establish the fact of having an emotion, to identify them, and also the ability to understand the causes of the emotion and the consequences of their expression) and management of emotions (the ability to control the intensity of emotions, their external expression, the ability to arbitrarily cause this or that emotion). D.V. Lyusin points to the dual nature of emotional intelligence, namely, its relationship, both with cognitive abilities and with personal characteristics. The formation of emotional intelligence occurs during a person's life under the influence of a number of factors that determine its level and individual characteristics. Such factors are cognitive abilities, ideas about emotions (as an important source of information), features of emotionality. Thus, the fundamental difference of D.V. Lyusin's model is that the personality is not introduced into the construct, personality is correlate of the ability to understand and control emotions. It is possible to introduce only such personal characteristics that directly affect the level and individual characteristics of emotional intelligence [3].

So, even a brief review of the psychological theories of emotional intelligence allows us to conclude that there is no unity of views on the nature of this phenomenon, however, all authors recognize following characteristic of emotional intelligence such as combination of abilities to understand and control both their own emotions and the emotions of other people.

Within the framework of our research, the level of emotional intelligence of students — future doctors was studied. In our opinion, the ability to understand the emotions of other people and the ability to control their own emotional states and, formed on their basis the ability to empathize, to establish emotional contact, ability to listen and hear the interlocutor and in general to have people to themselves, are professionally important qualities in the work of a specialist in the field «Man-man».

To diagnose emotional intelligence, we used the technique of N. Hall, designed to identify the ability to understand the relationship of personality, represented in emotions, and manage the emotional sphere through decision-making. The questionnaire contains 5 scales [5]:

- emotional awareness;
- managing your emotions (rather emotional resourcefulness);
- self-motivation (rather arbitrary management of emotions);
- empathy;
- the recognition of the emotions of other people (rather the ability to influence the emotional state of other people).

In the course of working with the technique, subjects are asked to evaluate 30 statements in accordance with the degree of agreement (disagreement) with them.

The results of the study determine the integrative level of emotional intelligence (70 or more points — high, 40–69 — medium, 39 and less — low), as well as levels of partial emotional intelligence (14 or more points — high, 8–13 — average, 7 and less — low).

The study, conducted on the basis of the Karaganda State Medical University, involved 85 students (58 females and 27 males) aged 20 to 22 years.

The results of the study indicate that the majority of subjects (56.5 %) is characterized by a low level of emotional intelligence. The average level was detected in 37.6% of respondents, while high level was found only in 5.9 % of students (Fig.).

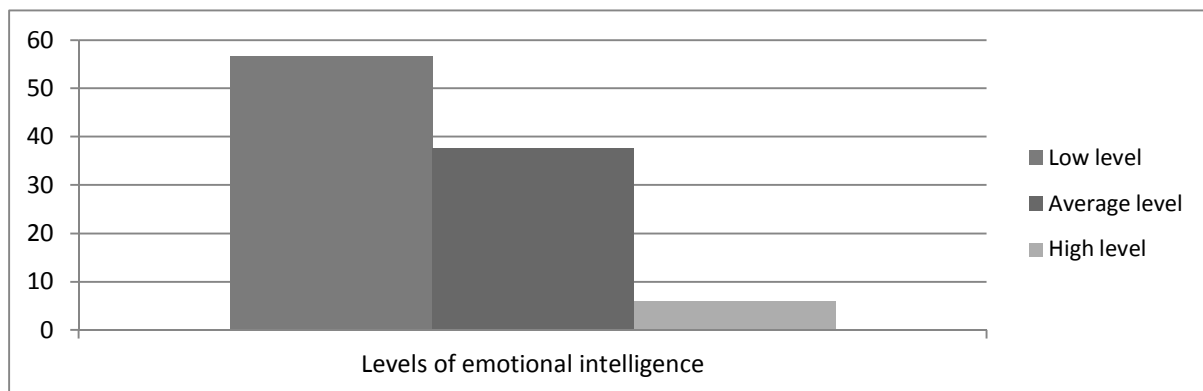


Figure. Expression of emotional intelligence among students of a medical university (%)

The data obtained suggests that most students underestimate the importance of the emotional sphere, they may have difficulties in controlling their own emotions, ascertaining their causes, and also difficulties in identifying other people's emotional states. Often such people are characterized by low self-esteem, as well as a tendency to experience an unfounded sense of guilt. In the medical profession, this can lead to difficulties in establishing emotional contact with colleagues, patients and their relatives, and also contribute to the rapid emotional burnout of a specialist [2].

Respondents with an average level of emotional intelligence, as a rule, do not experience difficulties with recognizing other people's emotions, they are able to control their own emotional states, analyze their causes and consequences, which together has a positive effect on the activities of the doctor, as it helps to prevent the emergence of negative emotions of the patient, fosters the development of trusting relationships, and as a result, contributes to increase the effectiveness of therapeutic measures.

A high level of emotional intelligence may indicate a well-developed ability to control and manage one's own emotions, in particular, to demonstrate the right emotions in different situations. Control over the emotional sphere is an extremely important quality of medical workers whose professional activities are associated with emotional overload. The ability to feel, understand and take into account the emotions and feelings of the partners in the interaction also reaches a high level of development. As a rule, people with a high level of emotional intelligence tend to attach great importance to their own emotional sphere, they feel psychological well-being, are in harmony with themselves and the world around them, strive to develop their own abilities.

Next, let us turn to the results obtained from the individual scales of the questionnaire (Table).

Table

Average arithmetic indicators on the scales of emotional intelligence

Scales	High level (14 or more points)	Average level (8–13 points)	Low level (7 or less points)
Empathy		9,2	
Control emotions			1,8
Emotional awareness		9,0	
Recognition of the emotions of other people		8,6	
Self-motivation			7,7

The most developed component of emotional intelligence is empathy (9.2 score for the group, which corresponds to the average level of development characteristic).

Respondents with an average level of empathy are capable of empathy, are able to listen and hear the interlocutor, are able to be attentive and sensitive to the emotional states of the interaction partners; own emotional manifestations are more likely to yield to a high level of self-control.

Less likely, students have the ability to control emotions (the average for the group is 1.8 points). The low level of development of this characteristic testifies to the difficulties in the process of regulation by one's own emotional states, weakly expressed self-control of the emotional sphere, emotional instability, which negatively affects the processes of interpersonal interaction.

Characteristics of «emotional awareness» and «recognition of the emotions of other people» have an average level of development (9.0 and 8.6 points, respectively). In our opinion, students have some knowledge that allows them to analyze the characteristics of their own emotional states, as well as to comprehend the emotions of other people (understand and recognize them). However, a level of development of these characteristics suggests that respondents are not always able to accurately identify the emotions of other people and influence other people's emotional states, or to analyze the causes of their emergence and change, perhaps the students also do not always take into account the possible consequences of manifesting their own emotions.

The results obtained on the scale of «self-motivation» (7.7 points) indicate a lack of internal motivation to manage their own emotions.

Respondents do not attach much importance to the development of the emotional sphere of the individual as a whole, and, perhaps, do not feel the need to improve the skills of self-control.

So, after analyzing the results obtained by the method of N. Hall, we note that for most of the medical students who participated in our study, the average level of emotional intelligence is typical, while the most

developed are its components, such as the ability to empathize, emotional awareness and recognition of the emotions of others. The indicators of self-motivation and the ability to control emotions are less pronounced.

Analyzing the obtained results, we come to the conclusion that students of the medical university need to raise the level of development of emotional abilities, in particular, the ability to control one's own emotions, and also to identify the emotional states of other people. The health of the emotional sphere of medical workers directly affects the success of their professional activities, which is characterized by high emotional stress in constant interaction with other people, including preventing the emergence of professional deformities of the individual.

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Р.Т. Алимбаева, Л.У. Есназарова, Е.А. Лазарева

Медициналық университет студенттерінің эмоционалдық зердесін зерттеу

Мақалада дәрігерлердің кәсіби қызметіндегі эмоционалдық зерденің рөлі қарастырылған. Шетел және ресейлік психологиядағы эмоционалдық зердеге деген көзқарастар келтірілген. Эмоционалдық зерденің негізгі модельдеріне жалпы сипаттама берілген. Эмоционалдық зерденің құрылымына кіретін негізгі компоненттер анықталған. Осы бағыттағы зерттеулердің өзектілігі негізделген. Жүргізілген зерттеуде медицина университетінде оқитын студенттердің арасында эмоционалдық зердесі төмен, орташа, жоғары студенттердің пайыздық үлесі белгілі болды. Студенттерде эмпатияның, эмоционалдық сананың, өзін-өзі уәждеудің даму ерекшеліктері келтірілген.

Кілт сөздер: эмоционалдық зерде, эмпатия, эмоционалдық сана, өзін-өзі уәждеу, кәсіби қызмет.

Р.Т. Алимбаева, Л.У. Есназарова, Е.А. Лазарева

Исследование эмоционального интеллекта студентов медицинского университета

В статье рассматривается роль эмоционального интеллекта в профессиональной деятельности врачей. Представлено понимание эмоционального интеллекта в зарубежной и российской психологии. Дана общая характеристика основных моделей эмоционального интеллекта. Описаны компоненты, входящие в структуру эмоционального интеллекта. Обосновывается актуальность данного направления исследований. В проведенном исследовании выявлено процентное соотношение студентов медицинского вуза, обладающих низким, средним и высоким уровнем развития эмоционального интеллекта. Описаны особенности развития эмпатии, эмоционального сознания и самомотивации у данных студентов.

Ключевые слова: эмоциональный интеллект, эмпатия, эмоциональное сознание, самомотивация.

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