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HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF THE PASHTUN CULTURE IN PAKISTAN

The study of the historiography of the Pashtun culture of Pakistan has not only a great scientific, but also an undisputed political and practical meaning. Although the Pashtun culture is specific and peculiar, the research world hasn't paid a sufficient amount of attention to this problem. Currently, there are indirect works on the Pashtun culture of Pakistan in the historical literature, that are related to the national identity, regional and cultural features, as well as the problems that carry religious-ideological character. The given factual historiographical material, which was assembled from the works of Western and Russian-speaking researchers, along with the materials of domestic scientists, paves the ways to concurrently identify the main trends in the socio-political and cultural development of the Pakistani Pashtuns. Taking the features of the studied material into consideration, that predominantly affect religiously-cultural nature of the Afghanistan Pashtuns compared to the Pashtuns of Pakistan, it can be stated that the majority of authors perceive the problem either one-sidedly or ideologically. Nevertheless, the specific features of the Pashtuns at various stages of their Modern and Contemporary history enable the track of the transformation of their cultural development with the Baluchis of Pakistan and mainly illustrate the role of Islam in their life. The study of the historiography of the Pashtuns culture of Pakistan has still not been the subject of a scrutinization, hence, the aim of this study is a comparative analysis of Western, Russian-speaking and domestic works that outline their characteristics. During the research process, the method of Periodization has been applied, which incorporates an appeal to various methods of historical research, videlicet: method of terminological analysis, chronological, statistical, method of biographical and situational analysis.

Key words: Pakistan, Pashtuns, culture, historiography, national identity.

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Пәкістан пуштундары мәдениетінің тарихнамалық аспектілері

Пәкістан пуштундары мәдениетінің тарихнамасын зерттеудің ғылыми ғана емес, сонымен бірге саяси және практикалық маңызы бар. Пәкістанның пуштун мәдениеті ерекше әрі әрқилы, дегенмен зерттеу әлемі бұл мәселеге зейінді назар аудармай келеді. Бүгінгі күнге дейін тарихи әдебиеттерде Пәкістанның пуштун мәдениетіне қатысты ұлттық болмыс, аймақтық және мәдени ерекшеліктер, сондай-ақ діни-идеологиялық сипаттағы мәселелеріне байланысты жанама еңбектер жарияланды. Батыс және орыстілді зерттеушілердің жинақтаған фактологиялық тарихнамалық материалдары, сондай-ақ отандық ғалымдардың еңбектері Пәкістан пуштундарының әлеуметтік-саяси және мәдени дамуының негізгі тенденцияларын бір мезгілде анықтауға мүмкіндік береді. Пәкістандық пуштундармен салыстырғанда негізінен Ауғанстан пуштундарының діни-мәдени болмысына қатысты зерттеу материалдың ерекшеліктерін ескере отырып, көптеген авторлардың мәселені біржақты немесе идеологиялық тұрғыдан қарастырғанын айтуға негіз бар. Осыған қарамастан, пуштундардың қазіргі және жаңа тарихының әртүрлі кезеңдеріндегі мәдениетінің өзіндік ерекшеліктері олардың мәдени дамуының Пәкістан белуджиларына бейімделіп кеткендіктерін және негізінен олардың өміріндегі ислам дінінің әсерлі екенін аңғартады. Пәкістанның пуштун мәдениетінің тарихнамасы осы күнге дейін арнайы кешенді зерттеу нысанына айналған жоқ. Осыған байланысты бұл зерттеуде батыс, орыстілді және отандық материалдардың ерекшеліктерін көрсететін компаративті және салыстырмалы талдау мақсаты қойылды. Зерттеу үдерісінде тарихилық және бірқатар әдістерге жүгінуді көздейтін проблемалық-хронологиялық принцип пайдаланылды, атап айтқанда: терминологиялық талдау әдісі, хронологиялық, статистикалық, өмірбаяндық және жағдаяттық талдау әдістері.

Түйін сөздер: Пәкістан, пуштундар, мәдениет, тарихнама, ұлттық бірегейлік.

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Историографические аспекты культуры пуштунов Пакистана

Изучение историографии культуры пуштунов Пакистана имеет не только большое научное, но и несомненное политическое и практическое значение. Культура пуштунов Пакистана специфична и своеобразна, однако конкретно по данной проблеме исследовательский мир не уделял специального внимания. На сегодняшний день в исторической литературе имеются косвенные работы по культуре пуштунов Пакистана, которые связаны с национальной идентичностью, региональными и культурными особенностями, а также с проблемами религиозно-идеологического характера. Собранный фактический историографический материал западных и русскоязычных исследователей, а также материалы отечественных ученых позволяют параллельно выявить основные тенденции социально-политического и культурного развития пуштунов Пакистана. Учитывая особенности изучаемого материала, которые затрагивают в основном религиозно-культурный характер пуштунов Афганистана в сравнении с Пакистанскими пуштунами, можно констатировать тот факт, что многие авторы рассматривают проблему однобоко либо идеологизировано. Тем не менее, специфические черты культуры пуштунов на различных этапах их новой и новейшей истории дают возможность проследить трансформацию их культурного развития с белуджами Пакистана и отражают в основном роль ислама в их жизнедеятельности. Изучение историографии культуры пуштунов Пакистана еще не было предметом специального комплексного исследования. В связи с этим в данном исследовании поставлена цель компаративного и сравнительного анализа западных, русскоязычных и отечественных материалов, которые отражают их особенности. В процессе исследования был применен проблемно-хронологический принцип, который предполагает обращение к целому ряду методов исторического исследования, а именно, к методу терминологического анализа, хронологическому, статистическому методу, методу биографического и ситуационного анализа.

Ключевые слова: Пакистан, пуштуны, культура, историография, национальная идентичность.

Introduction

Over the last decades, Pakistan has been attracting a vigilant attention of the world society. The unstable political and economic situation in the Middle and Near East, severe security problems, past disobeying of the Nuclear non-proliferation treaty, complicated relationships with neighboring states, all of these descriptions characterize the current juncture of the country. Despite the fact that, Pakistan is not a major regional power like India and doesn't possess such rich energy resources as Iran, its population and Pakistan itself definitely have their own importance in the region. For instance, in relation with Kazakhstan, Pakistan is a strategic partner, especially in economic and political areas, which implies the relevance and necessity of studying the historiography of the population culture, among which Pashtuns occupy a special place.

The study of the culture of any nation, including Pashtuns, is a basic precondition for comprehending both historical and modern processes. The Pashtuns culture is a clear example of understanding how aspects of culture, religion, tribal factors impacted each other. From the theoretical point of view, it helps to uncover the issues of the relationship be-

tween culture and religion. As L.G. Yerekesheva notes: "If we consider culture in a broad sense as covering all spheres of spiritual and material life of people (religious, scientific, economic, political, agricultural, educational, military, etc.) in the course of their direct or extended in space and time interaction between each other (at the interpersonal, collective and social levels), with the outside world, as well as with already existing patterns of culture, then each aspect of such action will have a clear cultural measurement" (Yerekesheva, 2013: 40).

To study the culture of the Pashtuns, it is important to conduct a historiographical analysis, that is, to identify the main patterns, specifics of works dedicated to this topic, which is the major intention of this work.

A quite broad range of English and Russian-language researches are devoted to the study of the history and culture of Pakistan. The first works related to these topics were first published in the 1940s and 1950s, in addition to that, the Pakistani studies came to light as a separate direction of Oriental studies. Subsequently, in the 1960s and 1970s, the scientific centers directing towards the study of Pakistan were formed in the dominant countries of the world, many of which exist up until the present time. On account

of this, a unique place in the historiography of the problems of historical and cultural development of Pakistan is captured by the materials of leading Western research centers, for instance: Cambridge and Oxford Universities, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the University of Southampton in the UK, the Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University (USA), The American Institute of Pakistan Studies (USA), the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (India) (Rybakov, 2000: 24).

The leading research centers in Pakistan that are oriented on the problems of national history and culture, are: The Institute of Regional Studies, the Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad Policy Research Institute. The Institute of Regional Studies (IRS) is an independent research center that focuses on the study of the regions like South Asia, South-west Asia, China, Central Asia and the Indian Ocean region. The Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS), that was established in the 1960s, is obligated to offer an objective analysis of global and regional strategic issues. The Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), which was established in June of 1999 as a non-partisan think tank of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, does researches on strategic issues and events of regional significance (Shafiq Ali Khan, 1967: 19-21).

The leading scientific structures in Russia engaged in studying the relations between Pakistan and Central Asian countries are: the Institute of Oriental Studies of the RAS, the Institute of the Middle East Studies of the RAS, the Institute of Asian and African Countries at the Lomonosov Moscow State University, the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the RAS. Unfortunately, there are no studies accomplished in the Republic of Kazakhstan related to the topic of comprehensive study of the history and culture of Pashtuns, Afghanistan and Pakistan in general, however, only some works in the field of modern security problems and religious radicalism were carried out.

The researches of the scientific centers, that were mentioned earlier, constructed and developed the foundation for determining the chronological framework of the study of the Pashtuns of Pakistan, which spans the period between the mid-XX – beginning of the XXI century. During this period of time, the higher tendency of studying the region, especially in the Pashtuns of Afghanistan, could be noticed. Taking this into account, the goal of this article is a complex analysis of the historiography of the Pakistani Pashtun culture, which is different than that of the Pashtuns of Afghanistan in a cultural

sense. In order to achieve the set goal, the following tasks were discovered: by relying upon the studies, to reveal the cultural features of the Pakistani Pashtuns in a retrospective complex based on English and Russian-language literature of the mid-XX – early-XXI centuries period; to analyze the layer of domestic historiography regarding the traditions and customs of the Pashtuns of Pakistan.

Research methods

The methodological basis of the study is arranged in formational and civilizational approaches. As methodological techniques, the rational systematic principles of: historicism, objectivity, consistency, alternativeness were used along with general historical methods of: comparative-historical, systematization, periodization that enabled the view of problems not in a narrow-regional, but on a broader territorial and historical context.

This research has also shared a place for the Discourse analysis, which was found by T.A. van Dijk (T.A. van Dijk., 1989). Quoted method involves an interdisciplinary field of discourse research caused by the following aspects: interest in the natural use of the Pashtun language as opposed to abstract language systems and made-up examples; the demand of investigating the larger tribal associations of the Pakistani Pashtuns, their written language, discourses, communicative events and interactions between Pashtuns of the studied region; consideration of not only verbal, but also non-verbal aspects of cross-cultural communication of Pashtuns; the study of language and ethnical features in a social, cultural and cognitive sense; referring to a number of terms that were previously ignored by scientists, such as: coherence, macrostructures, speech acts.

With the aim of achieving the set goal, methods of complex analysis of different types of English-language materials and identification of certain patterns were used as well, amongst which content analysis could be specifically highlighted. Mentioned method was used for the purpose of qualitative and quantitative analysis of the content of the documents used by the authors in the studies of the cultural characteristics of the Pashtuns. Content analysis made it possible to study documents in their social context and helped with the studies of the political direction of scientific materials and media data, it also allowed to determine the very purpose of the published material.

Approaching the principle of historicism as the all-purpose method of historical comprehension, the studied material is presented in a chronological or-

der in close connection with the policy implemented with regard to the Pashtun people of Pakistan.

Research results and discussion

The Pashtuns, as the main ethnic group of the Pakistani-Afghan region, have political importance that affects the groups, forming on a religious basis. Similarly to other Asian people, the Pashtuns of Pakistan have a complex code of conduct, in which the concepts of social status, the reputation of the clan and the level of wealth are valued to a great extent. The Pashtuns of Pakistan occupy the second place by population, right after the Punjabi. The largest population density of it is located in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the former Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP), the capital of which is the city of Peshawar. Almost 85% of the Pashtun population is allocated in this city, by the same token, according to the data for the year of 2021, the total number of people inhabiting there is about 28 million, including about 15 million people living in administrative areas (V. Belokrenitsky, 2022). The main Pashtun tribes in Pakistan are yusufzai, mohmand, afridi, orakzai, hotaki, banuchi, marwat, wasir, kakar, tareen. The Pashtuns of Pakistan retained the stable vestiges of tribal organization, especially in the tribal belt. Regarding the spoken languages of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa population, they mostly belong to the Indo-European or Indo-Aryan language family (Gankovsky, Gordon-Polonskaya, 1961: 381). Moreover, this refers not only to the Muslims of the country, but in most cases it has also taken roots among Hindus and Christians.

Along with this, mentally, the necessity to study the Pashtun culture of Pakistan is focused specifically in interregional and interstate relations. Because of this, the historiographical analysis of some Western, Russian materials and domestic literature in a retrospective of the theories of national identity and cultural characteristics of the Pashtuns provided the opportunity to conduct a comparative-complex analysis of the authors' views who directly studied the history, culture and literature of the Pashtuns of the Pakistan- Afghanistan region.

One of the first English-language works related to the history of Pathans (Pashtuns) was published by Olaf Kirkpatrick Kruuse Caroe. An authentic work covered the history from the Prehistoric period, which also includes the traditions of cultural heritage and the history of the Pashtuns' land. This work is one of the first comprehensive scientific works on the history and culture of the Pashtuns of Pakistan and was published in 1958 (Olaf Caroe,

1958). In 1976, Oxford University republished the mentioned book, advancing it with a voluminous annotation that divulges the British policy during the two World Wars.

Olaf Kirkpatrick Kruuse Caroe held the position of the administrator in British Raj (India) and worked for the Indian Political Service. He served as the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India during the World War II and later as the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province (the frontier with Afghanistan). As a result of working in such important positions, he thoroughly studied the tribal composition of the Pashtuns of both Afghanistan and Pakistan. In his work, Sarbani Pathans are divided into categories of ethnological tribal movements: tareen, durrani, shirani, Mia tribes, including Ioni, khetrani, hasni, naghar, kharshin, jafar, ormur (Caroe, 1976:24-27). Author also believes that the Pashtuns originated from several groups of ancestors. In his opinion, the main population was descended from Eastern-Iranians and brought the Indo-European language to the east. From there on, they mixed with other peoples, presumably including Kushans, Hephthalites, White Hunas, Arabs, Mughals and others who passed through this area.

Sir Olaf Caroe supposes that the Pashtuns' loyalty to their particular social group – tribe or con-tribe is more important than the dialectical differences of the Pashtun language (Caroe, 1976: 102). He also comes to the opinion that "Pathans" is no longer a racial term. It indicates the status and in Swat and Dir is used to describe someone who owns a share in tribal property and hence, has the right of voting in village and tribal councils. The Pathan tribes are mainly of Uranian origin, others of Syed (Arabian), and some may be Turkic.

Considering the historically established aspects, the Abdali-Afghans-Pashtuns also played a leading role in the creation of the Durrani Empire, founded in 1747- the predecessor of the current Afghanistan. It is rather surprising that the early history of Abdali remains obscure, and the ethnic component of the Pashtuns requires a special approach in scientific interpretation. Nonetheless, the authors of the last generations couldn't refuse reflecting about the genesis of Abdali. Based upon what has been said, in the study of the Pashtun culture of both Pakistan and Afghanistan, a significant contribution was input by the researcher of the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations (University of Toronto), Sajjad Nejatie, who investigates the prevalent theories about the prehistory of Abdali, including the supposed connection with the tribe of the Hephthalites and the Sufi Saint Aby Ahmad Abdal, as

well as some motives underlying these theories. The author also points out the place of the Abdali in the Afghan-Pashtun tribal system and attempts to conciliate their Afghan identity with their alleged non-Afghan origin. In this way, his work targets to offer a more narrowed understanding of the history of the Abdali, the most politically influential group in the history of Afghanistan, that impacted the cultural aspect of the Pashtuns of the region (Nejatie, 2019).

In his work, Sajjad Nejatie uses the theory of nation-building and elevates one tribal association over another. The complex structure of the analysis of his work doesn't fully reveal the cultural characteristics of the Pashtuns, due to the fact that the author doesn't distinguish the Pashtuns of Afghanistan and Pakistan. As historical facts have shown, the Pashtuns of Pakistan, under the influence of the ideology of India, in some way have adopted the traditions and customs of Baluchis in a cultural manner. And the fact of ideologized and religious pressure on the Pashtun culture of Afghanistan began to have its differences. Because of this, the work of Sajjad Nejatie was realised under the pressure of narrow-minded historical realities, where there are no field research materials.

The next significant work is the study of Ahmed Akbar published in 1976 that he dedicated to the study of the inhabitants of the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan. Today, the inhabitants of this region belong to Pakistan in an administrative way, despite the fact that they are an independent group with their own codes and lifestyle. The author, who knows this region well due to his family ties, presents a clear and complex analysis of the life of Pashtuns. In the study, he conducts an anthropological and critical revision of the ethnography of the Pashtun culture, and suggests specific alternative models of social organization. The scientific work of Ahmed Akbar is an important contribution to the general discussion of the field of Oriental studies which also questions some theoretical and methodological prerequisites of anthropology.

In particular, he criticizes Professor Fredrik Barth's research on Pashtuns, since he believes that some researchers unintentionally misinterpret the models of socio-political organization of the Pashtuns of Pakistan. This study prompted us to familiarize ourselves with the works of Fredrik Barth. The vast majority of his scientific publications are devoted specifically to theories of national identity. We reckon that Ahmed Akbar referred to the theory of Fredrik Barth more emotionally, which naturally lead to the demodelization of scientific objectivity (Ahmed Akbar, 1976).

Fredrik Barth was an expert in Pashtuns and studied the social organization of Pashtuns equally, their singularity and cultural property. The author in his work writes regarding the theory of ethnicity: "Next to the Pashtuns live higher hierarchical and complicated Baluchis. The moment when some Pashtuns or Pashtun groups find themselves under the influence of the political structure of Baluchis, they begin to obey, but an obeyed Pashtun is a bad Pashtun, so they change their identity to Baluchis, turning into Baluch within one or two generations" (Barth, 1969:27).

"As it was found out from the theory of Fredrik Barth, a diasporal-irredenta method of studying the culture and national identity is needed here. Because by the will of historical realities, many Pashtuns turned into a diaspora or an irredenta of some state, it naturally led to the flow of assimilation. The assimilated Pashtuns had to adopt the cultural features of neighboring tribal associations. This format of national identity occurred during the formation of the Republic of Turkey, when all ethnic minorities were referred to as "Turks" in official documents. In modern conditions in the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Kazakh diaspora and irredenta, by their own will or under pressure from state policy also adopts the national naming "Uzbek".

The main centers of political and cultural attraction of the Pashtuns until the XVIII century were in India, where numerous Pashtuns migrated in search of trade and military service. On the background of India's cosmopolitan pressure and its alternative models of self-cognition and belonging, the Pashtun elites have developed a distinct idiom of "Afghan" identity. "With the absorption of the Afghans by the Mughal Empire, the previous models of adaptation to the Indian environment were disproved thanks to the writing of history, according to which the past and present of the Afghans were carefully mapped using the organizing principle of genealogy" (Sattsaev, 2010: 156). While the Afghan religious world was undergoing changes under the empire influence, in response to this, stories about clearly Afghan saints contributed to the tribalization of the bonds of Islam. With the fall of Mughal power, the collective "Afghan" identity of the diaspora was transferred to the new Afghan state, where the relationship of this tribal template of Afghan authenticity to the non-Pashtun peoples of Afghanistan remains being the defining contradiction of national identity. In this regard, in the historiographical review, it is necessary to remember the facts of identity problems and cultural

features of the Pashtuns of Pakistan, separately from Afghanistan.

The acceptance by the above-mentioned researchers of the fact, that Pakistan is currently in search of the national identity idea, makes the analysis of the parameters imperative, on the basis of which national identification is possible to be carried out. A detailed study of this issue was carried out by the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz in his essay "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States" (Geertz Clifford, 1963: 105-157). In this work, the author, analyzing the independent development of a number of African and Asian states, identifies geographical, linguistic, ethnic, religious, social and cultural parameters as the main ones for identification of their citizens. Each of these signs unites a certain group of people and at the same time separates from others. In order to consolidate individual groups into a nation, it is necessary to find common identification feature for them and relying on these, further build the internal and external policy of the country. The analysis of the public policy of Pakistan from this point of view makes it possible to assess the degree of its constructiveness in matters of national integration and cultural characteristics.

William Sherman's scientific work is devoted to the study of Pashtun literature, especially Arzani's work, where the author provides translations and analysis of some of the earliest known examples of Pashtun literature: the poems of the personality known as Mullah Arzani. Arzani in his literary works reflects the Sufi and Messianic religious-cultural environment in which Pashto is understood as a Divine language. For the peoples of the Near Eastern region, a mythical representation is perceived as chaotic and, on the one hand, "melodic", which leads to the folklorization of literary science. Nevertheless, studying Arzani's poetry and understanding his use of his own language creates a serious challenge to the overly deterministic role that was played by the concepts of "Pashtun identity" in the Euro-American understanding of Pashtun literature. Arzani used Pashto not to express the Pashtun ethnic identity, but to show the gorgeousness and prosaic traditions of the Pashtun as a whole. His work is most likely based on the raising and showing the beauty of the Pashtun language. In this work, Arzani positions Pashto as an elite language which corresponds to the Messianic and Mystical logic of the Persian cultures of early-modern times. In spite of his literary inclination, William Sherman was able to sufficiently reveal the cultural characteristics of the

Pashtuns of the region and its ethnic composition in a comparative retrospective of mythical heroes. According to the author's opinion, Arzani combined the cosmopolitanism of Persian and Islamic discourses with the features of the Pashto language as a tool of representing Pashto as the Divine language of revelation in the Messianic environment of the Roshaniya movement (William, 2022).

Similar studies consider the culture of Pashtun as specific, where historically established traditions are intertwined with religious and ideological ideas. This, in particular, is evidenced by the data presented by the official document "Dy Kabul Kalanai", which the Pashtun Academy (Pashto Tolyna) embarked on publishing in 1931-1932 and the historical and ethnographic description of the Pashtun-Yusufzai and the lands inhabited by them revealed by the researcher G. Bellew (Bellew, 1964).

The first Russian-language work devoted to Pakistan was published in 1943, that is, four years before the formation of the state, V.V. Balabushevich's pamphlet "On the question of Pakistan". Without forgetting to mention that it was published in Tashkent, where many Oriental scientists evacuated during the war. In the work, the author generally spoke approvingly about the idea of creating a new semi- or completely independent Muslim state, considering the critical relation at that time in the USSR to the leadership of the Indian National Congress, which didn't support the government of Great Britain, an ally of the USSR, in the World War (Balabushevich, 1943:84).

After the Second World War, Oriental scientists of the USSR began to study the problems of economic and social development of the young state, its agrarian history and structure, modernization of agriculture and the beginnings of industrial evolution. This approach to the study of the history of states had obvious reasons, since the Union Republic purposefully expanded the boundaries of communist ideology and searched markets of goods exportation. Nevertheless, many works that have economic and political meaning open the doors in understanding the mentality of the peoples of Pakistan and the national policy of the state in general. Even though the Soviet works weren't directly dedicated to the cultural features of the Pashtuns of Pakistan, they provide the researcher with the opportunity to understand the historical processes of the history and culture of Pakistan of that period. The geostrategic influence of the imperialist powers during the Cold War encouraged many researchers to study the cultural characteristics of the Pashtuns of Afghanistan.

Therefore, the Pashtuns of Pakistan seemed to be beyond the point of view of Soviet researchers, and as a result, the Soviet historiography of the Pashtun culture of Pakistan turned out to be insufficient.

These phenomena were marked by the stamp of the struggle to determine the general foreign policy course of the new state in the conditions of the very acute first stage of the Cold War. All of this coincided on the large scale with the most important directions and tasks facing researchers from other countries and regions of the East as well. Within the framework of the large department of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal established at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, groups of historians and economists formed who were engaged in the development of problems of the new and modern history of India, other countries of the subcontinent, as well as the features of the current stage of their socio-economic development.

From the culture of Hinduism, instead came a rather strict division into classes (a kind of relic of the caste system), within which there is a rather subtle and incomprehensible social hierarchy to a foreigner. The tribal system in Baluchistan and Punjab is very strong and is a powerful political factor in the life of the whole country, and temporary or permanent tribal associations replace political parties here. With the strengthening of the role of Pashtuns in Pakistan, it is necessary to single out two scientific works by O. V. Pleshov, the first of which was published in 1996 (Pleshov, 1996: 162) and the second, published in 2005 (Pleshov, 2005: 236). These monographies are based on specific data from the US and Russian security services, which reveal only the religious essence of the Pashtuns of Pakistan, rather than cultural and traditional features. Due to the approach to the problem from the standpoint of State interests, there is no line between traditional culture and religious principles in these monographies.

Under supervision of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the RAS staff, intensive scientific researches on Pakistan have been going on recently, amongst which it is necessary to point out the voluminous monograph by Iu.N. Panichkin (Panichkin, 2005: 2008) and Foreign Ministry employee O.P. Tchekrizova (Tcherkizova, 2013), where the main value is given to the role of Islam among the Pashtuns of Pakistan. As it was revealed above, the works of Russian researchers in the chronological sense can be viewed from two positions: the first is the work dedicated to the internal structure of the Pakistan's State

administration, where significant attention is paid to the role of more radical Islam. This aspect can be characterized by the fact that Russian experts in the field of Pakistani studies approached the problem from the Islamic radicalism position, with respect to regional security. Regardless of this, the authors give a general overview of the Islamic traditionalism of the Pashtun of Pakistan. Secondly, the major works of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the RAS are dedicated to the territorial problems of India and Pakistan. These works enable the track of the religious worldview and problems of intercultural communication of the Pakistani Pashtuns.

As it became known, the Pashtun culture is based upon the Code of Pashtunwali, which is an ancient way of life that was written in the Pashto language and requires the wearing of Pashtun clothing on a strict basis. The work of V.Ya. Belokrenitsky and V.N. Moskalenko can be noted on this question, revealing the history of Pakistan in the XX century, it reflects the features of the Pashtuns of Pakistan (Belokrenitsky, Moskalenko, 2008: 208). The authors, mentioning Pashtun poets and prose writers, write about the problems of democracy, freedom of speech, equality of opportunities, poverty, hunger, life in slums, the rightless status of women, the difficulty of getting married for urban women over 20 years old, the heavy burden of kalym for the bride's parents (Belokrenitsky, Moskalenko, 2008: 116). This context of the approach to the research represents the class approach of Russian researchers. As the social lifestyle of Pashtuns doesn't depend on their cultural characteristics, even the most socially vulnerable Pashtuns prefer to follow the Pashtunwali Code of Honor.

Pashtunwali is a code of regulations and standards on how a Pashtun citizen is ought to live. These principles determine how the tribe interacts and provide recommendations on normative behavior in embarking on living by the Pashtun lifestyle. The principles quantity varies depending on the specific tasks set and are equally applicable to men and women, usually accepted as "gayrat / nang" or bravery; "badal" or revenge; "melmastia" or hospitality; "pirdah" or gender; "namus" or personality/honor; and "shura" or advice. V. Ya. Belokrenitsky and V.N. Moskalenko, when studying the importance of the Pashtun Code of Honor, didn't consider these principles, that form the basis of their lifestyle and, although some historical data indicate that these principles existed in the 17th century, they are just as essential to the modern behavior of Pashtuns. For Pashtuns, the spirit of the warrior spreads throughout the region, but is not more

important in the areas bordering Afghanistan and Pakistan, dissected by the Duran line. This is the place where Pashtun teenagers are expected to be tested in battle to show their maturity and bravery.

Special attention to the ethnosocial features of the eastern Pashtuns of Pakistan was paid by L. Temirkhanov, who dedicated his work to the investigation of the history of British colonial expansion at the junction of the Middle East and South Asia region (Temirkhanov, 1984). The author in his work gives opportunities to reveal the features, forms and methods of the Colonial Policy of Great Britain's ruling circles in the second half of the XIX – first decades of the XX century. Based on the actual material, L. Temirkhanov, identified the main trends in the Eastern Pashtuns' socio-political development and the specific features of the struggle for liberation Eastern Pashtuns at various stages. In addition to that, he showed the role of Islam in the political history of the Eastern Pashtuns (Temirkhanov, 1984). His work has a sheer amount of factual material on the Pashtun culture of Pakistan. L. Temirkhanov also attracted pre-revolutionary materials into his scientific work, among which one can be pointed out, the "Turkestan Collection", stored in the Alisher Navoi State Public Library of the Republic of Uzbekistan in Tashkent. This collection is the richest and unique collection of printed materials composed from over 10700 books, newspaper and magazine articles in Russian and West-European languages related to Central Asia and neighboring countries, including Northwestern India, for the period from 1867 to 1916. 416 volumes were prepared by the founder of the Russian scientific bibliographies by V.I. Mezhev, and the remaining 78 by major bibliographers and scientists N.V. Dmitrovsky, A.A. Semenov and E.K. Vetger. The author used volumes 13, 83, 196, 223, 242 and 243 of the collection, which contains valuable materials related to the national liberation struggle of the Eastern Pashtuns of Pakistan. Studying the struggle of the Eastern Pashtuns, L. Temirkhanov moved away from the importance of the role of the cult of saints for the Pashtuns of the region, who directly played a very huge role in the national liberation struggle against English colonialism. Following the historical facts and data provided by V.A. Romodin, a specialist in history, historiography and source studies, the cultural history of Afghanistan and Central Asia (Romodin, 1951: 19-23), he followed the method of Marxism-Leninism and the principle of class division.

Kazakh historiography related to the Pashtun culture of Pakistan began its development after

Kazakhstan gained its independence. In the collection of materials of the UNESCO international seminar "Transformation of Central Asian Societies: Socio-cultural aspects", various aspects of the transformation of Central Asian societies were considered through the prism of methodology, historical experience, modern development of the states of the region.

In particular, a scientific article by the Kazakh researcher M.M. Sugralinov is of great interest, devoted to the transformational and ethno-confessional features of the interaction of the Baluchis with neighboring peoples, which reflects aspects of the relationship between the Baluchis and the Pashtuns. The author, based on the data of English-language and his own research materials, chronologically covers the period of the end of the XVII century to the 90s of the XX century. Based on the information of I.M. Reissner (1954: 88), who studied the problems of social development and the national liberation movement of the peoples of India, M.M. Sugralinov tries to reflect the history of the relationship between the Baluchis and the Pashtuns, between whom there are many evidences of armed clashes. Moving to Multan, other districts of the Southern Punjab of Baluch encountered Afghans of the Marwati, Daulat-Khel, Ushturani, Gandapur, Mian-Khel tribes, who had already seized the lands, pushed some of the Baluchis back to Sindh, Northern Baluchistan, turning others into forced peasant tenants – Rayat Khamsaya (Sugralinov, 2013: 241). The author claims that the dominance of the Pashtuns over the Baluchis, other ethnic minorities who inhabited the historical region of Baluchistan and neighboring territories, took place against the background of the confrontation between the leading Pashtun tribal unions. At the same time, within the framework of the objective process of Pashtun domination over the Baluchis and other minorities, close cultural and civilizational interaction takes place between them (Sugralinov, 2013: 243). Having touched upon the political aspects of the relations between the two peoples of the Afghan-Pakistani region, M. Sugralinov admits that this topic requires a separate purposeful study.

Conclusions

In the course of a long historical period, the correlation between the transformation and the ethno-confessional identity of the Pashtuns of Pakistan is clearly traced. Since the period of colonial policy, there has been an expression in English-language literature regarding the region "manage Punjabis,

intimidate Sindhis, buy Pashtuns and be friends with Baluchis” (Shah, 2019). This concept still doesn't lose its significance both in the external and in the foreign policy of Pakistan as a whole. It is clearly expressed in the national policy of the state. This relationship was largely determined by the factor of intercultural interaction and the nature of tribal associations, the corresponding preservation of cultural identity and specificity, on the one hand, and with varying degrees of assimilation with the cultures of the countries of residence, on the other hand. All of this has led to the fact that in the history of Pashtun Pakistan, the identity factor is of particular importance, while the two sides of intercultural interaction have always played and, apparently, will continue to play a significant role in the self-identification of Pashtuns.

Tracing the historiographical material of English-speaking and actually Pakistani researchers, we have formed a separate opinion about the Pashtun culture of Pakistan. They, as the main ethnic group of both Afghanistan and Pakistan, have different cultural characteristics. If the Pashtuns of Afghanistan are more inclined to religious radicalism and follow the principles of Sharia, then the Pashtuns of Pakistan have tribal cultural origins. As the English-language materials indicate, this is most likely due to their territorial settlement. Because of this, the Pashtuns of the two states must be considered separately and from different cultural positions, through a concentrated method of research. According to Adam Zeidan, an employee of the “Britannica” Institute in Pakistan, Pashtuns predominate north of Quetta between

the Sulaiman Ridge and the Indus River. In mountainous areas, the main tribes are, from south to north, Kakars, Sherani and Ustarana south of the Gumal River. Mahsud, Darvesh Khel, Waziri and Bitani between the Gumal River and Tal. Turi, Bangash, Chrakzai, Afridi and Shinwari from Tala to the Khyber Pass and Mahmand, Utman Khel, Tarklani and Yusufzai to the north and northeast of the Khyber Pass. Hence the fact that the Pashtuns are divided into several tribal associations, which in one way or another, have a cultural identity.

The English-language materials also showed the problem of Pashtun national identity in the context of Pakistan, which manifests itself in two different dimensions. At the initial stage of the country formation, the Pashtun nationalist parties were more inclined to fight for the creation of a separate sovereign state for the Pashtuns. However, over time, this position has weakened to the position of fighting and defending the rights of Pashtuns within the framework of the Constitution of Pakistan.

In general, some scientific works of English-speaking, Russian-speaking and domestic researchers were considered and analyzed in a historiographical context. Their work provided an opportunity to get acquainted with the theory and methodology of the study of the cultural and religious characteristics of the Pashtuns of Pakistan, which directly or indirectly differ from the Pashtuns of Afghanistan, as well as a more reverent attitude when conducting field and sociological research.

This article is based on a retroactive study, however, there are other works that require independent research.

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